

Ingroup Identification's Effects on the Recounting of and Reactions to Discrimination

by

Norann Richard

M.A. (Clinical Psychology), Simon Fraser University, 2007

B.A. (Hons.), University of Calgary, 2003

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in the

Department of Psychology

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Norann Richard 2012

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2012

All rights reserved.

However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for "Fair Dealing." Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

Approval

Name: Norann Richard
Degree: Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology)
Title of Thesis: *Ingroup Identification's Effects on the Recounting of and Reactions to Discrimination*

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. Kathleen Slaney, Associate Professor

Dr. Stephen Wright
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Dr. Michael Schmitt
Supervisor
Associate Professor

Dr. David Cox
Supervisor
Associate Professor

Dr. Kumari Beck
Internal Examiner
Assistant Professor, Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Alexander Czopp
External Examiner
Associate Professor, Department of Psychology
Western Washington University

Date Defended/Approved: August 24, 2012

Partial Copyright Licence



The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website (www.lib.sfu.ca) at <http://summit/sfu.ca> and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

revised Fall 2011

Ethics Statement



The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator or research assistant in a research project approved in advance,

or

- d. as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

update Spring 2010

Abstract

Although previous research has shown ingroup identification to be a reliable buffer against many negative effects of perceiving oneself as the target of discrimination, little is known about the underlying psychological processes. This dissertation focuses on how identification might influence the recalling of and reactions to episodes of discrimination in ways that support well-being. In Study 1, ethnic minority and majority participants completed a measure of identification before imagining themselves experiencing a blatant or subtle discrimination episode or a neutral interaction. Participants later recounted the event as though telling it to an ingroup friend. Results indicated that identification helped maintain self-esteem and well-being when the discrimination described was blatant. The positive effects of identification did not differ for minority and majority group participants, though higher cognitive/emotional engagement strengthened the positive impact of identification for minorities, while having a negative effect for highly identified majorities.

In Study 2, minority and majority group participants imagined experiencing a blatant episode of discrimination before recounting this experience as they would to either an ingroup member or a member of the perpetrator's ethnic group who was either a close friend or a classmate. Results unexpectedly revealed that perceived audience did not generally influence the effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being, although participants showed lower environmental mastery and self-efficacy when imagining recounting discrimination to a friend.

In Study 3, in an attempt to document differences in the social scripts of high and low identifiers, participants described a typical episode of discrimination against their ingroup. Identification was associated with a number of differences, including increased script development and more emotional responding; identification was also associated with a reduced sense of personal responsibility in minorities. Additionally, other-directed emotions partially mediated the relationship between identification and several forms of coping, suggesting that differences in social scripts used to assist recounting may help explain identification's association with better coping in the face of discrimination. Overall, these studies, although diverse in their methodology and findings, help provide

a clearer picture of how identification and the recounting processes may interact to influence self-esteem and well-being in the face of discrimination.

Keywords: discrimination; ingroup identification; social scripts; self-esteem; well-being

Dedication

To my grandfather, Thomas Adair.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Stephen Wright, for his advice, attention to detail, long hours spent editing this document, and occasional epiphanies that lead to this becoming a much better piece of writing. I appreciate all the support you've provided during my time at Simon Fraser; I am an infinitely better writer and researcher because of you. Thanks also go out to Dr. Michael Schmitt for providing new perspectives on my research and particularly for providing the inspiration for Study 3. I also appreciate the time taken and the thoughtful suggestions provided by the members of my committee, Dr. David Cox, Dr. Kumari Beck and Dr. Alexander Czopp.

Special thanks go out to the members of the Intergroup Relations and Social Justice Lab and the Self in Social Context Lab, for assistance on both an academic and a personal level. I would also like to thank Sean Heaslip, Ali Aljamali, Amy Yi Chun Chen, Stephanie Paddock and Lena White for their invaluable assistance in data collection and coding. Additional thanks go out to Peter Halpin for his help with statistical analyses.

I am also extremely grateful for the financial support I have received from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council and Simon Fraser University.

I have nothing but gratitude for my amazing parents, Wendy and Normand, for remaining constant in your belief in me, even when I called you on Sundays bemoaning my choice to go to graduate school. Thanks also go out to my sister, Nioka, and all my friends who have tolerated my disappearances for months, while being willing to celebrate the small victories along the way.

Finally, a special thanks goes out to Mike Halpin, the man who has now endured my writing both my MA thesis and my dissertation, and somehow still wants to marry me. You are truly one of the smartest and most inspirational people I know; the fact that you are proud of me keeps me going at 3am.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Partial Copyright Licence	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii

Introduction 1

Ingroup Identification.....	2
The Role of Identification in Recounting Discrimination.....	5
Overview of Current Research	7

Study 1 9

Blatant and Subtle Discrimination.....	9
Well-Being and Collective Self-Esteem	10
Majority Group Members.....	10
References to Discrimination	12
Cognitive and Emotional Engagement	13
Overview.....	15
Summary of Hypotheses	15
Primary hypotheses.....	15
Moderating role of group status	16
Moderating role of references to discrimination	16
Moderating role of cognitive/emotional engagement.....	16
The effects of group status on references to discrimination and cognitive/emotional engagement	17
Method.....	18
Overview	18
Participants	18
Procedure and Materials	18
Ingroup identification.....	19
Manipulation: Discrimination condition	20
Narrative construction	22
Dependent measures	22
State self-esteem	22
Collective self-esteem.....	22
Well-being.....	23
Moderators and additional variables	24
Vignette involvement.....	24
Moderator: References to discrimination	24
Moderator: Cognitive/emotional engagement.....	25
Results.....	27
Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses	28
Criterion variables.....	28

Cognitive/emotional engagement.....	28
Additional preliminary analyses.....	29
Primary Hypotheses: Identification by Condition Effects.....	30
State self-esteem.....	30
Environmental mastery (well-being subscale).....	31
Personal growth (well-being subscale).....	32
Positive relations with others (well-being subscale).....	32
Identification subscales.....	33
Summary of primary analyses.....	34
Effects of Group Status.....	34
Cognitive/Emotional Engagement and Group Status as Moderators.....	35
Analyses yielding three-way interactions.....	36
State self-esteem.....	36
Environmental mastery.....	38
Discussion.....	40
Positive Effects of Identification in the Blatant-Discrimination Condition.....	40
The Subtle-Discrimination Condition.....	40
No Discrimination Control Condition.....	42
Group Status.....	44
The Moderating Role of Cognitive/Emotional Engagement.....	45
Study 2 48	
Study Overview.....	50
Summary of Hypotheses.....	52
Primary hypotheses.....	52
Additional hypotheses: Narrative memory quality.....	52
Moderation: Group status.....	52
Moderation: Cognitive/emotional engagement.....	52
Method.....	54
Overview.....	54
Participants.....	54
Procedure and Materials.....	54
Manipulation.....	54
Criterion variables.....	55
Content analyses.....	55
Results.....	56
Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses.....	56
Criterion variables.....	56
Realism.....	56
Primary Hypotheses: Identification by Condition Effects.....	57
State self-esteem.....	57
Self-efficacy.....	57
Environmental mastery.....	58
Personal growth.....	58
Positive relations with others.....	58
Additional Hypotheses: Narrative Coded Memory Quality.....	58
Moderating Effect of Group Status.....	58
Moderating Effect of Cognitive/Emotional Engagement.....	59
Discussion.....	60

Audience Effects	60
General Conclusions	62
Study 3.....	63
Study 3 64	
The Role of Social Scripts	65
Study Overview.....	67
Narrative coded variables.....	68
Frequency of discrimination.....	68
Narrative development	69
Reductions in personal responsibility	69
Emotional responses.....	69
Confronting discrimination.....	70
Group status.....	70
Emotion- and problem-focused coping	71
Summary of Hypotheses	72
Method.....	73
Participants	73
Procedure and Materials	73
Ingroup identification.....	73
Discrimination narratives.....	73
Coping responses.....	74
Content Analyses	74
Results.....	77
The Relationship between Identification and Narrative Coded Variables	77
Group Status	79
Coping responses	80
Correlations with identification	80
Mediation.....	81
Word count	82
Emotional engagement	82
Vividness	83
Perpetrator ethnicity.....	83
References to discrimination	83
Other-directed emotions.....	83
Confrontations.....	85
Discussion	87
Identification and Scripts for Discrimination	87
Narrative development.....	87
Emotional responses	88
Confronting discrimination	88
Frequency	89
Group Status	89
Identification and Coping.....	91
Future Research	92
General Discussion.....	94
Group Status and The Importance of Engagement	95

The Social Nature of the Recounting Process 97
Study 1's Blatant-Discrimination Condition and Study 2's Ingroup-Friend
Condition 98
The Nuances of Ingroup Identification 101
The Benefits of Multiple Methods 102
Conclusions 104

References 107

Appendices 126

Appendix A. Study 1 Vignettes 127

List of Tables

Table 1.	Means and standard deviations of criterion variables across conditions	28
Table 2.	Means and standard deviations of moderator variables across conditions	29
Table 3.	Mean and standard deviation of self-reported realism, narrative coded memory quality, and narrative word count across conditions	29
Table 4.	Significant three-way interactions and follow-up two-way interactions involving group status, cognitive/ emotional engagement and identification in the blatant-discrimination condition	37
Table 5.	Mean and standard deviation of criterion variables across conditions.....	57
Table 6.	Intraclass correlations across raters for narrative coded variables	75
Table 7.	Correlation matrix between identification and narrative coded variables.....	78
Table 8.	Correlations between ingroup identification and coping responses.....	81
Table 9.	Partial correlations between coping responses.....	81
Table 10.	Correlations between coping responses and potential narrative mediators	82

List of Figures

Figure 1.	The effects of identification and condition on state self-esteem.....	31
Figure 2.	The effects of identification and condition on environmental mastery.....	32
Figure 3.	The effects of identification and condition on positive relations with others.	33
Figure 4.	Comparing the effects of cognitive/emotional engagement and ingroup identification on state self-esteem in the blatant-discrimination condition for minority group and majority group participants.	37
Figure 5.	Comparing the effects of cognitive/emotional engagement and ingroup identification on environmental mastery in the blatant-discrimination condition for minority group and majority group participants.	38
Figure 6.	Model of other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup emotion-focused coping.	84
Figure 7.	Model of narrative coded other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup problem-focused coping.....	85

Introduction

Over the past decade, researchers have demonstrated that being a target of discrimination remains an unfortunately common experience for members of stigmatized ethnic groups (e.g., Brondolo et al., 2009a; Moradi & Hassan, 2004; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Perez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008). Direct experiences of discrimination have a number of negative consequences for group members, including increasing both negative emotional responses (e.g., anxiety and hostility; Tropp, 2003) and cardiovascular reactivity (Williams & Neighbors, 2001), as well as decreasing cognitive performance (e.g., Bair & Steele, 2010). However, most research has not focused on single events of direct exposure to discrimination, but rather has attended to participants' more general perception of themselves as the target of discrimination. The perception that one is the target of ethnic discrimination is also tied to a wide range of negative psychological effects, including decreased personal self-esteem (e.g., Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Gaudet, Clement, & Deuzeman, 2005; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008), collective self-esteem (e.g., Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003), well-being (Ryff, Keyes, & Hughes, 2003), life satisfaction (Prelow, Mosher, & Bowman, 2006; Vohra & Adair, 2000) and job satisfaction (Lee & Ahn, 2012). These perceptions are also linked to increased distress symptoms, including anxiety (Alamilla, Kim, & Lam, 2010; Hwang & Goto, 2009; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Lee & Ahn, 2012), somatization (Alamilla et al., 2010; Klonoff et al., 1999), depression (Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai, 2011; Ellis et al., 2010; Hahm, Ozonoff, Gaumond, & Sue, 2010; Hwang & Goto, 2009; Klonoff et al., 1999; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Mossakowski, 2003) and paranoia (Combs et al., 2006). Links have also been demonstrated between perceived discrimination and physiological responses potentially contributing to poorer physical health (Brondolo et al., 2008; Clark, Anderson, Williams, & Williams, 1999; Harrell, Hall, & Taliaferro, 2003; Lee & Ahn, 2012), negative health outcomes such as obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure, chronic headaches and cardiovascular conditions (Finch, Hummer, Kol, & Veba, 2001; Hahm et al., 2010; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Ryan, Gee, & LaFlamme, 2006; Shariff-Marco, Klassen, &

Bowie, 2010), as well as behaviours with negative health consequences, including substance use and smoking (McLaughlin, Hatzenbuehler, & Keyes, 2010; Shariff-Marco et al., 2010).

Ingroup Identification

As an abundance of research has identified the negative consequences of perceiving oneself to be the target of discrimination, greater attention has been focused on the role of factors that intervene in the relationship between discrimination perceptions and negative psychological effects (e.g., McLaughlin et al., 2010). One factor that has received particular attention for its role in the psychological effects of perceiving discrimination is identification with one's ingroup. Identification with one's ethnic group has been shown to have a generally positive effect on psychological well-being (e.g., Gaudet et al., 2005; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Smith & Silva, 2011), and research suggests that it may have a more specific role in buffering against the negative effects of perceiving oneself as the target of discrimination (e.g., Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009).

Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey (1999) propose a model that elucidates the mediating role of this identification in reducing the negative impact of perceived discrimination on mental health. The "rejection-identification model" states that although perceived discrimination has a direct negative effect on well-being, there is also an indirect positive effect mediated by ingroup identification. When a dominant outgroup demeans and stigmatizes an individual based on their group membership, the target tends to identify more strongly with the targeted ingroup. This heightened ingroup identification is then associated with increases in self-esteem. This model has been empirically supported across a variety of stigmatized populations, including African Americans (Ashburn-Nardo, Monteith, Arthur, & Bain, 2007; Branscombe et al., 1999), African immigrants in Belgium (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006), Mexican-Americans (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), Latino college students (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012), Southern Italians - a group historically stigmatized in Italian society (Latrofa, Vaes, Pastore, & Cadinu, 2009), women (Bourguignon et al., 2006; Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Schmitt, Branscombe,

Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002), older adults (Garstka, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Hummert, 2004), and international students (Meegan & Kashima, 2010; Schmitt et al., 2003).

Although the rejection-identification model describes ingroup identification as a mediator of the effect of perceiving discrimination on well-being, there is also evidence that identification *moderates* the relationship between perceiving discrimination and its psychological outcomes (e.g., Jones, Cross, & Defour, 2007; Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). Higher ingroup identification (or higher scores on one of its primary components, as discussed in detail below) has been found to reduce the negative effects of perceived discrimination on a number of relevant psychological and behavioural variables, including depressive symptoms (Mossakowski, 2003), self-esteem (Romero & Roberts, 2003), psychological distress (Chae, Lincoln, & Jackson, 2011), self-directed anger (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006), life satisfaction (Schaafsma, 2011), social functioning (Galliher, Jones, & Dahl, 2010), alcohol abuse and dependence (Chae et al., 2008; Herd & Grube, 1996), academic achievement (Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003), and violent behaviour (Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004). These studies showing significant moderation effects of ingroup identification may represent a temporary extension of the rejection-identification model, whereby, initially, multiple experiences of discrimination result in increases in ingroup identification, which serves to buffer well-being (the meditational effect predicted by the rejection-identification model). However, after this period, the now strong sense of ingroup identification may be used as a salient and stable psychological tool against the effects of subsequent perceptions of discrimination (the moderating effect).

Although a number of studies find support for the positive buffering effects of identification when perceiving oneself as the target of discrimination, there remains some debate over the role of the specific content of identification (Romero & Roberts, 2003). While some studies focus on identification as a unitary construct (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003) or do not distinguish between different components in their results (e.g., Cronin et al., 2012; Jasperse, Ward, & Jose, 2012), the broad concept of identification with one's ethnic group can be broken down into more specific constructs. Cameron (2004) argues and finds empirical support for three primary components of identification: (1) centrality, or the amount of time spent thinking about one's group membership, (2) ingroup affect, or positive feelings associated with one's

group membership, and (3) ingroup ties, or a sense of connection to other ingroup members.

There has been some debate over which of these components is responsible for the positive effects of identification in the face of perceived discrimination. McCoy and Major (2003) argue that these effects are generally carried by ingroup affect. They report evidence that higher centrality may actually be detrimental when exposed to group-based prejudice, which is argued to occur because such maltreatment is more distressing when one sees membership in the mistreated group as an important part of one's identity. Fitting with this, Bombay, Matheson and Anisman (2010), while finding support for a positive moderating role of ingroup ties and ingroup affect, found centrality to exacerbate the relationship between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms in First Nations participants (see also Bair & Steele, 2010; Burrow & Ong, 2010). Additionally, Romero and Roberts' (2003) concept of ethnic affirmation, which maps onto ingroup affect, moderated the negative effects of discrimination perceptions on self-esteem, whereas Chae and colleagues' (2011) measure of identification, which resembles measures of intergroup ties, moderated the negative effects of perception of discrimination on psychological distress. However, numerous other studies have reported evidence of positive moderating and mediating effects for centrality (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2007; Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003; Neblett et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 2003). Although there remains some debate over the role of centrality, there is evidence that each of the three components of ingroup identification may play a role in its positive effects.

Researchers have also begun to investigate the potential mechanisms by which higher identification results in higher self-esteem and well-being. For instance, Outten and colleagues (2009) found that the positive relationship between ingroup identification and both self-esteem and life satisfaction was mediated by participants' appraisals of the available coping options to deal with discrimination. More specifically, higher identification was associated with the endorsement of several effective strategies to cope with discrimination. In turn, greater use of these coping strategies led to higher self-esteem and life satisfaction. Additionally, ingroup identification has been linked to greater collective action intentions (Molero, Fuster, Jetten, & Moriano, 2011) and greater

activism on behalf of one's group (Cronin et al, 2012), which are associated with higher levels of well-being.

The Role of Identification in Recounting Discrimination

Although experiences with discrimination are almost uniformly perceived as negative and stressful at the time of occurrence (Tropp, 2003), it is possible that not only do high identifiers have better coping strategies to use in the face of discrimination (e.g., Outten et al., 2009), they may also be more effective at recounting experiences of discrimination in ways that reduce their negative impact. In the first study to directly consider this possibility, Richard, Wright and Tropp (in prep) asked ethnic minority participants who were either highly identified with their ethnic group (high identifiers) or less identified with their ethnic group (low identifiers) to report their self-esteem before and after recounting a personal experience of ethnic discrimination. Results revealed that high identifiers showed a marked increase in self-esteem after writing about a personal experience with discrimination, while low identifiers showed no effects. These results raise the intriguing possibility that high and low identifiers respond to these memories in different ways, with high identifiers reframing what was likely a very negative experience at the time into a more positive and potentially even empowering event when recounting it later.

One of the benefits of this first study was that it used group members' own experiences with discrimination as the source of their memory. However, this procedure also introduces an important limitation in that each participant wrote about a different experience. Consequently, it is possible that high and low identifiers may have experienced and thus reported different types of discrimination (e.g., Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010). Thus it cannot be definitively concluded that these two groups would show different responses to the same experiences with discrimination. This issue was addressed in my Master's research (Richard, 2006), which examined group members' responses to discrimination using a more controlled, and thus consistent, exposure to a single episode of discrimination.

In addition to replicating the findings that levels of identification influence the consequences of recalling discrimination, my Master's research (Richard, 2006) more

directly investigated the potential role of the act of recounting discrimination episodes. Participants were asked to recount a standardized episode of discrimination. This standardized episode allowed this research to move beyond previous findings exclusively involving perceptions of discrimination by directly manipulating participants' exposure to discrimination, and also provided an opportunity to investigate whether the content of the narrative accounts would be related to differences in well-being and self-esteem for high and low identifiers. More specifically, participants first read and then recounted narrative vignettes describing one of three events while imagining themselves as the narrator. These events described one of two episodes of discrimination, or a control episode in which no discrimination occurred. Participants were instructed to recount the event as though they were telling it to an ingroup friend, and completed measures of self-esteem and well-being, as well as questionnaires tapping possible moderators, such as their beliefs about the perpetrator's motives. Their narratives were also content-analyzed for a number of relevant variables, including references to discrimination.

In general, the results provided support for the hypothesis that higher ingroup identification was associated with more positive psychological outcomes when recounting events of discrimination. Specifically, compared to a situation involving no discrimination, recounting an event of discrimination led to a much larger drop in state self-esteem for low identifiers than for high identifiers.

Furthermore, there was some evidence that the degree to which participants described the perpetrator's actions as discrimination moderated the relationships between identification and self-esteem/well-being. Specifically, when participants made few references to discrimination when recounting the event, low and high identifiers showed equivalent levels of self-esteem and personal growth (a measure of well-being), whereas when participants made more references to discrimination, high identifiers showed a clear self-esteem and personal growth advantage. Put another way, calling negative treatment by a majority group member "discrimination" appeared to have beneficial effects for minority group members with high ingroup identification but was maladaptive for low identifiers. However, low and high identifiers who did not make references to discrimination showed no differences in their psychological outcomes. This suggests that high identifiers are not necessarily more likely than low identifiers to

reference discrimination when recounting negative treatment by an outgroup member, but rather that when they do make these references, it leads to more positive outcomes than for low identifiers. In short, while narrative content did not appear to differ as a result of level of identification, there were differences in how high and low identifiers responded to recounting these events.

These two earlier studies (Richard, 2006; Richard et al., in prep) research represents an important step in establishing the positive role of ingroup identification in the face of discrimination and demonstrates that the subsequent recounting of the event may represent one particularly important way in which the positive effects of identification are realized. In addition, in the second study, the measure of ingroup identification was taken: a) well before (as much as six weeks before) the experience with discrimination and the measurement of the relevant outcomes, b) in a different context (as part of a pretest), and c) in a survey containing numerous other personality and attitude measures. Thus, this represents a very stringent test of these relationships, more stringent than in many previous studies investigating the relationships between identification and well-being (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2006). In addition, this study introduced a paradigm involving the recounting of vignettes, which provides a useful way to assess the psychological processes underlying these effects. Not only does this control for the contents of the discrimination events and allow us to move beyond research focused exclusively on individual's perceptions of discrimination, but it also allows for the comprehensive analysis of recounting narratives for evidence of specific elements, such as references to discrimination. Finally, this paradigm provides evidence of a causal direction, as these effects are obtained when experiences with discrimination are experimentally manipulated, compared to previous research including primarily correlational data.

