

EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION:
REJECTION AND IDENTIFICATION AS TWO DISTINCT PATHWAYS
AND THEIR ASSOCIATED EFFECTS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

David M. Tom, M .A.

The Ohio State University
2006

Dissertation Committee:

Pamela S. Highlen, Ph.D., Adviser

Don M. Dell, Ph.D.

Marilynn B. Brewer, Ph.D.

Approved By

Adviser

Graduate Program in Psychology

ABSTRACT

Only within the past 30 years have psychologists begun to systematically examine the effects of perceived discrimination (PD) on stigmatized individuals. Since then, the research has offered a variety of findings that may initially seem to contradict one another. The majority of research conducted within a feedback-oriented paradigm has found that perceiving discrimination can help individuals externalize reasons for failure, therefore buffering self-esteem and well-being. Other lines of research have suggested that attributions to prejudice across time and contexts ultimately have deleterious effects on well-being, in spite of whatever short-term gains may result from externalizing failure.

A recent structural equation model examining the effects of perceived discrimination has examined two paradoxical effects; (a) social rejection and (b) identification with one's in-group. While social rejection was found to be inversely related to well-being, ethnic identification was found to buffer the relationship between PD and well-being. By specifying both positive and negative consequences to PD, the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM) provided a deeper understanding of the complexity involved with stigmatization and the struggle faced by those targeted by discrimination.

While the RIM has provided new insights and elucidated several key pathways in the formation of well-being, the model can be improved by incorporating current theory. First, the current study proposes that perceived discrimination only affects collective

well-being directly, since discrimination, when perceived as motivated by racial prejudice, is an attack on a person's group-level identity. Any consequences to one's personal identity are thought to be indirect and likely mediated by collective well-being. Second, research stemming from Social Identity Theory suggests that collective well-being and personal well-being are interrelated; therefore, in so far as perceived discrimination affects well-being, collective well-being should have a direct effect on personal well-being. Additional limitations of the perceived discrimination literature include a paucity of research about how Asian Americans are affected by discrimination, inadequate sample sizes rendering poor power for modeling analyses, and an over-reliance on psychology undergraduate students for participants.

Based on these findings, a refinement of the Rejection-Identification Model was proposed and fitted to data collected from 421 African American and Asian American participants. The participants were drawn from both undergraduate psychology classes and the community at-large. Structural equation modeling analyses indicated that the hypothesized alterations to the RIM (RIM-Altered) produced the best fitting model. Consistent with the hypotheses of the study, perceived discrimination was *not* found to affect personal well-being directly and collective well-being was found to have a direct effect on personal well-being. Racial/ethnic group comparisons and sample comparisons suggested that the RIM-Altered fit both Asian American and African American subsamples equally well, but that the RIM-Altered fit the college student sample significantly better than the community sample. Limitations, implications, and directions for future research are discussed.

Dedicated to my Grandmother May, who came to this country from China to provide her future family with something she lacked at the time—opportunity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my adviser, Pamela Highlen, for her support and advice throughout the completion of this dissertation and my tenure as a graduate student. I would also like to thank Drs. Don Dell, Marilyn Brewer and Alexis Collier for their advice and knowledge that have helped me advance both academically and professionally.

I wish to recognize my family—Dad, Mom and Cindy—for their continued support throughout the graduate school process. I would also like to thank my peers, Anthony Hermann, Zakary Tormala, Orie Kristel, Pablo Brinol, Ken DeMarree, Alisa Paulsen, Heather Smith, Kristin Bosc, and Douglas Bennett for their support and friendship throughout different phases of the dissertation process.

Additionally, I would like to thank all of the undergraduate research assistants for their assistance with data collection and entry, and Kris Preacher and Woojae Kim for their expertise in statistical consulting.

VITA

December 5, 1972.....Born-Passaic, NJ

1994.....Bachelor of Arts
Biology
Rutgers University

1997-1998.....University Fellow,
Department of Psychology,
The Ohio State University

2000.....Master of Arts, Psychology,
The Ohio State University

1998-2003.....Graduate Teaching Associate

2003-2005.....Full-Time Instructor at
Columbus State Community
College

FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: Psychology

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
VITA	vi
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER 1	1
CHAPTER 2	7
Importance in Perceiving Discrimination.....	7
Theoretical Consequences to Perceiving Discrimination.....	10
Reasons why perceiving discrimination might adversely affect self-worth.	10
Reasons why perceiving discrimination might positively affect self-worth.....	12
Evidence for Competing Processes	13
The Multifaceted Relationship Between Perceived Discrimination and Personal Well-Being.....	13
Correlational approach.....	15
Known-groups approach.....	16
Experimental approach.	17
The Rejection-Identification Model	18
Description of the RIM.	18
Continued Support for the RIM.	20
Theoretically Driven Changes to the RIM: A Newer Understanding	23
Removal of the direct path between perceived discrimination and personal well-being. The original conception of the RIM and the model updated by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) both specify a direct, negative path between perceived discrimination and personal well-being.....	23
Relationship between personal well-being and collective well-being.....	23
Overview of the Current Study.....	24
CHAPTER 3	26
Participants	28

Procedure.....	29
College-based samples.....	29
Community-based samples.....	30
Measures.....	30
Paper and Pencil Questionnaires.....	30
Stereotypes about White-Europeans – Stereotypes	31
Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire - SCQ	31
Ethnic Identification - Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM).....	32
Ethnic Identification - Acculturation Index – Revised (AI-R)	33
Self-Construal Scale.....	34
Dispositionism/Situationism	35
Perceived Discrimination.....	35
Global Personal Self-Esteem – Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSES).....	36
Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES).....	36
Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS).....	38
Debriefing	39
Informed Consent.....	39
 CHAPTER 4	 40
Preliminary Analyses.....	40
Data preparation.....	40
Comparison of Instrument Means	42
Interactions Between Culture, Sample and Gender.....	50
Intercorrelations Among Measured Variables.....	52
The Rejection-Identification Model	54
The Mediational Roles of Ethnic Identification and Public Collective Self-Esteem Between Perceived Discrimination and Private Collective Self Worth	55
.....	58
Fit of Different Rejection-Identification Model Iterations on the Full Sample.....	59
Null Model Test	60
Original RIM Model Test	61
RIM with Public Collective Self Esteem as a Mediator Model Test.....	62
RIM-Altered Model Test	62
Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to African-Americans and Asian-Americans Samples, Separately	72
Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to College and Community Samples, Separately	72
Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to Females and Males, Separately	73
Fit of Alternative Models Proposed in Literature.....	74
 CHAPTER 5	 77
Rejection and Identification: A Tale of Two Distinct Effects to Perceived Discrimination	77

Rejection: The Negative Effects of Perceived Discrimination.....	77
Perceived Discrimination on Collective Well-Being.....	77
Perceived Discrimination on Personal Well-Being	79
Identification: The Indirect Positive Effects of Perceived Discrimination.....	80
Dissimilarities Between Asian Americans and African Americans	82
Limitations and Caveats	85
Implications of Research and Directions for Future Research.....	87
Concluding Remarks: The Blind Men and the Elephant.....	89
 LIST OF REFERENCES.....	 91
APPENDICES	101
APPENDIX A – Stereotypes of Whites as Racist	102
APPENDIX B – Stigma Consciousness	103
APPENDIX C – Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure	104
APPENDIX D – Acculturation Index.....	106
APPENDIX E – Self-Construal Scale	107
APPENDIX F – SID Scale	109
APPENDIX G – Measures of Perceived Discrimination	111
APPENDIX H – Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.....	114
APPENDIX I – Collective Self-Esteem Scale.....	115
APPENDIX J – Positive and Negative Affect Scale	116
APPENDIX K – Debriefing Form.....	117
APPENDIX L – Consent Form.....	118
APPENDIX M – Demographic Form.....	120
APPENDIX N – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO COMMUNITY SAMPLE.....	121
APPENDIX O – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO COLLEGE SAMPLE	122
APPENDIX P – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO MALE SAMPLE	123
APPENDIX Q – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO FEMALE SAMPLE.....	124
APPENDIX R – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO AFRICAN AMERICAN SAMPLE	125
APPENDIX S – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO ASIAN AMERICAN SAMPLE.....	126

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Bivariate Correlations Between Measures.....	22
2. Internal Consistency Values For All Scales and Sub-scales.....	41
3. Descriptive Statistics and T-tests by Ethnicity.....	47
4. Descriptive Statistics and T-tests by Gender.....	48
5. Descriptive Statistics and T-tests by Sample.. ..	49
6. Significant Interactions on Dependent Measures by Culture and Sample.....	50
7. Significant Interactions on Dependent Measures by Gender and Sample.....	51
8. Inter-correlations Among Measured Variables.....	53
9. Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Self-Construal and Ethnic Identification on Personal Well-Being.....	71

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. The Rejection-Identification Model.....	20
2. Assessing the Mediational Roles of Ethnic Identification and Public Collective Self-Esteem.....	58
3. The Null Model – Model Fit Values.....	66
4. The Rejection-Identification Model – Model Fit Values.....	67
5. The Rejection-Identification Model – Public Collective Self-Esteem As Mediator – Model Fit Values.....	68
6. The Rejection-Identification Model – Altered – Model Fit Values.....	69
7. Assessing the Mediational Role of CWB Between ETID and PWB.....	70
8. Bivariate Correlations For Asian Americans and African Americans Between Perceived Discrimination and Personal Well-Being.....	76

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The belief in America as a “melting pot,” where Lady Liberty welcomes individuals of all races, creeds, and genders, and where all men and women are created equal is one of the most cherished foundations upon which American ideals rest. Yet despite America’s endorsement of cultural diversity, an indisputable divide exists between the experiences of ethnic minority individuals and “white” individuals of European descent. Socially constructed barriers continue to present economic, social, and educational hurdles to people of color. Ethnic minorities remain underrepresented among the very wealthy and powerful (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 1998), and ethnic minorities continue to struggle for equal representation in areas such as politics, business and education. Two groups who comprise a growing proportion of the U.S. but remain poorly understood are Black people of African-descent¹ and Asians² (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997).

¹ For the sake of simplicity, the term “Black (s)” will be used interchangeably with “African American (s)” as an overarching term to refer to individuals who identify as “Black”, “African-American,” “West Indian” and “African.” Such simplification is not meant to be disrespectful to those who prefer one term over the other.

² Also, the term “Asians” or “Asian-Americans” will be used here to broadly refer to individuals who were either born on the Asian continent or are descendants of individuals born on the Asian continent yet currently live in the United States.

Among the various ethnic minority groups within America, Blacks are perhaps the most disadvantaged. Even following the passage of federal bills mandating racial equality, examples of inequities faced by Blacks remain ubiquitous. On average, Blacks tend to earn about 58% of that earned by the average White person (Feagin & Vera, 1995), to face significantly more career hurdles than the average White person (Hacker, 1992), to believe that conspiracies have impeded their societal progress (Crocker, Luhtanen, Broadnax & Blaine, 1999) and to score about 15 points lower on standard tests of academic achievement (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). During the late 1980's and early 1990's, Blacks were also the victims of customer service and hiring practice discrimination in national restaurant chains including Denny's and Shoney's, respectively (Feagin & Vera, 1995). The fact that most Blacks seek psychotherapy primarily for anger about discrimination (NIMH, 1983) is not surprising in light of the persistence of inequities.

Asians and Asian-Americans also have suffered from both institutionalized and individual discrimination within the U.S. Beginning in the late 19th century, Asians suffered through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that stopped emigration from China—an act that was not repealed until 1943 when the Chinese became allies with the U.S. against Japan. Despite the end of institutionalized discrimination against the Chinese during World War II, formalized discrimination began against another group of Asians, those from Japan. Japanese-Americans had their civil liberties compromised with Executive Order 9066, an order that ultimately led to the unjust internment of approximately 110,000 Japanese-Americans. While substantial discrimination against Asians has been overt, discrimination against Asian-Americans has also taken more

subtle forms. Asian-Americans are frequently labeled the “model minority,” which unfairly uses the academic and professional success achieved by some Asians as a standard of comparison for other minority groups. Making this comparison without acknowledgement of other environmental confounds (access to education, societal mobility, the effect of cultural attitudes toward academic achievement, etc.) implies that other groups who fail to achieve such success as frequently are somehow less adequate; these comparisons have also strained interracial relationships by implying non-Asian minorities should emulate Asian American achievements (Ho, 2003). Furthermore, the model minority myth overlooks the fact that Asian Americans are not as upwardly mobile as once thought—the U.S. Department of Labor (1994) found that Asian Americans receive lower returns on their education compared to Whites, and that Asian Americans encounter barriers in accessing management similar to “glass-ceiling” barriers experienced by women (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990).

Even today, inequities remain ubiquitous. Not long ago, the clothing manufacturer Abercrombie and Fitch was forced to withdraw several items in their summer 2002 product line since they propagated negative stereotypes of Asians as laundromat owners or martial artists only capable of speaking broken English (one shirt stated “Wong Brothers Laundry. Two Wongs Can Make it White”, and another depicted a Chinese dojo character saying, “Crazy dojo. We smash *you* face.”). For Asian-Americans as well as for Blacks, racially-based discrimination remains an uncured social ill.

Despite the deleterious effects of social injustice, much of the psychological literature on discrimination or stereotyping has examined the phenomenon primarily from

the standpoint of those who engage in stereotyping or prejudice (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999; Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002; Phinney, 1990; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995; Steele, 1997). Existing research has been labeled as a “psychology of the powerful” (Branscombe et al., 1999) since areas such as stereotype content, stereotype functions (Macrae, Milne & Bodenhausen, 1994), or the implicit nature of stereotypes (Devine, 2001; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002) have been studied heavily. Less attention has been paid to the effects these processes can have on others and only recently have the victims of discrimination become the focal point of research.

One way psychologists have begun to understand discrimination’s effects has been to consider the perception of discrimination within an attributional framework (Crocker & Major, 1989; Dion, 1975; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997; Branscombe et al., 1999). According to this perspective, perceiving discrimination requires a potential victim to attribute an action to prejudice, leading to the synonymous usage of the terms ‘attribution to prejudice’ and ‘perceiving prejudice.’ Initial hypothesizing along these lines suggested that making an attribution to prejudice might serve a self-protecting function by providing an external attribution for failure, which might protect one’s self-worth (Crocker & Major, 1989). Research along these lines found that participants who received negative performance feedback and made attributions to prejudice were able to protect their self-esteem or positive affect (Dion, 1975; Dion & Earn, 1975; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa & Major, 1991; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). Although these studies showed some beneficial effects of making attributions to discrimination, more recent research has explored the effect or correlates of perceived discrimination on a person’s sense of self-

worth (Chang, 1996; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Highlen, Tom, Thompson & Ashton, 1998). One attempt to capture the various effects that discrimination might have on its victims was articulated in the Rejection-identification Model suggested by Branscombe and her colleagues (RIM; 1999). This model postulated that in making attributions to prejudice, two paradoxical effects can occur—self-worth can be buffered, since attributions to prejudice may increase in-group identification (which has positive effects for both personal and collective well-being), but also that self-worth may suffer, presumably since perceiving prejudice entails the recognition of one's group as socially devalued. Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) generally confirmed the rejection-identification model among White, college-aged women and further found evidence that public collective self-esteem mediates the inverse relationship between attributions to prejudice and overall collective self-worth.

Despite the favorable indices of fit generated by the RIM when fit to Branscombe et al.'s data sample, there are several ways in which the model and its overall utility for members of other ethnic groups may be improved: First, alterations to specific pathways within the model could better reflect current theory, and second, the sample populations on which the RIM has been validated only allow for generalization only to African Americans, women, and individuals with body piercings.

For instance, one possible shortcoming of the current model concerns the nature of the relationship between perceived discrimination (PD) and personal well-being (PWB). While the RIM specifies a direct relationship between PD and PWB, perceived discrimination may be more likely construed as group or collective-level derogation, which should, in theory, only directly affect collective well-being.

Furthermore, based on implications derived from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) about the relationship between a people's collective identity and their personal identity, there is also reason to believe there should be a direct, causal path from collective well-being (CWB) to personal well-being (PWB). The current lack of a pathway between collective well-being and personal well-being fails to describe the hypothesized influence of social identity on personal identity.

In so far as samples with which the RIM has been supported, the Rejection-Identification Model has generally been supported among African Americans, White female populations, and individuals with body piercings; however, the extent to which the model applies to members of other disadvantaged groups, particularly Asian Americans, is unknown. Questions about the model's general applicability must remain until validation can be demonstrated with other ethnic minority groups.

The purpose of the current study is to build upon Branscombe et al.'s (1999) Rejection-Identification Model, altering select pathways according to current theory and research, and examining the goodness-of-fit of the RIM to both African American and Asian American populations; the current study will also assess the relative fit of the model to both college and community samples.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Importance in Perceiving Discrimination

Discrimination has been defined as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation,” (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999, p. 805). Though the study of discrimination would ideally follow from objective measurements of an individual’s experience with discrimination, such research is extremely difficult given the logistics in determining an individual’s objective history with prejudice. Further adding complications, the issue of determining when discrimination has occurred is formidable given that factors such as perpetrator motivation and resulting outcomes (e.g., whether an act of prejudice was accidental or intended; whether there was perceived or real harm inflicted) all affect whether or not discrimination is thought to have occurred (Phinney, Madden & Santos, 1998). Therefore, the majority of research has focused on discrimination as it is perceived by the target, or *perceived discrimination* (PD). PD has typically been measured by asking individuals to report the extent to which they feel they’ve been victimized by discrimination; these measurements have then been used as a

proxy for actual discrimination. For individuals unfortunate enough to be victimized by discrimination, perceiving that discrimination accurately is quite important in the same way that perceiving threat is necessary to one's survival.

In the most simple of situations, correctly attributing an action by other(s) to discrimination may be crucial for physical well-being or even survival. If one is African American, perceiving the rapid approach of several Ku Klux Klan members as motivated by prejudice could determine the difference between safe flight and physical harm. Though not as immediately costly as physical harm, another consequence of failing to identify discrimination is the implicit acceptance of mistreatment of one's social group. Failing to recognize discrimination can provide passive agreement that may ultimately help majority group members justify their prejudicial treatment of minorities (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). For these reasons, correctly identifying prejudice when it occurs carries real benefits for minority group members or at least, can help avoid real harm.

While there is agreement among psychologists and non-psychologists alike that disadvantaged groups suffer tangible costs from acts of prejudice and discrimination (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz & Owen, 2002), controversy exists surrounding the social and psychological costs associated with *perceiving* the occurrence of prejudice or discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001). With regard to social costs, individuals who make attributions to prejudice can be seen as socially undesirable (Crosby, 1984) or can be perceived as hypersensitive, emotional or generally unpleasant (Feagin & Sikes, 1994). Kaiser and Miller (2001) discovered that African-Americans who attributed failing test grades to discrimination were perceived as "complainers" and were not

evaluated as favorably as other participants who attributed failure to internal attributions, such as test-answer quality. Similarly, women who have reported a colleague's sexist behavior believe that their act of recognizing and confronting the prejudice often failed to improve relations and had the potential to jeopardize future interactions (Haslett & Lipman, 1997). The social costs to perceiving discrimination may be so great that individuals may even be motivated to *minimize* the discrimination they perceive (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). In several studies, Ruggiero and Taylor (1995; 1997) found that unless discrimination was a virtual certainty, individuals do not perceive as much discrimination as situational factors alone might predict.

The social costs to perceiving prejudice are but one category of costs to perceiving discrimination—and arguably less troublesome when compared to the *psychological* costs. Being a victim to prejudice or discrimination has long been believed to negatively impact personality and identity development (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951). A review of the psychological literature dealing with the formation of self-worth reveals ample reasons to believe that perceiving discrimination can harm self-worth. The following section reviews current and past theory describing why PD may adversely impact one's self-worth. The message for targets of prejudice and discrimination is sad yet clear: Perceiving discrimination is clearly important for survival and social remediation, but carries both social and psychological costs.

Theoretical Consequences to Perceiving Discrimination

Reasons why perceiving discrimination might adversely affect self-worth. The stress-illness paradigm articulated by Lazarus and Folkman (1984) views discrimination as a type of stressor and is one perspective that suggests PD would have negative consequences for well-being. Broadly defined, stressors are negative life events with the potential to cause harm to both physical and psychological well being (Anderson, McNeilly, & Myers, 1991; DeLongis, Folkman & Lazarus, 1988; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). More specifically, stressors have also been conceived of as ubiquitous life events that tax coping, possibly leading to stress reactions or *distress* (Seta, Seta & Wang, 1991). For people of color, discrimination is thought to be an additional stressor capable of causing distress above and beyond generic hassles. This view was formally stated in the cultural deprivation hypothesis (Chilsom, 1996) and the multicultural model of the stress process (Highlen et al., 1998; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991), both of which construed racism as a stressor within a framework defining multiple steps in coping.

A second theoretical perspective supporting the idea that perceived discrimination has a negative impact on self-worth stems from social comparison theory (SCT; Festinger, 1954). Social comparison theory states that individuals will compare their situation with others to assess their own standing. A variant of social comparison theory, relative deprivation theory (RDT; Davis, 1959; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink & Mielke, 1999), states that individuals will feel deprived if they; (1) want some resource X, (2) compare themselves to a group that has X, and (3) feel entitled to X (c.f. Corning, 2002). RDT applies particularly well to minorities, given their frequent underprivileged status

within society and their attempts to improve their standing. RDT suggests that in addition to the real costs in lost opportunities, deprivation can have costs to the self by causing distress in both affective and behavioral realms.

A third and more recent explanation of why stigmatization could lead to lower self-esteem deals with social rejection—a likely consequence when one perceives discrimination as pervasive and stable (Branscombe et al., 1999). Since humans are, in general, motivated to seek affiliation with others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bowlby, 1969), it follows that social rejection has been associated with decreased self-esteem (Leary, Tambor, Terdal & Downs, 1995). Furthermore, perceiving discrimination toward one's group may also cause a person to become aware of their group's devalued status within society, a realization that could lead one to feel worse about his or her membership in a minority group (Leondardelli & Tormala, 2003).

