

Running Head: MULTIRACIAL PEOPLE AND MALLEABLE RACIAL IDENTIFICATION

Juggling multiple racial identities: Malleable racial identification and psychological well-being

Diana T. Sanchez
Rutgers University

Margaret Shih
University of California, Los Angeles

Julie A. Garcia
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

Correspondence should be addressed to:

Diana T. Sanchez
Rutgers University
53 Avenue E
Department of Psychology
Piscataway, NJ 08854-8040

Keywords: Multiracial Identity, Internet Research, Well-Being, Racial Identity, Self Concept Stability, Collective Self Esteem

Abstract

We examined the link between malleable racial identification and psychological well-being among self-identified multiracial adults. *Malleable racial identification* refers to the tendency to identify with different racial identities across different social contexts. Results across 3 studies suggested that malleable racial identification was associated with lower psychological well-being. Study 2 found that *unstable regard* (i.e., fluctuating private regard about their multiracial background) was the mechanism through which malleable racial identification predicted lower psychological health. Results of Study 3 suggested that dialectical self-views played an important moderating role that determines whether malleability is associated with negative psychological outcomes. The present studies uniquely show that malleable racial identification among multiracial people is maladaptive for psychological health, but that this may depend on whether or not people have tolerance for ambiguity and inconsistency in the self.

Keywords: Multiracial Identity, Dialectical Self-Views, Well-Being, Racial Identity, Self Concept Stability, Collective Self Esteem

Count = 132

Juggling multiple racial identities: Malleable racial identification and psychological well-being

Multiracial people face the unique challenge of having multiple racial identities. For example, a multiracial person of Black/Asian descent has two component identities (Black and Asian) as well as an overarching multiracial identity (being both Black and Asian). Yet very little is known about how people of multiracial descent negotiate their multiple racial identities. The present study examines the association between malleable racial identification and psychological well-being among multiracial people. *Malleable racial identification* refers to the tendency to identify with different racial identities depending on the social context. For example, a person of Asian/White background who has a malleable racial identity feels closer to their Asian identity in one context and closer to their White identity in a different context. The model tested in the current studies proposes that malleable racial identification is associated with unstable feelings about being multiracial and thus, promotes lower psychological well-being. In addition, we examine whether having little tolerance for self inconsistency, contradiction, and change (less dialectical self-views; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers, Peng, Wang, & Hou, 2004) moderates the link between unstable racial identification and psychological health.

Given the increasing number of people with multiracial backgrounds (Jones & Symons Smith, 2001), the known challenges associated with coming from a multiracial background (Shih & Sanchez, 2005), and the dearth of research on the malleability of racial identification, understanding the link between malleable racial identification and well-being will fill an important gap in the literature on multiracial health and hold implications for work, more broadly, concerned with the malleable nature of self and identity.

Fluidity of Multiracial Identities

Although there have been many qualitative studies suggesting that multiracial people experience greater flexibility and fluidity as a result of their multiple racial identities (Basu, 2004; Collins, 2000; Gibbs & Hine, 1992; Newsome, 2001; Renn, 2000), only two quantitative studies have examined the extent to which multiracial adolescents' racial identification is flexible, i.e., whether racial self-categorization moves across social contexts and time. Multiracial adolescents examined over a period of 5 years were five times more likely to change their racial categorization than keep it constant (Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006). According to this research, it is more common for someone of Black/White racial heritage to identify as Black at one point and White at another point than it is for that person to maintain a constant label. Moreover, it is also common for social contexts to influence the racial self-categorization of multiracial people. Harris and Sim (2002) found that multiracial adolescents who were interviewed at home and school were more likely to change their racial categorization between contexts than to maintain constant racial categorization in both contexts. Thus, work suggests that multiracial people have flexible racial identities. Across days and contexts, multiracial people change their racial self categorization.

Given this recent evidence regarding the flexibility and malleability of racial identification among multiracial people, it is important to examine whether malleability is associated with psychological well-being, possible processes underlying this relationship, and the individual differences that may moderate these links. In Study 1 and Study 2, we tested whether multiracial people's self reported flexibility of racial identification predicted psychological well-being (indexed by depressive symptoms). In Study 2, we also tested the hypothesis that the association between malleable racial identification and psychological well-being was mediated by unstable regard (unstable feelings towards one's multiracial background). In Study 3, we

examine whether dialectical self-views determine whether having malleable racial identification predicts unstable regard and psychological health (indexed by measures of depressive symptoms and well-being).

For the purposes of this paper, we define multiracial as those who identify as multiracial and have biological parents from different racial backgrounds. Defining multiracial identity is particularly challenging given that multiracial people challenge current constructions of race and race relations (Shih, Bonam, Sanchez, & Peck, 2007; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). We based the current studies' operationalization and definition of multiracial identity on previous conceptualizations in multiracial identity research (e.g. Herman, 2004; Root, 1992; Shih et al., 2007). Root (1992) defines multiracial people as "people who are of two or more racial heritages" (pg. xi). We narrowed our inclusion criteria to participants whose biological parents had differing racial background to target those who are in essence first generation multiracial. Using biological parents' race to determine multiracial status is relatively common (e.g. Herman, 2004; Shih et al., 2007) because it provides researchers with the opportunity to separate self categorization as multiracial from multiracial heritage. In addition, people who are first-generation multiracial experience life as the child of an interracial union and thus, the person's multiracial background is potentially more salient than it would be for 5th generation multiracial people. Finally, our participants self-identified with the multiracial community as they were all members of multiracial groups and organizations (Study 1 & 2) or responded to flyers and emails for multiracial participants (Study 3).

Malleable Racial Identification

With respect to monoracial people, considerable theorizing and research suggests that the social context influences racial identification (Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999; Shelton &

Sellers, 2000; Yip, 2005). In fact, early models of social identity emphasized the context-bound nature of social identity (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; see also Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). That is, the salience and thus, the importance of one's social identity can be influenced by the social context such as the presence of others from the same social group. For example, the presence of racially similar peers and engagement in race-related activities increased the prominence of one's racial identity for people of Chinese descent (Yip, 2005). However, some people may have a greater sensitivity to their social context than others such as those who have compartmentalized or chameleon identities. Roccas and Brewer (2002) suggest that some people with multiple identities may adopt a strategy of identification called "compartmentalization," which means that some social identities become more important in certain contexts than others. Similarly, some bicultural people are more likely to have a chameleon-like cultural identity, which means that their cultural identification depends on the social context (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004; Downie, Mageau, Koestner, & Liodden, 2006).

We consider multicultural and multiracial as distinct constructs. Multiracial people belong to more than one racial group. Racial groups have ethnicity-based cultural meanings and practices associated with them. Thus, multiracial people are always multicultural; however, multicultural people are not necessarily multiracial. For example, an Asian American person has one racial identity but multiple cultural identities (American and Asian). A Japanese/Chinese person has one racial identity but two ethnicities with multiple cultural identities associated with them. While cultural and racial identities are distinct constructs, levels of identification within such identities may be similarly malleable. Thus, some multiracial people may have context bound racial identification.