Overview of Current Research

The current research will expand on these initial studies in a number of ways intended to further our understanding of the specific role of recounting in the relationship between discrimination experiences, identification and well-being. Specifically, three studies will be reported that investigate different elements of the recounting process. The

first study makes use of the paradigm introduced in my Master's research (Richard, 2006), and is motivated by three main goals: a) to replicate the positive effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being when recounting episodes of discrimination, b) to investigate whether these effects will also be found for members of majority groups, and c) to examine potential moderators of these positive effects. The second study also uses this paradigm and continues the attention on both minority and majority group members, but also focuses on the generalizability of any recounting effects across different audiences. Specifically, participants imagined retelling an experience of discrimination to either a close friend or an acquaintance, who was either an ingroup or outgroup member. The third study takes a different approach to understanding the role of recounting, by investigating the effects of identification on participants' social scripts utilizing a more conventional survey technique. Social scripts are presumed to underlie participants' recounting of both real (e.g., Richard et al., in prep) and imagined experiences (Study 1 and 2) of discrimination. Although these three studies may appear divergent in terms of methodology, when considered together, the results should not only provide a clearer picture of the generalizability and limits of any effects of recounting in the relationship between identification and well-being, but also should help ascertain the ways in which individuals higher in identification may use this process to maintain their self-esteem and well-being when experiencing discrimination.

Study 1

Blatant and Subtle Discrimination

Study 1 replicates and extends the previously reported studies by having participants imagine experiencing an episode of discrimination and recounting it to an ingroup friend. As in my Master's research (Richard, 2006), experimental conditions were created to highlight the distinction between subtle and blatant discrimination. The primary way that discrimination is described and operationalized in the literature and the way that discrimination is most clearly understood in contemporary society involves direct and obvious references to group membership as the basis for mistreatment. Thus, one of the experimental conditions involves having participants imagining and recounting a blatant episode of discrimination. However, research also suggests that discrimination has evolved to more subtle forms of "modern racism," whereby people superficially act in an unprejudiced manner while privately holding prejudiced attitudes. The result is often more subtle and indirect acts of discrimination (Brown, 1995). Thus, it seemed important to include a condition representing these more ambiguous episodes of discrimination. In my Master's research (Richard, 2006) the effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being were in fact stronger when recounting subtle discrimination and I hypothesized that this occurred because these more ambiguous episodes allowed more room for differential interpretation by high and low identifiers. As such, a second experimental condition involves participants imagining and recounting a subtle episode of discrimination. A control condition in which no discrimination occurred is also included. It is expected that the positive benefits of stronger identification should be shown most clearly in the two discrimination conditions, compared to the control condition. Furthermore, as the ambiguity inherent in subtle discrimination is thought to elicit a wider range of possible interpretations and reactions than blatant discrimination (Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2010; Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003), it is expected that ingroup identification may play a greater role in the subtle compared to the blatant condition (see Richard, 2006).

Well-Being and Collective Self-Esteem

Study 1 includes a wide array of measures in an effort to capture the complexity of the concept of well-being. Although a large number of studies purport to measure discrimination's effects on well-being, the actual measures tend to be limited to measures of life satisfaction (e.g., Vohra & Adair, 2000) and self-esteem (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Lee, 2003; Mossakowski, 2003; cf. Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). There is a growing research movement claiming that psychological well-being encompasses a wider range of constructs (e.g., Ryff & Singer, 2006), with particular support being found for a model of well-being originally proposed by Ryff (1989) consisting of six primary constructs: self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. Ryff's multidimensional Scales of Well-Being (1989) was used in my Master's research (Richard, 2006) and the predicted effects of higher well-being for high versus low identifiers in the discrimination conditions emerged more clearly on particular aspects of well-being (e.g., positive relations with others, environmental mastery) than others (e.g., self-acceptance, autonomy). Based on this pattern of results, the positive relations with others, environmental mastery, personal growth and purpose in life subscales are included in the current study.

In addition to a standard measure of personal self-esteem, a measure of collective self-esteem is also added to the current study. Collective self-esteem refers to an individual's feelings of positivity about their collective identity (i.e., their memberships in social groups) and can be contrasted with personal self-esteem, which refers to one's self-regard associated exclusively with one's personal or individual self (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Majority Group Members

In addition, Study 1 is one of the first experimental studies to consider the role of ingroup identification as a moderator of the effects of discrimination among members of a majority group. Majority group members are generally not included in research on the impact of ingroup identification on reactions to discrimination (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; see Knowles & Peng, 2005; Wong & Cho, 2005). Though several studies show

that Caucasians report lower levels of racial discrimination compared to African Americans (e.g., Barnes et al., 2004; Bierman, 2006; Broman, 2007) and Hispanics (Shorey, Cowan, & Sullivan, 2002), research also indicates that Caucasians are increasingly seeing themselves as the targets of discrimination. For instance, a recent study by Norton and Sommers (2011) found that White respondents viewed anti-White bias to now be more prevalent than anti-Black bias, leading the authors to suggest that among White Americans the mindset has shifted to "the notion that Whites have replaced Blacks as the primary victims of discrimination" (p. 215). Plaut (2011) also noted a trend in legal cases towards recognizing Whites as the targets of discrimination. This fits with the increasing use of the term "reverse discrimination" (e.g., Bucholtz, 2011; Pincus, 2003; Sanderson, 2010) to refer to what is seen as growing levels of discrimination against majority group members.

Evidence is conflicting about whether experiences of discrimination have equivalently negative effects for majority compared to minority group members. Some research indicates that the relationship between perceived discrimination and stress is smaller in Caucasians compared to African Americans (Thompson Sanders, 2002) and that Caucasians do not show the same negative association between perceived discrimination and self-esteem as do Hispanics (Shorey et al., 2002). Although using experimentally created groups, Platow, Byrne and Ryan (2005) also found that discrimination's negative effects on self-esteem only emerged for low-status groups. However, other research has shown that perceived discrimination is associated with increased alcohol use (Barnes et al., 2004) and higher negative affect and depressive symptoms (Barnes et al., 2004; Bierman, 2006) for both African American and Caucasians.

There is no published research on the influence of identification on reactions to discrimination for Caucasians. It does appear that Caucasians, on average, have lower levels of ingroup identification than visible minorities (St. Louis & Liem, 2005; Wong & Cho, 2005), although there is evidence that this difference may not be present in adolescents (Yasui, Dorham & Dishion, 2004). Majority group members do not appear to show the same general association between identification and positive psychological outcomes seen in minorities (Phinney, 1992; St. Louis & Liem, 2005; Walker, Wingate, Obasi, & Joiner, 2008; Yasui et al., 2004). One study also demonstrated that religious

affiliation served as a buffer against the negative effects of discrimination for Black participants (Bierman, 2006) but not for Whites. Therefore, it is possible that ingroup identification does not serve the same moderating role in the relationship between discrimination and well-being in majority group members as in minority group members.

However, given the limited scope of research on ingroup identification in majority group members, an alternative hypothesis also appears plausible. Specifically, given majority group members' increasing perceptions of being the targets of discrimination, they may also be developing coping mechanisms to deal with the negative feelings brought about by these perceptions. This may be particularly true in culturally diverse regions and urban centers like the Vancouver Metropolitan Area, where the current research was conducted. The 2006 Canadian census revealed that 42% of the population of this region are members of visible minority groups (Statistics Canada, 2007a) and that within some specific cities in this area, Caucasians are no longer the numerical majority (e.g., Statistics Canada, 2007b; Statistics Canada, 2007c). This means that cross-group interactions between minority and majority group members are extremely common. Although increasing numbers of intergroup interactions generally result in lower levels of prejudice for majority group members (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998), more intergroup interactions may also lead to a greater number of Caucasians experiencing negative treatment by minority group members. As identification with one's ethnic group can be conceived of as a group-based coping technique developing over time due to perceptions of discrimination (e.g., Cronin et al., 2012), it is plausible that majority group members may have begun to use this coping technique as demographic shifts increasingly undermine their majority status. In other words, it is possible that at the current time, majority and minority group members may not differ with regards to the positive effects of identification.

References to Discrimination

The extent to which participants' described their maltreatment as discrimination was considered as a moderator in the relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being when recounting an episode of discrimination. My Master's research (Richard, 2006) showed that describing mistreatment as discrimination resulted in

positive outcomes for those high in ingroup identification, whereas those lower in identification were better off if they did not respond to mistreatment by describing it as discrimination. As such, it is expected that in the current study, highly identified individuals will benefit from describing their experiences as discrimination, as this will diminish their own feelings of personal responsibility for the negative outcomes (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). In contrast, by describing the imagined episode as discriminatory, individuals lower in identification may be forced to recognize that future experiences with the outgroup will likely involve continued discrimination. As, by virtue of their lower levels of identification, they may perceive themselves to have fewer resources to cope with chronic discrimination (e.g., Outten et al., 2009), seeing these acts as discrimination may be maladaptive for them.

Cognitive and Emotional Engagement

Finally, Study 1 will also investigate how active engagement in the recounting process may influence subsequent feelings of self-esteem and well-being. It is predicted that this moderating effect will occur for a number of responses indicative of cognitive and emotional processing of the episode, such that more vigorous responses will be beneficial for those with high ingroup identification but will be detrimental for those low in identification. Therefore the current study assesses several variables thought to capture participants' strength of active cognitive and emotional processing of the discrimination episode, including the degree to which participants exhibit other-directed emotions (such as anger and frustration), their negative representations of the perpetrator, and the degree to which their recounting of the event demonstrated that they clearly saw themselves personally as the target of discrimination. It is expected that high identifiers will benefit from these kinds of strong engagement responses, because these responses will represent for them thoughts and feelings that facilitate the processing of the event in adaptive ways. For instance, when perceiving the perpetrator in a more negative fashion, high identifiers may see his negative actions as less caused by their own actions and more caused by his negative traits, which should minimize their feelings of responsibility for the negative outcomes (Crocker & Major, 1989). Similarly, for high identifiers, other-directed emotions like anger may have positive effects on mental health, as these emotional responses may be associated with feelings of social support

(e.g., Crabtree, Haslam, Postmes, & Haslam, 2010) and a feeling of competence necessary to take future action (e.g., Matheson & Anisman, 2009; Outten et al., 2009). Greater personal engagement would involve making the event personally relevant, rather than psychologically distancing oneself from it, and this too should result in higher self-esteem and well-being for those higher in identification.

In contrast, higher levels of these engagement responses may have a negative impact on individuals lower in identification. By seeing the perpetrator's behaviour in more negative ways, these individuals may be forced to recognize that future experiences with the outgroup will also be fraught with discrimination and thus be less under their control. Although perceiving oneself as a frequent target of discrimination is generally thought to have negative effects on well-being (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999), this may be more substantial for low identifiers. Specifically, as low identifiers do not see the ingroup as a strong source of social support, perceiving discrimination as a common experience leaves them with fewer resources to cope with maltreatment (e.g., Outten et al., 2009). As such, the more vigorously they respond to this kind of mistreatment, the more negatively it may impact their self-esteem and well-being. Low identifiers may also experience other-directed emotions, such as anger, less as collective or shared emotions (e.g., Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008) and more as personal emotions, with potentially negative consequences for mental health, physical health and interpersonal interactions (e.g., Lampert, 2010; Simon, 2010; Williams & Williams, 1998). Finally, making these episodes more personally meaningful, rather than distancing oneself from them, may only further exacerbate the lack of efficacy low identifiers may feel. Thus, it is predicted that cognitive and emotional engagement in participant's responses to an episode of discrimination should moderate the relationship between ingroup identification and self-esteem and well-being. More specifically, higher levels of this engagement should be associated with higher self-esteem and well-being for those higher in identification, whereas, for those lower in identification, cognitive/emotional engagement should be associated with lower self-esteem and well-being.

Overview

Participants read one of three vignettes while imagining the experience was happening to them. All three vignettes described a student of the same gender and ethnicity as the participant, who, while seeking housing, experiences blatant discrimination, subtle discrimination or no discrimination (control condition). Later, participants wrote a narrative describing the events in the vignette as though it had happened to them. Participants were asked to recount the events as they would if speaking to an ingroup friend. These narratives were coded for a number of potential moderators of interest.

After completing the narrative, participants completed a final questionnaire including a measure of state self-esteem, a measure of collective self-esteem and a multidimensional measure of well-being. In addition to these criterion variables, measures of the hypothesized moderators of references to discrimination and cognitive and emotional engagement were also included.

Summary of Hypotheses

Primary hypotheses

The primary hypothesis is that ingroup identification will moderate the effects of both blatant and subtle discrimination on measures of personal and collective self-esteem, as well as on the four factors of well-being. This will be tested through a series of analyses. The primary prediction is an interaction between ingroup identification and condition.

Specifically, a stronger positive relationship between identification and both self-esteem and well-being when participants recount an event of discrimination, blatant or subtle, compared to when they recount an event in which there is no discrimination, is predicted. Additionally, the positive effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being are predicted to be stronger in the subtle-discrimination condition compared to the blatant-discrimination condition. Furthermore, to investigate the hypothesis that different components of identification (e.g., ingroup affect; McCoy & Major, 2003) may be responsible for its positive effects, any significant interactions will be followed up by

three analyses using each component of identification (ingroup affect, ingroup ties, centrality) as a predictor variable, in order to determine whether any of these components are specifically responsible for the overall effects of identification.

Moderating role of group status

The prediction that group status (minority or majority) would play a moderating role in the effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being will be tested. Specifically, this hypothesis predicted that the positive effects of identification when recounting an episode of discrimination will be stronger for minority group members compared to majority group members. As discussed above, this hypothesis is advanced with some uncertainty as differences between these groups may be receding.

Moderating role of references to discrimination

Two measures of the extent to which participants described the imagined episode as discriminatory, one derived by coding participants' narratives and one self-report based, were included. If analyses of internal consistency reveal that these two variables are highly correlated, this amalgamated variable will be included as a single moderator, which is predicted to moderate the relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being in both the blatant-discrimination and subtle-discrimination condition. Specifically, in these two conditions, higher references to discrimination are predicted to result in higher levels of self-esteem and well-being for highly identified participants, whereas higher references are instead predicted to result in lower levels self-esteem and well-being for less-identified participants.

Moderating role of cognitive/emotional engagement

As detailed above, several measures were used to assess participants' level of cognitive and emotional engagement in the discrimination episode. As these measures were all related to a single concept, rather than running independent analyses using each specific measure as a moderator, the measures of other-directed emotions, negative perceptions of the perpetrator, and personal engagement in the episode will be amalgamated into a single measure of cognitive/emotional engagement. If analyses of internal consistency reveal that these variables are highly correlated, this amalgamated

variable will be used in the moderation analyses. This variable is expected to moderate the relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being when recounting an episode of discrimination. Specifically, within the two discrimination conditions, higher cognitive/emotional engagement is predicted to be beneficial for participants higher in identification, whereas it is predicted to be detrimental to participants lower in identification.

The effects of group status on references to discrimination and cognitive/emotional engagement

Given the limited amount of research on the role of identification in majority group members' experiences with discrimination, there is little theoretical basis on which to generate hypotheses for interactions between group status and any additional potential moderators. However, it is possible that both references to discrimination and cognitive/emotional engagement may interact with participants' group status. For instance, whereas it is predicted that references to discrimination should be positively related to self-esteem for high identifiers but negatively related for low identifiers, it is possible that this effect is moderated by group status. While making references to discrimination should have positive effects for highly identified *minority* group members, it may be that highly identified *majority* group members will not benefit from making such references, as they may feel as though their experiences of discrimination are less likely to be recognized as valid by both outgroup members and potentially by some ingroup members (Pincus, 2003). Although these would have to be described as primarily exploratory, a series of analyses investigating potential interactions between group status and both references to discrimination and cognitive/emotional engagement will be conducted.

Method

Overview

The study involved a mixed design with two independent variables: ingroup identification as a continuous measured variable and discrimination condition as a manipulated variable. The manipulation of discrimination condition involved three vignettes to create a blatant-discrimination, a subtle-discrimination, and a control condition.

Participants

One hundred and thirty-nine undergraduate students at Simon Fraser University participated in this study for either monetary compensation or course credits. However, 13 participants misunderstood the instructions (e.g., they wrote about an unrelated event, rather than recounting the event described in the vignette they read) or failed to complete the narrative task and were therefore removed from the sample. Thus, 126 participants were included in the final analysis.

Seventy-four percent of the sample ($n = 93$) were female. The mean age of participants was 20.06 years ($SD = 2.91$), with ages ranging from 18 to 45 years. The majority of the sample were Asian (45.2%, $n = 57$) and Caucasian (41.3%, $n = 52$). Other ethnic groups included Middle Eastern (5.6%, $n = 7$), Indo-Canadians (4.8%, $n = 6$), Black (2.4%, $n = 3$), and Hispanic (0.8%, $n = 1$). Over half of the sample (55.5%, $n = 70$) was born in Canada, and 53.2% ($n = 67$) indicated that English was their first language.

Procedure and Materials

Following a brief initial introduction, the study was conducted entirely on a computer, with instructions presented both on the computer screen and orally over headphones. Participants were initially told that the study was about reactions to the transitions involved in beginning university. They then reported basic demographic information, such as their gender, ethnicity and age, and completed measures of ingroup identification. This was followed by instructions to read and imagine that they were

experiencing the events described in a first-person vignette ostensibly written by a university student from their ethnic ingroup. The content of these vignettes varied by condition in that they described either a blatant episode of discrimination, a subtle episode of discrimination, or a neutral interaction. After completing a short filler task, participants provided a written narrative of the events described in the vignette as though they had happened to them and as though they were recounting it to an ingroup friend. Finally, they completed measures of state personal self-esteem, collective self-esteem, well-being, and a number of measures of their perceptions of and reactions to the events described in the vignettes.

Ingroup identification

Following the reporting of demographic information, participants completed two commonly used measures of ingroup identification. The ethnicity specific version of the *importance to identity* subscale from Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) *Collective Self-Esteem Scale* (CSES) consists of four statements (e.g., "Being a member of my racial/ethnic group is an important part of my self-image"). Participants respond to each item on a 7-point Likert scale anchored with "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .82$).

The *Social Identity Scale* (Cameron, 2004) has 12 items. Participants are instructed to think about their racial/ethnic group in considering the items (e.g., "In general, I feel good about being a member of my racial/ethnic group") and to respond on 6-point Likert scales anchored with "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree. The scale items load on three factors (each with four items) thought to represent different dimensions of the general construct of ingroup identification (ingroup ties, ingroup affect, and centrality). *Ingroup ties* ($\alpha = .76$ in this study) refers to perceptions of likeness to, attachment with, and fitting in with members of one's ingroup, and includes items such as "I feel strong ties to other (ingroup members)." *Ingroup affect* ($\alpha = .80$) represents the degree of positive sentiments associated with group membership. Items include statements such as: "Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a/an (ingroup member)." *Centrality* ($\alpha = .87$) refers to the cognitive accessibility of one's ethnic identity, and includes items such as "I often think about the fact that I am a/an (ingroup member)." Although the scale items load on three factors, it has good levels of internal consistency on its own ($\alpha = .83$ in this study), and thus was taken as an overall measure

of ingroup identification; however, additional analyses will be completed on its subscales. Scores on the overall Social Identity Scale and the importance to identity subscale of the CSES were combined to form a single scale of identification ($\alpha = .88$).¹

Manipulation: Discrimination condition

Participants were then provided with one of the three vignettes. Based on participants' previously entered demographic information, the narrator of the vignette was matched to the participant in terms of ethnicity and gender. This matching of gender and ethnicity was designed to maximize the degree that participants would identify with the narrator and personalize the story. They were told that the vignette was a narrative based on the personal experiences of a fellow Simon Fraser University student written during a previous study. They were instructed to read the vignette while vividly imagining that the events it described were happening to them and making the events personally relevant.

The three vignettes each described an interaction between two people close to the average age of participants (21 years). In the two discrimination conditions, the other character was a man who was described as Caucasian for minority participants and as Asian for majority (Caucasian) participants. In the control condition, his ethnicity was not mentioned. All three vignettes were written in the second person singular (e.g., "You are walking to the store") to maximize the extent to which the participant pictured the experience as happening to them. The content of all vignettes describe a university student's experiences while looking for a place to live. After finding a "roommate-wanted" ad on Craigslist, the student calls and speaks to a pleasant-sounding man who arranges an appointment to see the townhouse and essentially promises them the room. The content of the three vignettes varied when the narrator knocks on the front door of the

¹ Participants also completed these two scales (the importance to identity subscale and the Social Identity Scale) modified to assess identification as a Simon Fraser University student. They also selected from a list the transitions they found difficult when starting university (e.g., "Moving away from my parents", "The amount of homework"), and were given the chance to write in any additional difficulties they had experienced that were not on the list. These questions were included to enhance the cover story that this study was investigating transitions involved in attending university; these data were not used in any analyses.

townhouse. In the blatant-discrimination condition, the potential roommate says that he does not want a roommate of the narrator's ethnicity. In the subtle-discrimination condition, the potential roommate looks disturbed when he sees the narrator, and then says that he has rented the room to someone else. Finally, in the control interaction, the potential roommate asks the narrator to wait outside a moment while he finishes tidying the house, and informs the narrator that the other person living in the townhouse will be returning soon. The three vignettes are attached as Appendix A. These vignettes were developed for my Master's research (Richard, 2006) after consulting previous research (e.g., Dion, 2001; Flournoy, Prentice-Dunn, & Klinger, 2002; Inman, Huerta, & Ho, 1998)². In addition, pilot testing of the vignettes demonstrated that they were perceived as intended (see Richard, 2006). Specifically, the pilot test indicated that all three vignettes were rated as equally vivid, and that the blatant-discrimination vignette was seen as significantly more discriminatory than the subtle-discrimination condition, which in turn was seen as significantly more discriminatory than the control condition.

After reading the vignette and imagining the events occurring to them, participants were given a brief (5-10 minute) filler task designed to distract them from rehearsing or focusing on the vignette. This "estimation task" involved a series of trials in

² These vignettes were similar to those used in my Master's research (Richard, 2006), with a few minor adaptations.

A limitation emerged in this earlier study. Although a resolution (e.g., whether the narrator rents the room) was never directly stated, some participants, as evidenced by their narratives, appeared to make the assumption of a positive resolution. Thus, to ensure that there were no differences in the perceived outcome across the three conditions in the current study, the control condition was altered so that a positive resolution was not implied.

My Master's research also included an additional condition, called the conflict-control condition, in which participants imagined a non-discriminatory episode with a negative outcome. Results were inconsistent, in that the conflict-control condition sometimes appeared to function similar to the control condition, whereas other times it operated similarly to an ambiguous discrimination condition, and occasionally displayed patterns of results that were inconsistent with either interpretation. This made this condition very difficult to interpret; as such, this condition was not included in the current study.