Perceiving discrimination can also cause detriment to the self by raising awareness among victims that the way one is treated is often heavily influenced by external, and possibly immutable factors. In realizing that outcomes and experiences may be heavily influenced by forces external to oneself, individuals may begin to believe future events to be out of his/her control (Branscombe et al., 1999; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995; 1997). Past literature has suggested that perceived control is a central aspect of healthy psychological functioning (Thompson, 1981); when individuals lack the belief that they have control over their environment, feelings of helplessness can result (Seligman, 1975). This belief has been further elaborated in the learned helplessness theory of depression (Miller & Seligman, 1975). To the extent that perceiving

discrimination can cause a person to feel as if they are not master or mistress of their own destiny, psychological well-being is likely to suffer.

Perhaps the most widely cited and accepted perspective to predict that PD would negatively impact self-worth is the symbolic interactionistic perspective (SI). Symbolic interactionism has its roots in the seminal works of Mead (1934) and Cooley (1956) who suggested that conceptions of the self form through interactions with important others. More specifically, Cooley's (1956) notion of the *looking-glass-self* suggests that individuals form self-conceptions based on reflected appraisals from others, in much the same way people learn about their physical appearance by looking in a mirror. The SI perspective predicts stigmatized individuals to be at risk for internalizing the negative beliefs held by others, ultimately compromising their self-worth (Crocker, 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989; Rosenberg, 1979).

Reasons why perceiving discrimination might positively affect self-worth. In contrast to the numerous perspectives suggesting that the perception of discrimination would have negative consequences to the self, there has been some work suggesting that perceiving discrimination might actually *benefit* self-worth. Crocker and Major (1989) discussed the attributional benefits of perceiving discrimination in their seminal work reviewing the self-protective properties of stigma. Their work was not intended to justify the presence of discrimination; instead, Crocker and Major sought to explain why African Americans don't show lower levels of self-esteem that were expected given their experience with stigmatization. They proposed that attributions to prejudice may

externalize reasons for failure and therefore potentially protect self-esteem. Similar to the self-serving biases employed to buffer the self from threat, the effect was first noted when Jewish individuals who attributed failure to religious prejudice did not suffer in connection with how they viewed themselves according to Jewish stereotypes (Dion, 1975), nor did their self-worth suffer (Dion, 1985). Consistent results were found for African-Americans and women, who showed no drop in self-esteem and affect, respectively, after receiving feedback from a biased evaluator (Crocker et al., 1991). In a similar experimental paradigm, another sample of African Americans, Asian Americans and women managed to protect their performance state self-esteem after making attributions to prejudice (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997).

In sum, several studies have demonstrated the positive effect of making attributions to prejudice (Crocker et al., 1991; Dion, 1985; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997), providing support for the contention that African Americans may benefit by making attributions to prejudice in certain situations. Much of the research in this area has focused on situations where participants made a one-shot attribution to error, and were not making attributions to prejudice across time and situations. In this sense, attributions to prejudice are known to help only within a very specific, feedback-oriented situation.

Evidence for Competing Processes

The Multifaceted Relationship Between Perceived Discrimination and Personal Well-Being. Given theory and research suggesting that perceived discrimination can have both buffering *and* deleterious effects on personal well-being, one would suspect that the

overall relationship between measures of perceived discrimination and personal well-being to be weaker than if PD's effect on PWB was solely negative. Across time and studies, researchers have employed three broad strategies to examine the relationship between PD and self-worth. Each strategy varies by the principle methodology employed, but all have produced convergent results that suggest that the overall relationship between perceived discrimination and personal well-being is close to zero, supporting the possibility that more than one process operates between PD and PWB.

One method described best as the *correlational approach* includes studies that have collected data from individuals in stigmatized groups and examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-worth through the calculation of bivariate correlations and regression analyses. Many of these studies have also examined moderators, including racial socialization (Fischer & Shaw, 1999) or coping (Thompson et al., 1999) and mediators, such as perceived status of one's in-group (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003) in an attempt to better understand the perceived discrimination-self-worth link. A second method, one that will be called the *known-groups method*, has compared the average self-esteem of groups known to differ in the discrimination they face (e.g., White European Americans vs. Blacks). These studies typically have large sample sizes, and some studies have summarized past studies via meta-analysis. Studies comparing known-groups hypothesize that minority groups should report significantly lower self-esteem, presumably a function of the discrimination to which they've been exposed. A third approach used by social scientists is *experimental* in nature and randomly assigns participants to varying conditions of discrimination. Due to the manipulation of

discrimination (which then affects perceived discrimination), this approach will be referred to as the *experimental approach*. Following is a review of the research within each area.

Correlational approach. Correlational studies typically collect data at a single point in time and use regression analyses to predict levels of self-worth based on PD. Some more recent studies have begun employing modeling procedures, defining the pathways through which self-worth forms and is influenced by potentially harmful factors. Hypotheses guided by this strategy predict that as PD increases, self-worth should decrease. This strategy allows for the prediction of self-worth means and calculations of percentages of variance in self-worth accounted for by PD. A weakness of correlational and modeling approaches is the same general weakness of all correlational approaches—the inability to draw causal inferences. Additionally, the relationship between PD and self-worth often varies considerably depending on how the constructs are operationalized, which measures are used, and the type and number of covariates included in the analyses.

Though a handful of studies have reported significant correlations between PD and global self-esteem (e.g., Highlen et al., 1998; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Phinney et al., 1998), the majority have reported non-significant findings. In a review of eight different studies, including a total of 10 sub-studies, only three reported significant correlations between measures of discrimination and self-worth (typically measured via self-esteem or affect). In studies that have measured both perceived discrimination and self-esteem, Fischer and Shaw (1999) reported correlations of $-.03$ and $.00$ for the

relationships between SE and PD (over the last year) and PD (over lifetime), respectively. Thompson et al., (1999) found correlations between measures of the effect of PD and the frequency of PD with self-esteem to be .00 and .00, respectively. Similarly, the correlations between PD and self-esteem reported by Corning (2002) also failed to achieve significance (PD and SE, -.10; PD and Collective Self Esteem, .03). Again, the overall lack of a strong, negative relationship between PD and self-worth suggests that multiple pathways, some producing negative and some producing positive effects may be summatively affecting self-worth.

Known-groups approach. A very different strategy from the correlational approach and one that was popularized in the late 1970's and again more recently involves comparing average levels of self-esteem across groups who are believed to differ in their experiences with discrimination (e.g., Blacks and Whites, or different groups assigned to various levels of discrimination). Though less methodically rigorous and susceptible to the influence of a number of confounds, the known-groups approach has also been used to examine the impact of perceived discrimination on self-worth (Crocker & Major, 1989).

The first studies performed of this nature involved comparing self-esteem means across different ethnic groups, such as between Blacks and Whites. Initial studies performed by Rosenberg and colleagues (Rosenberg, 1979; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972) offered the controversial conclusion that Blacks reported equal, and possibly higher levels of self-esteem as compared to Whites. In support of this counterintuitive finding, a meta-analysis performed by Wylie (1979) supported that Blacks did, in fact,

have self-esteem that was at least equal to the self-esteem among White European Americans. More recent meta-analytic studies employing greater methodological rigor and incorporating three times as many studies have confirmed earlier findings (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000; Twenge & Crocker, 2002). In general, the data show that Blacks do in fact demonstrate a self-esteem advantage over Whites, who have higher self-esteem than Latinos/Latinas; in these studies, Asians report the lowest levels of self-esteem (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000; Twenge & Crocker, 2002).

While the known-groups method clearly has confounds limiting what can and cannot be concluded and recent research suggests that individualism, and to a lesser extent collectivism, are associated with self-esteem (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Twenge & Crocker, 2002), the overwhelming evidence across studies and time suggests that PD's effect on self-worth is likely not just negative.

Experimental approach. A third method employed in examining the link between SE and PD typically examines members of a single stigmatized group yet actually manipulates the amount of discrimination perceived by participants. The bulk of these studies have been conducted within an attributional ambiguity paradigm by Crocker and Major (1989), which explicitly manipulates the likelihood participants will attribute confederate behavior to discrimination and then measures self-worth. Many of these studies sought support for the belief that minority group members can protect their self-esteem by making attributions to prejudice.

In one of the first studies to utilize this experimental paradigm, Crocker et al. (1991) had female participants write an essay that would later be evaluated by a judge

who was described as either prejudiced or not. It was believed that attributing a negative outcome (a negative evaluation of the essay) to discrimination (perceiving discrimination) would protect self-esteem by shifting the reason for failure from an internal reason (lack of ability) to an external one (a biased evaluator). The results demonstrated *no self-esteem differences* between women who made attributions to discrimination and those who did not (but in support of the notion that attributions to prejudice buffer the self, positive affect didn't decrease). In Study 2 by Crocker et al. (1991), a slightly modified paradigm was used, but this time with African-Americans receiving interpersonal feedback from a White confederate. Again, consistent with the notion that PD does not affect self-worth only negatively, Crocker et al. (1991) found that when Black participants received negative feedback and attributed the feedback to prejudice, *self-esteem did not change significantly from pre-test*. Therefore, in spite of numerous and varied theoretical reasons to suspect discrimination causes well-being ultimately to suffer, the empirical literature has thus far failed to offer any conclusive evidence that the sole influence of PD on self-worth is purely, or even mostly negative (Crocker & Major, 1989). The current study hypothesizes that the RIM (Branscombe et al., 1999) and the RIM-CSEPUB (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003) may better fit the data if the direct link between perceived discrimination and personal well-being were removed.

The Rejection-Identification Model

Description of the RIM. One of the first and only models to examine the simultaneous positive and negative effects of attributions to prejudice made across time

and across different contexts was the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Schmitt et al., 2002). Unlike the majority of earlier models for conceptualizing attributions to prejudice that either sought to understand attributions to prejudice as either causing harm to self-worth (Chang, 1996; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Highlen et al., 1998; Thompson, Highlen, Ashton & Tom, 1999) or as a mechanism for preserving self-worth (Crocker & Major, 1993; Crocker et al., 1991; Dion, 1975; Dion, 1985; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995; 1997), the RIM explored both possible benefits and liabilities of PD. In doing so, the RIM acknowledged the possibility that the overall relationship between PD and self-worth could be close to zero. The RIM also specified several mechanisms through which effects on self-worth were thought to occur; the positive effects of PD were hypothesized to occur indirectly, while PD negatively affected self-worth directly.

Another way in which the RIM was unique was that it explicitly dealt with two aspects of well-being believed to be involved with the perception of discrimination—personal and collective self-worth. By incorporating measures of well-being related to both the personal self and the collective self, the RIM incorporated basic tenets of Social Identity Theory stressing the importance of personal and collective identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Furthermore, in contrast to earlier studies documenting the buffering properties of stigma, the RIM dealt with consistent attributions to prejudice across time and contexts, rather than single episodes of attributions to prejudice as studied by others (Crocker, Cornwall & Major, 1993; Crocker et al., 1991; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997). See Figure 1 for a graphic display of the RIM.

Initial tests of fitting the RIM to data provided support. Among African American individuals, attributions to prejudice were indeed found to have a direct, negative impact on both personal and collective well-being, but also an indirect positive effect on both types of well-being. The positive effect of perceived discrimination on well-being was mediated by the extent to which a person became identified with their in-group, or *in-group identification* (later to be referred to as ethnic identification).

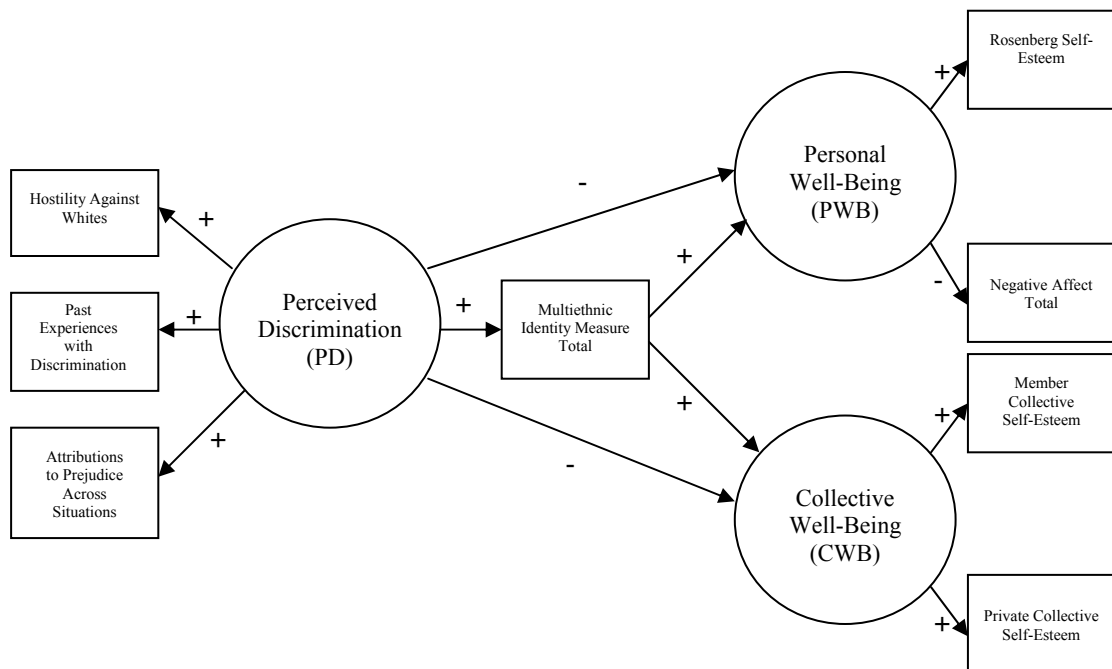


Figure 1.
The Rejection-Identification Model (Branscombe et al., 1999)

Continued Support for the RIM. The RIM received further support beyond the initial study in 1999, and was generally validated when fit to individuals experiencing discrimination due to body piercing (Jetten et al., 2001) and to women experiencing gender discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2002).

Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) proposed a slight refinement to the RIM in their attempts to explore mediators within the original RIM. They found that the negative impact of PD on collective well-being was mediated by public collective self-esteem (also described as the perceived status of the in-group). Put simply, they found that PD adversely impacted how a person felt about his/her group through *first* becoming aware of his/her group's disparaged status within society. This replication also used a sample of women, providing confirmatory support for the RIM in a population targeted by discrimination other than African Americans.

The Rejection-Identification Models, as originally put forth by Branscombe et al. and then later refined by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003; RIM-CSEPUB) have been important contributions in understanding the complexities in the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-worth and by illuminating the mechanisms through which consequences may occur. Based on current theory and recent empirical findings, the RIM may be further refined to better capture the pathways through which PD affects self-worth and the relationship between personal and collective well-being. Also, while prior research has shown good fit of the data for samples including African-Americans, White women, and individuals stigmatized because of body piercings, the basic model has yet to be tested on members of other ethnic minority populations, particularly Asian Americans, or on large samples drawn outside of psychology undergraduate classes.

		Measure of Perceived Discrimination								
Authors	(n)	SRE (year)	SRE (lifetime)	SRE EFFECT	SRE FREQ	PAC (future)	PAT (past)	PSIS- W	PEDQ	PD
Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey (1999)	139					-0.09	-0.09			
Thompson, Highlen, Ashton, & Tom (1999)	235			0.00	0.00					
Highlen, Tom, Ashton & Thompson (1998)	86			-0.17	-0.14					
Postmes & Branscombe Study 1 (2002)	114						-0.03			
Postmes & Branscombe Study 2 (2002)	126						0.00			
Fischer & Shaw (1999)	143	-0.03	0.00							
Corning (2002)	100							-0.10		
Contrada et al., (2001)	125								-0.16	
Phinney, Madden & Santos (1998)	164									*-0.20
Note: All studies included used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; *indicates <i>p</i> <.05										

Table 1.

Bivariate Correlations Between Measures of Self-Worth and Perceived Discrimination Reported Across Studies

Theoretically Driven Changes to the RIM: A Newer Understanding

Removal of the direct path between perceived discrimination and personal well-being. The original conception of the RIM and the model updated by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) both specify a direct, negative path between perceived discrimination and personal well-being (See Figure 1. for reference). While it is likely that perceived discrimination may ultimately affect personal well-being, the fact that ethnic discrimination constitutes derogation based on a person's ethnic group suggests that collective well-being should suffer directly, not personal well-being. Ostensibly, model fit will improve after the removal of the pathway between PD and personal well-being.

Relationship between personal well-being and collective well-being. Within both the RIM (Branscombe et al., 1999) and the RIM-CSEPUB (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003), there is no direct pathway between personal well-being and collective well-being (See Figure 1. for reference). The lack of any direct relationship between collective and personal well-being fails to account for the socially constructed nature of identity and self-worth set forth by Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and prior observations that collective well-being likely contributes to personal well-being (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine & Broadnax, 1994). SIT claims that an individual's identity and self-esteem are derived in part from membership in various social groups (Tajfel, 1981) and very clearly suggests that self-worth related to membership in various groups should impact personal well-being. Collective well-being (or collective self-esteem; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) is a related yet distinct "social identity"

and expands upon traditional conceptions of the self as being derived from purely individualistic attributes (i.e., skills, abilities, attitudes). The creation of a directional pathway from collective well-being to personal well-being would acknowledge the socially constructed nature of personal well-being.

Additionally, the hypothesis that collective well-being directly influences personal well-being suggests a mediational role for collective well-being in the PD-PWB link. A secondary hypothesis to be tested is that collective well-being mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and personal well-being. Because discrimination is ultimately social rejection, it stands to reason that collective well-being is likely to suffer, which in turn could have negative implications for personal well-being.

Further supporting the direct link between CWB and PWB were a host of studies performed to validate the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Across several different studies, scores on the Collective Self-Esteem Scale were found to be significantly correlated with scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale as well as other measures of personal well-being (Crocker et al., 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Overview of the Current Study

In this study, survey questionnaire data was used from a sample of African American and Asian American individuals who were drawn both from undergraduate psychology classes and the general community. The study sought to replicate and extend upon prior work examining the RIM and RIM-CSEPUB by: (a) retaining key

aspects of the original RIM but changing specific paths as dictated by current psychological theory, (b) Applying the RIM-Altered to Asian Americans as well as African Americans to assess the extent to which the RIM-Altered fits an ethnic group other than African Americans, and (c) performing structural equation modeling techniques with an adequate number of participants so as to achieve power at or above .80.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This study is designed to address three primary goals: (a) to explore theoretically driven alterations to the Rejection-identification Model as originally published by Branscombe et al. (1999) and then refined by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003), (b) explore the fit of the RIM-Altered to Asian American as well as African American populations, and (c) to explore group-level differences on the dependent measures between Asian Americans and African Americans.

With regard to the primary goal, the current study seeks to replicate findings that perceived discrimination increases ethnic group identification, which then positively influences both collective well-being and personal well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999). The current study also seeks to replicate past findings that perceiving discrimination is negatively related to perceived status of one's in-group (public, collective self-esteem) and that this in turn is positively related to collective self-esteem (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003). The three new modifications to the RIM involve removing the direct path between perceived discrimination (PD) and personal well-being (PWB), adding a direct path between the two latent constructs of CWB

and PWB, and retaining perceived status of one's in-group (public, collective self-esteem) as a partial mediator between PD and CWB.

The manifest indicators of the latent variables were similar to those used in the Branscombe et al. (1999) study with two major exceptions. First, the manifest indicator of ethnic identification used in the Branscombe et al. (1999) study as well as the Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) study were used in conjunction with two other indicators of ethnic identification—the membership scale of the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), as well as the minority identification subscale of the Acculturation Scale (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). In using latent variables with structural equation modeling, it is recommended to have at least three indicators of a construct (MacCallum & Browne, 2000).

With regard to the second goal of the present study, it is hypothesized that the RIM-Altered will fit the Asian American sample as well as the African American sample.

Concerning the third goal of the study, there are several hypotheses to be tested based on past research findings:

Hypothesis 1: African Americans will report a greater history with and perceive more discrimination than Asian Americans.

Hypothesis 2: African Americans will report higher levels of global self-esteem than Asian Americans (Twenge & Crocker, 2002) but report no differences on collective self-esteem (Crocker et al., 1994).

Hypothesis 3: African Americans will report higher levels of stigma consciousness than Asian Americans.

Hypothesis 4: African Americans will possess more stereotypes of Whites as racist than Asian Americans.

Hypothesis 5: African Americans will endorse greater dispositionism and less situationism than Asian Americans (Choi, Nisbett & Norenzayan, 1999; Smith & Bond, 1994).

Participants

Four hundred and twenty-one participants (235 female, 171 male, and 15 unspecified) volunteered to participate in the current study from Winter 2003 through Autumn 2004. Of the total sample, 199 were African American and the remaining 222 were Asian/Asian-American. Of the total sample pool of 421, 270 (64%) were part of a college-based sample drawn from a large mid-western university. These participants received course credit for their voluntary participation. The remaining 151 participants (36%) constituted the community-based sample and received a \$5 gift card to a large, national café chain in return for their participation. The community-based samples were drawn from local church organizations, a local ethnic group organization (Organization of Chinese Americans), and the national touring cast of prominent Broadway musical.

Of the participants who chose to reveal their age (49%), the average age of the college-based sample was 19.6 years ($SD = 2.6$) while the average age of the community-based sample was 32.4 years ($SD = 13.9$).

Given the heterogeneity of the Asian American sample, the distribution of participants across specific Asian nationalities is as follows: The largest groups were

those identifying as Chinese ($n = 43$, 21.3%) and Korean ($n = 43$, 21.3%), followed by Phillipino ($n = 35$, 17.3%), Indian ($n = 22$, 10.9%), Vietnamese ($n = 16$, 8.0%), Taiwanese ($n = 9$, 4.4%), from Hong Kong ($n = 6$, 3.0%), Japanese ($n = 5$, 2.5%), Pakistani ($n = 4$, 2.0%), and other ($n = 19$, 9.4%, including Thailand, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Mauritius, and individuals from two different Asian backgrounds). In total, 202 (91%) of the Asian American participants listed an ethnicity of origin.