We explored whether malleable racial identification among multiracial people was associated with negative psychological well-being. Because previous work on chameleon-like identities and self-inconsistencies found them to be related to lower psychological well-being (Campbell, Assanand, & Di Paula, 2003; Downie et al., 2004; 2006), we hypothesized that malleable racial identification among multiracial people would be associated with poorer psychological well-being. Specifically, malleable racial identification was expected to predict unstable regard towards one's multiracial identity because instability of racial identification may underlie a conflicted and compartmentalized multiracial identity (Downie et al., 2004; 2006; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

It should be noted, however, that we also believe that there are benefits associated with shifting between identities or having multiple identities more generally. Having multiple identities can buffer individuals from the pernicious effects of stereotypes on performance. This has been specifically demonstrated for Asian women examining their multiple identities by considering their race and gender. Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999) found that when gender identity is made salient to Asian women, they exhibit stereotype threat and underperform on a math test consistent with society's negative stereotype about women's math abilities. However, when Asian women's racial identity is made salient, they show performance boosts consistent with society's positive stereotypes about Asians and math ability. In addition, perceptions of people with multiple identities can change through the subtle activation of social identities (Pittinsky, Shih & Trahan, 2006). For example, participants misremembered more positive verbal SAT scores for an Asian woman when her gender was made salient and more positive quantitative SAT scores when her race was made salient. While the selective salience of various identities may have benefits for personal performance and perceptions of ability, having

malleable racial identifications may predict worse psychological well-being because of the little tolerance individuals typically have for self-inconsistencies. Thus, we focus our paper on exploring malleable identification and psychological well-being.

Malleable Racial Identification and Psychological Well-Being

Although the relationship between racial stability and well-being has yet to be empirically investigated among multiracial populations or even monoracial populations, several theories have developed in the self-concept literature to suggest that consistency among aspects of the self is adaptive for psychological well-being (Campbell, et al., 2003; Donahue, Robins, Roberts, & John, 1993; Spencer et al., 2004). Because racial identity is an aspect of the self-concept and cognitive consistency models have been used to explore multiple social identities in the past (e.g., optimal distinctiveness theory; Roccas & Brewer, 2002), the self-consistency literature informed our investigations of malleable racial identification among multiracial people.

Work examining self-complexity finds little support for the buffering role of many selves. Rather, research on self-complexity suggested that people who had many selves may have a more fragmented sense of self and thus, worse psychological outcomes including depressive symptoms (see Rafaeli-Mor & Steinberg, 2002 for review). Indeed, instability and inconsistency among aspects of the self promotes poor psychological health (Campbell, et al., 2003). Inconsistency and instability of the self-concept has been found to predict lower self-esteem across cultures although the link is usually stronger for Westerners (Campbell et al., 1996). Similar processes may be at work in the racial self-concept such that unstable and malleable racial identification could create inconsistency and instability in private racial regard and thereby undermine well-being. Consistent with this view, multiracial adolescents who changed their racial categorization in a 5 year period, either by adding or subtracting racial

identities, reported lower self-esteem than multiracial adolescents who reported consistent racial categorization (Hitlin et al., 2006). Thus, the purpose of Study 1 was to examine whether reports of malleable racial identification would be associated with poorer psychological health among multiracial adults.

Moderating Role of Dialectical Self Views

Although previous work typically finds that many selves predict lower psychological well-being (Rafaeli-Mor & Steinberg, 2002), individual differences may moderate this relationship. For instance, people may differ in their tolerance for self-inconsistencies. Work on cultural orientations suggests that some individuals have greater tolerance for ambiguity, change, and contradiction in the self (dubbed *dialectical self views*; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004). This work finds that people from Eastern cultures and traditions may be more likely to have dialectical self-views than those from Western cultures because of deep rooted Eastern religious and philosophical traditions that promote acceptance of contradiction and change (Spencer et al., 2004). In addition, Easterners report greater variability in self-aspects across contexts than Westerners (English & Chen, 2007). Thus, we expected Asian multiracial people to have greater fluidity in their racial identifications than non-Asian multiracial people because of Asian people's presumably higher recognition of change and self-inconsistency. More importantly, in Study 3, we examined whether dialectical self-views moderated the link between malleable identification and psychological health. We expected that malleable racial identification would predict lower psychological well-being especially for those with low dialectical-self views or little tolerance for change and inconsistency.

Study One

Study 1 was designed to test our initial proposal that malleable racial identification among multiracial people would be associated with lower psychological well-being. In addition, we examined whether Asian multiracial participants showed the highest levels of malleable racial identification.

Method

Participants

One-hundred and fifty-nine multiracial participants completed an Internet survey over a 9 month period (October 2003-June 2004). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 59 years ($M = 25.17$, $SD = 6.34$), and consisted of 39 males (25%), 115 females (72%), and 5 (3%) unknown gender³.

Demographic Information

Participants were asked to report their personal racial identity as well as their biological parents' racial identity. Participants included the following multiracial ethnicities: 23% Asian/White, 19% Black/White, 13% Black/Native American/White, 10% Latino/White, 6% Asian/Black, 4% Latino/Native American/White, 4% Native American, 3% Black/Native American/Latino/White, and 2% Black/Latino/Native American, 1% Black/Latino and 15% of other Multiracial backgrounds. In total, participants indicated 18 different racial identity combinations.

All participants indicated that their biological parents were members of different racial groups. Therefore, all participants were included in the final analyses. Participants reported a median income (personal income or parent's income if supported by parents) between \$40,000 and \$50,000. Participants also reported highest educational attainment on a scale from 0 (*some*

high school) to 6 (*completed graduate school*) with a median of 4, which indicated completion of college ($SD = 1.22$).

Materials

Malleable Racial Identification was assessed with 5 items designed by the authors for the present study (see Table 1). Because past research suggests that specific activities and the racial composition of the group affect racial identification (Yip, 2005), we created items to address whether situations, activities, and time-points influenced racial identification. Participants indicated their agreement to statements such as, “In different situations, I will identify more closely with one of my racial identities than another” on scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher numbers indicated greater malleable identification in social situations.

Psychological well-being. Psychological well-being was assessed with the 20 item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Participants were asked the frequency with which they experienced depressive symptoms during the week on a response scale from 1 (*rarely or none of the time; less than once a day*) to 4 (*most or all of the time; 5-7 days/wk*). Example items are, “I could not shake off the blues even with the help of my family or friends,” and “I felt depressed.” The final measure was an average of the responses and had strong reliability ($\alpha = .92$).