Additional adaptations to the vignettes were minor, and primarily focused on updating the content to a more contemporary setting; for instance, the protagonist was described as finding the roommate-wanted ad on Craigslist, rather than in a newspaper.

which an array of objects were briefly presented on the computer screen, and participants estimated the number of objects shown.

Narrative construction

Participants were then asked to again imagine that the event in the vignette had happened to them, and to picture an ingroup friend they would be inclined to recount the experience to. To help them better imagine this retelling, they were asked four questions about their friend (e.g. "What does your friend look like?") and the setting in which the two of them would be meeting (e.g., "Where would you and your friend be meeting?"). They then wrote a first-person narrative of the events described in the vignette as though they had happened to them, in the exact manner in which they would recount the story to their friend. They were instructed to picture the setting, their friend, and their friend's reactions in as much detail as possible, and to write a first person account of the events in as much detail as possible.

Dependent measures

State self-esteem

Participants responded to the statement "Generally, how do you feel about yourself at this very moment?" on an 8-point Likert scale anchored by "very negative" and "very positive". For reliability purposes, this question was asked both immediately after participants completed the recounting narrative as well as after participants had answered all other self-report questions. This question was designed as a straightforward, face-valid measure of state self-esteem.

Collective self-esteem

Participants then completed three of the four subscales³ from the ethnicity-specific version of Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; $\alpha = .88$, this study) – *membership self-esteem*, *private self-esteem*, and *public self-esteem*. The *membership self-esteem* subscale ($\alpha = .73$ in this study) measures the extent to which

individuals see themselves as good members of their ethnic group, and includes items such as "I am a worthy member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to." The *private self-esteem* subscale ($\alpha = .81$) measures personal evaluations of the value of one's ethnic group, and includes items such as "I feel good about the racial/ethnic group I belong to." Finally, the *public self-esteem* subscale ($\alpha = .79$) measures perceptions of other's judgments of one's ethnic group, and includes items such as "In general, others respect the ethnic/racial group I am a member of." Participants responded on 7-point Likert scales anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree."

Well-being

Participants then completed an abbreviated version⁴ of the medium-form version of Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being (1989; C. D. Ryff, personal communication, January 21, 2005; see also Srimathi & Kirin Kumar, 2010; $\alpha = .94$ in this study). Participants responded to each item on a 6-point Likert scale anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree". The *environmental mastery* subscale ($\alpha = .77$) measures perceived competency and control in managing one's environment, and includes items such as "In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live." The *personal growth subscale* ($\alpha = .61$) measures perceptions of the self as expanding and improving over time, and includes items such as "I have the sense that I have developed as a person over time." The *positive relations with others* subscale ($\alpha = .83$) measures perceptions that one has successful interactions with others and the capacity for empathy and affection, and includes items such as "Most people see me as loving and affectionate." The *purpose in life* subscale ($\alpha = .75$) measures the perception that one possesses ambition and a sense of meaning in life, and includes items such as "I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality."

³ The 4-item Importance of Identity subscale was not included, as it was used earlier as one of the measures of ingroup identification.

⁴ The entire Scales of Psychological Well-Being includes 6 subscales, but only 4 of these 6 subscales were included in the current study, as discussed in the introduction.

Moderators and additional variables

Participants then completed a final 13-item questionnaire assessing reactions to the events in the vignette. Finally, two extensively trained independent coders blind to participant condition coded each participant's narrative. Intraclass correlation coefficients for absolute agreement were calculated to examine interrater reliability. Details of the coding of each variable are explained below. All narrative coded variables were scored on 7-point Likert scales.

Vignette involvement

Four items assessed participants evaluations of the *realism* of the vignette ($\alpha = .71$), including items such as "How plausible was the event?", using 7-point Likert scales, anchored by, for example, "not at all plausible" and "very plausible"). The *word count* of the narrative was also noted.

In addition, each participant's narrative was coded for memory quality and degree of detail. Memory quality was assessed by coders comparing participants' narratives to the original vignettes, with scores ranging from memory being "not at all good" to "very good". Degree of detail was assessed by having coders rate the degree of detail presented in the narrative, with scores ranging from "not at all detailed" to "very much". These two variables were amalgamated into a measure of *narrative memory quality*, $\alpha = .94$, $ICC(118) = .81$, $p < .01$.

Moderator: References to discrimination

Four items in the final questionnaire assessed the degree to which participants conceptualized the potential roommate's behaviours as discrimination (*self-reported references to discrimination*; $\alpha = .76$). Responses were provided using 7-point Likert scales anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree" to items such as "The potential roommate judged me based on my ethnic/racial group". In addition, narratives were coded for how much the participant appeared to be describing the narrative as an episode of discrimination (*narrative coded references to discrimination*), $ICC(119) = .86$, $p < .01$. Coders scored this item by rating how strongly the writer appeared to be defining the described event as discriminatory, with responses ranging from "not at all" to "very much". Coders were specifically instructed that describing an event that objectively described discrimination was not sufficient to warrant a high score on this

variable, as participants needed to specifically label the event as discriminatory. They were also instructed that this measure was not a direct count of number of explicit statements referencing discrimination, but rather an overall impression of the narrative's tone⁵.

Moderator: Cognitive/emotional engagement

Five items assessed participants' other-directed emotional responses ($\alpha = .91$; *self-reported other-directed emotions*), using questions such as "How angry did this event make you feel?" rated on 7-point Likert scales anchored by, for example, "not at all angry" and "very angry". In addition, coders were asked both how angry and how frustrated the participant appeared in recounting the event, with responses ranging from "not at all" to "very much". Coders were again instructed that these scores were to represent the overall tone of anger and frustration in the narrative, rather than a count of the number of explicit mentions of the emotion. These two variables were amalgamated into a measure of *narrative coded other-directed emotions*, $\alpha = .78$, $ICC(119) = .86$, $p < .01$

Coders also rated the extent to which the roommate was portrayed negatively, with responses ranging from "not at all" to "very much" (*narrative coded negative perceptions*), $ICC(119) = .79$, $p < .01$. They were specifically instructed that this variable does not assess for positive portrayals, such that a score of "not at all" was not meant to signify a positive perception of the perpetrator, but rather an absence of negative references to the perpetrator in the narrative.

Coders additionally rated the extent to which the narrative indicated that the participant had personalized and become emotional engaged in the experience. Coders were instructed that personalization specifically involved details indicating that the

⁵ A similar measure of references to discrimination was used in my Master's research (Richard, 2006). It is also worth noting that similar findings emerged when a direct count of references to discrimination was used as a measure rather than the current method of using the rater's overall impression of the narrative's tones. The 7-point rating of overall impressions was used as it could be more easily combined with the measure of self-reported references to discrimination.

participant imagined the story as directly happening to them, such as describing additional information about their or their friend's responses to the event; with this in mind, a score of "not at all" on personalization was expected when participants described the story exactly as it was presented in the original vignette. Emotional engagement was coded by asking how emotionally involved or engaged the participant was in recounting the event. Responses on both of these variables ranged from "not at all" to "very much". These two variables were amalgamated into a measure of *narrative coded personal engagement*, $\alpha = .80$, $ICC(118) = .72$, $p < .01$.

Once the participant had completed these questions, the computer prompted them to get the experimenter, who then debriefed them fully.

Results

Following reports of preliminary analyses, a series of multiple regressions were used to test the primary hypotheses. Each regression examined the effects of condition, ingroup identification, and their interactions on one of nine dependent measures: personal state self-esteem, four separate components of well-being (environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, and purpose in life) and collective self-esteem and its subscales (membership self-esteem, private self-esteem, and public self-esteem). Significant interaction effects were followed up by simple slope tests (Jose, 2008), along with separate analyses conducted with each of three subscales of identification as predictor variables.

Following this, to test whether the effects of identification were moderated by group status, regression analyses were conducted examining the effects of discrimination condition, ingroup identification, group status and their interaction on the nine criterion variables.

Finally, the moderating role of group status and both cognitive/emotional engagement was examined within the blatant- and subtle-discrimination conditions. This was done using a series of regressions, which examined the effects of identification, group status, cognitive/emotional engagement and their interactions on each of the nine criterion variables. These analyses examined whether group status, cognitive/emotional engagement and their interactions moderate the effect of identification on self-esteem and well-being.⁶

⁶ Due to the number of analyses, only significant findings ($p < .05$) and those effects approaching significance that show patterns consistent with significant findings will be reported and discussed. However, complete results for all analyses can be provided on request by the author.

Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses

Criterion variables

Means and standard deviations for each criterion variable by condition are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of criterion variables across conditions

Criterion Variable	B-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	S-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	C-C Mean (Standard Deviation)
State Self-Esteem	4.56 (1.61)	4.81 (1.27)	5.46 (1.49)
Environmental Mastery	3.91 (0.74)	3.92 (0.68)	3.97 (0.67)
Personal Growth	4.34 (0.62)	4.35 (0.57)	4.18 (0.60)
Positive Relations with Others	4.42 (0.89)	4.48 (0.86)	4.23 (0.75)
Purpose in Life	4.40 (0.76)	4.36 (0.70)	4.31 (0.69)
Overall Collective Self-Esteem	5.29 (0.87)	4.97 (0.78)	5.30 (0.81)
Membership Self-Esteem	5.01 (1.15)	4.75 (0.92)	5.09 (0.90)
Public Self-Esteem	5.06 (0.99)	4.70 (1.10)	5.20 (1.04)
Private Self-Esteem	5.79 (0.92)	5.47 (0.97)	5.61 (0.78)

Note: B-D = blatant discrimination condition, S-D = subtle-discrimination condition, and C-C = control condition.

Note: State self-esteem was measured on an 8-point scale, the four well-being subscales were measured on 6-point scales, and collective self-esteem and its subscales were measured on 7-point scales.

Cognitive/emotional engagement

Analyses revealed that the four variables hypothesized to measure cognitive/emotional engagement (self-reported other-directed emotions, narrative coded other-directed emotions, narrative coded negative perceptions and narrative coded personal engagement) showed adequate levels of internal consistency ($\alpha = .79$). However, when self-reported and narrative coded references to discrimination were included in this analysis, internal consistency improved markedly ($\alpha = .87$), suggesting that references to discrimination correlate well with the other hypothesized measures of cognitive/emotional engagement. Although these variables may initially seem diverse in content, they appear to address a single underlying concept - the extent to which

participants are psychologically engaged in actively processing the described episode. Thus, these six variables were combined into a single measure of cognitive/emotional engagement. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for this measure of cognitive/emotional engagement.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of moderator variables across conditions

Criterion Variable	B-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	S-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	C-C Mean (Standard Deviation)
Cognitive/Emotional Engagement	4.98 (1.07)	3.87 (0.95)	2.31 (0.63)

Note: B-D = blatant discrimination condition, S-D = subtle-discrimination condition, and C-C = control condition.

Note: Cognitive/emotional engagement was measured on a 7-point scale.

Additional preliminary analyses

Table 3 provides descriptive statistics for self-reported realism, narrative coded memory quality and narrative word count, along with the results of one-way ANOVAs used to test for differences across the three conditions. These analyses were provided to ensure that participants perceived each condition as equally realistic and that they were equally involved in recounting each of the three scenarios. As can be seen in Table 3, no differences emerged in any of these three variables across conditions.

Table 3. Mean and standard deviation of self-reported realism, narrative coded memory quality, and narrative word count across conditions

Criterion Variable	B-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	S-D Mean (Standard Deviation)	C-C Mean (Standard Deviation)
Self-reported Realism	3.48 (0.97)	3.81 (1.08)	3.87 (1.28)
Narrative Coded Memory Quality	4.31 (1.22)	3.96 (1.27)	4.01 (1.34)
Narrative Word Count	176.84 (81.78)	148.90 (64.49)	147.07 (80.05)

Note: B-D = blatant discrimination condition, S-D = subtle-discrimination condition, and C-C = control condition.

Note: Self-reported realism and narrative coded memory quality were measured on 7-point scales, whereas narrative word count was not scored on a particular scale.

Note: Degrees of freedom for the overall ANOVA are 2, 123

Note: Means with different superscripts differed from each other at $p < .05$.

Primary Hypotheses: Identification by Condition Effects

In order to examine the primary hypotheses, three separate sets of regressions were performed on each of the nine criterion variables, with condition, identification and their interactions included as predictor variables. Because the predictor variable had three groups, two dummy coded variables were created with the control condition as the reference group. Additionally, two dummy coded variables were created for the interaction effects, with the interaction between the control condition and identification as the reference group.

In all analyses, identification scores were first centred (see Aiken & West, 1991), that is, the mean was subtracted from each participant's identification score.

None of the regressions using *purpose in life* as the criterion variable yielded significant main or interaction effects. Thus, results of analyses for this variable are not presented. Additionally, the analyses involving collective self-esteem and its subscales yielded significant main effects of identification; however, no significant effects of condition or interaction effects emerged. The main effect of identification, showing that higher identification is associated with greater collective self-esteem, is not surprising, given that ingroup identification is theoretically linked with collective self-esteem (e.g., Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003), so much so that one of the subscales of the full collective self-esteem scale is regularly used as a measure of ingroup identification (as it was in this study). However, as recounting an episode of discrimination does not appear to influence participants' collective self-esteem nor does it interact with identification to influence collective self-esteem, the results of analyses involving these dependent variables are not presented.

State self-esteem

The regression using the state self-esteem scale as the criterion variable yielded a significant main effect of the dummy-coded subtle-discrimination condition, $\beta = -.21$, $t(120) = -2.06$, $p = .04$, indicating that participants in the subtle-discrimination condition showed lower state self-esteem than those in the control condition. Additionally, this regression yielded a significant main effects of the dummy-coded blatant discrimination condition, $\beta = -.31$, $t(120) = -3.05$, $p < .01$, which was qualified by a significant interaction between the dummy-coded blatant-discrimination condition and identification,

$\beta = .26, t(120) = 1.95, p = .05$. As shown in Figure 1, in the subtle-discrimination condition, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was not associated with levels of state self-esteem. In the control-condition, stronger identification was associated with lower levels of state self-esteem, whereas in the blatant-discrimination condition stronger identification was associated with higher levels of state self-esteem. However, simple slope tests revealed that the regression slopes for identification in the blatant-discrimination condition, $\beta = .34, t(79) = 1.22, p = .16$, subtle-discrimination condition, $\beta = .00, t(79) = 0.01, p = .99$, and the control condition, $\beta = -.45, t(79) = -1.39, p = .22$, did not reach statistical significance.

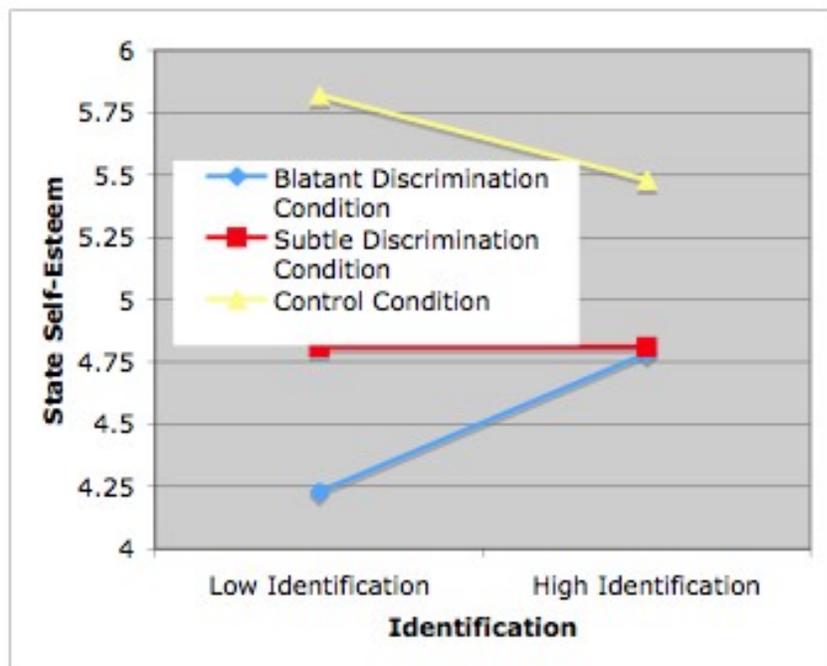


Figure 1. The effects of identification and condition on state self-esteem.

Environmental mastery (well-being subscale)

The regression using the environmental mastery subscale as the criterion variable yielded an interaction effect between identification and the blatant-discrimination condition dummy-coded variable that approached significance, $\beta = .25, t(120) = -1.81, p = .07$. As shown in Figure 2, in the control condition, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was associated with lower levels of environmental mastery, whereas, in the blatant discrimination condition, stronger identification was associated with higher levels of environmental mastery. Stronger identification was not associated with levels of

environmental mastery in the subtle-discrimination condition. Simple slope tests revealed that the regression slopes for identification in the blatant-discrimination condition, $\beta = .20$, $t(70) = 1.59$, $p = .12$, subtle-discrimination condition, $\beta = -.02$, $t(79) = -.01$, $p = .89$, and the control condition, $\beta = -.15$, $t(79) = -1.00$, $p = .32$, did not reach statistical significance.

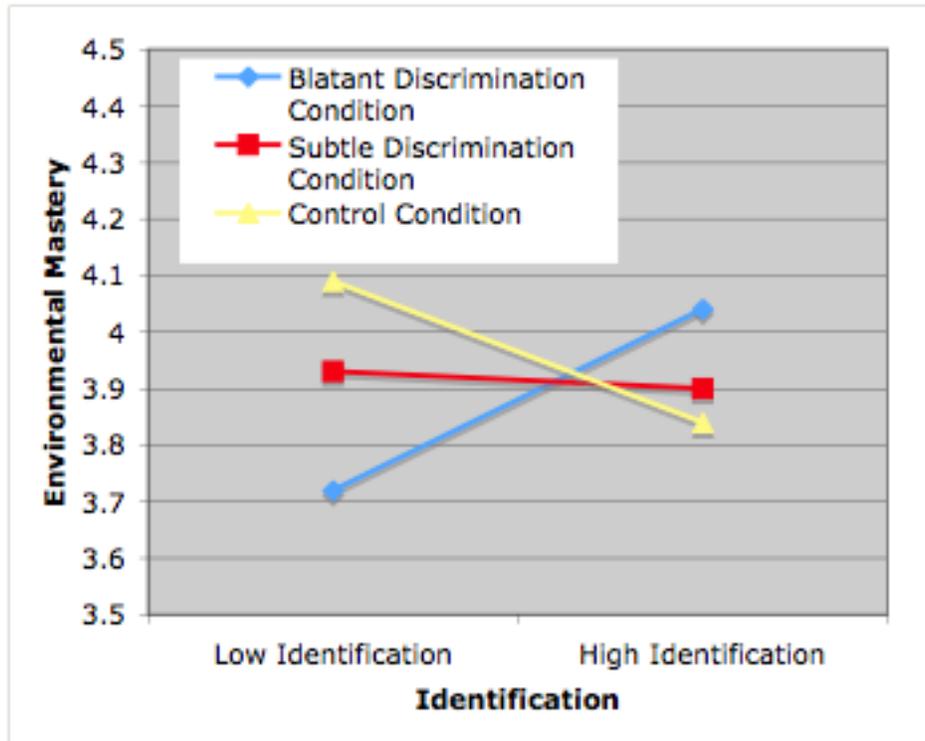


Figure 2. *The effects of identification and condition on environmental mastery.*

Personal growth (well-being subscale)

The regression using the personal growth subscale as the criterion variable yielded only a significant main effect of identification, $\beta = -.29$, $t(120) = -1.98$, $p = .05$, indicating that stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was associated with lower levels of personal growth.

Positive relations with others (well-being subscale)

The regression using the positive relations with others subscale as the criterion variable yielded an interaction effect that approached significance between identification

and the blatant-discrimination condition dummy coded variable, $\beta = .24$, $t(120) = 1.78$, $p = .08$.

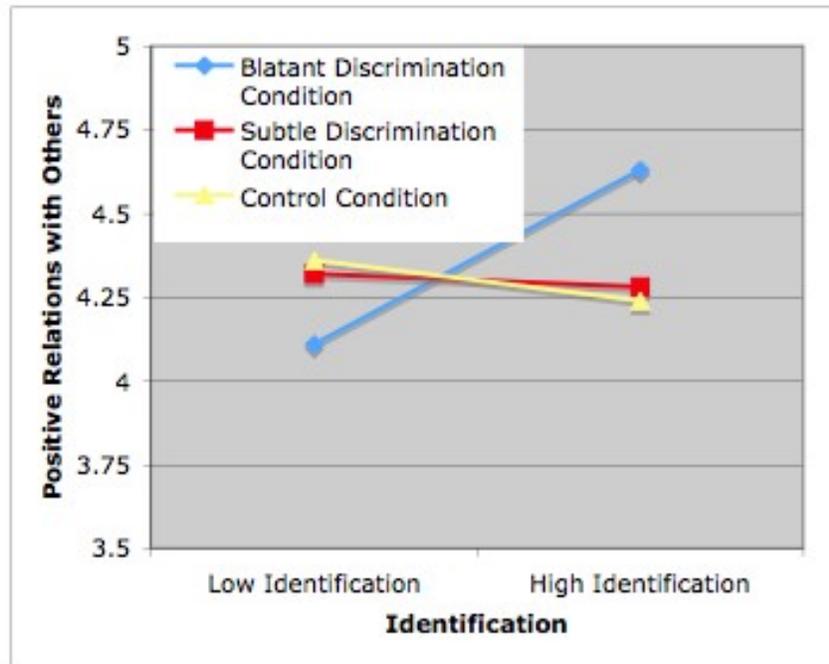


Figure 3. *The effects of identification and condition on positive relations with others.*

As shown in Figure 3, in both the control condition and the subtle discrimination condition, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup is associated with lower levels of positive relations with others, whereas in the blatant-discrimination condition, stronger identification was associated with higher levels of positive relations with others. Simple slope tests revealed that the regression slopes for identification in the control condition, $\beta = -.09$, $t(79) = -0.55$, $p = .59$, and in the subtle-discrimination condition, $\beta = -.20$, $t(79) = -1.19$, $p = .24$, did not reach significance; however, the effect of identification was significant in the blatant-discrimination condition, $\beta = .31$, $t(79) = 2.12$, $p = .04$.

Identification subscales

In order to investigate whether the interaction effects described above resulted primarily from any of the specific subscales of the Social Identity Scale, separate analyses were conducted, replicating the analyses above in which interaction effects that reached or approached significance were obtained (e.g., with state self-esteem, environmental mastery and positive relations with others as criterion variables), with

centrality, ingroup affect and ingroup ties entered as predictor variables in the place of overall identification.