Procedure

College-based samples. The participants were directed to a classroom via the Research Experience Program website to complete paper-and-pencil questionnaires of the different individual difference and criterion measures. Participants were informed that their participation was confidential and anonymous and were asked not place any identifying information on the survey packets. Participants signed an informed consent document and then completed the packet of measures described below. In order to minimize contamination of future participants, the participants were told not to discuss their participation in this study with anyone else. Furthermore, participants were told that the study was designed to assess how African American or Asian American identity forms, but were not informed about any of the research aims or hypotheses. African American and Asian American participants were scheduled in ethnicity specific sessions (e.g., African American data were collected separately from Asian American data) and were allotted one hour to complete the session of questionnaires and were awarded one hour worth of course credit. The African-American and Asian-American participants' sessions were managed by an

undergraduate research assistant of the same ethnicity. Participants were debriefed and thanked following their participation.

Community-based samples. Participation from members of the community sample was solicited by the primary investigator and several undergraduate research assistants who contacted leaders of various church and community organizations in central Ohio and northern New Jersey. The community organizers were informed what the study was about and were asked to let either the primary investigator or a trained undergraduate research assistant speak at a meeting to solicit participation. As incentive, either participants received a \$5 gift certificate to a large national café chain or the organization with which the participants were affiliated received \$5 for each person who agreed to participate in the study. The community members then had the opportunity to take the surveys home for completion and completed forms were collected from the organization leaders.

Measures

Paper and pencil questionnaires. Upon arrival to the specified room, participants were greeted by an experimenter and completed surveys measuring stereotypes of Whites as being racist, stigma consciousness, racial identification/acculturation, self-construal, situationism-dispositionism, perceived discrimination, personal self-esteem, collective self-esteem and affect. The order of measures was counterbalanced by block, with the perceived discrimination measures always placed first to prevent contamination of the measures. The blocks of variables were organized by overall type of variable, e.g., cognitive variable (stereotypes of

whites as racist, stigma consciousness) or affective variables (positive and negative affect, self-esteem, etc.). These blocks were then rotated throughout the packet, with measures of perceived discrimination always kept first. Demographic information was always placed at the end of the survey packet. Participants were thanked for their participation and given credit for their participation (or gift certificate).

Stereotypes about White-Europeans – Stereotypes. Stereotypes about White Europeans as being racist against either African Americans or Asian Americans was measured through a 5-item scale developed new for this study. Items included, “Almost all Whites are prejudiced in some way toward Blacks (for African American samples).” Respondents responded along a 7-point scale, anchored by 1 (*completely disagree*) and 7 (*completely agree*). For this measure, see Appendix A. Reliability for this measure with the current population yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha=.66$.

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire - SCQ. The Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (Pinel, 1999) is a 10-item measure assessing individual awareness of being stigmatized. The instrument spans two broad content areas: (a) a person’s phenomenological experience when interacting with majority members, and (b) beliefs about how minority members are viewed by majority members. Respondents indicate their answers along a 7-point scale, anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In the development of this instrument with women, the measure demonstrated a stable, one-factor structure, with all items of the scale loading at .32 or higher, and the average loading being .48 on the same factor. Cronbach’s alpha for the instrument was .74 and .72 with independent samples of women, and .81 for a

sample of gay men and lesbians. Test-retest reliability for the SCQ-women was $r=.76$, $p<.001$, indicating good stability across time and different administrations.

Validity of the SCQ-women and SCQ-gays and lesbians was explored using correlational analyses with measures of perceived discrimination. According to predictions, the SCQ-women demonstrated significant correlations with measures of group-directed, average, and personal discrimination (.36, .33, and .37, respectively) while the SCQ-gays and lesbians correlated highly with the measures of self-consciousness and perceived discrimination, indicating content validity. Similarly, when the SCQ was adapted for use with Asians and Blacks, both populations produced significant correlations with measures of group-directed, average, and personal discrimination (.35, .26, .40 for Asians, respectively; and .54, .49, and .77 for Blacks, respectively), indicating adequate validity for the populations of interest for the current study. This measure can be found in Appendix B. Reliability for this measure with the current population yielded a Cronbach's alpha of $\alpha=.80$.

Ethnic Identification - Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Racial identification was measured using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). The MEIM is a 20-item instrument measuring one's attachment to their ethnic group. Items of the MEIM include, "I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group." Participants make responses to the 14 items using a four-item scale, anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating greater identification with ethnic culture. Coefficient alpha for this instrument has been reported as .82 with a multi-ethnic adolescent sample (Phinney, 1992). This

instrument has also been used as a 4-item shortened version, and still yielded acceptable reliability with Cronbach alpha values equal to .86 with a multi-ethnic adolescent population (Phinney et al., 1998). This measure can be found in Appendix C. Reliability for this measure with the current population yielded a Cronbach's alpha of $\alpha=.86$.

Ethnic Identification - Acculturation Index – Revised (AI-R). Additionally, another measure of ethnic identification was used in order to better triangulate the hypothetical construct. The second measure of ethnic identification was a 14-item instrument adapted from the Acculturation Index (Ward & Kennedy, 1994) by Tom et al. (2000) for use with both African- and Asian Americans. This instrument is unique in its ability to allow comparison across Asian and African-American populations and was chosen for its face validity. Participants respond to items in this instrument on a 7-point scale whose end points are 1 (*not at all*) and 7 (*extremely*). This scale explores the degree to which a person exhibits acculturation as a function of both a person's identification with his/her ethnic background culture and his/her identification with European-American mainstream culture. An example of an item on this scale is "Are your life experiences similar to White/Caucasian-Americans"; "Are your life experiences similar to that of Africans/African Americans". The Acculturation Index-Revised has yielded internal coefficient consistencies of .84 for the sub-scale measuring identification with native background and .86 for the sub-scale measuring identification with mainstream, European-American culture when administered to Asian, Asian-American and African-American college populations. This measure can be found in Appendix D.

Self-Construal Scale. Levels of independent and interdependent self-construal was measured through the use of the self-construal scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994). The SCS is a 24-item instrument containing two subscales, one measuring the extent to which one construes oneself independently and the other measuring interdependent self-construal. The independent self-construal items reflect the autonomy and individuality emphasized in individualistic cultures (e.g., “Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me”). The interdependent self-construal items reflect the importance of connectedness and interrelatedness associated with collectivistic cultures (e.g., “I should take into consideration my parents’ advice when making education/career plans”). The SCS was developed using both newly created items as well as items taken from instruments developed by Cross and Markus (1991) and Yamaguchi (1994).

Cronbach’s alpha for the two subscales have been reported as .69 and .73 in the initial sample (used for exploratory factor analysis) and .70 and .74 (in a second sample used for confirmatory factor analysis; Singelis, 1994), indicating sufficient internal consistency. Furthermore, the measure showed good predictive ability of whether or not a situational or dispositional attribution would be made when given a person perception task. The data indicated that the *interdependent* subscale was a better predictor of attributions made to situational or contextual influences than culture itself (given that Easterners are more likely to make attributions to situational factors whereas Westerners attribute behavior to dispositional factors). Furthermore, when scores on the interdependent self-construal were partialled out, there were no

difference in attributions made between Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans. This measure can be found in Appendix E.

Dispositionism/Situationism. Differences in situationism and dispositionism were measured through the use of a measure developed by Norenzayan, Choi & Nisbett (1998). The dispositionism/situationism scale asks individuals to report the degree to which they believe three arguments, one supporting the idea that human behavior is caused predominantly by dispositions, one argument stating behavior is situationally determined, and a third argument that behavior is interactionally determined. Participants responded to each argument with statements indicating their level of agreement on a scale from 1 (*completely agree*) to 7 (*completely disagree*). Unfortunately, there has not been any psychometric data on this instrument to date. This measure can be found in Appendix F.

Perceived Discrimination. Perceived discrimination was measured using two instruments, the *Prejudice Across Context* (PAC) scale and a combination of the *Prejudice Across Time* (PAT; Branscombe et al., 1999) and Outgroup Rejection scales (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). The PAC scale was developed by Branscombe et al., (1999) to measure discrimination and consists of 10 negative outcomes on which respondents are asked to judge the likelihood each was due to prejudice if it occurred to them. An example of an item from this measure is, “Suppose you have to fill out some government forms in order to apply for a loan that is important to you. You go to one office and they send you to another, then you go there and are sent somewhere else. No one seems to be really willing to help you out.” Participants respond to each item on a scale ranging from “0% due to

prejudice” to “100% due to prejudice.” The internal consistency of this measure was .84 with sample of African-American college students demonstrating good internal consistency. The second measure of perceived discrimination was a combination of the Prejudice Across Time scale (PAT; Branscombe et al., 1999) and the Outgroup Rejection scale (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002) that measured perceived discrimination across time. In addition, the combined instrument was supplemented by an additional item generated by Leonardelli and Tormala (2002) in order to increase reliability (that item was, “I feel that I have been the target of prejudice because of my ethnicity.”). With a sample of college students, the PAC measure has attained internal consistency coefficients of .90 and the 7-item Outgroup Rejection - Revised Scale has attained internal consistency values of .83.

Though these two measures have never been used with Asians in the past, previously conducted pre-testing suggested the PAC and OR-R are viable instruments for the measurement of perceived discrimination. These measures can be found in Appendix G.

Global Personal Self-Esteem – Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSES). The Rosenberg Self Esteem Inventory was used for to measure this construct. Test-Retest stability measures for this instrument were reported as .80 (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991). Prior studies by Highlen et al. (1998) have reported internal consistency values of .88 with college samples of African-American and White European American males and females. This measure can be found in Appendix H.

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES). To measure Collective Self Esteem, the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was used. The

CSES is a 16-item instrument measuring the degree to which a person feels positively about their collective or social identity. Participants respond on an agreement scale anchored by 1 (*Strongly Agree*) to 7 (*Strongly Disagree*). The scale contains four sub-scales, measuring membership esteem (“I am a worthy member of the African-American community”), public collective self-esteem (“Overall, African-Americans are considered good by others”), private collective self-esteem (“I feel good about being African-American”), and importance to identity (“Being African-American is an important reflection of who I am”).

To ensure the four sub-scales measured unique and discrete sub-types of collective self-esteem, the factor structure of the instrument was examined using principal components analysis. Results of the analysis supported a four-factor solution, with the four factors accounting for 72.3% of the total variance and with the majority of items loading on their respective factors at .70 or higher. In a second PCA, the four factor structure was supported, with factor loadings for individual items ranging from .54 to .83, and the four factors accounting for 61% of total variance. Furthermore, the CSES demonstrated good content validity, with significant correlations to other measures of self-esteem, including the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES, Rosenberg, 1965), the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (CSEI; Coopersmith, 1967), and the Janis-Field Feelings of Inadequacy Scale (JFFIS; Janis & Field, 1959). Though the correlations to all three of these self-esteem scales were significant, they were not so high as to suggest the measures were measuring the same construct.

The scale has established reliability, with previous internal consistency values ranging from .73-.80 for the various subscales and .85 for the overall instrument. Test-retest reliability for the instrument has been adequate, with sub-scale correlations reported as: membership subscale $r = .58$; private subscale $r = .62$; public subscale $r = .66$; and identity subscale $r = .68$. Overall test-retest reliability for the whole 16-item instrument was $r = .68$.

The CSES contained four additional items, adapted by Leonardelli & Brewer (2001) to specifically address in-group satisfaction and to create a more robust measure of private self-esteem. The items were: 'I am pleased to be a member of the Black race'; 'The Black race is not satisfying to me'; 'I am unhappy with the Black race'; and 'I am satisfied with the Black race'. All items loaded onto the private collective self-esteem factor, and only that factor. The composite measure can be found in Appendix I.

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) – To measure positive and negative affect, the Positive and Negative Affect Scale was used (PANAS; Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988). The PANAS was originally designed to be a reliable measure of both positive and negative affect that was both short and easily administered. The PANAS consists of two 10-item scales, one scale for both positive and negative affect. The PANAS has been shown to be internally consistent, with Cronbach's alpha scores at .88 and .87 (for positive affect and negative affect respectively) among a fairly large sample (over 600 respondents) of private university undergraduates. Additionally, the scale has adequately demonstrated that positive

and negative affect are unique constructs, with inter-scale correlations at $r = -.17$.

This measure can be found in Appendix J.

Debriefing – The debriefing form for the current study discusses in greater detail the purpose and methods of the study in addition to providing participants with two references of places that deliver psychological care, free of charge. The debriefing form can be found in Appendix K.

Informed Consent – To ensure that all participants were made aware of the purpose and intent of the study prior to participating, all participants signed and dated an informed consent form prior to completing the survey packet. This informed consent is meant to conform with “Code of Federal Regulations Title 45, Part 46 Protection of Human Subjects,” sections 46.116, *General requirements for informed consent* and 46.117, *Documentation of informed consent*. This form can be found in Appendix L.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Data preparation. Prior to running analyses, the data were screened for random responding. One-way ANOVA's were computed to assess order effects among the counterbalanced versions of the survey. Participant by participant checking of the data indicated no occurrences of apparent random responding (completing the entire survey or portions of the survey using a single response). One-way ANOVA's comparing the different counterbalanced versions indicated no order effects with no significant differences at the $p < .05$ level between the counterbalanced versions for any of the measured variable subscales or total scales. Furthermore, to ensure reliable measurement of the constructs, internal reliability coefficients were generated for all of the measured instruments and their subscales. With the exception of the Stereotypes of Whites as Racist measure (5 items), all of the instruments and subscales demonstrated good internal consistency with coefficient α exceeding .68. Actual values of the internal consistency can be found in Table 2.

Preliminary analyses. Tables 3, 4 and 5 present the means, standard deviations, and possible score ranges for all of the measures in this study, separated

by ethnicity, sample and gender, respectively. Additionally, one-way ANOVAs (statistically equivalent to t-tests) were conducted to assess for significant differences in means between groups. Effects were noted that are partially consistent with prior research and these findings are reported below, by measure.

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Internal Consistency (α)</i>
<i>Prejudice Across Context</i>	<i>Total=10 items</i>	0.86
<i>Outgroup Rejection - R</i>	<i>Total=8 items</i>	0.89
<i>Rosenberg Self-Esteem</i>	<i>Total=10 items</i>	0.84
<i>Collective Self-Esteem</i>	<i>Total=20 items</i>	0.81
	<i>Public=4 items</i>	0.73
	<i>Private=8 items</i>	0.84
	<i>Member=4 items</i>	0.75
	<i>Identity=4 items</i>	0.68
<i>Positive and Negative Affect</i>	<i>Positive=10 items</i>	0.89
	<i>Negative=10 items</i>	0.88
<i>Stereotypes of Whites as Racist</i>	<i>Total=5 items</i>	0.66
<i>Stigma Consciousness</i>	<i>Total=10 items</i>	0.80
<i>Implicit Personality Theory</i>	<i>Dispositionism=2 items</i>	0.82
	<i>Situationism=2 items</i>	0.86
	<i>Interactionism=2 items</i>	0.91
<i>Self-Construal Scale</i>	<i>Independence=11 items</i>	0.69
	<i>Interdependence=11 items</i>	0.76
<i>MEIM</i>	<i>Total Scale=20 items</i>	0.86
<i>WRD-ACC</i>	<i>Minority Culture=7 items</i>	0.84
	<i>White Culture=7 items</i>	0.78

Table 2.

Internal Consistency Values for All Scales and Subscales

Comparison of Instrument Means

Perceived discrimination. Consistent with this study's predictions (Hypothesis 1) and the prior findings of Tom et al. (2001), African-Americans perceived greater discrimination than did Asian-Americans on both the Prejudice Across Contexts scale $F(1, 412) = 17.58, p < .001$, (PAC; $M = 520$ for Blacks vs. $M = 446$ for Asians, $p < .001$) and the Outgroup Rejection – Revised scale (OR-R), $F(1, 412) = 34.69, p < .001$, (OR-R; $M = 45.7$ for Blacks vs. $M = 38.3$ for Asians, $p < .01$). The middle-of-the-range scores for both African-Americans and Asians on the PAC ($M = 520$ for Blacks vs. $M = 446$ for Asians, both out of a possible 1000), suggested that the events were fairly open to interpretation, with some believing the event would be caused by discrimination and others believing the event due to non-discriminatory causes. The overall range of responses across each of the 10 different PAC items was 0% to 100% indicating wide individual differences in the perception of the different events.

The two measures of perceived discrimination capture conceptually different aspects of perceived discrimination with unique implications. While the PAC scale provided participants with an ambiguous event and then asked for estimations about the likelihood that the event was caused by prejudice, the OR-R scale is more directly a measure of a person's reported past history with discrimination. The PAC scale, therefore, may best be considered as a measure that determines a person's relative threshold for perceiving discrimination. And though responses to the OR-R were undoubtedly influenced by a person's threshold for perceiving prejudice, the OR-R attempts to capture the extent to which a person feels he/she has been a past victim of

racial prejudice. The current findings indicate that not only do African-Americans feel they have more frequently been the victim of past discrimination, but that African-Americans also have a differentially calibrated 'difference threshold' for perceiving an ambiguous event as discriminatory.

Upon comparing community and college samples on the two measures of perceived discrimination, college students perceived greater discrimination than did community participants on the Prejudice Across Contexts scale $F(1, 412) = 3.72$, $p < .05$, (PAC; $M = 493$ for the college sample; $M = 457$ for the community sample) but no differences on the OR-R scale. Men and women did not differ in their perceptions of discrimination on either scale.

Self-Esteem. Hypothesis 2 predicted that African Americans would report higher levels of global self-esteem than Asian-Americans based on meta-analytic findings that African-Americans show the highest levels of global self-esteem and Asian-Americans the lowest (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). As shown in Table 1, one-way ANOVAs with race (African American vs. Asian American) indicated that African-Americans reported higher global self-esteem than did Asian-Americans, $F(1, 413) = 37.79$, $p < .001$, ($M = 61.4$ for African Americans vs. $M = 56.0$ for Asian Americans), in line with expectations. This global self-esteem hierarchy replicates findings in a recent meta-analysis of global self-esteem among different ethnic groups (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000; Twenge & Crocker, 2002).

No differences were predicted for the instrument total of the collective self-esteem scale based on the previous work of Crocker and her colleagues (1992 and 1994). In contrast to previous findings, Asian-Americans reported higher levels of

collective self-esteem, $F(1, 416) = 6.61, p < .01$, ($M = 111.6$ for Asians vs. $M = 108.3$ for Blacks).

There were also group differences on several of the CSES subscales. One-way ANOVAs revealed African-Americans to report significantly lower levels of public collective self-esteem (CSEPUB) than did Asians ($M = 14.5$ and $M = 20.2$, respectively), $F(1, 416) = 221.56, p < .001$. Conversely, African-Americans reported significantly higher levels of member collective self-esteem (CSEMEM) than Asian Americans $F(1, 416) = 38.80, p < .001$ ($M = 24.3$ and $M = 21.8$, respectively) indicating that African Americans felt themselves a more worthy member of their race than Asian Americans. There were no differences on the Private (CSEPRIV) or Identity (CSEIDEN) subscales of the collective self-esteem scale.

There were no significant differences by gender on the RSES, CSES or any of the subscales of the CSES. There were also no significant differences on any of the self-esteem measures by sample.

Affect. African Americans reported significantly higher levels of positive affect than did Asian Americans $F(1, 415) = 30.9, p < .001$, ($M = 41.2$ vs. $M = 37.8$) on the positive affect subscale (PATOT) of the PANAS. No main effect for ethnicity occurred for the subscale measuring negative affect. No gender or sample differences on either positive or negative affect were observed.

Stigma Consciousness and Stereotypes of Whites as Racist. Consistent with the predictions of Hypothesis 3, African-Americans were more conscious of their status as a stigmatized group than were Asian Americans, $F(1, 415) = 23.16, p < .001$, ($M = 43.3$ for African-Americans vs. $M = 38.7$ for Asians).

However, Hypothesis 4 was not supported as there were no differences between African-Americans and Asian Americans in having stereotypes of Whites as racist. No gender differences occurred for either stigma consciousness or stereotypes of Whites as racist. However, there was a sample difference, with community participants indicating a greater awareness of their stigmatized status than college students $F(1, 415) = 8.28, p < .01$, ($M = 42.7$ for the community sample vs. $M = 39.8$ for the college sample).

Self-Construal and Implicit Personality Theory. The means on the Singelis (1994) Self-Construal Scale can also be found in Table 3. As predicted per Hypothesis 5, African Americans behaved more like Westerners (higher on independence) than did the Asian American sample $F(1, 415) = 16.02, p < .001$ ($M = 63.5$ for African Americans vs. $M = 59.9$ for Asian Americans), while the Asian American sample was more interdependent than African Americans $F(1, 415) = 36.58, p < .001$ ($M = 60.2$ for Asian Americans vs. $M = 54.6$ for African Americans). When the sample was split by gender, males reported higher levels of interdependence than females $F(1, 415) = 16.02, p < .001$ ($M = 63.5$ for males vs. $M = 59.9$ for females), but there were no differences on measures of independence. There were no sample differences on measures of self-construal or implicit personality theory.

Ethnic Identification. No differences were predicted between African Americans and Asian Americans for ethnic identification. The one-way ANOVAs on the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) indicated no differences, but there were differences on the adaptation of the Ward & Kennedy (1994) scale measuring

minority group identification. African Americans were more likely to be identified with their minority group than Asian Americans, $F(1, 414) = 18.44, p < .001$, ($M = 37.1$ for African-Americans vs. $M = 33.7$ for Asians). African Americans and Asian Americans did not significantly differ on the extent to which they identified with mainstream, White culture.