Procedure

We recruited participants for Study 1 over the Internet by posting the web link to the study on message boards for 33 different multiracial Yahoo® groups catering to multiracial people living in the United States. Participants did not receive monetary or any other compensation for participation. Recruiting multiracial respondents over the Internet provided us

with a unique opportunity to examine multiracial people in larger numbers as well as examine people who were identified with their multiracial identity. Recent studies suggest that Internet research populations are just representative if not more representative than samples from other recruitment methods (e.g. Gosling, Vazire & Srivastava, 2004). To enhance reliability of results, we followed scientific standards for internet survey collection procedures (Eysenbach, 2004). Participants who self-identified as multiracial and had biological parents of different racial backgrounds were encouraged to complete the online survey.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses

Exploratory factor analysis using varimax rotation suggested that all of the items measuring *malleable racial identification* loaded highly on one factor using an eigenvalue cutoff of 1.00, which explained 66.27% of the variance. All items loaded on the factor with components $> .6$. Means on depression suggest that our multiracial participants were well within the range of normal for nonclinical samples. Although we had 18 different racial combinations among our multiracial sample, the largest groups ($N > 15$) of mixed-race people were of Black/White, Latino/White, Asian/White, and Black/Latino/Native American descent. We ran an ANOVA comparing these groups on their level of malleable identification and psychological well-being. The results were significant only for malleable racial identification, $F(3, 100) = 5.66, p < .001$. Using the Bonferroni correction, two significant differences emerged for malleable racial identification. People of Asian/White descent reported greater malleable racial identification ($M = 3.24, SD = 0.76$) than people of Black/White ($M = 2.68, SD = 0.76, p = .023$) and people of Black/Latino/Native American descent ($M = 2.35, SD = 0.85, p = .002$). These findings are consistent with previous work on the self-concept suggesting that people of Asian descent

generally have greater awareness of the extent to which the self is bound to the context than people of White/European descent (Spencer-Rodgers et al. 2004).

Our primary interest was to test the prediction that malleable racial identification would be associated with psychological well-being and the direction of the link. Consistent with work on self-concept stability, if we were to extend it to race, malleable racial identification was associated with greater depressive symptoms ($r = .23, p = .004$).² Because we found that Asian/White participants reported the greatest amount of malleability in their racial identification, we were concerned that Asian/White people alone may be driving these effects; thus, we excluded Asian/White participants and found that malleability in racial identification was still positively correlated with depressive symptoms ($r = .27, p < .003$). In addition, we examined whether having an Asian racial heritage more generally (not just having an Asian/White background) was responsible for the relationship and found that malleable racial identification was still positively correlated with depressive symptoms ($r = .24, p < .02$) excluding Asian mixed participants.

In summary, we found support for the hypothesis that malleability predicted worse psychological health. In addition, we found that Asian/White people were most likely to have malleable identification but they did not have worse psychological health.

Study Two

In Study 2, we sought to determine whether the relationship between malleable racial identification and psychological well-being could be explained by unstable regard for one's multiracial background. Numerous conceptualizations of multiracial identity and development suggest that achieving a healthy racial identity requires fostering pride in one's racial background (Collins, 2000). We argue that malleable racial identities may be associated with

poor psychological outcomes by fostering an unstable sense of regard for one's multiracial identity (*unstable regard*; Rosenberg, 1979). If a person of Asian/White background feels more Asian than White in one context than other, we believe this is a sign that being Asian is seen as at odds with being White in certain contexts. Thus, we argue that these feelings of conflict about one's component identities (Asian, White) would lead to unstable regard about one's overarching identity as multiracial. In other words, changing racial identification may underlie discomfort and tension about their multiracial identity. In addition, people who have malleable racial identification may also have great instability in other aspects of the self more generally, which may include feelings of negative and positive regard for one's multiracial background. Having unstable private regard may be detrimental for psychological health because racial regard is an even stronger predictor of well-being than levels of identification in monoracial populations (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Sellers et al, 1997).

Study 2 also includes a measure of participants' racial centrality (the importance of their multiracial identity) to isolate the unique affect of malleable racial identification from the overall prominence of one's multiracial background. It is possible that people who score high on malleable racial identification measure may just generally feel that their multiracial identity is more important or central to their identity. Accordingly, multiracial centrality may account for the effects that we observed in study 1. Therefore, we controlled for multiracial centrality to rule out this alternative explanation of our findings. The hypothesized model for Study 2 proposes that the path between malleable identification and lower psychological well-being would be mediated by unstable regard for one's multiracial background controlling for overall centrality of identity (see Figure 1).

Method

Participants

Three hundred and seventeen participants completed an Internet survey over a 3 month period (July 2006-October 2006) as part of a larger project on *Multiracial Identity and Experiences*. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 62 years ($M = 29.13$, $SD = 9.16$), and consisted of 57 males (18%) and 260 females (82%).

Demographic Information

Participants were asked to report their personal racial identity as well as their biological parents' racial identity. Participants were allowed to indicate more than one racial identity utilizing the U.S. census race options. The following multiracial ethnicities were included: 31% Asian/White, 24% Black/White, 12% Black/Native American/White, 7% Latino/White, 6% Native American/White, 5% Asian/Black, 2% Asian/Native American/White, 2% Asian/Black/Pacific Islander/White, 2% Asian/Black/White, 2% Pacific Islander/White, 1% Latino/Native American/White, 1% Black/Latino/Native American/White, 1% Asian/Black/Native American/White, 1% Asian/Pacific Islander/White and 3% of other multiracial ethnicities. In total, participants indicated 24 different racial identity combinations.

Participants reported highest educational attainment on a scale from 0 (high school completed) to 6 (PhD, M.D., PsyD or equivalent) with a median of 3, which indicated completion of college. Our sample was largely drawn from the United States with 92% of the sample indicating currently living in the U.S and 83% being born in the United States.¹

Materials

Malleable racial identification was assessed using the same items as Study 1. Study 2 used a response scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*; $\alpha = .89$).²

Unstable Multiracial Regard was measured with an adapted version of the Rosenberg Self-Concept Stability Scale (Rosenberg, 1979). We changed the items to refer to feelings about

participants' multiracial identity. Participants were asked their agreement with the statements on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The following items were used: "Some days I am happy with my multiracial identity and other days I am not," "My feelings about my multiracial identity seem to change very often," "Some days I feel one way about my multiracial identity, and other days differently," "Some days I have a good opinion of my multiracial identity and other days I do not," and "I am often unsure about my multiracial identity" ($\alpha = .93$).

Psychological well-being was assessed with an abbreviated version of the depression scale in Study 1 ($\alpha = .88$).³

Multiracial Centrality was measured with the 4 item centrality subscale from the Collective Self-Esteem Scale –Race Version (CSE-R; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement on a scale from 1(*strongly disagree*) to 7(*strongly agree*) to statements such as, "My multiracial background is an important reflection of who I am" ($\alpha = .70$).

Procedure

We recruited people to participate in the Internet survey by advertising through newsletters and email lists at various multiracial organizations such as the Mavin Foundation™ and Swirl Boston™ who are dedicated to serving the multiracial community.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses

Consistent with Study 1 and previous research on multiracial populations (Shih & Sanchez, 2005), multiracial participants were well within the range of normal for nonclinical samples on measures of well-being. Because the largest groups ($N > 15$) of mixed-race people were of Asian/White, Latino/White, Native American/White, Black/White, and

Black/White/American Indian descent, we examined group differences between these multiracial groups. An ANOVA revealed that groups differed on malleable identification, $F(4, 232) = 6.26$, $p < .001$. Using the Bonferroni correction, two significant differences emerged. People of Asian/White descent reported greater malleable identification ($M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.46$) than people of American Indian/White ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.72$, $p = .007$) and people of Black/American Indian/White multiracial descent ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.94$, $p < .001$).