In all three regression analyses, ingroup affect and ingroup ties did not interact with condition. In the regression analyses with state self-esteem, environmental mastery and positive relations with others as the criterion variables, the interaction between centrality and the blatant-discrimination condition dummy-coded variable approached or reached significance with all three variables, $\beta = .23$, $t(120) = 1.96$, $p = .05$, $\beta = .25$, $t(120) = -2.07$, $p = .04$ and $\beta = -.23$, $t(120) = 1.99$, $p = .06$, respectively, with the patterns of results resembling those found for the measure of overall identification. These results suggest that centrality predominantly drove the interactions between identification and condition.

Summary of primary analyses

The above analyses found evidence of interaction effects between condition and identification for state self-esteem, environmental mastery, and positive relations with others. These interactions suggested that higher identification was associated with higher levels of positive relations with others and environmental mastery, when participants recounted a blatant episode of discrimination compared to recounting the event involving no discrimination or subtle-discrimination. Additionally, although state self-esteem remained higher for high identifiers in the control condition compared to those in the blatant-discrimination condition, the relationship between identification and state self-esteem was positive for those in the blatant-discrimination condition and negative for those in the control condition. Additionally, identification did not appear to be associated with any of the criterion variables in the subtle-discrimination condition. Therefore, the proposed moderation analyses will be undertaken only for the blatant-discrimination condition.

Effects of Group Status

In order to test for any differences in the effects of identification on well-being and self-esteem across levels of group status, regression analyses were performed on each of the nine criterion variables. These regressions included as predictors condition, ingroup identification, group status, and the interactions between these three variables. None of the analyses revealed the predicted three-way interaction between group status,

identification and condition (all p -values $> .18$), suggesting that interaction between condition and identification is not qualified by group status.

Given the lack of three-way interaction effects, there was no statistical reason to further investigate the relationship between group status and identification. However, in order to gain a better understanding of the role of identification when recounting an episode of discrimination in minority and majority group members, regression analyses testing the effects of condition, identification and their interactions on the criterion variables were conducted separately for minority and majority group participants. The results indicated that the identification by condition interactions found in the regression analyses involving all participants were no longer significant in these separate analyses for minority and majority group members. However, it is notable that the effect sizes for these interactions did not differ substantially between minority and majority group participants, supporting the hypothesis that the effects of identification are consistent across minority and majority group participants. In addition, it appears as though the lack of significant interaction effects in the analyses involving only minority or majority group participants were due to the reduction in statistical power resulting from the smaller sample size, as beta-weights were similar in the analyses involving all participants and those conducted separately for minority and majority group participants. For instance, in the analysis involving all participants, the interaction between the blatant-discrimination condition dummy code and identification on positive relations approached significance, $\beta = .24$, $t(120) = 1.78$, $p = .08$ (see above). When the analysis was conducted separately for minority and majority group participants similar beta-weights emerged for both groups, although the effects did not approach significance, $\beta = .23$, $t(68) = 1.04$, $p = .30$ and $\beta = .21$, $t(46) = 1.03$, $p = .31$, respectively.

Cognitive/Emotional Engagement and Group Status as Moderators

The next set of analyses tested the predicted moderating role of cognitive/emotional responses on the relationship between identification and the nine criterion variables in the blatant-discrimination condition, whereby the positive effects of ingroup identification on the criterion variables should be stronger when cognitive/emotional engagement is higher. In addition, these regressions tested whether group status also influenced the effects of these two variables. Three-way interactions between group status, identification and cognitive/emotional engagement were

tentatively predicted, such that the predicted moderating effects in the blatant-discrimination conditions were expected to be stronger for minority group members. These hypotheses were more exploratory, as there is no available research reporting on differences between minority and majority group participants' reactions to recounting episodes of discrimination. However, we expected that highly identified minority group members would show greater self-esteem and well-being benefits from greater cognitive/emotional engagement than highly identified majority group members.

A series of multiple regressions were conducted, looking at the effects of identification, group status, cognitive/emotional engagement and their interactions on the nine criterion variables in the blatant-discrimination condition. Significant two-way interactions between identification and cognitive/emotional engagement were taken as support for the previously discussed moderation hypotheses. These two-way interactions may be further qualified by significant three-way interactions, which would indicate that the relationship between identification and cognitive/emotional engagement varied according to participants' group status.

Analyses yielding three-way interactions

The three-way interactions that reached or approached significance⁷ were followed up by regression analyses testing the effects of identification and cognitive/emotional engagement separately for minority and majority group participants. Table 4 presents both the three-way interactions and follow-up two-way interactions, while Figure 4 and 5 elucidate differences in the pattern of results for minority versus majority group members.

State self-esteem

The regression using state self-esteem as a criterion variable yielded a three-way interaction that approached significance, which is detailed in Table 4 and Figure 4.

⁷ No significant effects emerged in the regression using personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life or collective self-esteem or its subscales as the criterion variables.

Table 4. Significant three-way interactions and follow-up two-way interactions involving group status, cognitive/ emotional engagement and identification in the blatant-discrimination condition

Criterion Variable	3-way β	3-way t-test	2-way minority β	2-way minority t-test	2-way majority β	2-way majority t-test
State Self-Esteem	1.98	1.70 [†]	2.05	1.89 [†]	-.46	-.42
Environmental Mastery	2.92	2.66*	2.95	2.85*	-.92	-.92

Note: Degrees of freedom are 36 for the three-way interactions, 22 for the minority group interactions and 14 for the majority group interactions.

Note: [†] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

As shown in Figure 4, for minority group participants, when cognitive/emotional engagement was higher, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was associated with higher levels of state self-esteem, whereas when cognitive/emotional engagement was lower, stronger identification was not associated with environmental mastery. Simple slope tests did not reach significance.

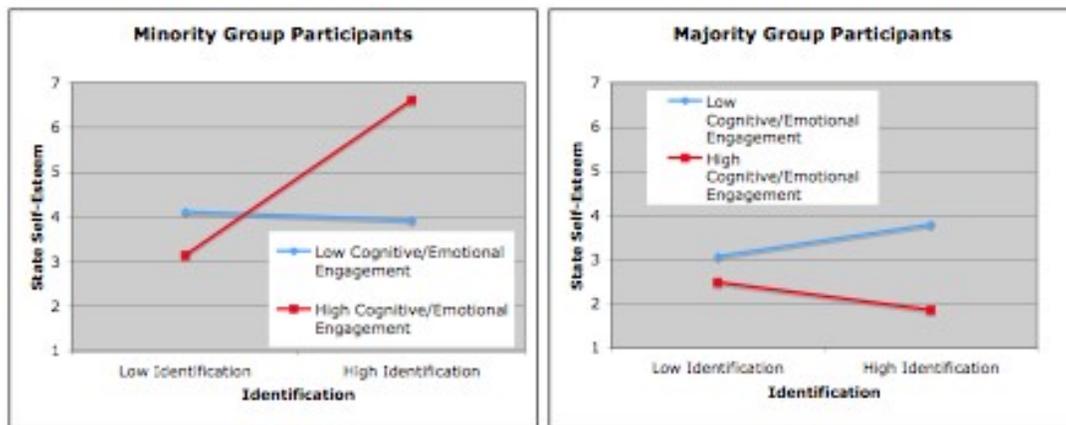


Figure 4. Comparing the effects of cognitive/emotional engagement and ingroup identification on state self-esteem in the blatant-discrimination condition for minority group and majority group participants.

In contrast, for majority group participants, when cognitive/emotional engagement was higher, stronger identification was associated with lower levels of state self-esteem, whereas when cognitive/emotional engagement was lower, stronger

identification was associated with higher levels of state self-esteem. Simple slope tests did not reach significance.

Environmental mastery

The regressions using environmental mastery as a criterion variable yielded a significant interaction between group status and identification ($\beta = -3.07$, $t(36) = -2.75$, $p < .01$), which was qualified by a significant three-way interaction (see Table 4 and Figure 5).

As shown in Figure 5, for minority group participants, when cognitive/emotional engagement was higher, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was associated with higher levels of environmental mastery, whereas when cognitive/emotional engagement was lower, stronger identification was associated with lower levels of environmental mastery. Simple slope tests did not reach significance.

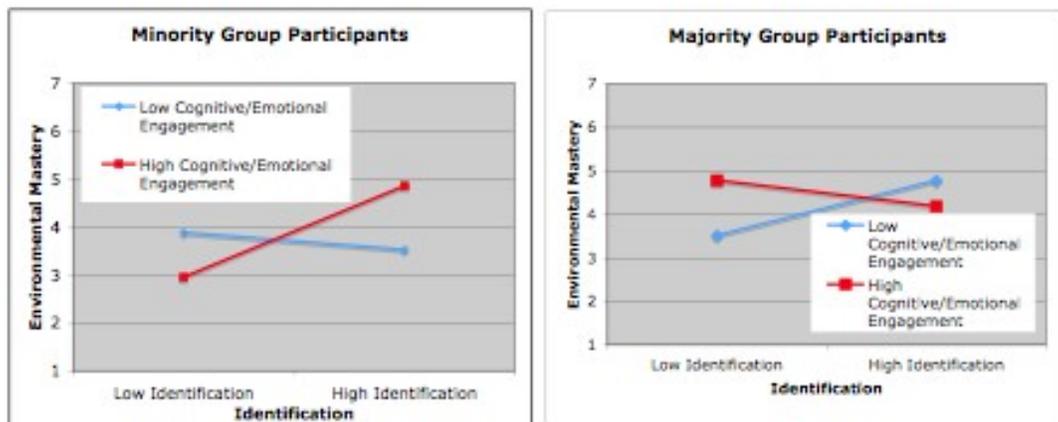


Figure 5. Comparing the effects of cognitive/emotional engagement and ingroup identification on environmental mastery in the blatant-discrimination condition for minority group and majority group participants.

In contrast, for majority group participants, when cognitive/emotional engagement was higher, stronger identification was associated with lower levels of environmental mastery, whereas when cognitive/emotional engagement was lower, stronger identification was associated with higher levels of environmental mastery. Simple slope tests did not reach significance.

Overall, it appears that there is partial support for the hypothesis that cognitive/emotional engagement in the process of recounting a blatant episode of discrimination plays different moderating roles for minority and majority group participants. For minority group members high in identification, there is a self-esteem and environmental mastery advantage to greater cognitive/emotional engagement in the narrative process when recounting a blatant episode of discrimination. In contrast, for majority group members high in identification, lower emotional and cognitive engagement when recounting a blatant episode of discrimination appears to be associated with higher self-esteem and environmental mastery.

Discussion

Positive Effects of Identification in the Blatant-Discrimination Condition

Previous studies have found that ingroup identification moderates the relationship between perceiving discrimination and self-esteem (Romero & Roberts, 2003), self-worth (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2006), depression, anxiety, and distress (Chae et al., 2011; Mossakowski, 2003; Neblett et al., 2004; Sellers et al. 2003). The results of the current study provide further evidence of this, but they also extend the existing work by showing that the positive impact of ingroup identification can emerge when individuals recount episodes of discrimination. When combined with my Master's research (Richard, 2006), Study 1 also demonstrates that the positive effects of identification when recounting discrimination are found both when identification is measured weeks before the recounting of the discrimination event and when identification is measured in the same context immediately prior to recounting the discrimination.

Compared to recounting an event involving no discrimination, recounting an event of blatant discrimination led to a much larger drop in state self-esteem for participants lower in identification than for those higher in identification. Furthermore, higher identification was associated with substantially higher feelings that one has positive relations with others and environmental mastery when recounting an event of blatant discrimination than when recounting an event involving no discrimination. Given that the events being recounted involves an interpersonal interaction, it is not surprising that the effects of identification are particularly strong on elements of well-being that are associated with successful interactions with others and with the individual's sense of control over their social environment. It also appears that, contrary to McCoy and Major's (2003) claims, centrality played a particularly important role in these positive effects of identification.

The Subtle-Discrimination Condition

Initially it was hypothesized that the inherent ambiguity of subtle discrimination should allow for a greater range of interpretations and reactions in recounting, and thus a stronger positive relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being than

during a recounting of blatant discrimination. However, support was not found for this hypothesis. Compared to the positive relationship found between identification and several criterion variables when recounting blatant discrimination, identification was not associated with self-esteem and well-being when participants recounted subtle discrimination. Overall, it appears that the positive relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being is more likely to be found when recounting overt discrimination.

One potential reason for this pattern of results may be that the ambiguity of the subtle episode lead to fewer participants actually perceiving it as discrimination⁸, as suggested in pilot testing of these vignettes. Based on findings from my Master's research (Richard, 2006), I hypothesized that this ambiguity would allow additional room for interpretation, which should increase the effects of identification. However, it may instead be that if participants do not explicitly recognize discrimination, identification is less likely to be used as a resource. Additionally, the episode of subtle discrimination, by virtue of its more ambiguous nature, may not allow for the strong cognitive and emotional responding that follows more blatant discrimination. If respondents are less confident about making attributions to discrimination, this may reduce cognitive/emotional engagement in recounting the episode, which in turn may preclude individuals high in ingroup identification from bringing their valuable coping resources to bear. A supplemental post-hoc analysis was completed, comparing levels of cognitive/emotional engagement in the two discrimination conditions to assess for this possibility. Consistent with this idea, cognitive/emotional engagement was significantly lower in the subtle-discrimination condition compared to the blatant-discrimination condition, $t(81) = 4.98, p < .01$. Furthermore, the increased variability in interpretations

⁸ To test for this possibility, post-hoc tests were conducted comparing the blatant-discrimination and subtle-discrimination conditions on self-reported references to discrimination and narrative coded references to discrimination. T-test revealed significantly higher self-reported references to discrimination in the blatant-discrimination condition ($M = 6.01$) compared to the subtle-discrimination condition ($M = 4.61$), $t(84) = 6.01, p < .01$, as well as significantly higher narrative coded references to discrimination in the blatant-discrimination condition ($M = 5.69$) compared to the subtle-discrimination condition ($M = 2.38$), $t(84) = 8.79, p < .01$.

of the subtle discrimination episode may have introduced more general error, making significant results more difficult to obtain.

The lack of positive effects of identification when recounting subtle discrimination is particularly troubling, given that these more ambiguous forms of discrimination are likely more common than blatant discrimination, which is generally seen to be socially unacceptable in many contemporary societies (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). These findings further highlight the problematic nature of subtle discrimination, in suggesting that higher identification may not buffer negative effects on well-being when recounting these relatively common experiences.

However, it should also be noted that the lack of relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being when recounting subtle discrimination is inconsistent with previous findings (Richard, 2006), which showed evidence of stronger effects of identification when the discrimination event was subtler. At this point, no compelling explanation for these contradictory findings is apparent. However, this does point to a need for more research to further investigate the nuances of this distinction between subtle and blatant discrimination and to determine precisely when higher ingroup identification will serve as a valuable resource when recounting these events.

No Discrimination Control Condition

Particularly unexpected was the negative relationship between ingroup identification and self-esteem/well-being when recounting an event involving no discrimination. Although this effect of identification did not reach statistical significance on its own, it was an important contributor to the interaction effects involving identification and condition. While the positive relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being when recounting a blatant event of discrimination was predicted, this negative relationship when no discrimination occurred was not. In fact, these negative effects appear to contradict existing research and theorizing suggesting that higher ingroup identification is generally associated with higher psychological well-being (e.g., Sellers et al., 2003).

However, it is important to remember that, unlike other studies showing a general positive correlation between identification and well-being, everyone participating in the

current study, including those in the no discrimination condition, were first asked a number of questions about their ethnic identification just prior to imagining and recounting a story in which they were involved in a social interaction associated with a search for housing. Although a number of steps were taken to minimize the salience of ethnicity (e.g., the cover story about looking at general transitions when attending university), it is possible that completing the ethnic identification questionnaire made ethnicity particularly salient to individuals higher in ingroup identification. Individuals higher in ingroup identification are more likely to interpret events in intergroup (rather than interpersonal) terms (e.g., Major et al., 2003). In addition, when group memberships are salient, high identifiers are more likely to be more vigilant in searching for discrimination and to perceive ambiguous events as evidence of discrimination (e.g., Eccelston & Major, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001). If ethnicity was more salient for those high in identification, this may have led these individuals to be more expectant of discrimination when imagining any kind of cross-group interaction, and thus to experience anticipatory feelings of anxiety or concern, which could in turn impact self-esteem/well-being (e.g., Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). High identifiers who then experienced blatant discrimination could then use the opportunity provided by the recounting of the event to employ positive coping strategies, thus restoring their positive self-view. However, when no discrimination occurs, these high identifiers do not have the opportunity to harness these identification-based coping and thus are left with only the residual loss in self-esteem/well-being resulting from their earlier anxiety.

Those lower in ingroup identification may have been less attentive to subtle cues to ethnicity in the initial phase of the study, and were, therefore, less likely to anticipate discrimination in the subsequent interpersonal interaction. Thus, they would not experience the negative effects of those expectations on self-esteem/well-being. As such, when no discrimination occurs and the interpersonal interaction is benign, their self-esteem/well-being remains relatively positive.

Of course, this explanation remains speculative, but the findings do point out that some of the benefits bestowed upon those with higher identification when they recount experiences with discrimination may come at a cost. If it is true that high identification can at times increase the tendency to anticipate discrimination, it may be that these

negative expectations have personal costs when the subsequent interaction does not include evidence of discrimination.

Group Status

Two competing hypotheses were put forward regarding the role of group status as a moderator of the positive effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being. One predicted that the positive effects of identification would be stronger for minority group members compared to majority group members. The second predicted that both groups would show similarly positive effects of identification. Stronger support was found for the second hypothesis. Specifically, three-way interactions between condition, identification, and group status did not emerge. Both minority and majority group members appear to benefit from higher identification when recounting events involving blatant discrimination.

Although the social psychological literature has traditionally focused on ingroup identification as it relates to minority group members (Wong & Cho, 2005), it appears that some of its positive effects also generalize to majority group members. While most majority group members experience lower levels of discrimination (e.g., Broman, 2007), they do appear to be seeing themselves increasingly as the targets of discrimination (e.g., Norton & Sommers, 2011). The rejection-identification model proposes that increasing perceptions that one is the target of discrimination should result in increasing levels of ingroup identification (Branscombe et al., 1999) and Wong and Cho (2005) theorize that ingroup identification may become more salient in Caucasians as their numerical majority status declines. Consistent with these predictions, Knowles and Peng (2005) found that the centrality of Caucasian participants' racial identity increased as they were exposed to higher numbers of visible minorities.

Similarly, a comparison of the levels of ingroup identification in the current study with previous research provides some evidence that ingroup identification could be increasing in majority group participants in the Vancouver Metropolitan Area. Most previous research that has measured ingroup identification among majority group members has shown much lower levels of identification compared to minority group members. For instance, across a nearly 30-year period, Wong and Cho (2005) found that 51% of Caucasians, compared to 83% of African Americans, described themselves

as feeling close to their racial ingroup. In the current study, a statistical comparison of minority and majority participants' identification scores was significant, $t(124) = 4.40$, $p < .01$, with minority group participants ($M = 4.54$) reporting overall levels of ingroup identification that are higher than majority group participants ($M = 3.95$). However, the difference (mean identification scores differed less than 1 point on a 7-point scale) was not as substantial as would be expected based on previous studies.

More noteworthy, however, is the evidence of similarly positive effects of identification on well-being in both minority and majority group members when recounting an episode of discrimination. In an environment like the Vancouver Metropolitan Area, where Caucasians may be feeling increasingly threatened (e.g., Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2012) as their numerical majority status dwindles (e.g., Statistics Canada, 2007a) and where they are increasingly seeing themselves as targets of discrimination (Norton & Sommers, 2011), they may also be developing strategies to cope with these psychological threats. Thus, ingroup identification may now come to play an increasingly important role in maintaining self-esteem and well-being for majority group members as well.

The Moderating Role of Cognitive/Emotional Engagement

The results also provide some evidence for the influence of cognitive and emotional engagement in the processing of the event. When recounting a blatant episode of discrimination, different patterns were noted for minority and majority group members on state self-esteem and environmental mastery. Specifically, for minority group members high in identification, greater cognitive and emotional engagement was associated with higher state self-esteem and environmental mastery. In contrast, for majority group members who were high in identification, greater cognitive and emotional engagement was associated with lower levels of state self-esteem and environmental mastery. This suggests that when recounting an event of discrimination, minority group members may benefit from the combination of high ingroup identification and high psychological engagement, whereas majority group members may benefit from the combination of high identification and low psychological engagement.

These results are important because they demonstrate lingering differences between minority and majority group members in terms of responding to discrimination.

While minority and majority group participants did not differ in terms of the effects of ingroup identification on their self-esteem and well-being, there does appear to be an important difference in how these two groups are affected by psychological engagement during the process of recounting discrimination. One possible explanation for these findings is that minority group members may have better developed ethnic identities than majority group members. Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty and Contrada (2009b) suggest that ethnic minorities higher in identification generally possess more knowledge about the experiences and history of their ethnic group, as well their ethnic group's current social position. This knowledge may help them recognize when discrimination is due to their group membership rather than due to personal flaws. This idea of recognizing group-based maltreatment is conceptually similar to some of the variables included in the current measure of cognitive/emotional engagement, such as references to discrimination.

Nelson, Adams, Branscombe and Schmitt (2010) also note factors that may lead to differences in the content of ethnic identity for African Americans compared to European-Americans, including different rates of exposure to discrimination, differences in parental teaching about the existence of racism, and differences in exposure to educational curricula focused on racial injustices. Similar factors should lead to difference in the content of ethnic identity for minority and majority group members. Specifically, minority group members should have more knowledge of their group's history of discrimination, which may better prepare them for future discrimination experiences. Majority group members' sense of identity may instead lack the specific content of group discrimination. This may, in turn, leave them less prepared for maltreatment of the basis of their group membership. As such, even when experiencing the positive benefits of higher ingroup identification, becoming more psychologically engaged may leave majority group members feeling overwhelmed and unsure of how to cope with an experience. Instead, for majority group members higher in identification, greater cognitive and emotional detachment may prove to be more helpful.

Study 1 is, to my knowledge, the first to suggest that high identification may be helpful for majority group members when recounting a blatant episode of discrimination. Unfortunately, the current study cannot clarify what majority and minority group members do in order to reap the beneficial effects of identification. That is, it is not clear

why ingroup identification or psychological engagement (in the case of minority group members) should lead to higher self-esteem and well-being when recounting events of discrimination. One potential mechanism, which will be investigated further in Study 2, is the individual's feelings of social support when recounting an episode of discrimination. To investigate this, Study 2 included a manipulation of the perceived audience of the recounting, comparing recounting to an ingroup friend (the audience used in Study 1) to recounting to an acquaintance and to a member of the outgroup.