There were sample differences for the measures of ethnic identification. The community sample reported higher levels of ethnic identification on the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure than the college sample, $F(1, 414) = 8.73, p < .01$, ($M = 77.8$ for the community sample vs. $M = 73.9$ for the college sample), while the college sample identified more heavily with their ethnic background than did the community sample, $F(1, 414) = 6.58, p = .01$, ($M = 36.1$ for the college sample vs. $M = 33.9$ for the community sample). Comparison of means across gender indicated no main effects on any of the ethnic identification measures.

	Construct	Measure	Subscale	Range	African-American (n=195)		Asian-American (n=219)		Partial eta squared
					M	SD	M	SD	
1.	Perceived Discrimination	Prejudice Across Context		0-98	52.0***	17.4	44.6***	18.5	.041
		Outgroup Rejection - R		1-7	4.6***	1.3	3.8***	1.3	.073
2.	Self-Esteem	Rosenberg Self-Esteem		23-0	61.4***	8.3	56.0***	9.4	.078
		Collective Self-Esteem	Total	53-139	108.3**	12.9	111.6**	13.9	.019
			Public	4-28	14.5***	4.0	20.2***	3.8	.352
			Private	16-56	49.4	7.1	49.0	6.6	.000
			Member	8-28	24.3***	3.7	21.8***	4.5	.079
			Identity	7-28	20.0	5.0	20.6	4.7	.004
3.	Affect	Positive and Negative Affect	Positive	18-50	41.2***	5.5	37.8***	6.8	.063
			Negative	10-49	22.6	8.1	21.8	6.8	.003
4.	Cognitive Variables	Stereotypes of Whites as Racist		5-33	14.5	4.8	14.0	5.4	.002
		Stigma Consciousness		15-70	43.3***	9.5	38.7***	9.9	.058
5.	Cultural Variables	Implicit Personality Theory	Dispositionism	2-14	8.9	2.7	9.0	3.0	.001
			Situationism	2-14	9.1	2.9	8.9	2.6	.001
			Interactionism	4-14	11.6	2.4	11.9	2.4	.002
		Self-Construal Scale	Independence	35-86	63.5***	8.6	60.0***	9.4	.040
			Interdependence	21-84	54.6***	9.9	60.2***	9.1	.090
6.	Ethnic Identification	MEIM	Total Scale	35-98	75.4	13.1	75.2	12.8	.000
		WRD-ACC	Minority Culture	12-49	37.1***	8.2	33.7***	7.8	.041
			White Culture	8-46	26.7*	7.4	28.0*	7.9	.013

Note: $p < .05 = *$; $p < .01 = **$; $p < .001 = ***$

Table 3.

Descriptive Statistics and t-tests for all Omnibus Measures by Sample (n=402)

<i>Construct</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Male Participants (n=171)</i>		<i>Female Participants (n=230)</i>		<i>Partial eta squared</i>
			<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
1. <i>Perceived Discrimination</i>	<i>Prejudice Across Context</i>		48.9	17.4	46.9	19.2	.003
	<i>Outgroup Rejection - R</i>		4.3	1.3	4.1	1.4	.004
2. <i>Self-Esteem</i>	<i>Rosenberg Self-Esteem</i>		58.4	9.2	59.1	9.1	.002
	<i>Collective Self-Esteem</i>	<i>Total</i>	109.0	13.6	111.1	13.2	.007
		<i>Public</i>	18.0*	4.8	17.1*	4.9	.010
		<i>Private</i>	48.5*	7.1	49.8*	6.5	.011
		<i>Member</i>	22.6*	4.4	23.4*	4.1	.010
		<i>Identity</i>	19.8	4.8	20.8	4.9	.008
3. <i>Affect</i>	<i>Positive and Negative Affect</i>	<i>Positive</i>	39.4	6.6	39.5	6.3	.000
		<i>Negative</i>	21.6	6.8	22.6	7.7	.002
4. <i>Cognitive Variables</i>	<i>Stereotypes of Whites as Racist</i>		14.3	5.4	14.0	4.8	.002
	<i>Stigma Consciousness</i>		41.3	9.8	40.5	10.1	.002
5. <i>Cultural Variables</i>	<i>Implicit Personality Theory</i>	<i>Dispositionism</i>	9.0	2.9	9.0	2.8	.000
		<i>Situationism</i>	9.0	2.6	9.0	2.8	.000
		<i>Interactionism</i>	11.6	2.5	11.9	2.4	.004
	<i>Self-Construal Scale</i>	<i>Independence</i>	61.4	9.0	61.9	9.2	.001
		<i>Interdependence</i>	58.9**	9.4	56.4**	10.1	.015
6. <i>Ethnic Identification</i>	<i>MEIM</i>	<i>Total Scale</i>	74.9	12.9	75.8	13.0	.002
	<i>WRD-ACC</i>	<i>Minority Culture</i>	36.3	7.8	34.8	8.4	.007
		<i>White Culture</i>	27.5	8.2	27.2	7.4	.000

Note: $p < .05 = *$; $p < .01 = **$

Table 4.

Descriptive Statistics and t-tests for all Omnibus Measures by Gender (n=401)

	<i>Construct</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Community Sample (n=145)</i>		<i>College Sample (n=269)</i>		<i>Partial eta squared</i>
				<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
49	1. <i>Perceived Discrimination</i>							
		<i>Prejudice Across Context</i>		45.7*	19.5	49.3*	17.6	.010
		<i>Outgroup Rejection - R</i>		4.3	1.4	4.1	1.3	.002
	2. <i>Self-Esteem</i>							
		<i>Rosenberg Self-Esteem</i>		58.8	9.2	58.4	9.4	.001
		<i>Collective Self-Esteem</i>	<i>Total</i>	110.5	14.5	109.8	13.0	.001
			<i>Public</i>	17.5	5.1	17.6	4.7	.000
			<i>Private</i>	48.6	7.2	49.5	6.6	.002
			<i>Member</i>	23.6	4.1	22.7	4.4	.008
			<i>Identity</i>	20.8	4.9	20.0	4.8	.008
	3. <i>Affect</i>							
		<i>Positive and Negative Affect</i>	<i>Positive</i>	39.9	6.5	39.2	6.4	.003
			<i>Negative</i>	22.3	7.8	22.2	7.2	.000
	4. <i>Cognitive Variables</i>							
		<i>Stereotypes of Whites as Racist</i>		14.6	5.4	14.0	4.9	.002
		<i>Stigma Consciousness</i>		42.7**	10.5	39.8**	9.5	.017
	5. <i>Cultural Variables</i>							
		<i>Implicit Personality Theory</i>	<i>Dispositionism</i>	8.7	3.2	9.1	2.6	.004
			<i>Situationism</i>	8.7	3.0	9.2	2.6	.006
			<i>Interactionism</i>	12.0	2.2	11.7	2.5	.003
		<i>Self-Construal Scale</i>	<i>Independence</i>	61.6	9.9	61.6	8.8	.000
			<i>Interdependence</i>	57.0	10.0	57.9	9.8	.002
	6. <i>Ethnic Identification</i>							
		<i>MEIM</i>	<i>Total Scale</i>	77.8**	13.1	73.9**	12.7	.020
		<i>WRD-ACC</i>	<i>Minority Culture</i>	33.9*	7.9	36.1*	8.2	.014
			<i>White Culture</i>	26.5	7.6	27.8	7.8	.007

Note: $p < .05 = *$; $p < .01 = **$

Table 5.

Descriptive Statistics and t-tests for all Omnibus Measures by Sample (n=414)

Interactions Between Culture, Sample and Gender

A 2 (ethnicity: African American vs. Asian American) X 2 (sample: community vs. college) ANOVA was conducted on each of the dependent measures. Given the number of significance tests computed, a more conservative alpha level of $p < .01$ was adopted to minimize the number of Type I errors. Although no effects were predicted, there were significant findings for the collective self-esteem total scale as well as two of this measure's subscales. The ANOVA revealed three significant two-way interactions for ethnicity by sample, for the dependent measures of CSEPRIV $F(1, 414) = 502.2$, $p < .01$, CSEIDEN $F(1, 414) = 292.1$, $p < .01$, and CSETOT $F(1, 414) = 3045.1$, $p < .01$. For all three of the significant two-way interactions, the pattern was the same—the collective self-esteem of Asian Americans was higher for the community sample, whereas the pattern was reversed for African Americans, with those in college showing greater collective self-esteem. See Table 6 for the cell means.

Measure		<u>African American</u>	<u>Asian American</u>
	Sample		
Private Collective Self-Esteem	College	50.3 ^a	48.5 ^b
	Community	47.0 ^a	50.0 ^b
Collective Self-Esteem Identity	College	20.4 ^d	19.6 ^c
	Community	19.1 ^d	22.1 ^c
Collective Self-Esteem Total	College	109.8	109.6
	Community	103.8 ^e	115.3 ^f
Note: Values in rows with differing superscripts are significant at the $p < .05$ level.			
Table 6.			
<i>Significant Interactions on Dependent Measures by Culture and Sample</i>			

A 2 (gender: female vs. male) X 2 (sample: community vs. college) ANOVA was conducted on each of the dependent measures as well. Again, no effects were predicted, but there were significant findings for the private collective self-esteem subscale (CSEPRIV), the collective self-esteem total scale (CSETOT) and the measure of global self-esteem (RSETOT).

The ANOVA revealed three significant two-way interactions for gender by sample, for the dependent measures of CSEPRIV $F(1, 385) = 10.6, p < .001$, CSETOT $F(1, 385) = 10.0, p < .01$, and RSETOT $F(1, 385) = 5.9, p < .01$. The pattern for all of the significant two-way interactions was the same—the collective and global self-esteem of males was higher in the community sample, whereas women reported higher collective and global self-esteem in the college sample.

There were no significant interactions for the 2 (gender: female vs. male) X 2 (ethnicity: African American vs. Asian American) ANOVA.

Measure	Male	Female
Sample		
Private Collective Self-Esteem		
College	47.8 ^a	50.8 ^b
Community	50.0 ^a	48.3 ^b
Collective Self-Esteem Total		
College	107.0 ^c	112.0 ^d
Community	113.8 ^c	109.6 ^d
Global Self-Esteem Total		
College	57.3 ^e	59.5 ^f
Community	61.0 ^e	58.4 ^f

Note: Values in rows with differing superscripts are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Table 7.

Significant Interactions on Dependent Measures by Gender and Sample

Intercorrelations Among Measured Variables

Table 8 displays correlations among measured variables. Discussion of individual correlations will be done within the context of model fit in the following section.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Prejudice Across Context	---																			
2. Outgroup Rejection-Revised	.46	---																		
3. Public Collective Self-Esteem	.28	-.45	---																	
4. Private Collective Self-Esteem	.08	-.16	.15	---																
5. Identity Collective Self-Esteem	.04	.11	.00	.37	---															
6. Member Collective Self-Esteem	.14	.17	-.18	.48	.36	---														
7. Total Collective Self-Esteem	.09	-.15	.38	.85	.66	.63	---													
8. Total Rosenberg Self-Esteem	.00	.01	-.04	.39	.16	.49	.40	---												
9. Positive Affect Scale	.10	.11	-.08	.25	.16	.45	.30	.51	---											
10. Negative Affect Scale	.14	.20	-.18	-.25	-.02	-.16	-.25	-.45	-.08	---										
11. Implicit Personality - Situationism	.03	.11	.05	-.02	.06	.00	.03	.07	.07	-.01	---									
12. Implicit Personality - Dispositionism	.04	-.02	-.03	.02	-.01	.05	.01	.05	.10	-.03	-.01	---								
13. Implicit Personality - Interactionism	.05	.09	-.03	-.02	.00	.04	-.01	-.01	.05	.05	.07	.01	---							
14. Independence Self-Construal	.08	.10	-.10	.13	.06	.27	.14	.39	.48	-.16	.06	.10	.18	---						
15. Interdependent Self-Construal	.02	-.01	.20	.07	.10	.02	.15	-.16	.06	.01	.11	.17	.13	.06	---					
16. Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure	.15	.23	-.06	.38	.50	.56	.53	.26	.35	-.08	.04	.04	.05	.19	.23	---				
17. Minority Identification Total	.21	.25	-.13	.33	.29	.43	.36	.21	.29	.04	.00	.06	-.12	.16	.16	.52	---			
18. White Identification Total	.08	-.17	.20	.05	-.04	.01	.09	.00	.17	-.03	.00	.08	.07	.11	.27	.06	.18	---		
19. Stereotypes of Whites as Racist	.38	.40	-.23	-.08	.08	.05	-.07	-.04	.00	.14	.04	-.02	-.13	-.07	-.08	.11	.15	-.28	---	
20. Stigma Consciousness	.38	.63	-.43	-.05	.26	.23	-.01	.04	.04	.14	.02	-.15	.03	-.05	-.07	.27	.22	-.30	.48	---

Correlations above .10 are significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). Correlations above .13 are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 8.

Intercorrelations Among Measured Variables (n=421)

The Rejection-Identification Model

The first publication of the rejection-identification model (RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999) posited that the willingness to make attributions to prejudice can paradoxically have both a positive and negative effect on a person's well-being. Unlike earlier models for conceptualizing attributions to prejudice, which either sought to understand attributions to prejudice as causing harm to self-esteem (Anderson et al., 1991; Fischer & Shaw, 1999) or a self-serving discounting attribution (Crocker & Major, 1995, Crocker et al., 1991; Dion, 1975; Dion, 1985) that helps protect self-esteem, the rejection-identification model explored some of the benefits and liabilities of making attributions to prejudice across time. In their model, attributions to prejudice were thought to have a direct negative impact on both personal and collective well-being, but also an indirectly positive effect on well-being, since attributions to prejudice increased ethnic identification, which was hypothesized to benefit both personal and collective well-being. See Figure 2 for a graphical display of their model.

An additional refinement to the model was described by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003), who explicitly tested that the negative impact of a person's willingness to make attributions to prejudice on collective-well-being was mediated by public collective self-esteem—that is, perceiving discrimination only adversely impacted how a person felt about their group only if they first recognized their disparaged status of their in-group. Both studies created a framework in which the current model will be replicated from and extending upon.

Furthermore, considering that all of the prior research testing the rejection-identification model and the mediating effects of public collective self-esteem has

focused on African-Americans and women, little is currently known about the extent to which the current model adequately fits other minority groups, particularly Asians. A further limitation of past studies is that the majority of participants were college students enrolled in psychology classes—a group unlikely to capture the rich diversity in processing of race-related issues that exists among individuals who have graduated college or who have never entered college at all. The current study extended upon prior research by assessing the fit of a new, theoretically-altered version of the Rejection-Identification Model on the complete sample, as well as assessing the relative fit of the model for African-Americans versus Asian-Americans, the college sample versus the community sample, and for men versus women.

The Mediation Roles of Ethnic Identification and Public Collective Self-Esteem Between Perceived Discrimination and Private Collective Self Worth

The mediational roles of ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem between perceived discrimination (attributions to prejudice) and private collective self-esteem were at the core of the RIM as put forth by Branscombe et al. (1999) and Leonardelli and Tormala (2003), respectively. The following preliminary analyses sought to replicate the findings of Leonardelli and Tormala (2003).

To analyze whether ethnic identification mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and private collective self-esteem, a series of regression analyses were conducted as suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986) using a Sobel Test (1960) as well as a Goodman Index (1960). First, among the combined sample of African Americans and Asian Americans, perceived discrimination was found to have a negative relationship with private collective self-esteem ($r = -.09, p < .08$) that approached

significance, as well as a positive relationship with the indicator of ethnic identification, the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure ($r = .16, p < .001$). When simultaneous regression analyses were used, and perceived discrimination was entered along with ethnic identification to predict private collective self-esteem, perceived discrimination became a significant negative predictor of private self-esteem ($\beta = -.16, p < .001$) while ethnic identification continued to be a positive predictor of private self esteem ($\beta = .42, p < .001$). The current data supports the finding that ethnic identification partially mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and private collective self-esteem, with both the Sobel Test ($p = .002$) and Goodman ($p < .002$) index suggesting significant mediation.

Further analyses were performed to examine whether or not public collective self-esteem mediated the remaining direct negative effect of perceived discrimination on private collective self-esteem. As stated above, there was a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and private collective self-esteem ($r = -.09, p < .08$) that approached significance. Moreover, there was a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and public collective self-esteem ($r = -.30, p < .001$) and significant, positive relationship between public collective self-esteem and private collective self-esteem ($r = .15, p < .002$). To establish mediation, however, the data also needed to show that perceived discrimination continued to predict public collective self-esteem even when ethnic identification was controlled for. When simultaneous regression analysis was used, regressing public collective self-esteem on perceived discrimination and ethnic identification, perceived discrimination remained a significant negative predictor of public collective self-esteem ($\beta = -.30, p < .001$). The next set of analyses tested whether

or not the effect of perceived discrimination on private collective self-esteem persisted even after controlling for ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem. If ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem indeed mediated the negative effects of perceived discrimination on private collective self-esteem, the relative contribution of perceived discrimination should appreciably decline in a simultaneous regression.

Regression analysis indicated that even though ethnic identification ($\beta = .42, p < .001$) and public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .15, p < .001$) continued to be significant predictors of private collective self-esteem, so did perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.12, p < .01$), and in the expected negative direction.

Therefore, unlike the findings of Leonardelli and Tormala (2003), ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem did not cleanly mediate the direct negative effects of perceived discrimination on private collective self-esteem. Given this finding, the structural equation model proposed by this study should retain a direct path from perceived discrimination to private collective self-esteem in addition to having mediating relationships of public collective self-esteem and ethnic identification as mediators. For visual representation of the mediational analyses, see Figure 2.

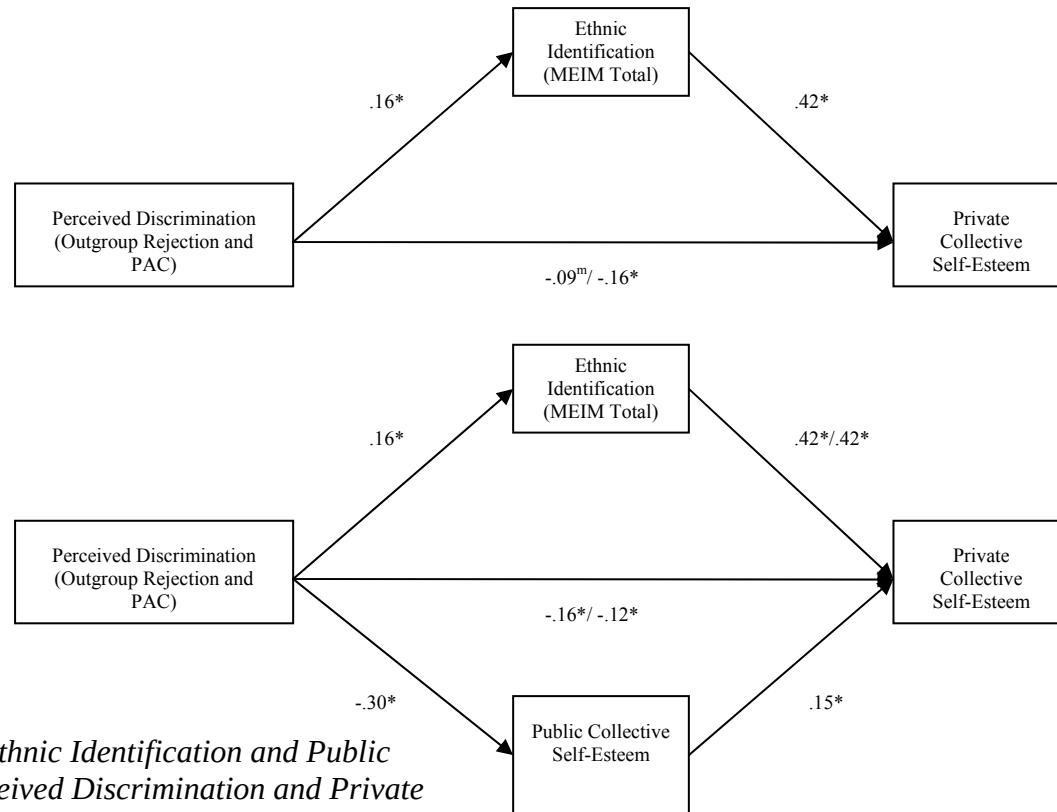


Figure 2.
Assessing the Mediational Roles of Ethnic Identification and Public Collective Self-Esteem Between Perceived Discrimination and Private Collective Self-Esteem

Note. In the top panel, the number to the left of the slash indicates the association before in-group identification was entered into the analysis. In the bottom panel, numbers to the left of the slash indicate associations from the original mediational model before public collective self-esteem was entered into the regression analyses.

^m indicates $p < .05$

^{*} indicates $p < .01$.

Fit of Different Rejection-Identification Model Iterations on the Full Sample

In order to assess whether or not the hypothesized model fit the current data better than the original Branscombe et al. (1999) RIM and the Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) RIM-Public Collective Self-Esteem altered model (RIM-CSEPUB), structural equation modeling methods were used to fit the various models to the data. Using MX GUI for Windows (Neale, 1999), all of the above models were tested as well as a null model representing a point of reference for poor fit. To then compare the relative fit of the different models, comparisons of the Root Mean Square Error of Approximations (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980) and their 95% confidence intervals were examined to assess whether or not any of the models fit the data significantly better than the others. Comparisons of chi-square goodness of fit indices were not used in the comparison of model fit since: (a) the models being tested were non-nested, and (b) the chi-square goodness of fit index becomes very likely to reject the H_0 =good fit as sample size gets large (MacCallum & Browne, 2000).