See Table 2 for correlations among the variables derived from the measurement model.¹ As in Study 1, exclusion of Asian/White participants did not alter the results. In fact, exclusion of Asian/White participants improved the correlation between malleability and depressive symptoms ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). Excluding all participants of any mixed Asian background, we found that malleability still predicted depressive symptoms and the link was even stronger ($r = .21$, $p < .01$).

A Model of Malleable Racial Identification and Psychological Well-Being

To test whether unstable regard mediated the relationship between malleable identification and psychological well-being, we used structural equation modeling (SEM; see Figure 1). Structural equation modeling is superior to traditional regression techniques because, for example, SEM takes into account measurement error and tests multiple paths and correlations between variables simultaneously.

Before testing the fit of structural equation models, we first tested how well the indicators related to the latent variables in the measurement model. Measurement models do not include any direct paths between factors but instead essentially test a confirmatory factor analysis of all of the latent variables in the model linked by covariances (Kline, 2005). Each item from the scale was an indicator of the factor except for depression. We parceled the items measuring depression

into two indicators. Parceling items into indicators improves the goodness of fit and reduces bias in estimations of structural parameters compared to using individual items (Bandalos, 2002).

Good fitting measurement models are necessary to proceed to structural equation modeling analyses. The measurement model fit the data well, $\chi^2 (99) = 207.95$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.10$, NNFI = .99, CFI = 1.0, and RMSEA = .06.

Following the goodness of fit standards set forth by Hu and Bentler (1999; see also Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004), we tested the first two steps of mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) in a *direct effects model* using EQS software. We then tested the third and fourth steps in the *indirect effects model*. The significance of the mediation is tested as well using the Sobel's test (1982). To isolate the effects of malleable identification and unstable regard, we controlled for centrality of one's multiracial identity to ensure that the relationships observed between malleable identification, unstable racial regard, and psychological well-being were not merely a byproduct of racial centrality.

The direct effects model tested the link between malleable identification and psychological well-being, controlling for centrality. The direct effects model also included the path from malleable identification to racial instability. As expected, malleable racial identification predicted greater symptoms of depression ($\beta = .17$) and greater regard instability ($\beta = .41$). This model fit the data well, $\chi^2 (100) = 245.10$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.45$, NNFI = .99, CFI = .99, and RMSEA = .07. To test the third and fourth steps of mediation in the indirect effects model, the path from regard instability to depressive symptoms was included. Consistent with our hypotheses, malleable racial identification no longer predicted depressive symptoms ($\beta = -.01$, *ns*) when the path between unstable regard and psychological health was included ($\beta = .40$, $p < .05$). Although centrality was correlated with malleable identification ($r = .22$, $p < .05$), centrality

was not a significant predictor of psychological health or unstable regard. The indirect effects model fit the data well, $\chi^2(99) = 207.95$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.10$, NNFI = .99, CFI = 1.0, and RMSEA = .06. As predicted, the indirect effects model was a superior fit to the data than the direct effects model, $\chi^2(1) = 37.15$, $p < .001$, further supporting our mediation hypothesis. In addition, the Sobel's test (1982) confirmed mediation by unstable regard ($t = 5.40$, $p < .0001$).

As hypothesized, the relationship between malleable identification and psychological well-being was fully mediated by having unstable racial regard. These findings support the research suggesting that fostering a stable racial self-concept is important for multiracial people and that, when thwarted, psychological repercussion may arise. In addition, these findings suggest that malleable racial identification was accompanied with unstable regard, simultaneous disliking and liking one's multiracial background.

Study 3

Across two studies, we found that malleable identification was associated with greater depressive symptoms; yet Asian/White people who had consistently reported the greatest amount of malleability did not report the greatest amount of depressive symptoms. At first glance, these findings appear contradictory and perplexing. In addition, results from Study 2 suggested that excluding Asian mixed participants may, at times, make the link between malleability and depressive symptoms stronger. Taken together, these findings can be explained by considering research on dialectical self-views.

Previous work on dialectical self-views suggests that people from more Eastern traditions (e.g. Asian Americans, Mainland Chinese) show the greatest recognition and tolerance of ambiguity and change (Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer et al., 2004). For that reason, we hypothesized that people of Asian multiracial backgrounds would show the greatest fluidity in

racial identification; however, people who have such tolerance and recognition of ambiguity and change in the self may not show negative outcomes arising from change and fluidity in racial identification. This is consistent with our finding that Asian multiracial people showed the greatest fluidity but not the highest depressive symptoms. This suggests that their dialectical self-views may have buffered them from the negative effects of having malleable racial identification. For those who have little recognition and tolerance of self-change and inconsistency, malleable racial identification may be particularly harmful for psychological well-being and a sign of unstable regard for one's multiracial identity. For those who have greater tolerance of inconsistency and have more chameleon-like selves, changing the self may not be maladaptive at all. Thus, Study 3 examines whether dialectical self-views moderate the link between malleable identification and psychological well-being. In addition, Study 3 employs a cross-sectional community sample to improve the representativeness of our multiracial Internet samples in Study 1 and 2.

Method

Participants

One hundred and four participants were recruited to participate in a weeklong study on multiracial identity in exchange for \$50. For the purposes of this study, we report on only the time 1 data collected from this sample. Participants were recruited from the Rutgers University community via flyers and email list serves. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 37 years ($M = 22.46$, $SD = 6.56$), and consisted of 35 men (34%) and 69 women (82%).

Demographic Information

Participants were asked to report their personal racial identity as well as their biological parents' racial identity. Participants were allowed to indicate more than one racial identity utilizing the U.S. census race options. In total, participants indicated 10 different racial identity

combinations. Our sample consisted of 29% Asian/White, 27% Latino/White, 21% Black/White, 8% Black/Latinos, 6% Asian/Latinos, 2% Native American/White, 1% Black/Native American, 1% Black/Native American/Asian, 1% Black/Latino/Asian, and 4% who identified as multiracial but did not indicate their component identities.

Materials

Malleable racial identification was assessed with the same measure as Study 2 ($\alpha = .78$; see Footnote 2).

Unstable Multiracial Regard was measured with the same measure as Study 2 ($\alpha = .93$).

Psychological well-being was assessed with two measures: 1) CES-D depression scale as in Study 1 ($\alpha = .88$) and 2) the Well-Being Scale (Bradley & Lewis, 1990). The Well-Being scale consisted of 12 items and had good internal reliability ($\alpha = .83$). For the well-being scale, participants were instructed to think about how often they felt each statement applied to their life (e.g., “I have lived the kind of life I have wanted to”) on a scale from 0(not at all) to 3(all of the time).

Dialectical Self Views were measured using the 32 item scale developed by Spencer et al. (2004). On a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), participants were asked their agreement with items such as “I often change the way I am, depending on who I am with,” “I often find that things will contradict each other,” and “I have a strong sense of who I am and don’t change my views when others disagree with me (reverse-scored).” These items were designed by Spencer-Rodgers et al. to assess behavioral change, contradiction, and cognitive change, respectively. In the present study, we used the scale in its entirety as a measure of dialectical self views ($\alpha = .84$).