Study 2

Study 1 provides evidence that when recounting an episode of blatant discrimination, compared to an event involving subtle discrimination or no discrimination, stronger ingroup identification is associated with more positive self-esteem and well-being. Furthermore, minority group members who identify more strongly with their ethnic group may especially benefit when their cognitive and emotional engagement in processing this event is high. Study 1 differs from and extends previous work in a number of important ways, including its consideration of not only the imagined experience of discrimination, but also the impact of the recounting of these events. To my knowledge, other than my Master's research (Richard, 2006), no studies have taken this focus. However, this particular attention to the recounting process makes apparent an important consideration that has yet to be addressed, namely the perceived audience to the recounting. In both Study 1 and my Master's research, all participants imagined themselves recounting the event to an ingroup friend. This procedure was used because it appeared to be the most likely and realistic situation for recounting of these kinds of events. Ingroup members, especially those with whom one has an established relationship, seem likely to be the preferred audience for these retellings of a story of mistreatment at the hands of the outgroup. However, this may not always be the case. There may be occasions when stories of discrimination may be told to outgroup members or to ingroup members who are not close friends. Thus, it seems worth ascertaining whether similar effects of identification are found when participants imagine themselves telling a story of discrimination to an individual of a different ethnicity than themselves, perhaps someone of the same ethnicity as the perpetrator, or to an acquaintance, rather than a close friend.

It seems reasonable that people would be less comfortable disclosing a stressful experience to someone outside of their ethnic group. There is an extensive literature on intergroup anxiety (e.g., Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) showing that even anticipating interactions with outgroup members can be a source of anxiety and

concern (e.g., Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008). There is also ample evidence that cross-group interactions can be difficult and stressful (e.g., Shelton, Dovidio, Hebl, & Richeson, 2009). More specifically, research has shown that Latinos are less likely to self-disclose to Whites compared to Latinos (Schwartz, Galliher, & Domenech Rodriguez, 2011), and that Whites are disinclined to self-disclose on intimate topics to a Black partner (Johnson, Olson & Fazio, 2009). Additionally, people may be especially reluctant to recount personal experiences of discrimination to outgroup members. For instance, African Americans are less likely to report discrimination in the presence of European Americans, and women are less likely to report discrimination in the company of men (Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002). This reluctance to discuss discrimination in the presence of outgroup members may be in part due to fears of the social costs associated with making these kinds of claims (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003; Swim & Hyers, 1999). It is therefore plausible that individuals recounting a discrimination episode to someone from an outgroup, particularly the same outgroup as the perpetrator, may feel less comfortable doing so. This discomfort could have a direct negative impact on self-esteem and well-being, and their reluctance to disclose may result in the content of their disclosures being generally less detailed or comprehensive. Additionally, this discomfort may also have an indirect effect on minority group members by diminishing cognitive/emotional engagement in the recounting process. As engagement was found to moderate the positive effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being for minority group members in Study 1, a reduction in engagement could in turn undermine the benefits that high identification provides. Thus, the positive effects of identification for self-esteem and well-being should be greater when individuals recount an episode of discrimination to an ingroup member compared to an outgroup member, especially a member of the perpetrator's group. This effect may be particularly large for minority group members, due to the afore-mentioned effect of engagement.

In Study 1, individuals also imagined recounting their experiences to a close friend. Other research has shown that self-disclosure is an important part of healthy friendships (Welch & Houser, 2010) and predicts friendship satisfaction (Jones, 1991). More specifically, disclosure of discrimination experiences, as compared to keeping these experiences to oneself, results in decreased rates of anxiety and mood disorders (McLaughlin et al., 2010). Close relationships specifically assume a level of trust, comfort and support that may be important when recounting a stressful experience.

Compared to close friends, disclosing an event of discrimination to a casual acquaintance may be a less comfortable experience. Research shows that people are less likely to disclose to casual friends (e.g., Dolgin, Meyer, & Schwartz, 1991) or acquaintances (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2011). Indeed, despite the general positive effects of self-disclosure (e.g., being viewed more positively; Collins & Miller, 1994), negative potential consequences have also been noted, including negative reactions from others and feeling judged. It has also been noted that revealing highly personal information too soon after meeting someone may have negative consequences and be detrimental to the development of a friendship (Collins & Miller, 1994). For this reason, Kelly and McKillip (1996) point out the importance of selecting an appropriate person to disclose to, stating that close trusting relationships may provide optimal conditions for self-disclosure. Thus, the positive effects of recounting a stressful experience (such as an incident of discrimination; Klonoff et al., 1999) may be most likely to occur in close friendships.

Therefore, it seems possible that the positive effects of identification would be stronger when individuals recount the discrimination experience to a close friend, rather than a casual acquaintance, such as a classmate. Additionally, highly identified participants who imagine recounting to a friend should have better quality narratives, due to their increased sense of comfort in discussing these experiences. Furthermore, in addition to the direct moderating effect of the closeness of the relationship on the identification/well-being effect, there may also be an indirect effect resulting from diminished cognitive/emotional engagement. The discomfort associated with recounting a stressful experience to an acquaintance (compared to a friend) could also diminish minority group members' engagement in the recounting process. Given the positive moderating effects found for cognitive/emotional engagement in minority group members in Study 1, reductions in engagement in the recounting may reduce the positive effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being for minority group members.

Study Overview

Study 2 was designed to investigate whether the psychological benefits of ingroup identification when recounting discrimination are dependent on the audience. As

in Study 1, both minority and majority group members participated in a laboratory-based study, where their level of ingroup identification was first measured. They then read a vignette describing an episode involving a student of the same gender and ethnicity as themselves who was seeking housing. As Study 1 showed that it was when recounting blatant discrimination that identification appears to have its strongest effects on self-esteem and well-being, all participants in Study 2 were presented with an episode of blatant discrimination and then were asked to recount the event to one of four possible audiences. Who they were told to imagine while recounting the story was manipulated, such that the audience was either a member of the participant's ethnic group (ingroup condition) or a member of the ethnic group of the perpetrator of the discrimination (outgroup condition). In addition to this *group membership of audience* manipulation, for the *closeness of audience* manipulation, participants were also asked to imagine that the person they recounted the episode to was either a close friend (friend condition) or a classmate (acquaintance condition).

Participants then completed a questionnaire, including measures of state self-esteem and the three well-being subscales that showed significant effects in Study 1 - environmental mastery, personal growth and positive relations with others. As Study 1 revealed no meaningful effects on the measure of collective self-esteem, this scale was replaced with a measure of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy, defined as the sense that one has control over one's life (Bandura, 1994), has been recently shown to be negatively impacted by experiences of discrimination (Lee & Ahn, 2012).

As in Study 1, participants also completed measures assessing the extent to which they defined the event as discriminatory and their other-directed emotional reactions to the event. These measures, along with variables coded for in participants' recounting narratives (references to discrimination, personal engagement, other-directed emotions and negative perceptions) were again combined to create a measure of cognitive/emotional engagement. Additionally, narratives were also coded for overall memory quality.

Summary of Hypotheses

Primary hypotheses

Two two-way interactions were predicted, one between ingroup identification and group membership of audience, and the other between ingroup identification and closeness of audience. Specifically the positive relationship between identification and well-being, self-esteem, and self-efficacy was predicted to be significantly stronger when participants imagine recounting the story to an ingroup member (compared to an outgroup member), and when they imagine recounting the story to a friend (compared to an acquaintance).

Additional hypotheses: Narrative memory quality

It is also expected that the audience to the recounting of discrimination should affect participants' narrative quality. Two-way interactions were also predicted between identification and group membership of audience, as well as between identification and closeness of audience, when narrative memory quality was considered as a criterion variable.

Moderation: Group status

Based on the results of Study 1, it is predicted that group status would not moderate the effects of identification on self-esteem, well-being or self-efficacy. In other words, minority and majority group members will show similar effects of identification on self-esteem, well-being and self-efficacy.

Moderation: Cognitive/emotional engagement

One potential reason that the positive effects of identification should be stronger when recounting an episode of discrimination to an ingroup member (compared to an outgroup member) and a friend (compared to an acquaintance) is that the discomfort associated with recounting to an outgroup member or an acquaintance may reduce the individual's cognitive/emotional engagement in the recounting process. Study 1 showed that for minority group members this kind of engagement interacted with identification to support self-esteem and well-being.

Therefore, it is predicted that recounting an episode of discrimination to an outgroup member or an acquaintance (compared to an ingroup member or a friend) should result in diminished cognitive/emotional engagement and that this diminished engagement should then undermine the positive effects of ingroup identification on self-esteem and well-being for minority group members.

More specifically, cognitive/emotional engagement is predicted to be lower for participants who recount discrimination to an outgroup member compared to an ingroup member, and in those who recount discrimination to an acquaintance, rather than to a friend. If this hypothesis were supported, we would also expect to see a replication of the moderating effect of engagement on identification found in Study 1. Thus, for participants in the ingroup conditions (e.g., the ingroup-friend and ingroup-acquaintance conditions) and the friend conditions (e.g., the ingroup-friend and outgroup-friend conditions), a three-way interaction between identification, group status and cognitive/emotional engagement is predicted. Specifically, it is hypothesized that when imagining recounting an episode of discrimination to an ingroup member or to a close friend, minority group participants higher in identification will report higher self-esteem, self-efficacy and well-being when cognitive-emotional engagement is higher, whereas majority group participants higher in identification will report lower scores on these same measures when cognitive-emotional engagement is higher.

Method

Overview

The study involved a mixed design with three independent variables: ingroup identification as a continuous measured variable and group membership of audience (ingroup vs. outgroup) and closeness to audience (friend vs. acquaintance) as manipulated categorical variables.

Participants

One hundred and three undergraduate students at Simon Fraser University participated in this study for course credits. However, eight participants were removed from the sample because they misunderstood the instructions (e.g., wrote about an unrelated event). Thus, 95 participants were included in the final analysis.

Sixty-two percent of the sample ($n = 59$) was female. The mean age of participants was 19.37 years ($SD = 1.38$), with ages ranging from 18 to 25 years. The majority of the sample were Asian (46.3%, $n = 44$) and Caucasian (36.8%, $n = 35$). Other ethnic groups included Indo-Canadian (9.5%, $n = 9$), Middle Eastern (5.3%, $n = 5$) and Hispanic (2.1%, $n = 2$). Over half of the sample (61.0%, $n = 58$) was born in Canada, and 63.1% ($n = 68$) of the sample's first language was English.

Procedure and Materials

Participants came to the lab individually and completed a series of tasks on a computer. The procedures were identical to those in Study 1, except for the changes noted below.

Manipulation

All participants read the same vignette, the blatant-discrimination event used in Study 1, with gender and ethnicity of the narrator again matched to the participant. The experimental manipulation occurred when participants were asked to imagine recounting the event to another person. For the group membership of audience manipulation, participants were randomly assigned to imagine either recounting the event to a member

of their ethnic group (ingroup condition) or to a member of the perpetrator of the discrimination's ethnic group (outgroup condition). For the closeness of audience manipulation, participants were randomly assigned to imagine that they were either recounting the event to a close friend (friend condition) or to a classmate they did not know well (acquaintance condition). This resulted in four experimental groups: ingroup-friend, ingroup-acquaintance, outgroup-friend and outgroup-acquaintance. In addition, unlike in Study 1, where participants were not told where to imagine the recounting taking place, in the current study, all participants were told to imagine meeting the other person at a coffee shop at SFU, either for a regular coffee date (in the friend condition) or to discuss a class project (in the acquaintance condition).

Criterion variables

In addition to the measures of state self-esteem, environmental mastery, positive relations with others and personal growth used in Study 1, participants also completed the 10-item General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) using 4-point Likert scales anchored by “not at all true” and “strongly true” ($\alpha = .85$). This scale includes items like “I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort” and has good reliability and internally consistency, and thus is used widely in psychological research.

Content analyses

As in Study 1, two extensively trained independent coders blind to participants' condition and group status coded participants' narratives. Intraclass correlation coefficients for absolute agreement showed acceptable interrater reliability for the measures of *narrative coded memory quality*, $ICC(94) = .80, p < .01$, *narrative coded personal engagement*, $ICC(94) = .76, p < .01$, *narrative coded references to discrimination*, $ICC(94) = .73, p < .01$, *narrative coded other-directed emotions*, $\alpha = .91$; $ICC(94) = .70, p < .01$, and *narrative negative roommate perceptions*, $ICC(94) = .78, p < .01$.

Results

Following reports of preliminary analyses, a series of multiple regressions were used to test the primary hypotheses. Each regression examined the effects of ingroup identification, group membership of audience, closeness of audience and their interactions on one of five criterion variables: state self-esteem, self-efficacy and three components of well-being (environmental mastery, personal growth and positive relations with others). The same regression analyses were also conducted with narrative memory quality as the criterion variable.

Following this, the moderating role of group status was investigated using a series of regression analyses, in which group status and its interactions were added to the primary regression analyses described above.

Finally, the role of cognitive/emotional engagement in the relationship between identification and the five criterion variables was investigated. First, as we had a priori predictions regarding specific differences by conditions, a series of t-tests compared levels of cognitive/emotional engagement between the ingroup and outgroup conditions and between the friend and acquaintance conditions, in order to determine whether the predicted decrease in cognitive/emotional engagement occurred in these conditions. Following this, if these t-tests reached significant, the moderating roles of group status and cognitive/emotional engagement were examined within both the ingroup condition (e.g., the ingroup-friend and ingroup-acquaintance groups) and the friend condition (e.g., the ingroup-friend and outgroup-friend groups).

Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses

Criterion variables

Means and standard deviations for each criterion variable by experimental condition are provided in Table 5.

Realism

To ensure that any significant effects were not the result of participants having different perceptions of the event's plausibility, a one-way ANOVA compared the four

conditions on participants' ratings of realism. Results indicated that the four conditions did not differ in terms of their perceived realism, $F(3, 91) = 0.56, p = .64$.

Table 5. Mean and standard deviation of criterion variables across conditions

Criterion Variable	I-F Mean (Standard Deviation)	I-A Mean (Standard Deviation)	O-F Mean (Standard Deviation)	O-A Mean (Standard Deviation)
State Self-Esteem	4.67 (1.24)	5.18 (1.48)	4.92 (1.39)	5.28 (1.29)
Environmental Mastery	3.89 (0.71)	3.99 (0.76)	3.70 (0.77)	4.12 (0.66)
Personal Growth	4.29 (0.51)	4.40 (0.55)	4.23 (0.51)	4.22 (0.53)
Positive Relations with Others	4.24 (1.02)	4.62 (0.96)	4.41 (0.69)	4.49 (0.82)
Self-Efficacy	3.02 (0.33)	3.22 (0.29)	2.85 (0.53)	3.10 (0.38)

Note: I-F = ingroup-friend group, I-A = ingroup-acquaintance group, O-F = outgroup-friend group and O-A = outgroup-acquaintance group.

Note: State self-esteem was measured on an 8-point scale, the four well-being subscales were measured on 6-point scales, and self-efficacy was measured on a 4-point scale.

Primary Hypotheses: Identification by Condition Effects

In order to examine the primary hypotheses, a series of regressions were performed on the five criterion variables. Each regression included participants' ingroup identification, group membership of audience, closeness of audience and their interactions as predictors. In all analyses, identification scores were first centered (Aiken & West, 1991).

State self-esteem

The regression using the state self-esteem scale as the criterion variable did not yield any significant effects.

Self-efficacy

The regression using the self-efficacy scale as the criterion variable yielded a significant main effect of closeness of audience, $\beta = -.31, t(87) = -2.22, p = .03$, indicating that participants in the acquaintance condition reported higher levels of self-efficacy than those in the friend condition. No other effects emerged as significant.

Environmental mastery

The regression using the environmental mastery subscale as the criterion variable yielded a significant main effect of closeness of audience, $\beta = -.29$, $t(87) = -1.99$, $p = .05$, indicating that participants in the acquaintance condition reported higher levels of environmental mastery than those in the friend condition.

Personal growth

The regression using the personal growth subscale as the criterion variable did not yield any significant effects.

Positive relations with others

The regression using the positive relations with others subscale as the criterion variable did not yield any significant effects.

Additional Hypotheses: Narrative Coded Memory Quality

An additional regression analysis was performed with narrative coded memory quality as a criterion variable. Ingroup identification, group membership of audience, closeness of audience and their interactions were included as predictors. This regression yielded a significant main effect of closeness of relationship, $\beta = -.41$, $t(87) = -2.91$, $p < .01$, indicating that participants in the acquaintance group reported higher narrative coded memory quality than those in the friend condition.

Moderating Effect of Group Status

An additional series of regression analyses were completed replicating the primary analyses above, but with the inclusion of group status and its interactions with identification, closeness of audience and group membership of audience as predictor variables. These analyses were conducted to examine whether group status moderated the effects of identification; significant interaction effects between identification and group status were not predicted. Results indicated that the only analysis yielding a significant effect of group status or its interactions was a main effect of group status on self-efficacy, $\beta = -.37$, $t(79) = -2.04$, $p = .04$, indicating that minority group participants reported significantly lower self-efficacy than majority group participants.

Moderating Effect of Cognitive/Emotional Engagement

With regards to the moderating role of cognitive/emotional engagement, a two-part hypothesis was predicted; first, it was predicted that the ingroup condition (compared to the outgroup condition) and the friend condition (compared to the acquaintance condition) would show higher levels of cognitive/emotional engagement. If this hypothesis was supported, the second prediction was that a three-way interaction between identification, group status and cognitive/emotional engagement would emerge in the ingroup condition and the friend condition.

For the first part of these series of predictions, two t-tests were completed with cognitive/emotional engagement ($\alpha = .80$) as the dependent variable. The analysis with group membership of audience as the independent variable revealed no significant effects indicating that the ingroup condition ($M = 5.14$) and the outgroup condition ($M = 5.44$) did not produce different levels of cognitive/emotional engagement. The analysis with closeness of audience as the independent variable also revealed no significant effects, indicating that the friend condition ($M = 5.20$) and the acquaintance condition ($M = 5.39$) did not show any differences in level of cognitive/emotional engagement. As it does not appear that either manipulation affected participant's level of cognitive/emotional engagement, and thus the first part of the moderation hypothesis was not supported, part two of these additional moderation analyses was not completed.

Discussion

Audience Effects

Initial predictions were that the positive effects of identification when recounting blatant discrimination would be stronger when the audience was a friend, rather than an acquaintance, and an ingroup member, rather than a member of the perpetrator's group. Contrary to these predictions, the effects of identification were not influenced by the manipulations of audience. It may be tempting to conclude that audience does not influence the effects of identification on self-esteem/well-being. However, there may be reasons not to rush to this conclusion. In my Master's research (Richard, 2006), participants wrote two narratives of their discrimination experiences. The first was to be an objective description of the event, with no audience provided, whereas the second was similar to the current study's ingroup-friend condition. There were clear differences between these two narratives. The objective narrative exclusively focused on the facts, whereas the narrative recounted to an ingroup friend contained more subjective interpretations, such as variations in references to discrimination, which in turn moderated the effects of identification. This suggests that the audience can influence the content of recounting in ways that are related to identification and well being/self esteem.

In addition, the current study revealed an unexpected effect of the closeness of the audience manipulation. It was initially hypothesized that recounting discrimination to a friend, as compared to an acquaintance, would be more comfortable and thus more psychologically beneficial. However, the findings revealed the opposite: those who imagined recounting a discrimination episode to a friend wrote narratives with lower memory quality and reported lower environmental mastery and self-efficacy than those recounting to an acquaintance.

One possible explanation for this unexpected effect is that the proposed mechanism - increased discomfort- is correct but the prediction about which audience was most likely to produce these feelings was incorrect. In other words, there may have been something particularly discomfoting about the prospect of recounting discrimination to a friend. Interestingly, while there is a substantial amount of research on disclosure in friendship (e.g., Collins & Miller, 1994; Welch & Houser, 2010), most

does not focus on the disclosure of discrimination-related topics. In fact, even research on the importance of self-disclosure in cross-group friendships (e.g., Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Shelton, Trail, West & Bergsieker, 2010; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007) does not specifically focus on the disclosure of group-level issues. As such, it remains unclear whether topics, such as discrimination, are common topics of conversation in the friendships of college-aged individuals. Generally, conversations about race and ethnicity are perceived as stressful, and thus are often avoided (Johnson et al, 2009; Miller, Donner, & Fraser, 2010). Perhaps the participants in the current study do not frequently engage in these kinds of conversations.

If conversations about discrimination are uncommon within friendships, initiating such a conversation may be stressful. This may be particularly true if being the target of discrimination is perhaps seen as evidence that one lacks skills in cross-group interactions. In fact, there is some research evidence to suggest that shame can be a common reaction to being a target of discrimination (e.g., Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Matheson & Anisman, 2009). Additionally, individuals may be that there are often social of claiming discrimination to members of both one's ingroup (e.g., Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff & Branscombe, 2005) and outgroup (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Swim & Hyers, 1999), which may increase any negative feelings about making such a disclosure. Although recounting a discrimination experience to an acquaintance should also be uncomfortable, the negative effects may not be as substantial, due to the lower personal investment in the relationship, the lack of strong norms about "what we talk about" and the lower concerns for maintaining face with one's friends. There may be less at stake if the disclosure goes poorly or one feels judged by the other party when the partner is only an acquaintance. As such, disclosure to an acquaintance results in better quality narratives, higher self-efficacy and higher environmental mastery. It should be noted, however, that this explanation is speculative, given the unpredicted nature of these findings. Additionally, even if recounting of discrimination were experienced more negatively when the audience is a friend, one would still expect higher identification to be associated with greater comfort in discussing race-related topics, and thus higher self-esteem and well-being. However, as noted above, this effect did not emerge.

General Conclusions

The general lack of significant effects for both manipulations (other than the unexpected main effect of closeness of audience) may be taken to suggest that audience is not a vital component of the process of recounting discrimination. However, it may also be that our experimental manipulation was not sufficiently strong. Indeed, as noted above, when recounting a discrimination episode, some sense of a supportive audience may be vital (Richard, 2006). However, simply asking individuals to imagine recounting their experiences to specific others may not be sufficient to tap into any audience effects. As noted by Swim and Hyers (1999), people's beliefs about their responses are often distinctly different from their actual responses.

Furthermore, Study 2's manipulation of audience assumes participants have an outgroup friend. Given the ethnic diversity of the Greater Vancouver Metropolitan Area (e.g., Statistics Canada, 2007a), cross-group friendships may be relatively common among participants. However, several studies have found unexpectedly low rates of cross-group friendship, with often less than half of respondents reporting such friendships (e.g., Joyner & Kao, 2000; Quillian & Campbell, 2003; Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welsh, & Combs, 1996). As such, the assumption that all participants would have an outgroup friend could have been faulty. It is difficult to know exactly how this might have affected the results, but it is quite conceivable that it would diminish the strength of the experimental manipulation.