MX provided several indices of model fit, including the Chi-square goodness-of-fit test, with perfect fit indicated by 0, and progressively worse fit indicated by higher chi-square values. MX also produced Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC), with values closer to 0 indicating good fit and also the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980). Browne and Cudeck (1990) have determined that RMSEA values below .05 indicate very good fit, values in the .05-.08 range indicate acceptable fit, and values between .08-.10 indicate adequate fit. In general, the RMSEA is a good measure of fit since the computation of the RMSEA takes into account model complexity (degrees of freedom) and imposes a penalty on models that are overly

complex without proportionally improving model fit. In addition, incremental fit indices including the non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler & Bonnett, 1980) and the normed fit index (NFI; Bentler & Bonnett, 1980) were computed to provide alternative indices of fit that measure the relative goodness of fit of the data to the specified model compared to a null model (a default model with no relationships specified between variables). To further complement the indices of fit generated, the BL86 and BL89 (Bollen, 1989) indices of fit were also calculated, with values closer to 1.0 indicating better fit, with values of .90 or above indicating good fit.

While the chi-square, RMSEA, AIC, NNFI, NFI, BL86 and BL89 are good indices for assessing how well the theorized model fits the data, another method of assessing model fit is by assessing the significance of individual pathways within the specified in the model. Therefore, similar to Branscombe et al. (1999), each model tested also included significance tests of the model's unidirectional and bidirectional relationships through examination of the path weights' 95% confidence intervals.

To ensure enough participants had been incorporated into the study for adequate power, a power estimation table was referenced indicating the power for the current analysis to be .952 with the full sample, and roughly .688 for analyses splitting the overall sample in half (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996).

Null Model Test. Analyses begun by first testing a “null model,” or a model in which all variances between observed variables are set to zero. See Figure 2 for a representation of this model. Testing the null model establishes baseline measures of fit against which hypothesized models can later be compared. Consistent with expectations, analyzing the null model yielded poor fit as demonstrated by a very large chi-square

value $\chi^2(55, N=421) = 1433.45, p < .001$ and a very high RMSEA score .244 (CI 95%; 179, .286) suggesting that the null model described the data quite poorly.

Original RIM Model Test. Analyses then tested an additional series of pre-specified models. First, Branscombe et al.'s RIM was tested prior to the changes made by Leonardelli and Tormala (2003). The tested model did, however, vary slightly from the model originally tested by Branscombe and her colleagues (1999). For instance, instead of using a Hostility Toward Whites measure as one of the manifest indicators of PD, Pinel's Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (1999) was used as the third indicator instead. The Hostility Toward Whites measure, which included items such as, "When I see White people on the street, I can't help but think bad things about them," or "I use terms like 'white trash,' 'redneck,' or other names in reference to White people," contained less face validity compared to the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire, which contained items such as, "Most people have more racist thoughts against Black people than they actually express," and "Most people have a problem viewing Black people as equals," (Pinel, 1999). Furthermore, instead of having a single manifest indicator of ethnic identification (Branscombe et al., 1999 used the total scale score of the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure as their only indicator of ethnic identification), the current study made ethnic identification a latent factor and used the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIMTOT), the Identity subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSEIDEN), and the minority identification subscale of the Ward & Kennedy (1994) cultural subscale (MINTOT) since three manifest indicators of a latent construct are generally preferred when using covariance structure modeling (MacCallum & Browne, 2000). See Figure 3 for a representation of the model. Unlike Branscombe et al. who managed to get good fit,

the fit of the RIM to this mixed-sample that included both Asian-Americans and African-Americans yielded a chi-square value of $\chi^2(30, N=421) = 182.214, p < .001$ and a moderately high RMSEA score of .110 (CI 95%; .092-.128). Interpretation of the RMSEA score indicates a fit that is not acceptable (Brown & Cudeck, 1990).

RIM with Public Collective Self Esteem as a Mediator Model Test. The next model to be tested was the adapted version of the RIM as suggested by Leonardelli and Tormala (2002). While Leonardelli and Tormala only tested mediation through a sequence of simultaneous regression equations combined with a Sobel test (Sobel, 1960), structural equation modeling provides another method for assessing mediation. Fitting this adapted version of the RIM to the total combined sample that included both Asian-Americans and African-Americans yielded a chi-square value of $\chi^2(39, N=421) = 243.95, p < .001$ and a moderately high RMSEA score of .112 (CI 95%; .096-.128), once again indicating poor fit (Brown & Cudeck, 1990). The relative fit of the original RIM compared to the RIM with public collective self-esteem as a mediator was not significantly different as indicated by the containment of the RMSEA point estimates of the 95% confidence interval

RIM-Altered Model Test. After removing the direct pathway between PD and PWB, adding a direct pathway from PD to CWB, and another direct path from CWB to PWB, the hypothesized model was tested using the procedures as mentioned above. Compared to all prior models, the theoretically driven RIM-Altered model fit the data best, yielding $\chi^2(38, N=421) = 168.0, p < .001$, AIC = 92.0, RMSEA = .090 (95% CI=.074-.107), NFI = .88, NNFI = .86, BL89 = .90, BL86 = .84. As evidence that the current model fit the overall sample data significantly better than any of the prior models,

the 95% confidence intervals around the point estimate of the RIM-Altered model did not include either of the RMSEA point estimates of either of the prior two models. This indicated that the fit of the RIM-Altered model was superior to all three of the previously tested models.

The superior fit of the RIM-Altered model yielded other noteworthy findings. While the majority of the path weights were significantly different from zero and consistent in direction and magnitude with prior research, two paths varied from past research: the path from public collective self-esteem (CSEPUB) to overall collective well-being (CWB), $\beta = -.21$, $p = .05$, and the path from ethnic identification (ETHNIC ID) to personal well-being (PWB), $\beta = -.66$, $p < .01$, and.

The first path that differed from past models was the lack of clear mediation by CSEPUB between PD and CWB. While the expected path between PD and CSEPUB was significant and in the expected direction $-.54$, the path from CSEPUB to CWB ($-.21$) was only marginally significant and in the opposite direction, indicating that as an individual becomes aware that their group is disparaged, their overall collective well-being improves. Given the marginal reliability of this path, the interpretation of this path is that there was no direct influence of CSEPUB on collective well-being.

The second unique path weight in the RIM-Altered was the negative path weight between ETHNIC ID and PWB. This finding challenges the notion that ethnic identification has a direct, positive effect on PWB espoused by Branscombe and her colleagues. One theoretically based explanation for why the path became negative once a direct path was specified from CWB to PWB is that CWB mediates the positive effect of ETHNICID on PWB. The direct relationship specified between CWB to PWB in the

RIM-Altered is a strength of the current model (not specified by past models,) and there is good reason to believe that stronger ethnic identification would lead to greater collective self-worth, which in turn would affect personal well-being.

As a secondary and post-hoc test of whether CWB mediated the relationship between ETHNICID and PWB, a series of regression analyses were conducted as suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986) using a Sobel Test (1960) as well as a Goodman Index (1960). First, among the combined sample of African Americans and Asian Americans, ethnic identification was found to have a positive relationship with personal well-being ($r = .26, p < .01$), as well as a positive relationship with the measure of collective well-being ($r = .53, p < .001$). When simultaneous regression analyses were used, and ethnic identification was entered along with collective well-being to predict personal well-being, ethnic identification was no longer a significant predictor of PWB ($\beta = -.07, p = .20$) while CWB continued to be a positive predictor of PWB ($\beta = .36, p < .001$). These results support the notion that CWB mediates the relationship between in-group identification and PWB, with both the Sobel Test ($p = .002$) and Goodman ($p < .002$) index suggesting significant mediation. See Figure 7 for a graphic representation of this effect.

Another possible explanation for why there may be a negative relationship between ethnic identification and indices of personal well-being stems from research about the influence of self-construal on other self-constructs, namely self-esteem. Hetts, Sakuma & Pelham (1999) found that interdependent self-construals were inversely related to self-esteem; therefore it is possible that as ethnic identification increased, so did the level of interdependence in self-construals, which then had a suppressing effect on

self-esteem. Examination of bivariate correlations indicated that all three ethnic identification variables were positively and reliably correlated with Interdependence (MEIMTOT $r = .23$, MINTOT $r = .16$, and CSEIDEN $r = .10$) and that Interdependence was negatively and significantly correlated to self-esteem ($r = -.16$).

To determine whether or not interdependence in self-construal accounted for the negative relationship with self-worth, hierarchical regressions were used, entering Interdependence in Step 1, followed by the three measures of Ethnic Identification in Step 2. Once Interdependence was partialled out, two of the three indicators of ethnic identification become positive, significant predictors of personal well-being. See Table 9 for results of the hierarchical regressions.

With both mediational analyses and hierarchical regressions suggesting mediation by CWB and possible influences of self-construal that covary with ETHNICID, it is unlikely that ethnic identification has a direct, positive influence on PWB.

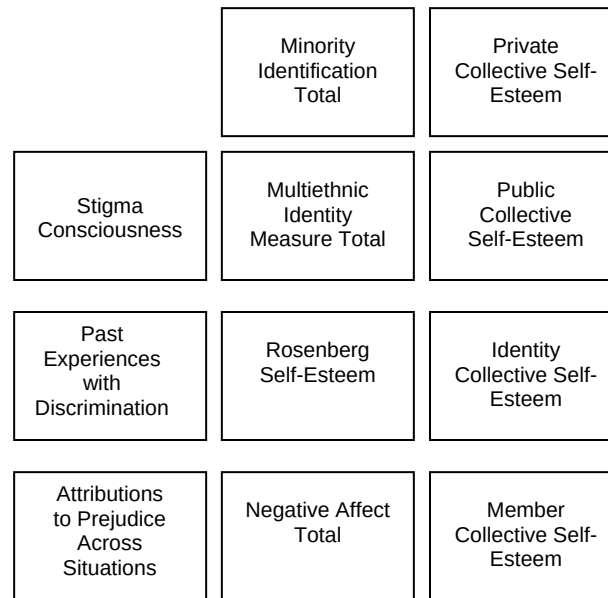
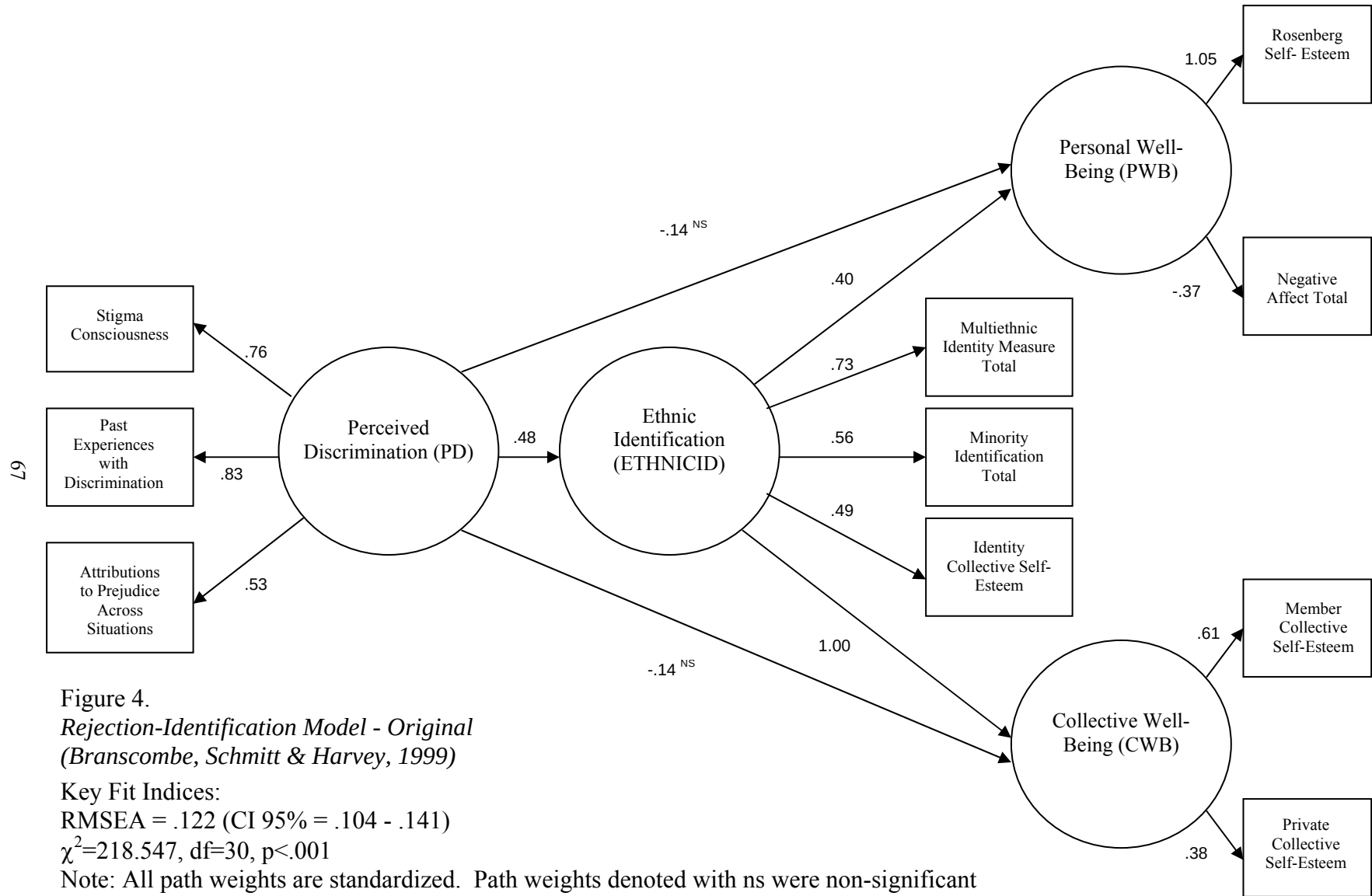


Figure 3.
Null Model Including All Manifest Variables – No Intercorrelations Specified Between Variables

Key Fit Indices:

RMSEA = .244 (CI 95% = .179-.286)

$\chi^2=1433.45$, $df=55$, $p<.001$



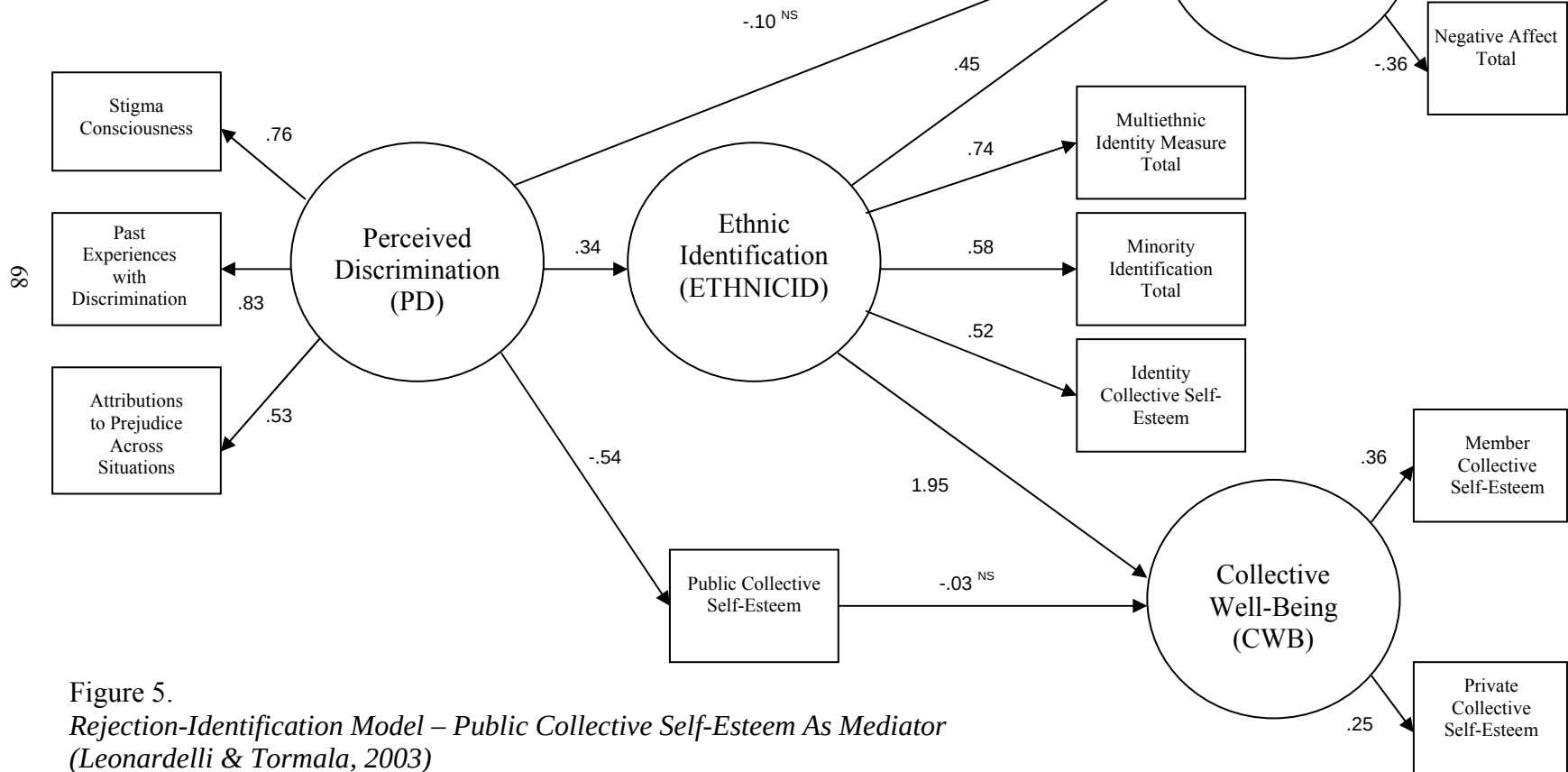
Key Fit Indices

RMSEA = .112 (.096-.128)

$\chi^2=243.95$, $df=39$, $p<.001$

Note: All path weights are standardized

Path weights denoted with ns were non-significant



Key Fit Indices

RMSEA = .090 (.076-.104)

$\chi^2=168.03$, $df=38$, $p<.001$.

Note: All path weights are standardized
Path weights denoted with ns were non-significant

69

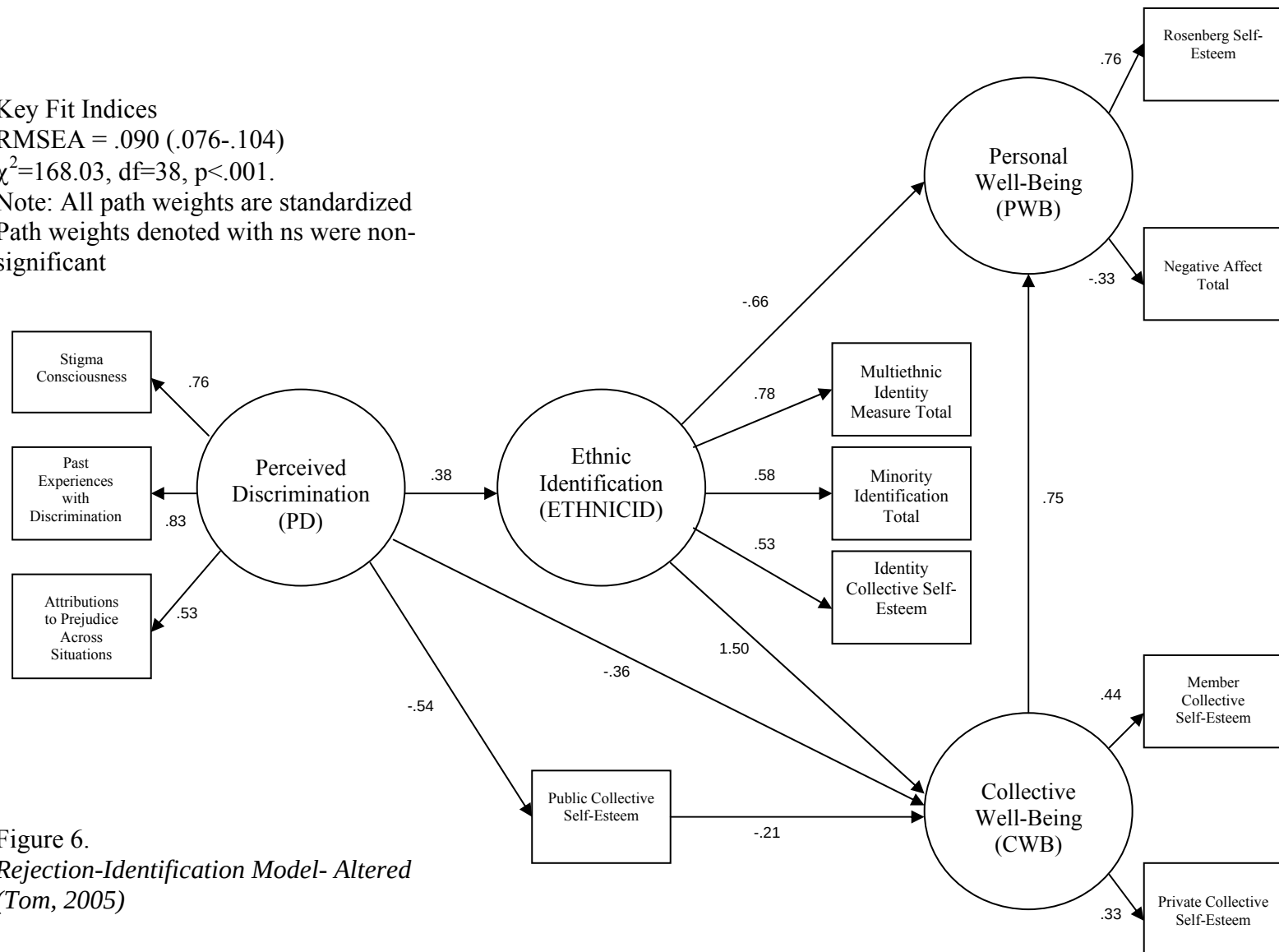


Figure 6.
Rejection-Identification Model- Altered
(Tom, 2005)

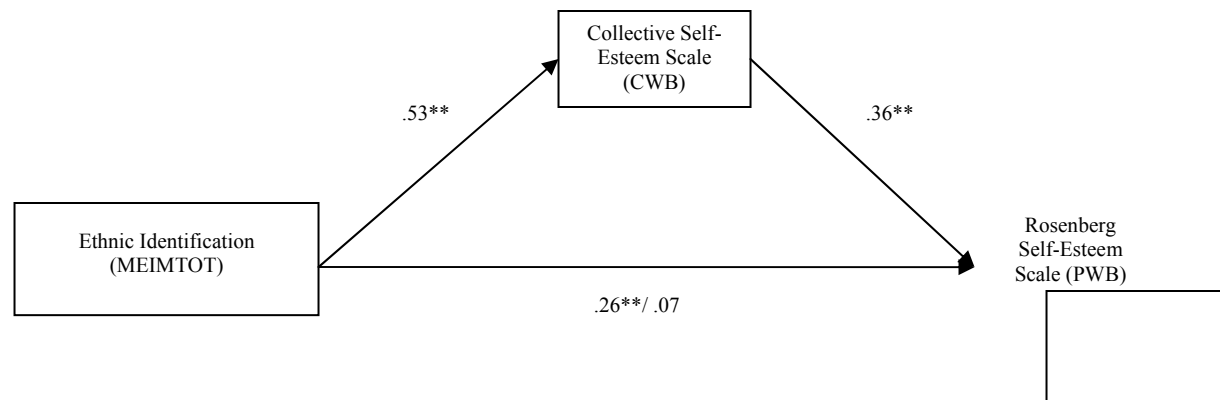


Figure 7.