Results and Discussion

We compared means for Asian/White, Latino/White and Black/White individuals but, unexpectedly, no differences were found among the 3 groups on any of the measures in Study 3. Table 3 shows the correlations among the variables. Malleable identification was associated with lower psychological well-being and greater regard instability. To test our main hypothesis that dialectical self-views would moderate the link between malleable racial identifications and well-being, we calculated simple slopes effects and interaction terms following procedures recommended by Aiken and West (1991). We standardized dialectical self-views and malleability and created an interaction term from the product of these two standardized variables. Analyses were conducted using stepwise hierarchical linear regressions. We regressed well-being, depression, and regard instability on malleable identification at Step 1, dialectical self-views at Step 2, and the interaction term at Step 3 in three separate hierarchical regression equations (see Tables 4-6). In each analysis, dialectical self-views moderated the link between malleable identification and the outcomes.

To examine whether malleable racial identifications predicted negative outcomes, especially for those low in dialecticalism, we conducted simple slopes analyses (see Figure 2-4). As expected, we found that, for people low in dialecticalism, greater malleable racial identification predicted greater regard instability ($\beta = .44, p < .001$), lower psychological well-being ($\beta = -.34, p < .01$), and greater depressive symptoms ($\beta = .32, p < .01$). For people high in dialecticalism, malleable racial identification did not predict regard instability ($\beta = .11, p = .43, ns$), well-being ($\beta = .19, p = .17, ns$), or depression ($\beta = -.21, p = .14, ns$). These findings support our hypothesis that malleability would predict negative outcomes for those who had little tolerance for change, inconsistency, and contradiction within the self (see Figures 2 to 4).

General Discussion

The present findings provide unique evidence to suggest that greater malleable racial identification is associated with poorer psychological well-being, especially for those low in dialecticalism who have little tolerance for change, inconsistency, and contradiction within the self. The relationship between malleable racial identification and psychological well-being appears to be weaker, non-significant, and often in the opposite direction for those high in dialecticalism. These studies represent an important first step in examining the psychological health implications of malleable racial identification, a phenomenon which may be unique to multiracial populations and relatively common among multiracial adolescents (Harris & Sim, 2002; Hitlin, et. al., 2006). However, it is important to note that most multiracial populations are psychologically healthy, experiencing similar levels of depressive symptoms as their minority monoracial peers (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Although our research cannot make causal claims and the usual caveats regarding self-report measures apply, the results of these three studies provide compelling preliminary evidence that greater malleable identification is associated with poorer psychological health, and that this relationship is stronger among those who have low dialectical self-views.

These findings might be surprising in light of work suggesting that multiple identities can be adaptive or utilized in ways to avoid negative stereotypes and take advantage of majority identities to foster status (e.g. Cross, Smith, & Payne, 2002; Shih et al., 1999). However, such work examines identities across different social categories and domains such as how Asian women can navigate their gender identity and racial identity in concert. Malleable racial identification among multiracial people represents the less common occurrence of multiple identities in a single domain (i.e., race), which may undermine the stability of that domain. For example, we find that malleable racial identification with one's respective racial identities (e.g.

an Asian/Black person feeling more Asian than Black on occasion) was associated with the stability of their regard for their overall multiracial background. These findings are important in thinking about the construction of identities and the implications of multiple identities within and across social categories. In addition, the present study represents the first examination of regard instability in the domain of social identities, and the domain of race in general.

In the present study, we found that having high dialectical self-views buffered multiracial people from the negative psychological health outcomes associated with malleable racial identification. This is consistent with previous work that finds that self-consistency is a weaker predictor of well-being for Easterners (those most likely to have dialectical self-views) as compared to Westerners (those who are less likely to have dialectical self-views). Because Easterners have greater tolerance for contradiction, self-inconsistency is less problematic. In addition, these findings help explain why Asian multiracial people in Study 1 and 2 consistently showed higher malleable racial identification scores but not worse depressive symptoms than other multiracial groups. Presumably, these changes in self-aspects across different contexts can be explained by higher dialectical self views (English & Chen, 2007).

Future Directions

These studies set the stage for several important next steps examining malleability and fluidity among multiracial people's multiple identities. In the present study, we were particularly interested in capturing changing racial identifications across contexts; however multiracial people may simultaneously have consistencies within contexts but variability across contexts. For example, a person of Black/White descent may feel more Black than White around Black friends compared to when they around White friends (across situation variability) but they always feel more Black around Black friends and more White around White friends (within

situation consistency). Previous work examining self-consistency finds that Asians have high across situation variability (change their self-aspects when around family versus friends) but greater relational context consistency (are the same around their family and the same around their friends; English & Chen, 2007). Future studies should examine whether relationally consistent racial identification predicts positive interpersonal outcomes for multiracial people.

An additional issue that this work did not address was what causes some multiracial people to have malleable identification in the first place. People who have less integrated racial identities may be more able to shift their racial identification because their racial identities feel more separate and distinct (see Cheng & Lee, in press). Similarly malleable identification may be more likely among those who live in environments where there is a stronger divide between the racial groups that comprise their identities. For example, in a Black and White segregated neighborhoods, a Black/White person may not believe their Black and White identities overlap or co-exist simultaneously. Moreover, how parents education their multiracial children about race may also affect whether their racial identities become malleable. These ideas are speculative and beyond the scope of the current studies and, as such, represent important questions for future research.

In the present study, we found that malleable identification predicted greater unstable regard, especially for those with low in dialectical self views; however, we examined multiracial regard not specific regard for individual component identities. Thus, it is possible that malleable racial identification may occur when one racial identity in particular is devalued. Future research should examine attitudes towards each component identity as well as how each identity is integrated with the other.

Limitations

These findings should be considered with regard to the use of the Internet as the predominant site for participant recruitment as well as the cross sectional nature of the data. Although Internet survey research provided the opportunity for recruiting large samples of multiracial people and have more diverse and representative populations than, for example, solely using college populations, our sample cannot be said to represent the multiracial community at large. Our samples for Study 1 and 2 were highly self-selective. People who belong to Yahoo Groups® based on their multiracial background (Study 1) or members of foundations and organizations that cater to multiracial communities (Study 2) may be particularly identified with their multiracial background or highly inquisitive regarding their multiracial identity. Thus, our findings most likely generalize to multiracial populations that centralize their multiracial identity. However, given the limited research on multiracial populations, the large number of multiracial people sampled in the current study as well as the consistency across the two studies, we have confidence in our findings and the importance of them to work on multiracial identity. In addition, Study 3 utilized a community sample of multiracial people and yielded very similar findings. The studies were also all correlational and utilized self-report measures, thus the usual caveats regarding causality, retrospective bias, and social desirability apply.