Although the experimental controls offered by the paradigm developed for my Master's research (Richard, 2006) have helped in examining several interesting differences when recounting discrimination, there may be limits to the utility of relying on "imagined" experiences and recounting. Thus, it may be worthwhile to consider the effects of identification in a less experimentally controlled way, instead relying more on people's actual discrimination experiences (e.g., Richard et al., in prep) and their personally held scripts for discrimination experiences. The use of these more externally valid sources of recounting, while reducing control over the content of the described discrimination, may increase psychological realism. For this reason, Study 3 takes this less controlled approach.

Study 3

In order to further our investigation of the role of identification in the recounting of discrimination and also inspired by some of the limitations of the current experimental paradigm, Study 3 involves a different approach. Rather than having individuals imagine an experimentally manipulated episode of discrimination, they will be asked to describe a typical episode of discrimination against their ethnic group. It is hoped that the resulting narratives will tap participants' social scripts for common experiences of discrimination and that differences in the narratives of high and low identifiers will provide insights into how identification serves to support self-esteem/well-being in response to personal experiences of discrimination.

Study 3

It appears that both recounting one's personal experiences with discrimination (Richard et al., in prep) and recounting an imagined episode of discrimination may allow for the positive effects of ingroup identification in the face of discrimination to emerge. Additionally, the specific content of individual's recounting appears to play a role in the relationship between identification and its psychological benefits. This content may be influenced both by the details of the event recounted, as well as individual's social scripts for discrimination. The current study seeks to investigate these social scripts, which are defined as an individual's psychological depiction of a prototypical episode of discrimination against their group. Given that low and high identifiers (at least in our controlled studies) are presented with the same experience of discrimination yet show quite different effects of recounting that discrimination, it seems possible that the scripts of low and high identifiers may differ in systematic ways, and that it may be these differences in content of the social scripts that help explain the effect of identification on self-esteem and well-being.

Specifically, the presence of specific features in the social scripts of individuals higher in identification may be associated with particular psychological benefits. Some of these potentially helpful features may be those identified as important when recounting imagined discrimination in previous studies, such as references to discrimination and emotional responses. Thus, the current study was designed to assess high and low identifiers' social scripts for discrimination, by asking them to recount a typical (rather than personally experienced) episode of discrimination against their group. These recounting narratives will be content analyzed for relevant variables, and the effects of these variables on the participant's reported coping will be analyzed. It is hoped that these findings will provide an important adjunct to the earlier studies by exposing some of the underlying processes that help account for the effects of recounting.

The Role of Social Scripts

One mechanism by which ingroup identification may buffer self-esteem and well-being involves the content and construction of individual's memories of discriminatory experiences. Perhaps when high and low identifiers experience the same events of discrimination, the content of their subsequent memories of the event, and thus what they later recount, may be different. Although there is no published research on the psychological role of memories of personal experiences with discrimination or the malleability of such memories, it has been well established that memories for emotional events are frequently constructed and reconstructed based on an individual's current goals (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000; Levine & Safer, 2002; see also Callan, Kay, Davidenko, & Ellard, 2009). These goals are sometimes to serve self-enhancement purposes (Smith, 1994), or to make the memory as consistent as possible with one's current viewpoint. For example, Levine, Prohaska, Burgess, Rice and Lulhere (2001) found that participants' memories of emotions surrounding the initial announcement of the O. J. Simpson verdict were often altered to fit their current opinions about the verdict. Other times, the goal is to show a large change between the original event and one's current state (e.g., Karney & Coombs, 2000), such as when therapy clients recall their pre-therapy distress as more severe to make for positive comparisons to their current psychology state (Safer & Keuler, 2002).

Social scripts represent the templates individuals use to recall and recount events that fall within a particular category. In other words, they represent a generalized structure used to organize details about similar events (Wertsch, 2008). Rather than remembering all the nuances of a specific situation, particularly those situations that are viewed as common or recurring (Risen & Gilovich, 2007), it is believed to be easier for individuals to use more generalized social scripts representing the broad plot for these type of events, emphasizing the factors most typical of such experiences, rather than individual details. By focusing less on details, the use of scripts is thought to reduce the psychological resources needed to interpret similar situations, as compared to approaching these situations without such a script (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009). Additionally, social scripts may be especially likely to be used to clarify ambiguous situations (Holmberg & Veroff, 1996; Wertsch, 2008) and provide individuals with guidance on how to react in such situations (Wiederman, 2005). Memory

construction can be guided by the use of social scripts, whereby a memory is based more on generic representations than the actual details of the event (de Rivera & Sarbin, 1998). For instance, if individuals have a social script wherein psychotherapy is generally helpful in reducing distress, they may misremember their own level of distress before attending therapy in order to see greater therapeutic improvements, thus ensuring consistency with their script (Safer & Keuler, 2002).

Given the evidence for collective memories of intergroup conflicts, whereby members of a group share a common narrative about historical events they have not personally experienced (e.g., Paez & Liu, 2011; Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997), and other socially-shared cognitions (e.g., Thompson & Fine, 1999), it may be that social scripts for experiences with discrimination also exist. Given that experiences with discrimination are frequently characterized by ambiguity (Major et al., 2003), these scripts may help resolve some of this ambiguity (Holmberg & Veroff, 1996). Social scripts for discrimination should specifically represent a generic schema of how discrimination against members of one's ethnic ingroup generally takes place, rather than a description of a specific event (Risen & Gilovich, 2007).

A study by Sahdra and Ross (2007) evidenced the role that ingroup identification may play in intergroup-related social scripts. They found that those who identified more with their ethnic group recalled fewer instances in which their group had perpetrated intergroup violence. This suggests that higher identification may result in scripts with more positive content being used when recalling ingroup history. As high identifiers are known to see discrimination as more prevalent (Crocker & Major, 1989) and thus as a more substantial part of their daily lives, it follows that they in turn may have more strongly encoded social scripts for such experiences.

It is plausible that one of the factors involved in the better psychological outcomes seen in highly identified group members in the face of discrimination is their different social scripts for discrimination-related scenarios, compared to low identifiers. As there is evidence that high identifiers may not only perceive discrimination as more prevalent (e.g., Major et al., 2002), but may also experience discrimination more frequently (e.g., Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010), it seems plausible that they would have better developed and more adaptive social scripts for these experience. It may then be the specific content of high identifiers' scripts that allows them to maintain well-being in the

face of these stressful events. Specifically, the act of recounting an event of discrimination should activate an individual's social script for discrimination. Thus, the recounting process should heighten the differences between low and high identifiers. For example, if high identifiers' scripts for discrimination include features that demonize the perpetrator, these scripts may reduce perceptions of personal or ingroup responsibility when recounting a discrimination experience, which should diminish any feelings of inadequacy and negative well-being (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002). Consistent with this idea that the content of social scripts may have psychological consequences, research has suggested that changes in individual's social scripts for life events may actually precede positive mental health changes, suggesting a causal role for the content of these scripts in coping (Adler, 2012). Thus, investigating the content of social scripts may help expose the mechanisms that account for better psychological outcomes for those higher in identification when recounting discrimination experiences.

Study Overview

In addition to studying the effects of ingroup identification on self-esteem and well-being when recounting discrimination, Study 1 and 2 also examined the content and style of participants' discrimination narratives to investigate whether aspects of the narrative itself could moderate the relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being. Study 1 showed some evidence for moderating effects of greater cognitive and emotional engagement in recounting discrimination. However, that study specifically investigated participants' narratives of an experimentally created episode of discrimination. Study 3 takes a different approach and investigates the content of participants' narratives about what they understand to be typical episodes of discrimination against their ethnic group. Thus, the focus is on uncovering their social script for discrimination and investigating whether these vary depending on level of ingroup identification. If level of identification is associated with differences in narrative content, these differences may help to explain the role of identification in coping with discrimination. In other words, Study 3 seeks preliminary evidence for differences in participants' social scripts for discrimination that may serve a *mediating role* in the effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being.

The current study focuses specifically on participants' narratives for a typical episode of discrimination against their group. Participants will be instructed that this episode does not need to have happened to them personally, nor should it describe the worst experience of discrimination they know of, but rather a typical episode; one they would not be surprised to have heard about happening to someone they know. These instructions are designed to target the individual's social script for discrimination. These narratives will be coded for frequency of discrimination, narrative development, reduction in personal responsibility, emotional responses and confrontations (all defined in more detail below), which are predicted to be positively related to identification.

Participants will also report the coping responses they would use if faced with the event they describe. Based on research by Outten et al. (2009), it is predicted that higher identification should be associated with greater endorsement of those form of group-level coping most helpful in maintaining well-being, and that the differences in content of the narratives of high and low identifiers will mediate this relationship between identification and endorsement of these effective coping responses.

Narrative coded variables

There are numerous possible differences that might distinguish the narratives of high and low identifiers.

Frequency of discrimination

Research has suggested that highly identified minority group members are more likely to report experiences of prejudice than less identified members (Major et al., 2002; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). Until recently, it was assumed by many that this finding was in part the result of high identifiers being more likely to define ambiguous events as discriminatory (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001), along with greater experiences of discrimination causing an increase in ingroup identification (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999). However, recent findings by Kaiser and colleagues (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010; Wilkins, Kaiser, & Rieck, 2011) have challenged this perception; they suggest that highly identified minorities may in fact be the targets of more frequent discrimination than low identifiers. This is because Whites both have more negative attitudes towards highly identified members of ethnic minority

groups (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) and are also successful at accurately detecting the ingroup identification of ethnic minorities (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010). If it is assumed that highly identified group members do experience more frequent discrimination, the narratives of high identifiers should reference the discrimination described as a more frequent occurrence.

Narrative development

It is predicted that individuals higher in identification will have better developed and more involved social scripts for experiences of discrimination, particularly if they do experience more frequent discrimination (e.g., Wilkins et al., 2011). Thus, high identification should be associated with more detail, greater vividness, and greater story coherence. It is also possible that those high in identification will write longer narratives. Additionally, individuals higher in identification, due to their greater knowledge about their group's experiences of discrimination (e.g., Brondolo et al., 2009b), may have a clearer picture of the typical perpetrator of discrimination, including their ethnicity. Past studies have shown that clear prototypes exist regarding the ethnicity of perpetrators of discrimination and that perpetrator ethnicity may be particularly important in helping individuals judge whether discrimination has transpired (e.g., Inman et al., 1998). Thus, those high in identification should be more likely to write narratives containing references to the ethnicity of the perpetrator.

Reductions in personal responsibility

The narratives of individuals higher in identification should contain content that minimizes personal and ingroup responsibility for the negative outcomes (e.g., Major et al., 2002). Thus, those high in identification should describe the perpetrator more negatively and should make stronger references to discrimination (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Emotional responses

Higher identification is expected to be associated with more emotional content, specifically emotional engagement and other-directed emotions. Others have shown (e.g., Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003) that high identification is associated

with responding to discrimination with other-directed emotions, such as anger and frustration, and that these responses are beneficial for coping compared to self-directed emotional responses, such as guilt (Cihangir et al., 2010).

Confronting discrimination

In a study of Korean immigrants to Canada, confronting perpetrators of discrimination moderated the negative effects of discrimination on depression (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999), whereas a study with African Americans found those who reported “doing something about [discrimination]” displayed lower blood pressure than those who did not take such action (Krieger & Sidney, 1996). Acting out against discrimination is also thought to positively impact target’s sense of self-efficacy (Crosby, 1994; Hyers, 2007). Although the research on the relationship between identification and confronting the perpetrator of discrimination remains mixed, there is evidence that adolescents lower in ingroup identification may be more likely to endorse passive forms of responding to discrimination, such as withdrawal (Wakefield & Hudley, 2005), and that confronting discrimination is perceived more positively by high identifiers (Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009). Thus, it is predicted that the narratives of individuals higher in identification may be more likely to contain reference to such confrontations.

Group status

The current study will also investigate whether the relationship between identification and the content of discrimination narratives is influenced by group status. Given the relative lack of effects of group status in both Study 1 and Study 2, group status is not predicted to play a moderating role for the majority of narrative-coded variables.

However, the positive effects of identification on reduction in personal responsibility and emotional responses are expected to be larger for minority group members. In Study 1, cognitive/emotional engagement, which included measures of both reduction in personal responsibility and emotional responses, was found to be beneficial for highly identified minority group members and detrimental for highly identified majority group members. As such, it is expected that highly identified minority

group members would be more likely to include in their social scripts variables that are psychologically helpful when recounting discrimination experiences, as compared to highly identified majority group members, for whom these variables have been found to be less helpful.

Emotion- and problem-focused coping

It is hypothesized that the predicted differences in the narratives of those high versus low in identification should serve to assist high identifiers to cope with the negative experiences of discrimination. Outten and colleagues (2009) found evidence that higher identification is associated with higher endorsement of a number of adaptive coping responses in the face of discrimination. The coping responses to discrimination can be divided into six categories along two dimensions: whether they are emotion-focused (focused on coping with the distress elicited by the stressor) or problem-focused (focused on directly addressing the stressor), as well as whether the coping is focused at the individual (focused on coping at a personal level), intragroup (focused on coping within a group context) or intergroup (focused at how the group copes as a whole) level of identity. Several of these coping responses have been found to maintain self-esteem and well-being (e.g., Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986), and can help reduce the negative effects of discrimination (e.g., Foster, 2000; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). However, while Outten and his colleagues (2009) found that all six of these categories were positively correlated with identification, only some of them (individual emotion-focused, intergroup problem-focused and intergroup emotion-focused coping) actually mediated the positive relationship between identification and self-esteem/life satisfaction.

Endorsement of these six categories of coping responses appears to be evidence of psychological and behavioural responses that serve to protect well-being in the face of negative events. As such, in the current study, participants provided self-report measures of how much they would employ each of these six categories of coping response if they were the targets of the discrimination described in their narratives. Consistent with Outten et al., (2009), it is predicted that stronger identification should be associated with greater endorsement of the intragroup and intergroup categories; most important for the current research interests, it is hypothesized that the differences in the content of the narratives of high and low identifiers should mediate this effect. However, unlike in Outten et al. (2009), it is not predicted that identification will be associated with

individual-level coping responses. This is because ingroup identification is generally conceived of as involving the collective self, rather than the personal self (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, identification should have a greater influence on resources involving the collective self, such as group level coping, rather than those focused on individual level coping. Furthermore, the current study, by virtue of its focus on describing discrimination against the participants' ingroup, rather than personal experiences, may elicit more collective-level responding than in Outten et al's (2009) study (e.g., Major et al., 2003).

Summary of Hypotheses⁹

It is predicted that participants' level of ingroup identification will influence the content of their discrimination narratives such that higher identification will be associated with greater references to the discrimination described as a frequent experience (frequency), higher narrative development (word count, vividness, coherence, detail and reference to the perpetrator's ethnicity), reduction in personal responsibility (negative perceptions of the perpetrator, references to discrimination), stronger emotional responses (emotional engagement, other-directed emotions) and confrontations of discrimination. Frequency, narrative development and confrontations of discrimination are not expected to vary by group status of the participant, whereas reduced personal responsibility and stronger emotional responses should be higher in minority group members. In addition, these differences in narrative content are predicted to mediate the positive effects of identification on endorsement of intragroup and intergroup level coping strategies.

⁹ Although these hypotheses are organized in terms of general concepts, it should be noted that as this is the first known study of social scripts for discrimination, each variable will be analyzed separately (as compared to the amalgamated variables used in Study 1) in order to ensure that we are accurately detecting any specific effects of identification.

Method

Participants

One hundred and thirty-two undergraduate students at Simon Fraser University participated in this study for course credits. Six participants apparently misunderstood the instructions (e.g., wrote about an unrelated event) or did not providing a narrative and were removed from the sample. Thus, 126 participants were included in the final analysis.

Seventy percent of the sample ($n = 88$) was female. The mean age of participants was 19.84 years ($SD = 2.20$), with ages ranging from 16 to 34 years. The majority were Asian (54.8%, $n = 69$) and Caucasian (31.7%, $n = 40$). Other ethnic groups included Indo-Canadian (7.1%, $n = 9$), Middle Eastern (2.4%, $n = 3$) and Hispanic (0.8%, $n = 1$). Over half of the sample (55.8%, $n = 69$) was born in Canada, and 47.6% ($n = 60$) of the sample's first language was English.

Procedure and Materials

The study was conducted online, with all instructions presented on a computer screen. Participants first reported basic demographic information, such as gender, ethnicity and age.

Ingroup identification

Participants completed the Social Identity Scale (Cameron, 2004; $\alpha = .81$) and the Importance to Identity subscale of the CSES (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; $\alpha = .72$), which were combined to create a general measure of ingroup identification ($\alpha = .86$).

Discrimination narratives

Next, participants were requested to write a narrative describing a typical episode of discrimination against their group. Specifically, they were instructed to:

Please think about what you know about racial/ethnic discrimination against members of your racial/ethnic group. Specifically, please think about a typical episode of discrimination against your racial/ethnic group. By typical, we mean a common or usual experience of discrimination for

members of your racial/ethnic group, one that you would not be surprised to hear had happened to someone you know. In other words, if someone asked you how discrimination against your racial/ethnic group typically takes place, how would you describe it?

Additionally, they were asked to write about the episode in as much detail as possible, and were provided with several suggestions of what to include, such as the situation in which the discrimination would take place, and the characteristics and reactions of the people involved.

Coping responses

Participants reported on 7-point Likert scales (anchored with "not at all" to "very much") how likely they would be to respond in each of twelve possible ways if the episode they had just described had happened to them. The response options were designed to represent the six types of coping responses described by Outten et al (2009): individual problem-focused (e.g., "I would try to avoid similar situations in the future"), individual emotion-focused (e.g., "I would handle my emotions"), intragroup problem-focused (e.g., "I would turn to other members of my racial/ethnic group for advice on how to handle similar situations in the future"), intragroup emotion-focused (e.g., "I would talk to other members of my racial/ethnic group to make me feel better"), intergroup problem-focused (e.g., "I would work together with my racial/ethnic group to make prejudice unacceptable") and intergroup emotion-focused (e.g., "I would remind myself that my racial/ethnic group does not need acceptance from other racial/ethnic groups to feel good about themselves as a group"), with two items for each coping response.

Participants were then debriefed and thanked for their time.

Content Analyses

Participants' narratives were analyzed by two extensively trained coders blind to participant's level of identification and group status, using the same coding schemes as used in Study 1 and 2 for the variables coded in these earlier studies. The majority of variables were scored on 7-point scales; intraclass correlation coefficients for absolute agreement were calculated to examine interrater reliability for these variables (see Table 6). For those two dichotomous variables (*perpetrator ethnicity* and *confrontations*),

coders instead coded for their presence or absence. Discussions between the coders were used to clarify any differences in coding of these variables to ensure 100% agreement.

Table 6. Intraclass correlations across raters for narrative coded variables

Variable	Intraclass Correlation
Frequency	.84*
Narrative Development:	
Detail	.88*
Vividness	.82*
Coherence	.84*
Reduction in Personal Responsibility:	
Negative Perceptions	.86*
References to Discrimination	.86*
Emotional Responses:	
Emotional Engagement	.83*
Other-Directed Emotions	.83*

Note: Degrees of freedom are 124.

Note: * $p \leq .01$

Narratives were coded for the extent to which the narrative described the discriminatory episode as occurring frequently (*frequency*). Coders scored the narrative at the midpoint of the scale if no reference was made to the frequency of similar events, whereas higher scores were given when the narrative made reference to similar events happening often and lower scores were given when the narrative made reference to similar events being a rarer occurrence.

For the concept of narrative development, measures of the degree of detail presented in the narrative (*detail*), the overall vividness of the narrative (*vividness*) and the degree to which the narrative told a coherent story about a single episode of discrimination (*coherence*) were completed, as was the dichotomous measure of references to the perpetrator's ethnicity (*perpetrator ethnicity*). Word count was also noted.

For the concept of reduction in personal responsibility, narratives were coded for the extent to which the participant described the narrative as an episode of discrimination (*references to discrimination*) and the extent to which the perpetrator of discrimination was portrayed negatively (*negative perceptions*).

For the concept of emotional responses, narratives were coded for the extent to which the participant appeared emotional engaged in writing the narrative (*emotional engagement*). Additionally, coders rated the narrative for expressions of anger and frustration (*other-directed emotions*, $\alpha = .72$).

Coders also scored for the presence or absence of references to the target confronting the described discrimination (*confrontations*).

Results

The results section begins with a test of the hypotheses involving narrative coded variables; specifically, correlations were used to investigate the relationship between identification and all of the narrative coded variables. Next, regression analyses were used to test for any moderating effects of group status. Finally, mediational analyses were used to examine the relationship between identification, coping strategies and the narrative coded variables.

The Relationship between Identification and Narrative Coded Variables

Pearson's product moment correlations (when both variables were continuous) and point-biserial correlations (when one variable was dichotomous) between ingroup identification and all of the narrative coded variables are presented in Table 7. Significant positive correlations were predicted between identification and the variables measuring frequency, narrative development (word count, detail, vividness, coherence and perpetrator ethnicity¹⁰), reduction in personal responsibility (negative perceptions and references to discrimination¹¹), emotional responses (emotional engagement and other-directed emotions¹²) and confrontations. Additionally, based on their level of conceptual overlap, significant intercorrelations were expected between the variables representing narrative involvement, reductions in personal responsibility and emotional responses.

As can be seen from Table 7, stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was significantly positively associated with two of the measures of narrative

¹⁰ Although, as noted above, these variables are examined separately in the current study, the three narrative coded variables of narrative development showed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$).

¹¹ $\alpha = .77$

¹² $\alpha = .80$

Table 7. Correlation matrix between identification and narrative coded variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Identification												
2	Frequency	0.04											
3	Word Count	0.18*	0.18*										
4	Detail	0.11	0.33**	0.87**									
5	Vividness	0.18*	0.40**	0.78**	0.88**								
6	Coherence	0.11	0.25**	0.63**	0.75**	0.81**							
7	Perpetrator Ethnicity	0.17 [†]	0.10	0.24**	0.24**	0.29**	0.25**						
8	References to Discrimination	0.19*	0.45**	0.57**	0.59**	0.64**	0.53**	0.13					
9	Negative Perceptions	0.14	0.31**	0.44**	0.51**	0.59**	0.48**	0.31**	0.63**				
10	Emotional Engagement	0.24**	0.41**	0.62**	0.65**	0.75**	0.60**	0.30**	0.59**	0.61**			
11	Other-Directed Emotions	0.23*	0.31**	0.42**	0.36**	0.35**	0.25**	0.23*	0.45**	0.46**	0.60**		
12	Confrontations	0.25**	0.10	0.30**	0.27**	0.34**	0.26**	0.20*	0.24**	0.22*	0.28**	0.15 [†]	

Note: Degrees of freedom are 124.