Assessing the mediation of collective well-being between ethnic identification and personal well-being.

Note. The number to the left of the slash indicates the association before collective well-being was entered into the analysis. The number to the right of the slash indicates the association after collective well-being was entered into the regression.

** indicates $p < .01$.

<i>Predictor variable</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>R squared</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Step 1			0.024	
Interdependence	-0.156	0.046		$p<.01$
Step 2			0.13	
Interdependence	-0.229	0.045		$p<.001$
Minority Identification Total (MINTOT)	0.109	0.062		$p<.05$
Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIMTOT)	0.232	0.043		$p<.001$
Identity Collective Self-Esteem (CSEIDEN)	0.056	0.103		$p<.30$

Table 9.
*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Testing the Effects of Self-Construal
and Ethnic Identification on Personal Well-Being*

Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to African-Americans and Asian-Americans Samples, Separately

In order to assess the relative goodness-of-fit between of the same model to different populations, separate covariance matrices were generated for the Asian American and African American sample. Using MX, the two covariance matrices were then fitted to the RIM-Altered, and the goodness of fit was examined across the two populations.

Despite the many culturally driven differences between African Americans and Asian Americans, the RIM-Altered fit both populations equally well. The RIM-Altered fit the African American sub-sample very well, $\chi^2(38, N=167) = 78.419, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .076 (CI 95% = .047, .104) and also fit the Asian American sub-sample well, $\chi^2(38, N=234) = 86.284, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .077 (CI 95% = .051, .103). Additionally, examining all of the path weights indicated that all paths were significant and in the expected direction. For individual pathweights, please see Appendix R for the African American sample and Appendix S for the Asian American sample.

Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to College and Community Samples, Separately

Psychology has often been criticized for being the psychology of Psychology-taking undergraduates. Two out of the four studies that have directly tested parts or the full RIM have relied on solely undergraduate students (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2002) while the remaining two studies have used a relatively small number of non-college participants (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 2001). To address this

issue, approximately one third of the sample (137) was from non-college students. To assess the extent to which the RIM-Altered fit both college and community samples, a similar set of analyses were performed as described in the previous section comparing the fit of the model to the different sample populations. The RIM-Altered fit the college sub-sample quite well, $\chi^2(38, N=263) = 94.617, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .075 (CI 95% = .053, .098), which was expected given prior studies have used predominantly college samples. The community sub-sample computations produced a poorer fit, with $\chi^2(38, N=137) = 102.743, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .112 (CI 95% = .081, .143). Examination of the 95% CI indicates the RIM-altered fit the college sample significantly better than the community sample. For individual path-weights, please see Appendix N for the community sample and Appendix O for the college sample.

Fit of the RIM-Altered Model to Females and Males, Separately

At least two of the prior studies examining the viability of the RIM have examined the fit of the model to exclusively female populations (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2002) as they were assessed for gender discrimination. The current study, while including data from both male and female studies, concentrated solely on the effect of racial discrimination. As such, the current data allows the comparison of the fit of the RIM-altered to both men and women as it pertains to racial discrimination. The RIM-Altered fit the female sub-sample adequately, $\chi^2(38, N=225) = 121.757, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .099 (CI 95% = .076, .123), but fit the male sub-sample even better, with $\chi^2(38, N=164) = 63.493, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .064 (CI 95% = .027, .096).

For individual path-weights, please see Appendix P for the male sample and Appendix Q for the female sample.

Fit of Alternative Models Proposed in Literature

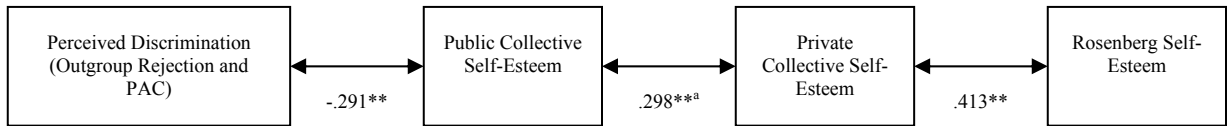
Prior to the work of Branscombe et al. (1999), Crocker and Major (1989) had proposed a Discounting Model of attributions whereby attributions to prejudice were thought to have a buffering effect on self-worth. To test this model, both personal and collective well-being were given directional paths from perceived discrimination (all latent variables represented by the same manifest variables as used in all prior tested models). If attributions to prejudice promoted higher levels of self-worth, then PD should have been positively related to both PWB and CWB. The Discounting Model fit the sample poorly, $\chi^2(9, N=421) = 78.589, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .136 (CI 95% = .104, .169), AIC = 60.589, and moreover, the path from PD to PWB was not significantly different from zero. Furthermore, the path from PD to CWB was significant, but in a positive direction.

A final model to be ruled out as an explanation of the data is the Maladjustment Model. The Maladjustment Model holds that self-worth, and in general personal well-being, will influence how a person sees the world. People who have low self-esteem or are potentially depressed may be more likely to view the world as a hostile environment, fraught with malicious actions by countless bigots. To test this model, PWB was used to predict both PD and hostility toward Whites (Stereotypes of Whites as Racist), much like Branscombe et al. (1999). The Maladjustment Model also fit poorly, $\chi^2(8, N=421) = 120.723, p < .001$, with an RMSEA of .183 (CI 95% = .149, .218), AIC = 104.723. The

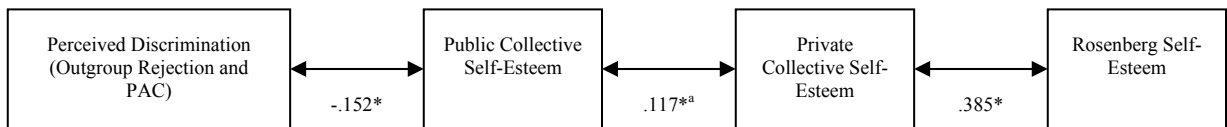
very low loadings of the manifest variables on the latent factor for PWB (-.05 for the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and .25 for the Negative Affect Subscale) further imply the poor fit of the model.

The previous testing suggests that the best fitting model is the RIM-Altered, and that while both Discounting Models and the Maladjustment Model may explain some of the variance between measures of PD, PWB and CWB, both models leave a great deal of unexplained variance. Taken together, the multiple tests on the different models tend to disconfirm the competing models and supports the RIM-Altered as the model of best fit, and one that works equally well for Asian Americans and African Americans.

Bivariate Correlations for Asian Americans



Bivariate Correlations for African Americans



Note: * indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$
 Correlations across ethnic groups are significant if marked with a letter superscript.

Figure 8.
Bivariate Correlations for Asian Americans and African Americans between PD and PWB

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Rejection and Identification: A Tale of Two Distinct Effects to Perceived Discrimination

The current study replicated many of the findings of Branscombe et al.'s (1999) Rejection-Identification Model and partially replicated the findings of Leonardelli and Tormala (2003) by showing that perceiving prejudice can have both positive and negative consequences for well-being. The particular pathways through which perceived discrimination (PD) affects personal well-being (PWB) and collective well-being (CWB) were found to be different than prior conceptions of the RIM, suggesting an alternative set of mechanisms through which well-being, both personal and collective, are formed.

Rejection: The Negative Effects of Perceived Discrimination

Perceived Discrimination on Collective Well-Being. As predicted, perceiving prejudice had a direct, negative effect on an individual's collective well-being. While public collective self-esteem partially mediated the deleterious effects of discrimination on collective well-being, this study found support for perceived discrimination's direct influence on collective well-being. So while the sting of social stigmatization is partially

due to an awareness that one's group is devalued within society (supported by mediational analyses, but not the individual path weight within the structural equation model), a direct effect of perceived discrimination on collective well-being was obtained.

Another possible explanation for the failure to find public collective self-esteem as a complete mediator was that this was a non-college sample consisting of older participants. It is plausible to think that individuals who have had more life experiences (cumulatively) with discrimination may be less likely to internalize mistreatment. In past research, *racial socialization*, or the extent to which an individual has been socialized to expect unfair treatment, has been found to buffer the effects of perceived discrimination on an individual's well-being (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). It follows that older individuals are likely to have had more opportunities for racial socialization compared to younger individuals, perhaps making older individuals less susceptible to internalizing the negative perception of others, and therefore reducing the effect between public collective self-esteem and private collective self-esteem.

Another important contribution of the research was that culture may moderate the extent to which individuals internalized the effects of stigma. A novel and unexpected finding was that Asian Americans may tend to internalize stigma to a greater extent than African Americans. Asian Americans showed a significantly stronger positive relationship between public collective self-esteem and private collective self-esteem, suggesting a stronger link between how they think *others* feel about Asian Americans and how they *privately* feel about being a member of the group. Perhaps African Americans' protracted history and experience with discrimination has better prepared them for dealing with the unpalatable consequences of discrimination. Or perhaps Asian

Americans place more emphasis on how they are perceived by others and are therefore more likely to internalize stigma.

Perceived Discrimination on Personal Well-Being. The current study provided confirmatory support for the hypothesis that there is no direct relationship between perceived discrimination and personal well-being. Comparisons of both bivariate correlations between perceived discrimination and personal well-being and the fit of models including or excluding direct links between PD and PWB suggest a non-significant PD-PWB link. However, because of the link between CWB to PWB, perceived discrimination likely has an indirect effect on personal well-being. Taken together, the indirect negative effects of perceived discrimination on personal well-being highlight methodological concerns with examining only bivariate correlations; doing so is likely to overlook multiple mechanisms and competing processes operating between racism and personal well-being.

Results from this study are supportive of the overall findings of Branscombe et al. (1999) and Jetten et al. (2001) that any discounting benefits received by making attributions to prejudice are unlikely to operate when discrimination across contexts and time is examined. While attributions to prejudice may buffer self-esteem in limited contexts (Crocker et al., 1991; Dion, 1985; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997), this study calls into question the notions that African Americans maintain high levels of self-esteem by making attributions to prejudice as originally suggested by Crocker and Major (1989).

Identification: The Indirect Positive Effects of Perceived Discrimination

The current study also partially confirmed the hypothesis that in-group identification mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al. 2001; Schmitt et al. 2002). As individuals reported more discrimination, they identified more heavily with their ethnic group and were able to protect their collective well-being, but not necessarily their personal well-being. Ethnic identification's mediation was further supported by the finding that direct negative effects of perceived discrimination on collective well-being *increased* when the effects of ethnic identification were controlled. However, the current study failed to replicate findings that in-group identification (ethnic identification) positively mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and *personal well-being*. Contrary to previous findings (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al. 2001; Schmitt et al. 2002), the data from this study suggested that as a person perceived more discrimination and identified with their ethnic in-group more heavily, personal well-being *decreased*. Of the possible explanations, there are two that may account for the unpredicted direction of this link.

First, it is likely that the specification of a direct link between collective well-being and personal well-being in the altered version of the RIM allowed for the emergence of collective well-being as a mediator between ethnic identification and personal well-being. In a model without a CWB-PWB link, any positive relationship between ethnic identification and personal well-being would likely be expressed through the direct link. In line with this notion, mediational analyses via Sobel test indicated collective well-being was indeed a mediator between ethnic identification and personal

well-being. Therefore, a major conceptual contribution of this study is that ethnic identification may have a positive impact on personal well-being, but only by first improving a person's sense of collective well-being. Given the relationship of ethnic identification to an individual's social identity (see Phinney, 1990), it is plausible that the positive effects on personal identity occur via strengthening of the collective identity.

A second plausible explanation deals with the correlation between ethnic identification and measures of self-construal, particularly interdependence. As Oyserman et al. (2002) concluded in their review of the literature pertaining to individualism and collectivism, self-construal was strongly related to self-esteem. Individuals differing on self-construal both within- and between-cultures showed predictable differences in self-esteem; people high in individualism generally score highly on measures of personal self-esteem (Oyserman et al., 2002) whereas individuals high in collectivism report lower self-esteem (Hetts et al. 1999). The current study tested and found support for the idea that ethnic identification (across both African Americans and Asian Americans) is related to interdependence, and that interdependence was negatively related to personal self-esteem. Furthermore, ethnic identification's effect on personal self-esteem was positive once interdependence was partialled out. Perhaps both explanations help account for the negative path between ethnic identification and personal well-being.

Validation of ethnic identity's buffering effect has important implications for those who are socially rejected. The present research provides convergent evidence that individuals who encounter prejudice across time and across contexts may benefit greatly from the development of a positive, ethnic identity (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). This finding also supports research within

other areas of psychology (counseling psychology) that has found a wealth of empirical support that the development of a strong ethnic identity is associated with beneficial outcomes when dealing with discrimination (Cross, 1971, 1991; Highlen, et al., 1998).

However, exactly how ethnic identity provides its buffering effect could not be addressed in the current study. Recent work in this area suggests that *racial ideology* (for instance, whether a person is more assimilationist or nationalist in their conceptions of race relations) is one aspect of ethnic identification that moderates the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological distress (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Specifically, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that those who are nationalistic (characterized by an ideology emphasizing the uniqueness of African descent and generally anticipatory of prejudicial treatment) tended to be buffered against distress caused by perceived discrimination.

Dissimilarities Between Asian Americans and African Americans

Given the vastly different socio-historical experiences within the United States, African Americans and Asian Americans were expected to differ widely on their perceptions of discrimination. Not surprisingly, African Americans in contrast to their Asian American counterparts reported higher levels of past discrimination (via the OR-R scale; Branscombe et al., 1999), tended to have a lower threshold for perceiving an event as due to discrimination (PAC scale; Branscombe et al., 1999), and were significantly more conscious of their stigmatized status within society (SCQ scale; Pinel, 1999). These findings are consistent with past research showing that African Americans were quicker than Asian Americans to view an ambiguous event (a situation involving

mistreatment by a server at a restaurant) as being caused by prejudice (Tom, Kristel & Highlen, 2000). The particular methodology used in the Tom et al. (2000) study was slightly different than the present study in that both a very clearly discriminatory event as well as an ambiguously discriminatory event was used. One interpretation of this finding is that African Americans may actually be more accurate than Asian Americans in interpreting an event as discriminatory (Tom et al., 2000).

On levels of self-esteem, African Americans were predicted to show higher levels of global self-esteem than Asians given the numerous meta-analytic studies demonstrating the opposite ends of the self-esteem continuum occupied by these two ethnic groups. However, while no differences had previously been found between African Americans and Asian Americans for collective self-esteem, Asian Americans in the present study reported higher levels of collective self-esteem than African Americans. Furthermore, the interaction of race (African American vs. Asian American) and sample (college vs. community) suggests that Asian Americans who are in the community have higher collective self-esteem compared to college students, whereas the reverse pattern is true for African Americans. With ethnicity held constant, no main effect occurred for sample on levels of collective self-esteem. One plausible interpretation is that as African Americans enter the community and leave the socially liberal environment of the academe, they face more and more discrimination (likely to be higher than Asian Americans) which ultimately exacts its toll on collective well-being. Consistent with this notion, racial stressors are thought to be cumulative and likely to have a long-term, additive effect (DeLongis et al., 1988; Seta et al., 1991; Slavin et al., 1991). Though cross-sectional data cannot address the change of collective well-being over time, future

research may explore the experience of African Americans during the post-college transitional period.

For the cultural variables included in the study, Asian Americans and African Americans differed in ways that were consistent with prior research (Oyserman et al., 2002). The self-construals of African Americans and Asian Americans were predicted to be different, with African Americans demonstrating higher levels of *independence* and Asian Americans showing higher levels of *interdependence*. The findings of this study provide confirmatory support for the work of Oyserman and her colleagues (2002).

Furthermore, given the research that suggests Asians (and therefore also Asian Americans) are more likely to consider situational causes for behavior and typically less likely to commit the fundamental attribution error (Choi et al., 1999; Lee, Hallahan, & Herzog, 1996; Morris & Peng, 1994; Smith & Bond, 1994), it was expected that Asian Americans would be more likely to endorse situationism and less likely to endorse dispositionism. Surprisingly, in this sample, Asian Americans were *neither* more likely to make situational attributions *nor* were they less likely to make dispositional attributions. Perhaps because the individuals in the sample were Asian American and have experienced some level of Westernization, person perception biases linked to culture may have been attenuated. Furthermore, given that the instrument used to measure implicit personality theory had only been recently developed (and not validated for essential forms of equivalence), it is possible that greater refinement of the measure is needed in order to detect actual differences in implicit personality theory.

In general, the sample utilized for the current study was similar to the samples used in other cross-group comparisons, indicating support that the sample, though expectedly diverse, was typical.

Limitations and Caveats

The most significant limitation of the study was that all of the data were correlational in nature, inhibiting inferences of causality. One aspect of the RIM-Altered where the lack of causal inferences may cast doubt on the overall goodness-of-fit concerns the link between perceived discrimination and ethnic identification—in the current model PD was specified to directly influence ethnic identification. Current research has also supported a reverse direction suggesting that greater ethnic identification leads to greater perceptions of prejudice (Operario & Fiske, 1994; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). In both the RIM and RIM-Altered, perceived discrimination was construed as an antecedent to in-group identification; however, it is possible that the path could be reversed or even bi-directional. Recent experimental work has shown that women who are more identified with their in-group show greater sensitivity to discrimination when attributional cues are ambiguous (Major, Quinton & Schmader, 2003). Fitting a bi-directional path between perceived discrimination and ethnic identification did not change the overall fit of the model, nor the path weight, making any distinction between accuracy in models impossible from the given data.

A parsimonious explanation for the diverse findings in causality between ethnic identification and perceived discrimination is that the relationship is dynamic and reciprocal. It is possible that the more a person is discriminated against, the more they

will identify with their in-group, which could then lead to a heightened sensitivity for prejudice. Or, an individual could become downtrodden and marginalized which in general can make a person more sensitive to slight. Additionally, it is possible that as individuals become more highly identified with their ethnic background, they may not only *perceive* more discrimination, but they may actually *receive* more. Data collected by Shelton (2002) has preliminarily indicated that Whites tend to be more positive toward African Americans who are less identified with their in-group and tend to treat more highly-identified African Americans more negatively. It is clear that studies using correlational methods have reached their inferential limit. Future work exploring the interplay of these constructs will require more direct efforts at manipulation and experimentation to better understand cause and effect. But of course, the costs and benefits of manipulating experiences as discrimination need to be carefully considered given all that is known about the harm of discrimination.

Another limitation was the use of only African American and Asian American participants. Ideally, future research will examine the goodness-of-fit of the RIM-Altered to additional ethnic populations, shaping an understanding of the common pathways to self-worth experienced by other ethnic minority members.

A third and important limitation of the current study is that only measures of *perceived discrimination* were utilized. Though the measures in the current study had been used and validated in previous studies (with good reliabilities), the extent to which these measures of perceived discrimination are valid indicators of actual discrimination is unknown. Concern about an individual's responses to the instruments used for perceived discrimination is legitimate given the wealth of research indicating that when individuals

are asked to estimate probabilities or the frequencies of events, people are often inaccurate due to a reliance on heuristics (Plous, 1997). Some reassurance is taken from the fact that overall mean scores for the measures of PD were similar to those reported by Branscombe et al. (1999).

Implications of Research and Directions for Future Research

Given the ubiquity of discrimination, ethnic minority individuals face the challenge of how to best handle the mistreatment they face. The implications of the current study are clear: perceiving racial discrimination across time and contexts has direct, negative effects on collective well-being and may have negative, indirect effects on personal well-being. Some research has suggested that the adverse effect of stigmatization is so painful that it motivates individuals to *minimize* the discrimination they face (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam & Lalonde, 1990). The viability of minimizing discrimination as a way of avoiding negative consequences is fraught with difficulties, however. It may be tempting to advise minority members to minimize the discrimination they face in order to preserve collective well-being. However, overlooking mistreatment has its dangers. Failing to identify prejudice may have the unwanted effect of indicating tacit acceptance, or worse, can lead to the failing to avoid a dangerous situation. Perceiving discrimination is clearly a double-edged sword—with clear liabilities to both perceiving and *failing to perceive* discrimination. Psychology is in a unique position to explore ways in which ethnic minority individuals may best protect their well-being while navigating the treacherous yet necessary experience of perceiving discrimination.

The continued presence of prejudice and discrimination highlight the need for psychology in general to continue exploration focused on attenuating the impact of social injustice. Understanding the multi-faceted consequences to perceiving discrimination and illuminating the ways in which individuals can minimize the pain of rejection are research imperatives. One area of future research is the exploration of specific mechanisms through which ethnic identification provides its buffering effect. Little is known about *how* ethnic identification helps, and if the effect is predominantly affective in nature (identification helps generate a support network to deal with the difficult feelings), cognitive in nature (ethnic identification changes the interpretation of prejudicial events), behavioral in nature (identification changes the way a person deals with discrimination) or a combination of all three.