In addition, although we found that our measure of malleable racial identification predicted psychological well-being, the measure was created for this study by the authors. Therefore, these measures have not been systematically validated and may not rule out alternative explanations for the results. On the one hand, we replicated consistently negative associations between malleable racial identification and well-being across 3 different studies suggesting that we are measuring a psychological phenomenon of significance. On the other

hand, it is possible that our measure may also tap other constructs associated with malleable racial identification. For example, the items chosen to assess malleable identification may alternatively assess the valuing of one identity over another consistently rather than the shifting between identities. Thus, one could alternatively interpret our findings to mean that people who consistently value one identity over another (e.g., Latino/White participants who always value being Latino over being White) show lower psychological well-being. In either case, the take home message may be to have more integrated identities rather than treating them as separate by either valuing one over the other or by switching between them.

Conclusion

Gaining an understanding of how multiracial people contend with their multiple racial identities to foster psychological health is becoming increasingly important as the demographic profile of society becomes more racially integrated (Lee & Bean, 2004). Multiracial people confront unique challenges associated with having multiple racial identities and thus, may develop unique ways of managing those identities. In the present studies, we examine a chameleon-like approach to racial identification among multiracial people. The present research demonstrates that malleable racial identification is associated with poorer psychological well-being for multiracial populations who are low in dialectical self-views. This is an important first step in examining how malleable racial identification affects multiracial people and when this strategy may be associated with negative psychological health.

Footnotes

¹The relationships among the variable remained largely the same if we exclude participants who failed to indicate their component identities or participants with more than two races (Study 1 & 2), when men and women were compared (Study 1 & 2), and when we examined specific multiracial groups separately (Study 1 & 2), when we excluded Latino as a “racial” identity (Study 1 & 2), when comparing U.S. region (Study 2), when comparing results depending on the order of questionnaires (Study 2), and when excluding people who were not from or living in the United States (Study 2).

²Factor analyses performed on the Study 2 & 3 measures of malleable racial identification were very similar to Study 1 and thus, not included in the results.

³Factor analyses were performed on the Study 1 measures of depression and self-esteem to determine the highest loaders on the depression scale. The number of items in each scale was reduced by 50% to create a shorter survey to increase item response rate with the highest factor loading items.

Acknowledgements

Diana T. Sanchez, Department of Psychology, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick and Margaret Shih, Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, CA. Julie A. Garcia, Department of Psychology, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, CA.

We would like to thank Richard Ashmore, Lee Jussim and Laurie Rudman for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. We would also like to thank the Mavin Foundation and Swirl Boston for their help with participant recruitment.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Diana T. Sanchez, Rutgers University, Department of Psychology, 53 Avenue E, Piscataway, NJ 08854-8040 or email: disanche@rutgers.edu

References

- Bandalos, D. L. (2002). The effects of item parceling on goodness-of-fit and parameter estimate bias in structural equation modeling. *Structural Equation Modeling, 9*(1), 78-102.
- Baron, R. M. & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator—mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 1173-1182.
- Basu, A. M. (2004). Biracial identity and social context: A qualitative investigation. In K. R. Wallace (Ed). *Working with multiracial students: Critical perspectives on research and practice* (pgs. 157-174). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Bradley, C. & Lewis, K.S. (1990). Measures of psychological well-being and treatment satisfaction developed from the responses of people with tablet-treated diabetes. *Diabetic Medicine, 7*, 445-451.
- Campbell, J. D., Assanand, S., & Di Paula, A. (2003). The structure of the self-concept and its relation to psychological adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71*, 115-140.
- Campbell, J.D., Trapnell, P.D., Lavalle, L.F., Katz, I.M., Heine, S.J., & Lehman, D.R. (1996). Self-concept clarity: measurement, personality correlates, and cultural boundaries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 141-156.
- Cheng, C. & Lee, F. (in press). Multiracial identity integration: Perceptions of conflict and distance among multiracial individuals. *Journal of Social Issues*.
- Collins, J. F. (2000). Biracial Japanese American identity: An evolving process. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 6*, 115-133

- Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R., Blaine, B., & Broadnax, S. (1994). Collective self-esteem and psychological well-being among White, Black, and Asian college students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 502-513.
- Cross, W., Smith, L. & Payne, Y (2002). Black identity: A repertoire of daily Enactments. In P. Pedersen, J. Draguns, W. Lonner, and J. Trimble (Eds.), *Counseling across cultures (Fifth Edition) pp.93-108*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Donahue, E. M., Robins, R. W., Roberts, B. W., & John, O. P. (1993). The divided self: Concurrent and longitudinal effects of psychological adjustment and social roles on self-concept differentiation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64*, 834-846.
- Downie, M., Koestner, R., ElGeledi, S., & Cree, K. (2004). The impact of cultural internalization and integration on well-being among tricultural individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*, 305-314.
- Downie, M., Mageau, G. A., Koestner, R. & Liodden, T. (2006). On the risk of being a cultural chameleon: Variations in collective self-esteem across social interactions. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*, 527-540.
- English, T., & Chen, S. (2007). Culture and self-concept stability: Consistency across and within contexts among Asian- and European-Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 478-490.
- Eysenbach (2004). Improving the quality of web surveys: The checklist for reporting results of Internet e-surveys. *Journal of Medical Internet Research, 6*, e34.
Retrieved on Aug. 10th from <http://www.jmir.org/2004/3/e34/>

- Gibbs, J. T. & Hines, A. M. (1992). Negotiating ethnic identity: Issues for Black-White adolescents. In M. P. P. Root (Ed). *Racially mixed people in America* (pp.223-238). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gosling, S. D., Vazire, S., & Srivastava, S. (2004). Should we trust web-based studies? A comparative analysis of six preconceptions about Internet questionnaires. *American Psychologist*, 59, 93-104.
- Harris, D. R. & Sim, J.J. (2002). Who is multiracial? Assessing the complexity of lived race. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 614-627.
- Hitlin, S., Brown, J. S., & Elder, G. H. (2006). Racial self-categorization in adolescence: Multiracial development and social pathways. *Child Development*, 77, 1467-1308.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P.M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6, 1-55.
- Jones, N. A., & Symens Smith, A. (2001, November). *The two or more races population: 2000* (Census 2000 Brief No. C2KBR/01-6). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Lee, J. & Bean, F. D. (2004). America's changing color lines: Immigration, race/ethnicity, and multiracial identification. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 221-242.
- Luhtanen, R. & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302-318

- Marsh, H. W, Hau, K. & Wen, Z. (2004). In search of golden rules: Comment on hypothesis-testing approaches to setting cutoff values for fit indexes and dangers in overgeneralizing Hu and Bentler's (1999) findings. *Structural Equation Modeling, 11*, 320-341.
- Newsome, C. (2001). Multiple identities: The case of biracial children. In Virginia H. & Asante, Molefi Kete (Eds). *Transcultural realities: Interdisciplinary perspectives on cross-cultural relations (pp. 145-159)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peng, K., & Nisbett, R. E. (1999). Culture, dialectics, and reasoning about contradiction. *American Psychologist, 54*, 741-754.
- Pittinsky, T. L., Shih, M., & Ambady, N. (1999). Identity adaptiveness: Affect across multiple identities. *Journal of Social Issues: Special Issue: Prejudice and intergroup relations: Papers in honor of Gordon W. Allport's centennial, 55*, 503-518
- Pittinsky, T. L., Shih, M., & Trahan, A. (2006). Identity cues: Evidence from and for Intra-individual perspectives on positive and negative stereotyping. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*, 2215-2239.
- Radloff, L. S. (1977). The CES-D Scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population. *Journal of Applied Psychological Measures, 1*, 385-401.
- Rafaeli-Mor, E. & Steinberg, J. (2002). Self-complexity and well-being: A review and research synthesis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*, 31-58
- Renn, K. A. (2000). Patterns of situational identity among biracial and multiracial college students. *The Review of Higher Education, 23*, 399-420.