Note: [†] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

development (word count and vividness). Additionally, the correlation between identification and perpetrator ethnicity approached significance. Stronger identification was also associated with higher ratings on one of the measures of reductions in personal responsibility (references to discrimination), the two measures of emotional responses (emotional engagement and other-directed emotions), and confrontations.

Additionally, high levels of intercorrelation emerged amongst the majority of the narrative coded variables, suggesting that higher scores on any of these variables associated with higher scores on most of the others.

Group Status

In order to test for differences in the effects of identification across group status, regression analyses were performed on each of the narrative coded variables. These regressions included identification, group status and their interaction as predictor variables. None of the analyses revealed a significant interaction effect (all t s < 1.5, all p -values > .12), suggesting that the main effects of identification are not qualified by group status.

Given the lack of interaction effects, there appeared to be no reasons to further investigate the relationship between group status and identification. However, evidence of multicollinearity emerged in the above analyses. Specifically, group status and identification are correlated, with minority group members ($M = 4.29$) reporting higher identification than majority group members ($M = 3.96$), $t(124) = 2.40$, $p = .02$. This multicollinearity may interfere with our ability to detect significant effects when both of these variables are included in the same regression analysis (Blalock, 1963). As such, in order to gain a better understanding any effects of group status, regression analyses testing the effects of identification on each narrative coded variables were conducting separately for minority and majority group participants.

Results indicated that the identification effects found in the regression analyses with all participants generally held in the analyses involving only minority group or majority group participants. However, occasionally the same patterns of significance were not found, likely due to reduced statistical power due to the smaller sample size. For instance, in the analysis involving all participants, the effect of identification on

emotional engagement reached significance, $r(124) = .24, p < .01$. When the analysis was conducted separately for minority group members, the correlation approached significance, $r(82) = .21, p = .06$, whereas when conducted for majority group members, it no longer reached significance, $r(42) = .21, p = .19$, despite its similar effect size. These findings support the hypothesis that the effects of identification are generally consistent across minority and majority group participants.

However, two exceptions to this finding emerged, both involving measures of reduction in personal responsibility. The first involved the effect of identification on references to discrimination. In the analysis involving all participants, this correlation reached significance, $r(124) = .19, p = .03$. When the analysis was conducted separately for minority group members, the correlation remained significant, $r(82) = .25, p = .02$, whereas the correlation coefficient was substantially smaller and nonsignificant when the analysis was conducted for majority group members, $r(42) = .01, p = .95$. This indicated that while minority group members show a positive relationship between identification and references to discrimination, there is no such relationship in majority group members.

Additionally, in the analysis involving all participants, the effect of identification on negative perceptions did not reach significance, $r(124) = .13, p = .14$. However, when the analysis was conducted separately for minority group members, this relationship approached significance, $r(82) = .20, p = .07$, whereas the correlation coefficient was substantially smaller and nonsignificant when conducted exclusively for majority group members, $r(42) = -.07, p = .64$. This indicates that while minority group members show a positive relationship between identification and negative perceptions, there is no such relationship in majority group members.

Coping responses

Correlations with identification

Table 8 presents the correlations between ingroup identification and the six types of questionnaire coping responses (individual emotion-focused coping, individual problem-focused coping, intragroup emotion-focused coping, intragroup problem-focused coping, intergroup emotion-focused coping and intergroup problem focused coping). Stronger identification with one's ethnic ingroup was associated with higher

endorsement of intragroup emotion-focused coping responses, intragroup problem-focused coping responses, intergroup emotion-focused coping responses and intergroup problem-focused coping responses.

Table 8. Correlations between ingroup identification and coping responses

Variable	Correlation with Ingroup Identification
Individual emotion-focused coping	.00
Individual problem-focused coping	.01
Intragroup emotion-focused coping	.35**
Intragroup problem-focused coping	.37**
Intergroup emotion-focused coping	.26**
Intergroup problem-focused coping	.34**

Note: Degrees of freedom are 124.

Mediation

Table 9 displays the partial correlations between intra/intergroup coping and Table 10 displays the correlations between intra/intergroup coping and the seven potential mediators that were positively correlated with identification (word count, emotional engagement, vividness, perpetrator ethnicity, references to discrimination, other-directed emotions and confrontations). Analyses were conducted examining whether the effects of identification on intragroup and intergroup coping were mediated by these seven variables. Mediation analyses were performed by running a series of regression analyses consistent with the steps described by Baron and Kenny (1986), followed by nonparametric bootstrapping analyses to test significance (see Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007).

Table 9. Partial correlations between coping responses

		1	2	3	4
1	Intragroup Emotion-Focused Coping				
2	Intragroup Problem-Focused Coping	0.81**			
3	Intergroup Emotion-Focused Coping	0.04	0.20*		
4	Intergroup Problem-Focused Coping	0.13	0.18*	0.27**	

Note: Degrees of freedom are 124.

Note: † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Word count

The analyses involving word count as a mediator met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation, such that identification was significantly associated with intragroup and intergroup coping (Step 1; see Table 8) and with word count (Step 2; see Table 7). However, when controlling for the effects of identification, word count was not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .03$, $t(121) = .30$, $p = .76$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = -.01$, $t(121) = -.11$, $p = .91$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = -.03$, $t(121) = -.38$, $p = .70$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = -.02$, $t(121) = -.37$, $p = .79$, meaning that Baron and Kenny's (1986) full criteria for mediation were not met.

Table 10. Correlations between coping responses and potential narrative mediators

	Intra-EF	Intra-PF	Inter-EF	Inter-PF
Word Count	0.09	0.06	0.01	0.04
Vividness	0.09	0.11	0.18*	0.08
Perpetrator Ethnicity	0.14	0.12	-0.06	-0.08
References to Discrimination	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.04
Emotional Engagement	0.16 [‡]	0.14	0.20*	0.10
Other-Directed Emotions	0.11	0.19*	0.16 [‡]	0.14
Confrontations	0.11	0.19*	0.16 [‡]	0.14

Note: Degrees of freedom are 124.

Note: [‡] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Note: Intra-EF = intragroup emotion-focused coping, Intra-PF = intragroup problem focused coping, Inter-EF = intergroup emotion focused coping, Inter-PF = intergroup emotion focused coping

Emotional engagement

The analyses involving emotional engagement as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). However, when controlling for the effects of identification, emotional engagement was not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .08$, $t(121) = .91$, $p = .37$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .05$, $t(121) = .60$, $p = .55$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .15$, $t(121) = 1.63$, $p = .11$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .02$, $t(121) = .22$, $p = .83$, meaning that the criteria for mediation were not met.

Vividness

The analyses involving vividness as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). However, when controlling for the effects of identification, vividness was not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .03$, $t(121) = .38$, $p = .70$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .05$, $t(121) = .56$, $p = .58$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .14$, $t(121) = 1.54$, $p = .13$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .02$, $t(121) = .24$, $p = .81$, meaning that the criteria for mediation were not met.

Perpetrator ethnicity

The analyses involving perpetrator ethnicity as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). However, when controlling for the effects of identification, perpetrator ethnicity was not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .07$, $t(121) = .86$, $p = .39$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .06$, $t(121) = .71$, $p = .48$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = -.10$, $t(121) = -1.14$, $p = .26$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = -.14$, $t(121) = -1.69$, $p = .09$, meaning that the criteria for mediation were not met.

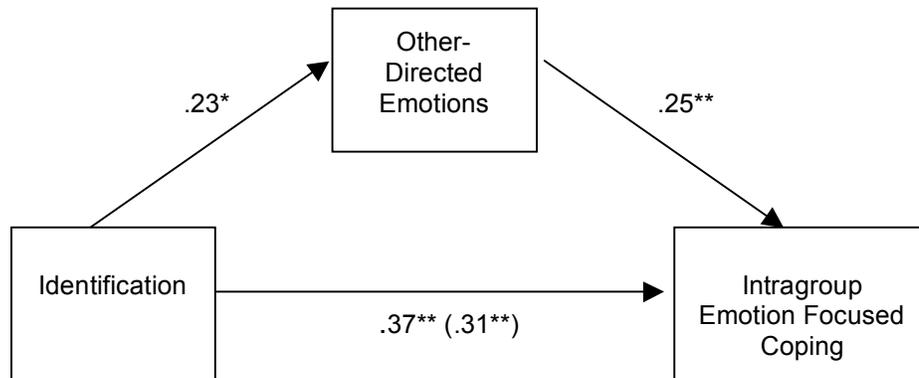
References to discrimination

The analyses involving references to discrimination as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). However, when controlling for the effects of identification, references to discrimination were not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .01$, $t(121) = .16$, $p = .87$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .01$, $t(121) = .09$, $p = .92$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .08$, $t(121) = .98$, $p = .33$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = -.02$, $t(121) = -.26$, $p = .79$, meaning that the criteria for mediation were not met.

Other-directed emotions

The analyses involving other-directed emotions as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). Additionally, when controlling for the effects of identification, other-directed emotions were significantly

associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .22$, $t(121) = 2.62$, $p = .01$, meeting the third step for mediation. In the test of the mediational model of other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup emotion-focused coping, results based on 5000 bootstrapped samples indicated that the total effect of identification on intragroup emotion-focused coping was significant ($TE = 0.78$, $SE = 0.19$, $p < .01$), as was the direct effect ($DE = .68$, $SE = 0.19$, $p < .01$). Because zero is not in the 95% confidence interval, (IE lower 95% CI = 0.17, upper 95% CI = .26), the indirect effect is significantly different ($p < .05$) from zero. Thus, other-directed emotions partially mediated the relationship between identification and intragroup emotion-focused coping, such that participants who indicated high levels of identification were more likely to express higher other-directed emotions, which in turn lead to stronger endorsement of intragroup emotion-focused coping (see Figure 6).

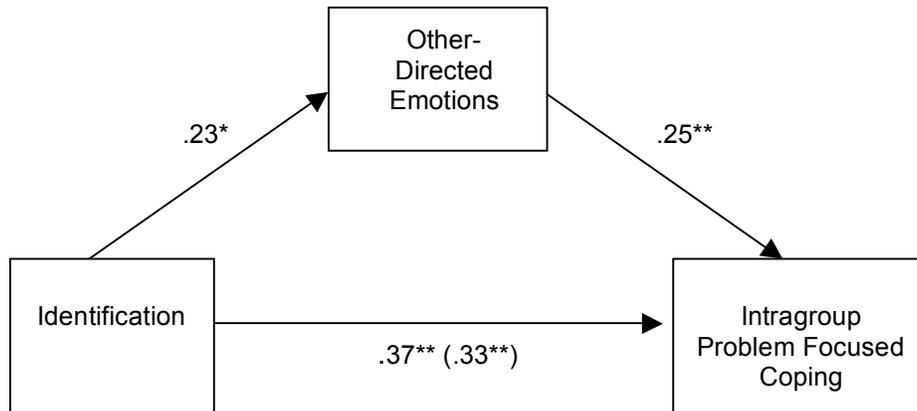


Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 6. Model of other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup emotion-focused coping.

When controlling for the effects of identification, other-directed emotions were also significantly associated with intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .17$, $t(121) = 2.06$, $p = .04$, meeting the third step for mediation. In the test of the mediational model of other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup problem-focused coping, results based on 5000 bootstrapped samples indicated that the total effect of identification on intragroup problem-focused coping was significant ($TE = 0.86$, $SE = 0.20$, $p < .01$), as was the direct effect ($DE = .77$, $SE = 0.20$,

$p < .01$). Because zero is not in the 95% confidence interval (lower 95% CI = 0.01, upper 95% CI = .24), the indirect effect is significantly different ($p < .05$) from zero. Thus, other-directed emotions partially mediated the relationship between identification and intragroup problem-focused coping, such that participants who indicated high levels of identification were more likely to express higher other-directed emotions, which in turn lead to stronger endorsement of intragroup problem-focused coping (see Figure 7).



Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 7. Model of narrative coded other-directed emotions as a mediator of the relationship between identification and intragroup problem-focused coping.

Analyses were also conducted examining for the potential mediating role of other-directed emotions in the relationship between identification and intergroup coping. When controlling for the effects of identification, other-directed emotions were not significantly associated with intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .11$, $t(121) = 1.26$, $p = .21$, or intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .07$, $t(121) = .82$, $p = .42$, indicating that the criteria for mediation were not met.

Confrontations

The analyses involving confrontations as a mediator also met Baron and Kenny's (1986) first two steps for mediation (see Table 7 and 8). However, when controlling for

the effects of identification, confrontations were not significantly associated with intragroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .02$, $t(121) = .18$, $p = .86$, intragroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .10$, $t(121) = 1.15$, $p = .25$, intergroup emotion-focused coping, $\beta = .10$, $t(121) = 1.12$, $p = .27$, and intergroup problem-focused coping, $\beta = .06$, $t(121) = .66$, $p = .51$, meaning that the criteria for mediation were not met.

Discussion

Identification and Scripts for Discrimination

While Study 1 and 2 focused on the role of ingroup identification on experimentally manipulated episodes of discrimination, Study 3 focused on the effects of identification on target's social scripts for discrimination. To the degree that these scripts are used to process real life experiences of discrimination, the differences in content of these scripts between those high and low in ingroup identification may in part account for the positive impact of identification on self-esteem and well-being when recounting discrimination.

Narrative development

If higher identification is associated with a more active use of social scripts to understand experiences of discrimination, it is plausible that these scripts would be clearer and more intense. Individuals higher in identification wrote longer narratives, suggesting that high identifiers simply had more to say when given a chance to express these scripts and providing some evidence that the social scripts informing high identifiers' narratives may be better developed and practiced. Consistent with this interpretation, the narratives of individuals higher in identification were also more vivid.

There was also evidence that individuals higher in identification were more likely to include references to the perpetrator's ethnicity in their narratives. This finding is consistent with previous work showing that higher identification is generally associated with greater experiences of racial and ethnic socialization, whereby youth are taught about the likelihood of experiencing group-based discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Thompson Sanders, 1994, 1999; Tran & Lee, 2010), including an awareness of the group membership of those who typically perpetrate such discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that high identifiers are more likely to include the group membership of perpetrators in their social scripts.

Unfortunately, the positive relationship between identification and level of narrative detail did not reach significance. It may be that these social scripts are more streamlined than originally hypothesized, such that any additional details included that

make for their increased word count are specific in their direct role in improving psychological outcomes (e.g., other-directed emotions), thus not resulting in a generally more detailed story. Additionally, identification was not associated with coherence ratings, indicating that individuals higher in identification, while writing longer and more vivid narratives, are no more likely to adhere to a traditional narrative format in writing these narratives,

Emotional responses

Identification was also associated with two variables measuring emotional responses. Consistent with the hypothesis that high identifiers' social scripts should be more psychologically meaningful and involving, and with research suggesting that higher identification is associated with a greater likelihood of responding to discrimination with other-directed emotions (Yzerbyt et al., 2003), the narratives of high identifiers included higher levels of emotional engagement and of other-directed emotions, namely anger and frustration. When compared to self-directed emotions (like self-directed anger or shame), which are which are believed to focus attention on personal flaws and responsibility for the discrimination (e.g., Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011), responding to discrimination with other-directed emotions has been hypothesized to help shift negative attention to the perpetrator (Cihangir et al., 2010). Additionally, suppression of other-directed emotions in response to stressful experiences, such as discrimination, is associated with negative outcomes such as elevated blood pressure (Feagin & McKinney, 2003). Therefore, social scripts prescribing the expression of negative emotions focused on the perpetrator, rather than the self, may help preserve self-esteem and well-being in the face of discrimination.

Confronting discrimination

Consistent with findings that confronting discrimination has positive effects on target's self-esteem and well-being, the narratives of high identifiers were also more likely to contain reference to the target acting out against the discrimination. This greater likelihood of including these actions in their social script may in turn result in more frequent actual confrontations of discrimination, which have been found to have psychological benefits (e.g., Hyers, 2007; Noh et al., 1999). Not only may these confrontations have positive psychological effects, but they have also been found to be helpful in reducing prejudiced attitudes on the part of the confronted perpetrator (e.g.,

Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). Interestingly, higher levels of anger in response to discrimination are associated with individuals taking action against discrimination (e.g., Leonard, Moons, Mackie, & Smith, 2011; Matheson & Anisman, 2009), suggesting that high identifiers' greater likelihood of describing confrontations in their social scripts may also be related to their higher narrative levels of other-directed emotions.

Frequency

Although research has suggested that higher ingroup identification may be associated with both greater perceptions of and actual experiences of being the targets of discrimination (Major et al., 2002; Wilkins et al, 2011), there was no evidence that higher identifiers were more likely to reference increased frequency of discrimination in their social scripts. However, it is possible that high identifiers' elevated perceptions and experiences of discrimination may influence their social scripts in a less obvious way; for instance, rather than directly encoding information about the prevalence of discrimination experiences in their social scripts, which may actually have a negative effect upon well-being (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999), it may be that perceiving these experiences as more common may instead result in greater attention being focused on developing a detailed and vivid social script to help process them, which could explain the positive effects of identification on narrative development.

Group Status

Consistent with the findings of both Study 1 and 2, the effects of identification on the content of participants' narratives generally did not vary according to group status. Both minority and majority group members showed positive correlations between identification and word count, vividness, emotional engagement, other-directed emotions, the likelihood of referencing the perpetrator's ethnicity and the likelihood of describing the target as acting out against discrimination. As majority group members begin to perceive themselves increasingly as the targets of discrimination (Norton & Sommers, 2011), the rejection-identification model (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999) would predict that this should lead to increased ingroup identification. Subsequently, majority group members may then increasingly harness the positive effects of identification with their ingroup to better cope with these perceptions. In turn, not only may the benefits of

identification be similar across minority and majority group members, but the associated features of their social scripts thought to contribute to these benefits may also be similar.

However, differences in the relationship between identification and narrative features according to group status did emerge for the two variables measuring reductions in personal responsibility. Notably, both of these (references to discrimination and negative perceptions) were aspects of the measure of cognitive/emotional engagement used in Study 1. In that study, this measure also interacted with group status, such that this kind of engagement was beneficial for highly identified minority group members and detrimental for highly identified majority group members. Thus, it makes sense that the social scripts of highly identified minority group members would be more likely to include these variables, while the scripts of highly identified majority group would not.

In addition, the different content of minority and majority group members' identities may also have contributed to these differences. Given majority group members' lack of a longstanding group history of discrimination (Nelson et al., 2010) and generally reduced racial socialization (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009), their identity may be less likely to contain reference to group-based discrimination. Brondolo and colleagues (2009b) suggest that minority group members' greater ingroup knowledge, particularly of their group's experiences of discrimination, may contribute to a better ability to recognize such discrimination. This recognition of discrimination, which has been found to be psychologically beneficial (e.g., Major et al., 2003), may result in highly identified minorities being more likely to make similarly clear references to discrimination in their social scripts.

This finding of stronger references to discrimination in the narratives of highly identified minority group members fits well with one of the stated purposes of social scripts, to help clarify ambiguous situations (Holmberg & Veroff, 1996). Given modern discrimination's tendency to be much more indirect and ambiguous than the previously more common "old-fashioned" discrimination, (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), it is often more difficult to recognize (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009). This lack of recognition can be problematic, in that unfavourable outcomes due to prejudice may not be recognized as such, and instead be attributed to personal flaws (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), which should, in turn, should have negative psychological effects. With this in mind,

using one's social script to conceptualize an experience as clearly discriminatory may reduce the target's feelings of personal responsibility for negative outcomes. Given that identification has been found to be positively associated with ethnic minorities labeling ambiguous events as discriminatory (Shelton & Sellers, 2000), it makes sense that such an element would be more common in the scripts of highly identified minorities.

Additionally, research has shown exposure to discrimination to be linked to negative perceptions of the perpetrator and their outgroup (Tropp, 2003). Given their longer history of oppression, these negative perceptions may be better integrated into the social scripts of highly identified minority group members. This should help to maintain psychological well-being by minimizing individual's feelings of personal responsibility for the maltreatment (Major et al., 2002).

Identification and Coping

When asked how they would respond if they had personally experienced the episode of discrimination described in their narratives, compared to low identifiers, high identifiers reported that they would be more likely to engage in both problem and emotion focused coping at the intragroup and intergroup level. In other words, stronger identification with one's ingroup was associated with individuals imagining themselves using assistance from ingroup members to successfully cope with discrimination, along with picturing themselves working in tandem with group members to collectively cope. Interestingly, and in contrast to the positive relationships found by Outten et al. (2009), stronger identification was not affiliated with higher endorsement of coping at the individual level. This suggests that when imagining themselves experiencing a typical episode of discrimination, high identifiers may not feel they have a greater number of individual level resources available to them, but instead perceive greater resources at the group level to help them cope. This may due to ingroup identification's closer relationship to the collective self than the personal self (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), along with the focus in the current study on the discrimination experiences of one's ethnic ingroup, both of which should result in a greater influence on group-level, rather than individual-level, coping responses.

In addition to the finding that higher identification is associated with greater endorsement of intragroup and intergroup coping responses when individuals imagine

themselves experiencing a typical episode of discrimination, Study 3 provided initial evidence for the role of the individual's social scripts in mediating some of these effects. More specifically, the positive relationship between identification and both types of intragroup coping was partially mediated by the degree to which an individual's narrative expressed other-directed emotions. This suggests that one of the factors associated with higher identifiers' better coping in the face of discrimination may be their use of social scripts that are more imbued with emotions such as frustration and anger. As discussed above, this may be in part due to the fact that these emotions focus attention away from the self and a sense of personal responsibility for the discrimination (Cihangir et al., 2010). This focusing of attention away from the self, and more towards the perpetrator of discrimination and their group may result in the individual also seeking out support or assistance from their ingroup (e.g., intragroup level coping), rather than trying to cope with discrimination on their own (e.g., individual level coping). Use of an effective coping technique, such as coping that elicits assistance from one's ingroup when facing a group-level threat (discrimination), should in turn be associated with increased self-esteem and well-being.

Future Research

The current study represents an important first step in ascertaining the role that social scripts may play in helping individuals higher in identification cope with discrimination. The next logical step is to investigate whether differences in social scripts result in directly higher levels of self-esteem and well-being when perceiving oneself as the target of discrimination.