Furthermore, as African Americans and Asian Americans are far from the only groups who experience discrimination, future work should adopt a culture-specific approach and examine whether the RIM-Altered fits equally well with other ethnic minority populations. Beyond those who are stigmatized due to ethnic minority status, work could even expand to other groups who may experience group-level based rejection (e.g., those who have a physical disability, a facial disfigurement, or have a different sexual orientation).

A final suggestion for research is methodological. Future research should test the same basic models while using different manifest indicators in an attempt to better triangulate and validate the RIM-Altered. To the extent that the same essential pathways are supported when different manifest indicators are used, greater confidence can be placed in validity of the RIM-Altered.

Concluding Remarks: The Blind Men and the Elephant

Only recently in the time following Crocker and Major's (1989) seminal work have systematic attempts to understand the effects perceived discrimination proliferated. Since then, examination of perceived prejudice's effect has taken shape along two seemingly different lines of research—one aimed at demonstrating that attributions to prejudice help preserve well-being (Crocker et al., 1991; Crocker et al., 1993; Major et al., 1998; Major et al., 2003; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997) and the other aimed primarily at highlighting the adverse consequences of attributions to prejudice (Branscombe et al., 1999; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Jetten et al., 2001; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002; Schmitt et al., 2002). Though these separate research lines have often provided conclusions seemingly at odds with one another, their results are not entirely incompatible. The previously mentioned studies differ on whether single-shot, non-generalized experiences of discrimination were used versus measurements of global and pervasive discrimination. They also differed in terms of participants used, methods of operationalization, and whether the research was done experimentally or with correlational data. The current study builds upon existing research by highlighting the mediational role of collective well-being between ethnic identification and personal well-being, as well as demonstrating the lack of a clear, direct effect of perceived discrimination on personal well-being.

In creating a coherent understanding of the effects of prejudice, the parable of the *Blind Men and the Elephant* (adapted by Saxe, 1963) aptly describes the current state of research. In the fable, each of the blind men feels a part of the elephant and inductively

extrapolates about the nature of the whole elephant. None of the men are wrong, but none of the men are completely correct, either. Similarly, the collection of seemingly discrepant findings suggest that the overall effects of perceived discrimination are complex and at least partially bound by the perspective of individual investigators; this meta-understanding allows for and provides an impetus toward a broader conception of the nature of perceived discrimination on stigmatized individuals. The diversity in findings and methods should be seen as a strength, not a weakness of the existing literature.

Integrating the current work with past research, several points emerge as foundations on which future research may build: (a) the effects of perceived discrimination have a broad impact and can incur both negative *and* positive outcomes; (b) the relationships between the constructs, particularly between perceived discrimination and in-group identification, are dynamic and reciprocal in nature; and (c) although the proposed model fit Asian Americans and African Americans equally well, future efforts would be best served by an emic approach that examines the unique subjective experiences of those who have been historically disenfranchised. It is hoped that both social psychologists and counseling psychologists continue to explore mechanisms by which the well-being of both African Americans and Asian Americans can be buffered and bolstered, and furthermore, that psychology in general will take a greater interest in the psychology of non-undergraduate psychology students. Hopefully, the cumulative work of the many scholarly ‘blind men’ will allow for better insights into the nature of the elephant and better yet, that eventually the world will be a place without the need to explore this particular elephant.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Anderson, N. B., McNeilly, M., & Myers, H. (1991). Autonomic reactivity and hypertension in Blacks: A review and proposed model. *Ethnicity and Disease*, 1, 154-170.
- Babad, E. (1993). Pygmalion-25 years after interpersonal expectations in the classroom. In P. D. Blanck (Ed.), *Interpersonal expectations* (pp. 125-153). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497-529.
- Bentler, P. M., Bonnett, D. G. (1980). Significance tests and goodness-of-fit in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychological Bulletin*, 88, 588-600.
- Blascovich, J. & Tomaka, J. (1991). Measures of self-esteem.(In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 115—160). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Bollen, K. A. (1989). A new incremental fit index for general structural equation models. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 17(3), 303-316.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment*. (New York: Basic Books)
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 135-149.

- Browne, M. W., & Cudeck, R. (1990). Single sample cross-validation indices for covariance structures. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 24, 445–455.
- Chang, E. C. (1996). Cultural Differences in Optimism, Pessimism, and Coping: Predictors of Subsequent Adjustment in Asian American and Caucasian American College Students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 43(1), 113-123.
- Chilsom, J. F. (1996). Mental health issues in African American women. In J. A. Sechzer, S. M. Pfafflin, F. L. Denmark, A. Griffin & S. J. Blumenthal (Eds.). *Women and Mental Health*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Choi, I., Nisbett, R. E., & Norenzayan, A. (1999). Causal attribution across cultures: Variation and universality. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(1), 47-63.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N., Clark, V., & Williams, D. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans. *American Psychologist*, 54(10), 805-816.
- Contrada, R. J., Ashmore, R. D., Gary, M. L., Coups, E. Egeth, J. D., Sewell, A., Ewell, K., Goyal, T. M., & Chasse, V. (2001). Measures of ethnicity-related stress: Psychometric properties, ethnic group differences, and associations of well-being. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31(9), 1775-1820.
- Cooley, C. H. (1956). *Human nature and the social order*. New York, NY: Free press.
- Coopersmith, S. (1967). *The antecedents of self-esteem*. New York, NY: W. H. Freeman.
- Corning, A. F. (2002). Self-esteem as a moderator between perceived discrimination and psychological distress among women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 49(1), 117-126.
- Crocker, J. (1999). Social stigma and self-esteem: Situational construction of self-worth. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 89-107.
- Crocker, J., Cornwall, B., & Major, B. (1993). The stigma of overweight: Affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(1), 60-70.
- Crocker, J., & Luhtanen, R. (1990). Collective self-esteem and ingroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(1), 1990.
- 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(5), 503-513.

- Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R., Broadnax, S. & Blaine, B. E. (1999). Belief in U.S. government conspiracies against Blacks among Black and White college students: Powerlessness or system blame? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 941-953.
- Crocker, J. & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4), 608-630.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1993). Reactions to stigma: The moderating role of justifications. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol 7, pp. 289-314). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Crocker, J., Voelkl, K., Testa, M., & Major, B. (1991). Social stigma. The affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(2), 218-228.
- Crosby, F. (1984). The denial of personal discrimination. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 27, 371-386.
- Cross, S. E., & Markus, H. R. (1991, August). *Cultural adaptation and the self: Self-construal, coping, and stress*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1971). The Negro-to-Black conversion experience. *Black World*, 20, 13-27.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1991). *Shades of Black: diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Davis, J. A. (1959). A formal interpretation of the theory of relative deprivation. *Sociometry*, 22, 280-296.
- DeLongis, A., Folkman, S., Lazarus, R. S. (1988). The impact of daily stress on health and mood: Psychological and social resources as mediators. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(3), 486-495.
- Devine, P. (2001). Implicit prejudice and stereotyping: How automatic are they? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(5), 757-759.
- Dion, K. L. (1975). Women's reactions to discrimination from members of the same or opposite sex. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 9, 294-306.
- Dion, K. L. & Earn, B. M. (1975). The phenomenology of being a target of prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32, 944-950.

- Dion, K. L. (1985). Responses to perceived discrimination and relative deprivation. In J. M. Olson, C. P. Herman, and M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Relative deprivation and social comparison: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 4, pp. 159-179). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(1), 62-68.
- Feagin, J. R., & Sikes, M. P. (1994). *Living with racism: The Black middle-class experience*. Boston: Beacon.
- Feagin, J. R., & Vera, H. (1995). *White racism: The basics*. New York: Routledge.
- Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7, 117-140.
- Fischer, A. R., & Shaw, C. M. (1999). African Americans' mental health and perceptions of racist discrimination: The moderating effects of racial socialization experiences and self-esteem. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 46(3), 395-407.
- Goodman, L. A. (1960). On the exact variance of products. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 55, 708-713.
- Goto, S. G., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2002). Strangers still? The experience of discrimination among Chinese Americans. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 30(2), 211-223.
- Gray-Little, B. & Hafdahl, A. R. (2000). Factors influencing racial comparisons of self-esteem: A quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(1), 26-54.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Pratkanis, A. R. (1984). The self. In R. S. Wyer & T. K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (Vol. 3, pp. 129-178). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Haslett, B. B., & Lipman, S. (1997). Micro inequalities: Up close and personal. In N. V. Benokraitis (Ed.), *Subtle sexism: Current practice*
- Herrnstein, R. J., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life*. New York: Free Press.
- Hetts, J. J., Sakuma, M., & Pelham, B. W. (1999). Two roads to positive regard: Implicit and explicit self-evaluation and culture. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 512-559.
- Hacker, A. (1992). *Two nations*. New York: Scribner & Sons.

- Highlen, P. S., Tom, D. M., Thompson, K. I., & Ashton, K. (1998). *Effects of perceived racism and sexism on psychological well being and the moderating effects of identity development among African And European American college students*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Ho, P. (2003). Performing the "Oriental": Professionals and the Asian model minority myth. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 6(2), 149-175.
- Hu, L. and P. M. Bentler (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling* 6(1): 1-55.
- Janis, I. L., & Field, P. B. (1959). A behavioral assessment of persuasibility: Consistency of individual differences. In C. Hovland & I. Janis (Eds.), *Personality and Persuasibility* (pp. 29-54). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jetten, J., Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Spears, R. (2001). Rebels with a cause: Group identification as a response to perceived discrimination from the mainstream. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(9), 1204-1213.
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Reacting to impending discrimination: Compensation for prejudice and attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(10), 1357-1367.
- Kardiner, A. & Ovesey, L. (1951) *The mark of oppression; A psychosocial study of the American negro*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Landrine, H. & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The schedule of racist events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 22(2), 144-168.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Leary, M. R., Tambor, E. S., Terdal, S. K., & Downs, D. L. (1995). Self-esteem as an interpersonal monitor: The sociometer hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(3), 518-530.
- Lee, F., Hallahan, M., & Herzog, T. (1996). Explaining real life events: How culture and domain shape attributions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 732-741.
- Leonardelli, G. G., & Brewer, M. B. (2001). Minority and majority discrimination: When and why. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37, 468-485.

- Leonardelli, G. J., Tormala, Z. L. (2002). The effects of perceived victimization on members of stigmatized groups. In press.
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18(3), 302-318.
- MacCallum, R. & Browne, M. W. (2000). *Covariance Structure Modeling* (Class Notes Winter 2000). Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, Statistics Department.
- MacCallum, R. C., Browne, M. W., & Sugawara, H. M. (1996). Power analysis and determination of sample size for covariance structure modeling. *Psychological Methods*, 1, 130-149.
- Macrae, C. N., Milne, A. B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (1994). Stereotypes as energy-saving devices. A peek inside the cognitive toolbox. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66(1), 37-47.
- Major, B., Gramzow, R. H., McCoy, S. K., Levin, S., Schmader, T., & Sidanius, J. (2002). Perceiving personal discrimination: The role of group status and legitimizing ideology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 269-282.
- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., Schmader, T. (2003). Attributions to discrimination and self-esteem: Impact of group identification and situational ambiguity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 39, 220-231.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224-253.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, M. W., Peng, K. (1994). Culture and cause: American and Chinese attributions for social and physical events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(6), 949-971.
- Morrison, A. M., & Von Glinow, M.A. (1990). Women and minorities in management. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 200-208.
- Mummendey, A., Kessler, T., Klink, A., & Mielke, R. (1999). Strategies to cope with negative social identity: Predictions by social identity theory and relative deprivation theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, 229-245.
- National Institute of Mental Health. (1983). *Research highlights: Extramural research*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

- Neale, M. (1999). MXGUI for Windows.
- Norenzayan, A., Choi, I., & Nisbett, R. E. (2002). Cultural similarities and differences in social inference: Evidence from behavioral predictions and lay theories of behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(1), 109-120.
- Operario, D. & Fiske, S. T. (2001). Ethnic identity moderates perceptions of prejudice: Judgments of personal versus group discrimination and subtle versus blatant bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(5), 550-561.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, A., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(1), 3-72.
- Patel, N. R. (1998). *The role of racial and gender discrimination in the psychological well-being of Asian American female college students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(3), 499-514.
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure. A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7(2), 156-176.
- Phinney, J. S., Madden, T., & Santos, L. J. (1998). Psychological variables as predictors of perceived ethnic discrimination among minority and immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28(11), 937-953.
- Pinel, E. (1999). Stigma consciousness: The psychological legacy of stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(1), 114-128.
- Postmes, T. & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). Influence of long-term racial environmental composition on subject well-being in African-Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(3), 735-751.
- Rosenberg, M. (1979). *Conceiving the self*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Rosenberg, M., & Simmons, R. G. (1972). *Black and White self-esteem: The urban schoolchild*. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.
- Ruggiero, K. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1995). Coping with discrimination: How disadvantaged group members perceive the discrimination that confronts them. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(5), 826-838.

- Ruggiero, K. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1997). Why minority members perceive or do not perceive the discrimination that confronts them: The role of self-esteem and perceived control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(2), 373-389.
- Miller, W. R., & Seligman, M. E. (1975). Depression and learned helplessness in man. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 84(3), 228-238.
- Saxe, J. G. (1963) *The Blind Men and the Elephant; John Godfrey Saxe's version of the famous Indian legend. Pictures by Paul Galdone*, New York: Whittlesey House.
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., & Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving discrimination against one's gender has different implications for well-being in women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(2), 197-210.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1975). *Helplessness: On depression, development and death*. San Francisco: Freeman.
- Sellers, R. M. & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 1079-1092.
- Seta, J. J., Seta, C. E., & Wang, M. A. (1991). Feelings of negativity and stress: An averaging-summation analysis of impressions of negative life experiences. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17(4), 1991.
- Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(5), 580-591.
- Slavin, L. A., Rainer, K. L., McCreary, M. L., & Gowda, K. K. (1991). Toward a multicultural model of the stress process. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 156-162.
- Smith, P. B., & Bond, M. H. (1994). *Social psychology across cultures: Analysis and perspectives*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn Bacon.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air. How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613-629.
- Steiger, J. H. & Lind, J. C. (1980, May). *Statistically based tests for the number of common factors*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Psychometric Society, Iowa City, IA.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, pp. 33-48. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: studies in social psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, pp. 7-24. Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor, D. M., Wright, S. C., Moghaddam, F. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1990). The personal/group discrimination discrepancy: Perceiving my group, but not myself, to be a target of discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 16, 254-262.
- Thompson, K. I., Highlen, P. S., Ashton, K. & Tom, D. M. (1999). *Relationship between perceived racism, coping strategies, and psychological well being of African American college students*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Thompson, S. C. (1981). A complex answer to a simple question: Will it hurt less if I can control it? *Psychological Bulletin*, 90, 89-101.
- Tom, D., Kristel, O. V., & Highlen, P. S. (2000). *Attributions to discrimination and coping: the role of attributions*. Unpublished raw data.
- Twenge, J. M., & Crocker, J. (2002). Race and self-esteem: Meta-analyses comparing Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians and comment on Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000). *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(3), 371-408.
- U.S. Department of Labor. (1994). *The glass ceiling and Asian Americans* [Monograph]. Washington, DC: Author.
- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1994). Acculturation strategies, psychological adjustment, and socio-cultural competence during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18(3), 329-343.
- Ward, C., & Rana-Dueba, A. (1999). Acculturation and adaptation revisited. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30(4), 422-442.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). *Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scale*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(6), 1063-1070.
- Wylie, R. C. (1979). *The self-concept: Vol. 2. Theory and research on selected topics*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Yamaguchi, S. (1994). Collectivism among the Japanese: A perspective from the self. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibassi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and*

collectivism: Theoretical and methodological issues (pp. 175-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zweigenhaft, R. L., & Domhoff, G. W. (1998). *Diversity in the power elite*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Stereotypes of Whites as Racist

Stereotypes about Whites as Racist (SWR; Tom, 2002)

Note: For use with Asians, the words, “Black(s)” will be replace with “Asian(s).”

Directions: Please indicate your agreement to the following statements according the scale given below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Completely Agree

1. _____ In dealing with Blacks, White people are generally well-intentioned.
2. _____ Stereotypes about Whites as being untrustworthy are true.
3. _____ Just about all White people would discriminate against Blacks if others would not know.
4. _____ I’ve met many White people who did not seem to be prejudiced against me.
5. _____ All White people are racist.

Estimate % of White individuals who you believe are prejudiced against Blacks. _____

APPENDIX B – Stigma Consciousness

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ; Pinel, 1999)

Note: This measure will be adapted for use with Asians and Asian-Americans by replacing “Black” with “Asians.”

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ Stereotypes about Blacks have not affected me personally. (R)
2. _____ I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically Black.
(R)
3. _____ When interacting with Whites, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am Black.
4. _____ Most Whites don’t judge Blacks on the basis of their race. (R)
5. _____ My being Black does not influence how Whites act with me. (R)
6. _____ I almost never think about the fact that I am Black when I interact with Whites or individuals of other ethnic/racial backgrounds.
7. _____ My being Black doesn’t influence how people act with me. (R)
8. _____ Most people have more racist thoughts against Blacks than they actually express.
9. _____ I often think that people are often unfairly accused of being racist against Blacks. (R)
10. _____ Most people have a problem viewing Blacks as equals.

APPENDIX C – Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure; (MEIM, Phinney, 1992)

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words used to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Mexican-American, Latino/Latina, Black, Asian-American, Native American, Anglo-American and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ on how important their ethnicity is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity/background and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in:

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be:

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs.
2. _____ I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. _____ I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. _____ I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.
5. _____ I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
6. _____ I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
7. _____ I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.
8. _____ I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
9. _____ I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.

10. _____ I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.
11. _____ I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.
12. _____ I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.
13. _____ In order to learn about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
14. _____ I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
15. _____ I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.

16. _____ I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
17. _____ I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.
18. _____ I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
19. _____ I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.
20. _____ I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

APPENDIX D – Acculturation Index

Acculturation Index – Revised (AI-R, Ward & Rana-Dueba, 1999).

Note: This measure will be adapted for use with Asians and Asian-Americans by replacing “African-American(s)” with “Asian(s).”

Please answer the following questions using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All	A Little	Somewhat	Moderately	Quite a Bit	A Lot	Completely

1. _____ Are your religious beliefs similar to those of other African-Americans?
2. _____ Are your religious beliefs similar to White/Caucasian Americans?
3. _____ Are your life experiences similar to those of other African-Americans?
4. _____ Are your life experiences similar to White/Caucasian Americans?
5. _____ Are your values similar to those of other African-Americans?
6. _____ Are your values similar to White/Caucasian Americans?
7. _____ Do you identify with African-American culture?
8. _____ Do you identify with White/Caucasian American culture?
9. _____ Do you like African-American culture?
10. _____ Do you like White/Caucasian-American culture?
11. _____ Is it important to you to maintain many African-American friends?
12. _____ Is it important to you to maintain many White/Caucasian-American friends?
13. _____ Is it important for you to practice African-American customs?
14. _____ Is it important for you to practice White/Caucasian-American customs?

APPENDIX E – Self-Construal Scale

Self-Construal Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994)

Directions: Please read each statement carefully. Using the scale below, indicate your agreement with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. ____ It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.
2. ____ I value being in good health above everything else.
3. ____ My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.
4. ____ It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.
5. ____ I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood.
6. ____ I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.
7. ____ Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.
8. ____ I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans.
9. ____ Having a lively imagination is important to me.
10. ____ I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.
11. ____ I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.
12. ____ I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.
13. ____ Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.
14. ____ If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.
15. ____ I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even if they are much older than I am.
16. ____ I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I am not happy with the group.
17. ____ My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.
18. ____ I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.
19. ____ I will sacrifice my self-interests for the benefit of the group I am in.
20. ____ I am the same person at home that I am at school.
21. ____ I respect people who are modest about themselves.

22. _____ I act the same way no matter who I am with.
23. _____ I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.
24. _____ Speaking up during class is not a problem for me.

APPENDIX F – SID Scale

Situationism/Interactionism/Dispositionism/ Scale (SID; Norenzayan, Choi & Nisbett, 2002)

Please read the following paragraphs. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement by circling the number that best corresponds to your answer.

Argument 1

How people behave is mostly determined by their personality. One's personality predisposes and guides an individual to behave in one way, not in another way, no matter what circumstances the person is in. In a sense, behavior is an unfolding of personality. One's behavior is remarkably stable across time and consistent across situations because it is guided personality. Therefore, if we know the personality of one person, we can easily predict how the person will behave in the future and explain why that person behaved in the particular way in the past.

To what extent do you agree with argument 1?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

How well does argument 1 describe human nature?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Poorly	Moderately Poorly	Slightly Poorly	Neutral	Slightly Well	Moderately Well	Extremely Well

Argument 2

How people behave is mostly determined by the situation in which they find themselves. Situational power is so strong that we can say it has more influence on behavior than one's personality. Often, people in a particular situation behave very similarly, despite large individual differences in personality. Therefore, in order to predict and explain one's behavior, we have to focus on the situation rather than personality. Personality plays a weaker role in behavior than we used to think.

To what extent do you agree with argument 2?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

How well does argument 2 describe human nature?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Poorly	Moderately Poorly	Slightly Poorly	Neutral	Slightly Well	Moderately Well	Extremely Well

Argument 3

How people behave is always jointly determined by their personality and the situation in which they find themselves. We cannot claim that either personality or the situation is the only determinant of our behavior. Our behavior is an outcome of the complex interaction between personality and situational factors. We always have to consider personality and situation simultaneously. Therefore, we cannot predict and explain one's behavior with personality or situation alone.

To what extent do you agree with argument 3?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

How well does argument 3 describe human nature?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Poorly	Moderately Poorly	Slightly Poorly	Neutral	Slightly Well	Moderately Well	Extremely Well

APPENDIX G – Measures of Perceived Discrimination

Perceived Discrimination – Prejudice Across Context (PAC; Branscombe et al., 1999), and the Outgroup Rejection - Revised Scale (Postmes and Branscombe, 2002).