- Roccas, S., & Brewer, M.B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 6, 88-106.
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rosenberg, M. (1979). *Conceiving the self*. New York: Basic Books
- Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2000). Situational stability and variability in African American racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 26(1), 27-51.
- Shih, M, Pittinsky, T. L. & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological Science*, 10, 80-83
- Shih, M. J., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D. T., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13, 125-133.
- Shih, M. J. & Sanchez, D. T. (2005). Perspectives and research on the positive and negative implications of having multiple racial identities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(4), 569-591.
- Sobel, M. E. (1982). Asymptotic intervals for indirect effects in structural equations models. In S. Leinhardt (Ed.), *Sociological methodology 1982* (pgs. 290-312). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Spencer-Rodgers, J., Peng, K., Wang, L. & Hou, Y. (2004). Dialectical self and psychological well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 1416-1432.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England:

Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective:

Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 454–463.

Yip, T. (2005). Sources of situational variation in ethnic identity and psychological well-

being: A palm pilot study of Chinese American students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1603-1616.

Table 1. *Factor Loadings for Malleable Identification Measure in Study 1*

	1-factor solution
1. In different situations, I will identify more closely with one of my racial identities than another.	.82
2. I often identify more with one racial identity than another depending on the race of the person I am with.	.82
3. Depending on the activity, I feel closer to one racial identity than another.	.76
4. I feel that I adapt to the situation at hand by identifying as one racial identity or another.	.73
5. One racial identity can be more important than another in the moment depending on the race of the people I am with.	.67

Table 2. *Intercorrelations and Descriptive Statistics for all Variables in Study 2*

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Malleable identification	1.00			
2. Racial Instability	.40***	1.00		
3. Centrality	.22***	.02	1.00	
4. Depressive Symptoms	.12*	.39***	.01	1.00
Means	4.33	3.15	5.27	-0.10
Standard Deviation	1.68	1.69	1.37	0.83
Variance	2.83	2.88	1.87	0.69

Note: The covariances were taken from the measurement model.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 3. *Zero Order Correlations for Study 3*

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Malleable identification	1.00			
2. Regard Instability	.34***	1.00		
3. Well-Being	-.20*	-.29**	1.00	
4. Depressive Symptoms	.17+	.40***	-.78***	1.00
5. Dialectical Self-Views	.19+	.19+	-.32**	.25**

+ = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 4. *Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Regard Instability*

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β
Malleable identification	.57	.16	.34***	.53	.16	.32***	.46	.16	.28**
Dialectical Self-Views				.21	.16	.13	.25	.16	.15
Malleable Identification x Dialectical Self-Views							-.28	.14	-.19*
R^2		.12			.13			.17	
<i>F for ΔR^2</i>		13.35***			1.83			4.01*	

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 5. *Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Well-Being*

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β
Malleable identification	-.10	.05	-.20*	-.07	.05	-.14	-.04	.05	-.07
Dialectical Self-Views				-.15	.05	-.29**	-.17	.05	-.32**
Malleable Identification x Dialectical Self-Views							.13	.04	.30**
R^2		.04			.12			.20	
<i>F for ΔR^2</i>		3.98*			9.04**			10.55**	

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 6. *Summary of Hierarchical Regression for Depressive Symptoms*

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE (B)</i>	β
Malleable identification	.09	.05	.17+	.06	.05	.12	.03	.05	.06
Dialectical Self-Views				.12	.05	.23*	.13	.05	.26**
Malleable Identification x Dialectical Self-Views							-.14	.04	.30**
R^2		.03			.08			.16	
<i>F for</i> ΔR^2		2.19+			5.41*			10.25**	

+ = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Malleable racial identification and Depression: Racial Instability as a Mediator. Betas are significant at $p < .05$ unless noted otherwise. The beta in parentheses represents the relationship between malleable racial identification and depression in the direct effects model.

Figure 2. Interaction between Malleable racial identification and Dialectical Self on Regard Stability. Plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

Figure 3. Interaction between Malleable racial identification and Dialectical Self on Psychological Well-Being. Plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

Figure 4. Interaction between Malleable racial identification and Dialectical Self on Depressive Symptoms. Plotted one standard deviation above and below the mean.

Figure 1.