Directions: Please read the descriptions of each event and then read the questions following it. For each question, circle the percentage representing how likely you think the event, if it happened to you, was caused by prejudice.

1. Suppose you go into a “fancy” restaurant. Your server seems to be taking care of all the other customers except you. You are the last person whose order is taken.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

2. Suppose you apply for a job that you believe you are qualified for. After the interview you learn that you didn’t get the job.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

3. Suppose you wish to buy a house. You go to a real estate company and the agent there takes you to look at homes that you know are in exclusively Asian/Asian-American areas.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

4. Suppose you parked your car at a parking meter and it has just expired. You arrive back at the car just as an officer is writing up a ticket. You try to persuade the officer not to give you the ticket, after all you are there now and the meter just expired. The officer gives you the ticket anyway.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

5. Suppose you go to look at an apartment for rent. The manager of the building refuses to show it to you, saying it has already been rented.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

6. Suppose you are attracted to a particular White man/woman and ask that person out for a date and are turned down.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

7. Suppose you have to fill out some government forms in order to apply for a loan that is important to you. You go to one office and they send you to another, then you go there and are sent somewhere else. No one seems to be really willing to help you out.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

8. Suppose you are driving a few miles over the speed limit and the police pull you over. You receive a ticket for the maximum amount allowable.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

9. Suppose you want to join a social organization. You are told that they are not taking any new members at this time.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

10. Suppose your boss tells you that you are not performing your job as well as others doing that job.

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%
Not at all due to prejudice Completely due to prejudice

Outgroup Rejection - Revised

Directions: Please read the following statements and indicate how much you agree with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

- _____ I feel like I am personally a victim of society because of my race.
- _____ I consider myself a person who has been deprived of opportunities because of my race.
- _____ I feel that I have been the target of prejudice because of my race.
- _____ I have personally been a victim of racial discrimination
- _____ I feel that society treats me according to racial stereotypes

6. _____ I think that society views me as inferior because of my race
7. _____ Society does not discriminate against me because of my race [recoded]
8. _____ I am viewed negatively because of my race

APPENDIX H – Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (SES; Rosenberg, 1965)

Instructions: Please read each statement and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each item by darkening the circle that corresponds with your answer using the following scale.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
2. _____ I feel that I have number of good qualities.
3. _____ All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. (R)
4. _____ I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. _____ I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (R)
6. _____ I take a positive attitude toward myself.
7. _____ On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
8. _____ I wish I could have more respect for myself. (R)
9. _____ I certainly feel useless at times. (R)
10. _____ At times, I think I am no good at all. (R)

APPENDIX I – Collective Self-Esteem Scale

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)
Ingroup Satisfaction (IS; Leonardelli & Brewer, 2002)

In addition, four items were included to supplement the private self-esteem subscale within the collective self-esteem scale created by (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I am a worthy member of the Black race.
2. _____ I often regret that I am Black. (R)
3. _____ Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.
4. _____ Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
5. _____ I feel I don't have much to offer to the Black community. (R)
6. _____ In general, I'm glad to be Black.
7. _____ Most people consider Blacks, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups. (R)
8. _____ Being Black an important reflection of who I am.
9. _____ I am a cooperative participant in the Black community.
10. _____ Overall, I often feel that being Black is not worthwhile. (R)
11. _____ In general, others respect Black individuals.
12. _____ Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (R)
13. _____ I often feel I'm a useless member of the Black community. (R)
14. _____ I feel good about the Black race.
15. _____ In general, others think that Blacks are unworthy. (R)
16. _____ In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
17. _____ *I am pleased to be a member of the Black race.
18. _____ *The Black race is not satisfying to me.
19. _____ *I am unhappy with the Black race.
20. _____ *I am satisfied with the Black race.
21. _____ #"I am pleased to be a member of the Asian race;"
22. _____ #"The Asian race is not satisfying to me (reverse scored);"
23. _____ #"I am unhappy with the Asian race (reverse scored);"
24. _____ #"I am satisfied with the Asian race."

10. *Note: *indicates items adapted for use with African-Americans; #indicates items adapted for use with Asians.

APPENDIX J – Positive and Negative Affect Scale

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988) –

Directions: This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you generally feel this way, that is, how you feel on average. Use the following scale to record your answers.

1	2	3	4	5
Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely

1. _____ Enthusiastic
2. _____ Jittery
3. _____ Ashamed
4. _____ Excited
5. _____ Active
6. _____ Determined
7. _____ Alert
8. _____ Strong
9. _____ Irritable
10. _____ Upset
11. _____ Interested
12. _____ Distressed
13. _____ Proud
14. _____ Inspired
15. _____ Scared
16. _____ Afraid
17. _____ Guilty
18. _____ Attentive
19. _____ Hostile
20. _____ Nervous

APPENDIX K – Debriefing Form

Debriefing Form

Thank you again for your participation in this study. Were it not for people like yourself, conducting research of this sort would be much more difficult. The purpose of this study is to determine factors that influence whether or not a person perceives discrimination. A lot of research in psychology has shown that whether or not people perceive discrimination can be very important to person's well-being. This line of research will ultimately look at ways people can deal with the discrimination they face in order to help decrease the distress of being a minority.

If at any point during the study you found yourself becoming upset or uncertain about your psychological well-being, you may wish to seek counseling. Please feel free to call the Psychological Services Center (292-2059) in room 141 Townshend Hall, a training facility for doctoral psychology students or Counseling and Consultation Services (292-5766) located on the fourth floor of the Yountkin Success Center. Both centers offer free counseling for students.

If you have any further questions about this study, please feel free to contact us.

Pamela Highlen, Ph.D.
292-3005
highlen.1@osu.edu

David Tom, M.A.
292-3005
tom.11@osu.edu

APPENDIX L – Consent Form

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

I consent to my participation in research being conducted by David Tom, M.A., and Pamela Highlen, Ph.D., of The Ohio State University.

The investigator(s) has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures that will be followed, and the amount of time it will take. I understand the possible benefits, if any, of my participation.

I know that I can choose not to participate without penalty to me. If I agree to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and there will be no penalty.

I have had a chance to ask questions and to obtain answers to my questions. I can contact the investigators at:

David Tom, M.A.
Tom.11@osu.edu

292-3005

Pam Highlen, Ph.D.
highlen.1@osu.edu

292-3005

If I have questions about my rights as a research participant, I can call the Office of Research Risks Protection at (614) 688-4792.

I have read this form or I have had it read to me. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Your name: _____

Date:

Signed:

(Participant)

Signed:

*(Principal Investigator or his/her
authorized representative)*

****Please remove this page from your packet and keep this for your records.****

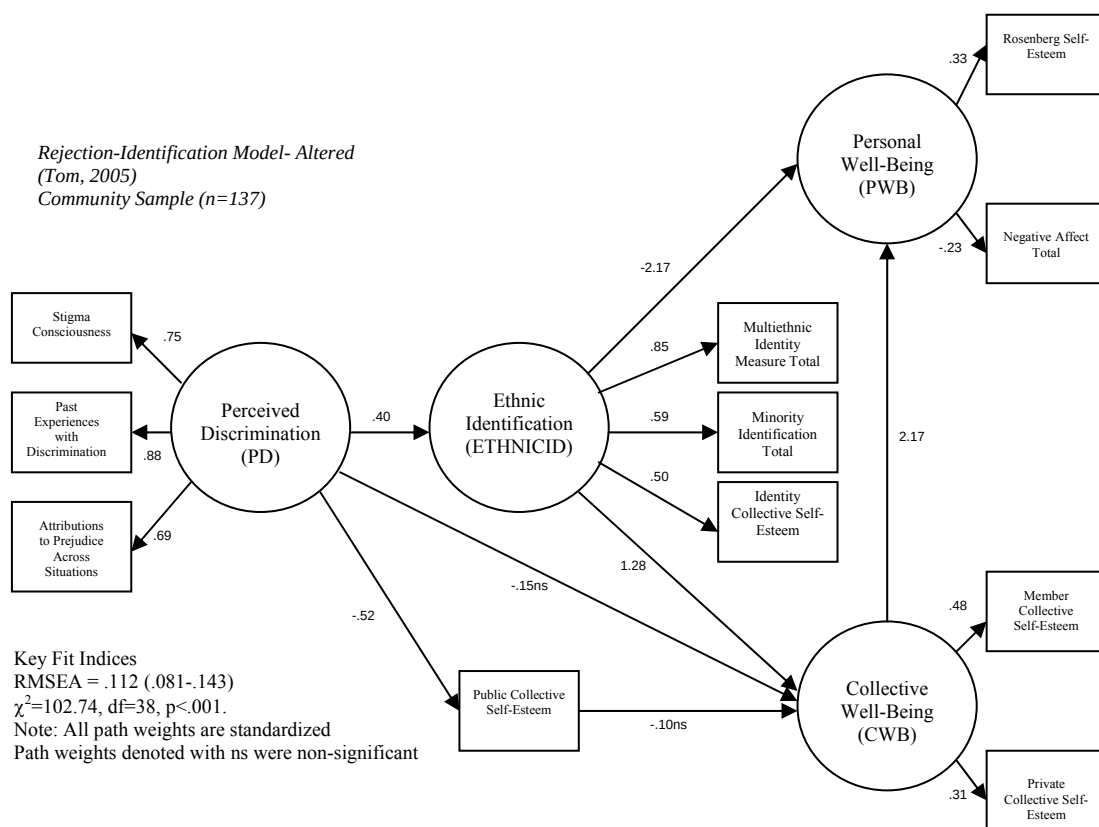
APPENDIX M – Demographic Form

Demographic Form

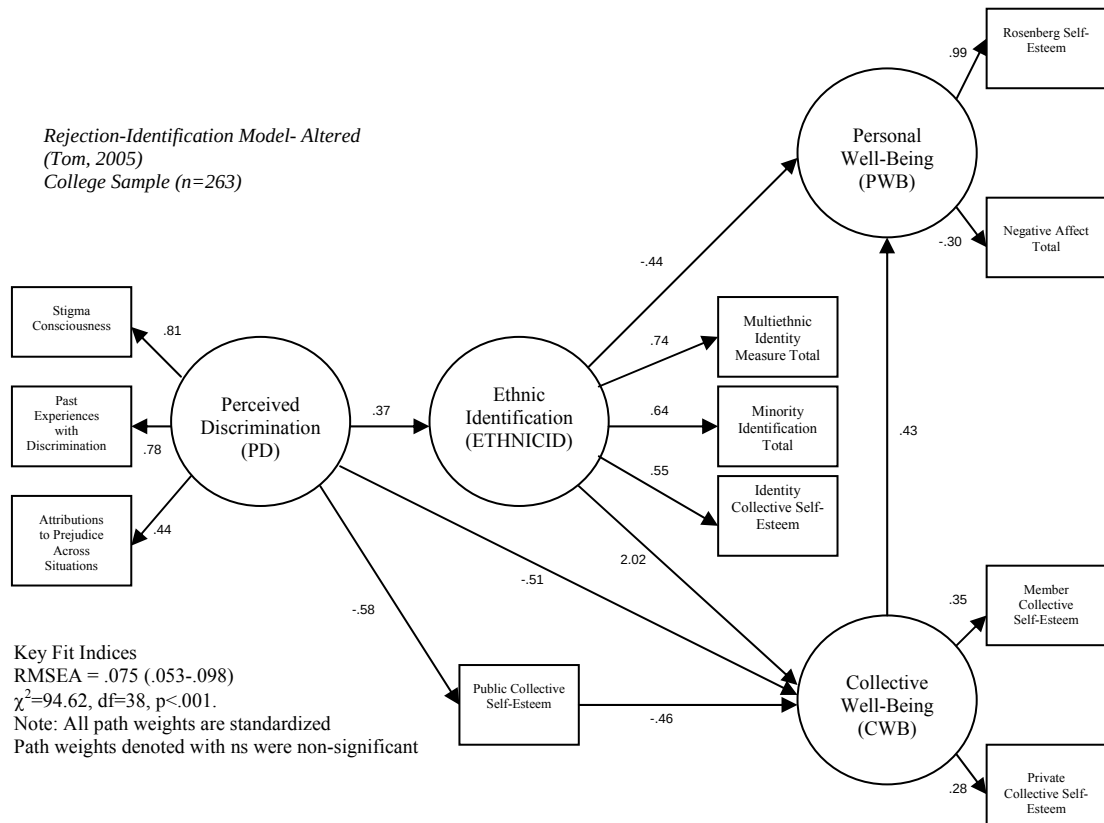
Thank you for signing up to participate **in** our study. If it were not for people like yourself, we would not be able to complete our research. Ultimately, we hope that the research we are conducting will help people who are of minority status.

1. Sex M F
2. Year in college: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th other: _____
3. Birth Date _____
4. Race/Ethnic Identification _____

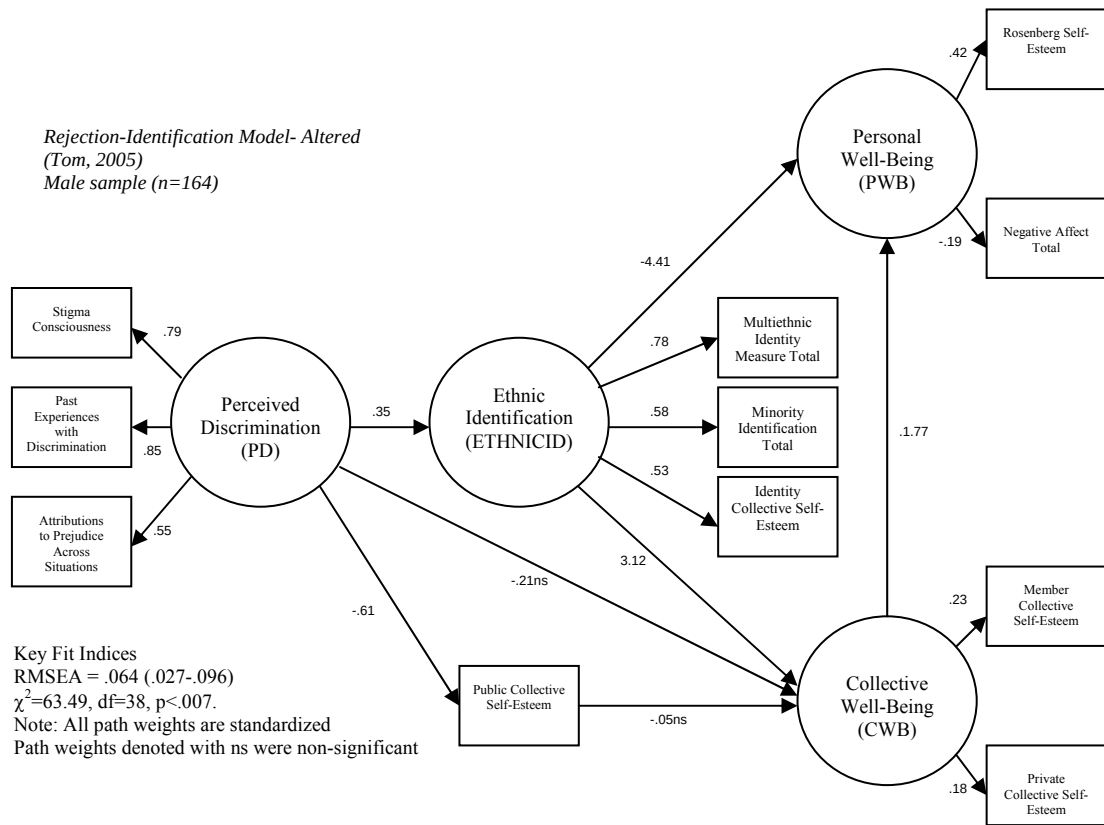
APPENDIX N – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO COMMUNITY SAMPLE



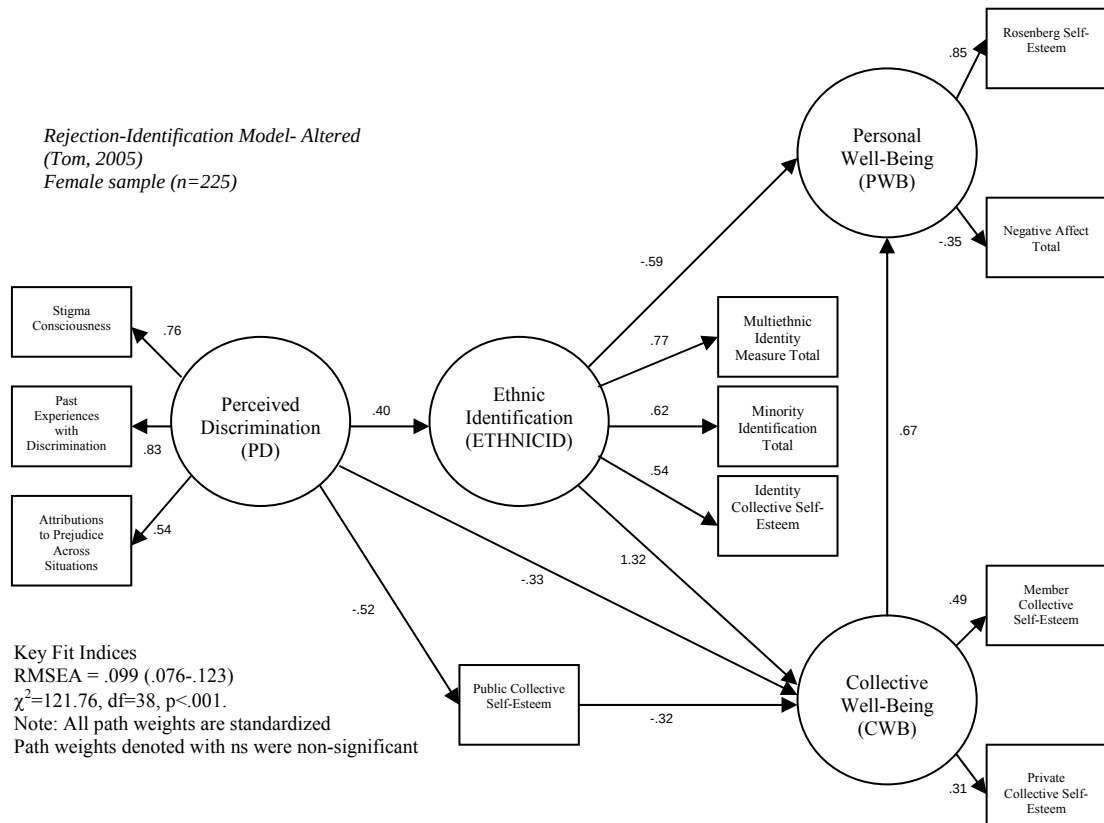
APPENDIX O – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO COLLEGE SAMPLE



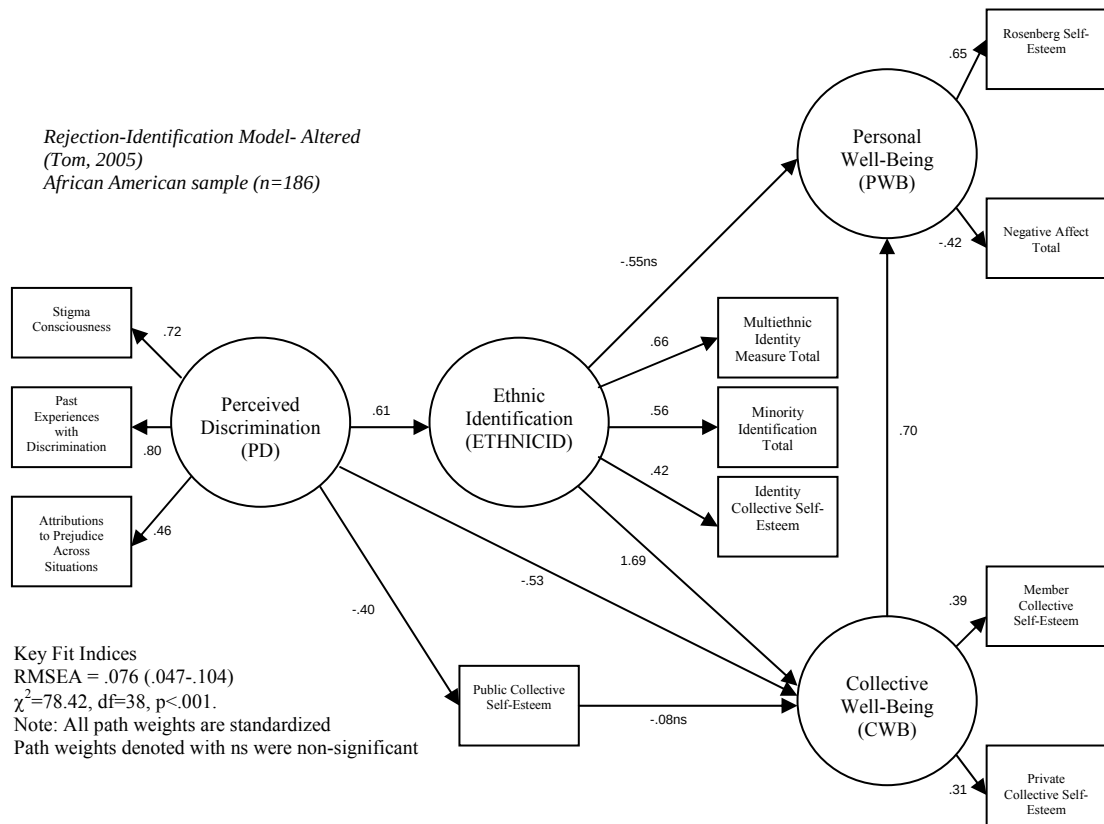
APPENDIX P – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO MALE SAMPLE



APPENDIX Q – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO FEMALE SAMPLE



APPENDIX R – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO AFRICAN AMERICAN SAMPLE



APPENDIX S – RIM-ALTERED FIT TO ASIAN AMERICAN SAMPLE