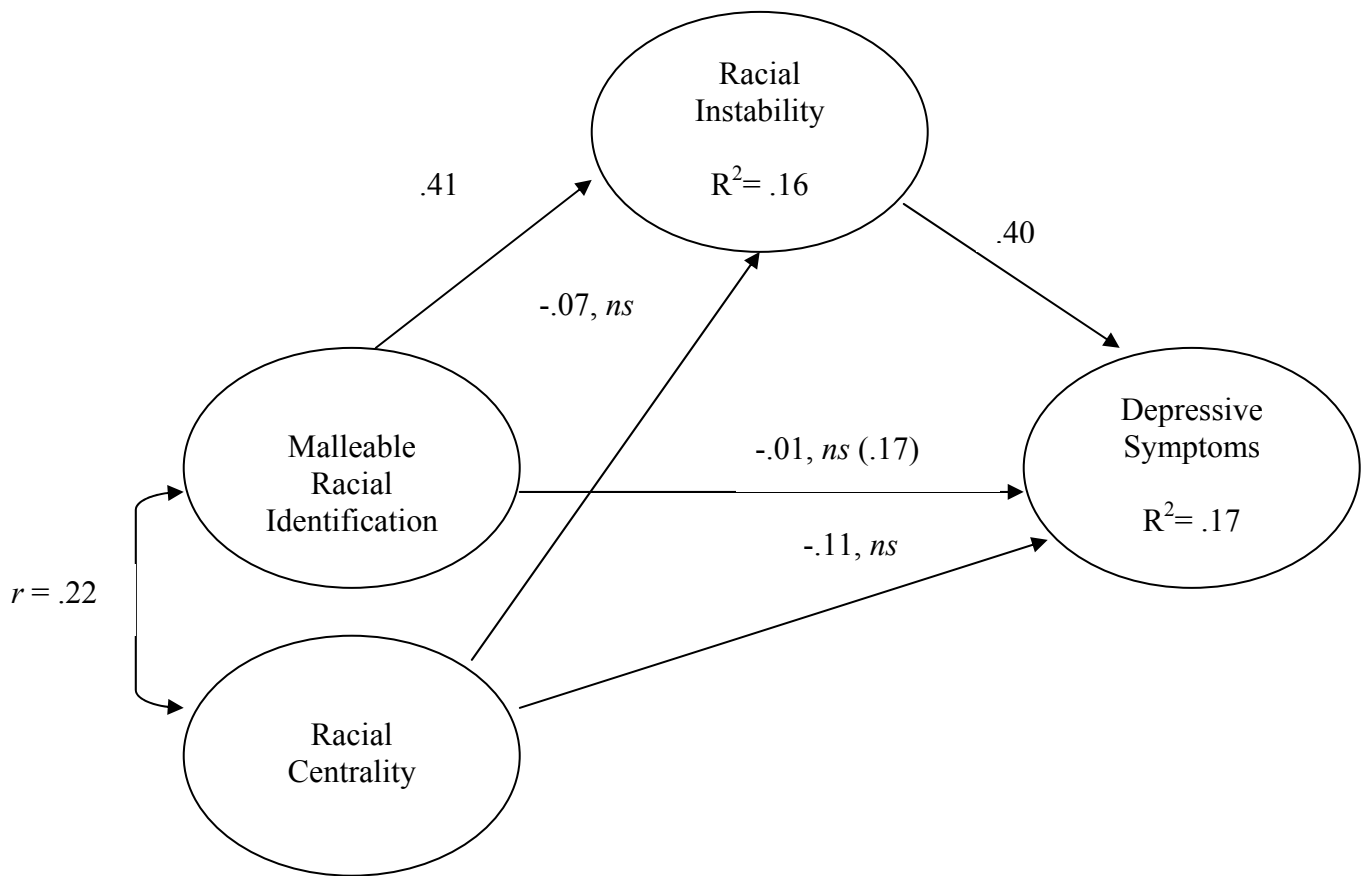


Figure 2.

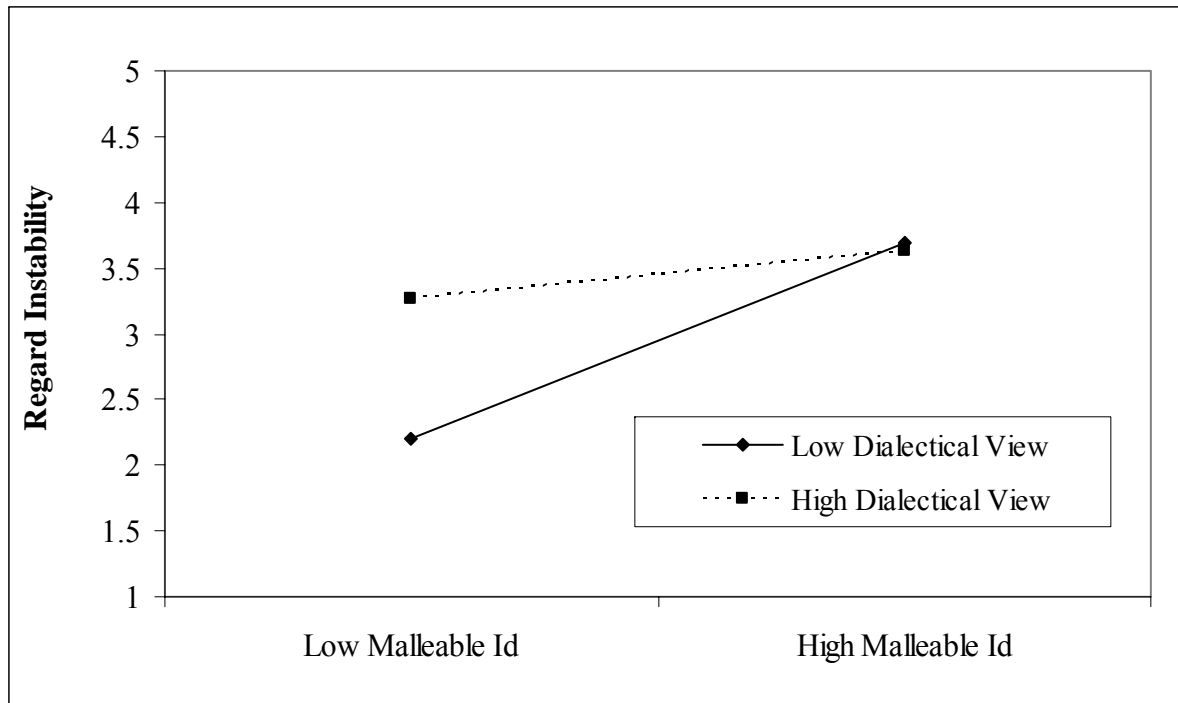


Figure 3.

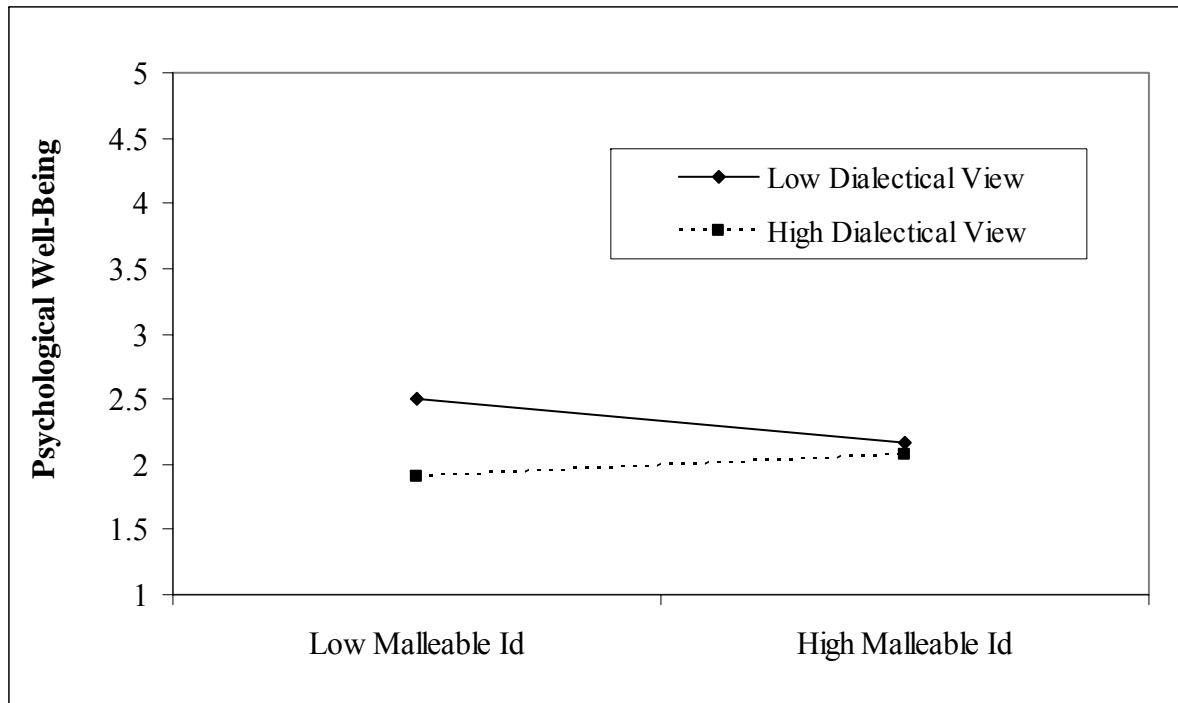


Figure 4.