Such a study would ideally likely involve an extension of Study 1's design, such that participants of varying levels of identification will first be asked to elaborate on a typical episode of discrimination against their group (in order to obtain a baseline for their social scripts) before being exposed to an experience of discrimination; they will later be asked to recount this episode (to determine how their recounting of this experience is impacted by their social scripts), as well as being asked to rate their self-esteem and well-being. This design would allow for the assessment of the impact of identification on two measures of participants' social scripts, namely their descriptions of typical episodes of discrimination against their group, which should directly represent their social scripts, along with their narrative of a personal episode of discrimination,

which should reflect the influence of these social scripts on their recall of the event. These can then be coded for the variables found to be significant in the current study (e.g., other-directed emotions), which can, in turn, be investigated as mediators in the predicted positive relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being.

General Discussion

Numerous studies have documented the benefits of ingroup identification on a variety of psychologically relevant outcomes when individuals perceive themselves as the targets of discrimination, including personal (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999) and collective self-esteem (Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003), academic achievement (Wong et al., 2003), social functioning (Galliher et al., 2010), psychological distress (Chae et al., 2011) and depressive symptoms (Mossakowski, 2003). However, only a few studies (e.g., Outten et al., 2009) have moved beyond the documentation of these effects to focus on the psychological processes through which they may take place. The current program of research, starting with the work of Richard and colleagues (in prep) and my Master's research (Richard, 2006), seeks to address this gap by focusing specifically on the role of recounting discrimination experiences. The first study in this line of research found that recounting personal experiences with discrimination had positive effects on self-esteem for individuals high in identification, and the second study showed similar positive effects on self-esteem and well-being when individuals higher in identification imagined and recounted an experimentally manipulated discrimination experience. Furthermore, the second study allowed for the analysis of individual's narratives, which provided preliminary evidence that narrative content might play an important role in the positive effects of identification.

With this background, the three studies presented here, though divergent in their specific goals and to some degree in terms of their methodology, sought to further our understanding of the specific role of recounting in the relationship between experiences of discrimination, ingroup identification, and self-esteem and well-being. These studies explored the generalizability and limits of effects of recounting. For instance, across all three studies, attention was focused on the generalizability of these effects across minority and majority group members. Additionally, the first study investigated whether the effects of recounting varied depending on whether the discrimination imagined was blatant and subtle, whereas the second study investigated whether these effects were

contingent upon the audience of the recounting. Furthermore, in order to further our understanding of factors underlying this recounting process, the third study examined whether identification predicted differences in the content of social scripts. Although one could argue that the current research program has raised as many new questions as it has answered, it has also provided a somewhat clearer picture of the ways in which individuals higher in identification may use the recounting process to maintain their self-esteem and well-being when experiencing discrimination.

A number of the issues that cut across studies will be discussed below. First, I will explore some of the similarities and differences in results that emerged between minority and majority group members, with a particular focus on the importance of cognitive/emotional engagement. Next, I will discuss how the current findings highlight the importance of the social nature of recounting experiences of discrimination. Attention will also be paid to explaining some of the unexpected differences in patterns of results across Study 1 and 2, and to considering how these differences demonstrate the nuanced nature of effects of identification. Some of the difficulties in empirically studying discrimination will then be discussed, with a particular focus on the value of diverse methodologies.

Group Status and The Importance of Engagement

To my knowledge, these are the first studies to consider the effects of identification in majority group members faced with discrimination. Across studies, results indicated that while minority and majority group members are similar in terms of the impact that identification has on their self-esteem and well-being, they also show differences in terms of patterns of moderation of these effects of identification, as well as some differences in the content of their social scripts. In terms of similarities, Study 1 shows that for both minority and majority group members, higher identification has positive effects on self-esteem and well-being when recounting an event involving blatant discrimination. Although these same positive effects of identification did not emerge in Study 2, there was no evidence for variability in the effects of identification on self-esteem and well-being across minority and majority group members. Additionally, in Study 3, the positive relationships between identification and the length and vividness of

narratives, referencing the ethnicity of the perpetrator, evidence of emotional engagement, other-directed emotions and imagined confrontations were generally consistent across both groups. These similarities in the effects of identification fit with recent evidence that majority group members' are increasingly seeing themselves as the targets of discrimination (e.g., Norton & Sommers, 2011), which may result in the increased use of identification as a tool to maintain self-esteem and well-being. Furthermore, Study 3's results suggest that highly identified members of both minority and majority groups may develop social scripts with some similar features, which are in turn theorized to help better cope with discrimination.

However, despite these similarities, there is some evidence that majority and minority group members respond differently to certain aspects of recounting discrimination. In the first study, greater cognitive and emotional engagement in the recounting process was particularly beneficial for highly identified minority group members, whereas less engagement appeared helpful for highly identified majority group members. This may be in part due to majority group members' identity lacking the specific content of group discrimination, leaving them less prepared for group experiences of maltreatment. Consistent with this is Study 3's finding that high identification was associated with higher references to discrimination for minority group members only. The perception that majority group members are increasingly the targets of discrimination may not yet be well integrated into their sense of identity or their social scripts. On the other hand, highly identified minority group members, who have long group histories of such experiences (Brondolo et al., 2009b) and are frequently socialized with the expectations of such maltreatment (Thompson Sanders, 1994), appear to have better developed social scripts for discrimination. Additionally, higher identification was also associated with more negative references to the perpetrator of discrimination only amongst minority group members. As exposure to discrimination is often associated with negative perceptions of the perpetrator and the outgroup in general (Tropp, 2003), it may be that minority group members' greater history of discrimination leads them to be primed to see the perpetrator negatively, especially among those highly identified with their ethnic group, who may have even more frequent experiences of discrimination (e.g., Wilkins et al., 2011). One would imagine that if references to discrimination and negative portrayals of the perpetrator were of psychological benefit when recounting discrimination for highly identified minority group

members (as suggested in Study 1), these would be more likely to be integrated into their social scripts for discrimination (as suggested in Study 3).

However, in Study 3, higher identification was associated with greater endorsement of other-directed emotions, which partially mediated the positive effects of identification on intragroup coping for both minority and majority group members. This suggests that it may not be as simple as all aspects of cognitive and emotional engagement having positive effects for highly identified minority group members and negative effects for highly identified majority group members. Nevertheless, overall, it appears that becoming affectively and cognitively engaged in processing discrimination is generally of psychological benefit for minority group members, whereas majority group members may not show the same benefits. However, there remain some questions about the specific role of other-directed emotions.

The Social Nature of the Recounting Process

The current research, by investigating the importance of the recounting process, takes a decidedly social focus. Study 1's findings that the positive effects of identification emerge when individuals imagine retelling a personal experience of discrimination to a friend, and that these effects vary according to the ways in which they recount the story, suggest that there may be something about not merely picturing the experience, but rather about disclosing the experience to an empathic other with a similar group history. Given that ingroup identification is associated with a sense of social support and affiliation with other group members (e.g., Lopez, Antoni, Fekete, & Penedo, 2012; Schneider & Ward, 2003), it makes sense that the social exercise of recounting to a trusted ingroup member may be beneficial for those high in identification.

However, Study 2's unexpected results, such that individuals had lower environmental mastery, self-efficacy and memory quality when imagining recounting discrimination to a friend, rather than a classmate, do suggest that the social nature of the recounting process may be more complicated than initially theorized. These findings suggest that disclosing to a close friend may be somewhat of an uncomfortable experience. Specifically, if discussions of discrimination are uncommon between friends, disclosing a discrimination experience may be uncomfortable due to feelings of shame

(e.g., Matheson & Anisman, 2009) or fears of social costs (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Disclosing to an acquaintance may therefore be less stressful, as any potentially social costs may be seen as less consequential due to reduced investment in the relationship. Although this explanation is speculative, it does still speak to the social nature of these disclosures and to the importance of awareness of the social context when recounting discrimination.

Study 3 also emphasizes the importance of social scripts within subcultures of high identifiers. Given higher identification's association with a social connection to one's ingroup (Schneider & Ward, 2003), it may be that individuals higher in identification are more likely to engage in discussions of intergroup topics, such as discrimination, particularly if they have such experiences more often (e.g., Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010). In turn, these conversations may result in shared perceptions about the nature and content of discrimination experiences, which should influence the content of social scripts. As Study 3 provides evidence that aspects of high identifiers' social scripts may be helpful in facilitating coping with discrimination, discourse around group-based maltreatment may be particularly beneficial for members of groups targeted by discrimination. This could help them to develop an adaptive, structured set of expectations for such experiences, which should in turn have psychological benefits.

Study 1's Blatant-Discrimination Condition and Study 2's Ingroup-Friend Condition

Particularly unexpected was the lack of effects of identification in Study 2. In particular, the positive effects of identification on self-esteem, environmental mastery and positive relations with others found in Study 1's blatant-discrimination condition were not replicated in Study 2.

There appear to be two possible reasons for this inconsistency. First, in Study 1, the primary statistical analyses involved comparisons between a condition involving an episode of blatant discrimination and a condition involving no discrimination occurred. In contrast, in the second study, all conditions involved blatant discrimination (as the intention was to consider the impact of audience). Thus, in Study 1, the effect of high versus low identification emerged as part of an interaction involving the presence and

absence of discrimination, whereas, in Study 2, no such interaction was possible. In fact, in Study 1, the main effects of identification did not consistently reach significance for the self-esteem and well-being measures when investigated only as a main effect in the blatant-discrimination condition. Thus, it is possible that had there been a comparable no discrimination control group in Study 2, the results of the two studies may have been much more similar.

Nevertheless, the difference in the relationship between identification and self-esteem/well-being across these two studies is noteworthy. Despite the points made in the previous paragraph, when the most appropriate comparisons are made between the two studies, the effects of identification are notably smaller in Study 2. However, despite a number of similarities across the two studies, there are methodological differences that may be important. Specifically, in Study 1, individuals imagined a close ingroup friend but were free to construct for themselves the situation in which they would disclose their discrimination experience to this particular friend. In contrast, in Study 2, individuals in the ingroup-friend condition were given the specifics of the disclosure situation. They were told to picture recounting this story at a coffee shop on the main SFU campus, where they met their friend for "regular coffee date[s]". This was done to ensure consistency across the audience conditions (to ensure that the disclosure to a friend and an acquaintance happened in the same location). However, placing the encounter at a campus coffee shop may have restricted individuals' choice of imagined friend (they could not be meeting a friend who is not studying or working at this campus). Additionally, in reviewing the narratives of participants in Study 1, the majority of participants described the conversation taking place somewhere other than a coffee shop and often off campus (e.g., a mall, the friend's house). By constraining the imagined conversation to a specific location, this procedure may have reduced some participant's involvement in the recounting and/or diminished the perceived realism of the encounter. In other words, the attempt to match circumstances across conditions in Study 2 may have undermined the power of the imagined encounter, reducing the effects of the event and the impact of identification on the relevant outcomes.

In order to test this possible explanation, a series of post-hoc comparisons were made between the blatant-discrimination condition in Study 1 and the ingroup-friend condition in Study 2. I am well aware that these kind of comparison across studies raise

a number of concerns, and thus these findings should be interpreted with some suspicion. In a series of t-tests, participants' ratings on variables representing their involvement (memory quality) and cognitive/emotional engagement in the recounting process (e.g., the six variables used to create the measure of cognitive/emotional engagement) were compared across studies. Results revealed that the narratives produced in Study 1 included significantly higher narrative references to discrimination ($M = 5.73$ vs. $M = 4.70$), $t(64) = 2.52$, $p = .01$, and significantly higher memory quality ($M = 4.35$ vs. $M = 3.23$), $t(64) = 3.70$, $p < .01$. Additionally, although not significant, the means for all other comparisons were in the predicted direction, with higher values in Study 1 for all components of cognitive/emotional engagement. These findings provide tentative support for the idea that the changes in the instructions made in Study 2 influenced participants' level of engagement in the recounting activity. In particular, the reduced references to discrimination in Study 2 may have diminished the opportunity for identification to have a positive effect on self-esteem and well-being.¹

Generally these findings make clear that future scenario studies involving the recounting process should allow participants to have as much control as possible in constructing the details of the experience. Imagining discrimination already lacks some of the vividness of real life experiences. Additional reductions in psychological involvement will only further reduce the likelihood that well-being and other related psychological variables will be influenced.

¹ Consistent with this interpretation, post-hoc analyses conducted in Study 1's blatant-discrimination condition reveal that narrative coded references to discrimination significantly moderated the relationship between identification and state self-esteem, $\beta = 2.48$, $t(40) = 3.07$, $p < .01$, environmental mastery, $\beta = 2.25$, $t(40) = 2.75$, $p < .01$, positive relations with others, $\beta = 2.31$, $t(40) = 2.88$, $p < .01$, and purpose in life, $\beta = 2.40$, $t(40) = 2.84$, $p < .01$. Individuals who identified more strongly with their ethnic group showed higher levels of self-esteem and well-being when their narratives made stronger references to discrimination.

The Nuances of Ingroup Identification

The results of Study 2 may appear disappointing, especially when compared to the findings in Study 1 and 3. In addition to failing to replicate Study 1, the hypothesized effects of audience did not emerge. However, even with empirically guided hypotheses, clear results are never guaranteed, and very often null results can provide some important insights. In addition to potentially valuable suggestions for future research and the importance of avoiding the common file drawer problem² (see Rosenthal, 1979), the null findings in Study 2 may also point to the importance of context in determining when recounting discrimination can be valuable and when identification will influence the effect of this recounting on well-being.

The impact of identification on well-being in the face of discrimination may well be more complex than initially hypothesized. As reviewed in the introduction, a large number of studies have supported the general finding that identification is a positive resource for members of stigmatized groups (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999). However, it would be incomplete to conclude that stronger identification always results in psychological benefits when discrimination is perceived. For instance, McCoy and Major (2003) found that higher centrality was associated with increased depression in Latinos who read about discrimination against their group. Jasperse, Ward and Jose (2012) found that higher identification as a Muslim intensified the negative relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being in immigrant women, though noting that endorsing behavioural rituals associated with their Muslim identity buffered against these negative effects. Lee (2003), although reporting ingroup identification to be generally associated with higher well-being, did not find it to have a moderating or mediating role

² This trend refers to the general tendency for null results in psychological research to remain unpublished due to peer reviewed journal's strong preference for statistically significant results, which may lead to the overestimation of the reliability of certain findings. Concerns have been expressed about researchers' personal contributions to this effect; due to the pressures of publication, many only submit statistically significant findings and choose not to report failures to replicate. This issue has been gaining greater attention recently (e.g., Pautasso, 2010), with an increasing consensus that non-significant results are not merely signs of poor experimental design, but rather have scientific value as genuine findings about the veracity of certain effects.

on the negative effects of perceiving discrimination on the well-being of Asian-Americans. Yip and colleagues (2008) noted differences in whether the effects of identification positively or negatively influenced the relationship of perceived discrimination on mental health according to participant age. Sellers and colleagues (2006; see also Torres, Yznaga, & Moore, 2011) reported that different aspects of identification had different associations (both positive and negative) with psychological well-being and suggest that the complexities of ingroup identification may result in difficulties establishing a consensus about its effects.

Like these studies, the findings from Study 2 highlight the fact that the relationship between identification and well-being is complex. Brondolo and colleagues (2009b) argue that methodological inconsistencies, including discrepant definitions and measures of ingroup identification and differing operational definitions of perceptions of discrimination, have resulted in reduced empirical clarity regarding the influence of identification. Furthermore, as noted in this dissertation, a number of other variables, including cognitive and emotional engagement in the recounting process, may influence identification's effects on well-being when faced with discrimination. It is therefore imperative to further explore the complexities of these relationship, and as we do so, it will be important to have records not only of significant positive (e.g., Mossakowski, 2003) or negative (e.g., McCoy & Major, 2003) effect, but also null findings like those reported by Lee (2003) and here in Study 2.

The Benefits of Multiple Methods

The current research demonstrates that, in order to truly understanding the benefits of identification when recounting discrimination experiences, results from several experimental methodologies are needed, including those involving experimental manipulations and those examining real life experiences. Although the variety of methodologies used in the current program of research may initially appear scattered, this use of a variety of research techniques, each with their own strengths and weaknesses, is actually a strength of this research program. I have been able to show that identification affects how individuals react to recounting their own personal

experiences of discrimination and imagined episodes of discrimination, as well as beginning to consider the nature and role of social scripts for discrimination.

One of the biggest challenges in the empirical study of reactions to discrimination is balancing experimental control, realism and ethical concerns. From a methodological perspective, exposing participants to actual discrimination based on a real-life group membership offers a high level of external validity by virtue of its use of actual group memberships, thus taking into account effects of group history, as well as high internal validity by virtue of the manipulation of discrimination experiences. Research of this kind has resulted in compelling findings about the effects of discrimination (e.g., Bair & Steele, 2010; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Tropp, 2003). However, as discrimination experiences are generally psychologically stressful (e.g., Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), it at times becomes ethically murky to purposefully expose participants to such experiences. Many researchers instead expose individuals to discrimination based on laboratory-created groups, such as their ability to estimate numbers of briefly presented objects (e.g., Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). However, these studies raise questions about external validity (e.g., Berkowitz, 1994; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Tropp, 2003) and generalizability of effects (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; Mullen, 1992; cf. Tropp, 2003) to real life experiences of discrimination.

The current studies, in trying to avoid some of the potential concerns in the above-described methodologies, considered discrimination based on real-life group membership in a somewhat more distanced way. The use of standardized discrimination vignettes in Study 1 and 2 allowed for experimental control over the content of the original event, while keeping the scenario realistic and emotion eliciting, and allowing the extra advantage of being able to examine differences in the content of participants' narratives for a common event.

However, despite these advantages, using imagined discrimination experiences likely fails to produce the levels of realism or emotional engagement experienced when one is actually the target of discrimination. For instance, despite efforts to strengthen the realism of the vignettes, mean scores of realism in both Study 1 ($M = 3.71$) and Study 2 ($M = 3.65$) fell at around the midpoint of the scale.

In part for this reason, Study 3 took a different tack by asking participants to write about the typical episodes of discrimination against their group. Though distinct from writing about one's actual discrimination experiences as in Richard et al. (in prep), this approach also focused less on experimental control and more on external validity. Study 3 specifically addressed a gap between the recounting of personal experience (e.g., Richard et al., in prep) and imagined experiences (Study 1 and 2). Participants' social scripts for typical episodes of discrimination should be applied when recounting experiences that are real or manipulated. Although on its own, Study 3 may lack experimental vigour, its findings that identification influences the content of people's narratives for discrimination and perhaps their coping strategies are particularly convincing when considered in tandem with the findings of Study 1.

However, in taking the logical next step, we return to an idea introduced earlier: exposing participants to actual discrimination. Despite the afore mentioned ethical concerns, this may represent one of the only ways to study the effects of identification in recounting a real-life discrimination experience over which we have experimental control. Participants could be exposed to discrimination in a laboratory-based setting, perhaps by the experimenter or a confederate (e.g., Tropp, 2003), using less sensitive groups that are nonetheless meaningful to the participants (e.g., major, university affiliation). Alternatively, in order to directly manipulate ethnic discrimination, the manipulation could involve a milder form of discrimination than imagined in Study 1 and 2, such as individuals being rejected by an activity partner (e.g., Tropp, 2003), which they would then recount. These studies would complement the current findings, but would involve participants recounting *actual* (albeit less meaningful) events of discrimination while also maintaining considerable experimental control.

Conclusions

These three studies, although diverse in methodology and results, help provide a clearer picture of how ingroup identification and recounting processes may interact to influence the well-being of those who experience discrimination. Consistent with previous research, the first study demonstrated not only that high identification is associated with better psychological outcomes in the face of discrimination, but that

imagined recounting of the events to an ingroup friend may be a particularly important context in which the positive effects of identification occurs. It also revealed that, contrary to findings suggesting that minority and majority group members react differently to experiences of discrimination (e.g., Bierman, 2006; Walker et al., 2008), high identification may also be a valuable psychological tool for majority group members in the face of discrimination. In addition, the assessment of participants' actual narratives revealed the important role of cognitive/emotional engagement in moderating the relationship between identification and self-esteem/ well-being, and suggesting that this may represent one area in which differences between minority and majority group members remain.

Study 2, in contrast, while using a similar experimental paradigm, did not provide the same support for the positive effects of identification. Additionally, this study found only limited support for the importance of the audience of the recounting of one's discrimination experience. The one exception was the findings that recounting to a friend may diminish self-efficacy and environmental mastery compared to recounting to an acquaintance. It remains somewhat unclear, at this point, whether the potential value of identification is unaffected by the perceived audience to one's disclosure, or if the manipulation used was not sufficiently powerful to elicit these effects. However, this study does provide further support for the idea that minority and majority group members may respond more similarly than previously believed in the face of discrimination.

Study 3 took a different approach. Rather than experimentally manipulating imagined episodes of discrimination or perceived audience, individuals were asked to recount a typical episode of discrimination against their ethnic group, in an effort to tap their social scripts for such discrimination. As hypothesized, higher identification was associated with the increased presence of a number of narrative features thought to relate to both better developed social scripts (such as increased vividness), as well as features linked to better self-esteem and well-being (such as descriptions of the target acting out against discrimination). When combined with the results of Study 1, these findings suggest that individuals higher in identification may have better developed social scripts for experiences of discrimination and that these scripts may then be used to help structure recounting personal experiences of discrimination in ways that maintain or enhance self-esteem and well-being. Recent research suggesting that minority group

members higher in identification may actually be the targets of more frequent discriminatory acts (e.g., Wilkins et al., 2011) also lends some further information to these findings, suggesting that high identifiers' greater experiences of discrimination may also contribute to the development of these scripts, though this research has yet to be replicated with highly identified majority group members.

The results of these studies reiterate the importance of ingroup identification in a contemporary multicultural society. In Canada, as in Europe (e.g., Verkuyten, 2011) and the United States (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006), increased pressure is being placed on immigrants and ethnic minorities to assimilate and adopt the dominant Canadian culture (e.g., Gaudet et al., 2005). As assimilation frequently involves minimizing connections with one's ethnic group (Verkuyten, 2011), it may in turn have negative effects on the self-esteem and well-being of ethnic minorities by robbing them of an effective tool when confronted with discrimination. Given ethnic minorities' continued experiences of discrimination in Canada (e.g., Noh & Kaspar, 2003), this buffer may be particularly vital.

Certainly, the results of these three studies point to a number of new questions, methodological improvements and to novel extensions for future research. However, overall, they provide evidence for the potential role that recounting of one's discrimination experiences may play in the positive relationship between ingroup identification and self-esteem/well-being. Although, ultimately, it is hoped that social psychological research can lead to the eradication of ethnic discrimination, this goal appears far from our grasp. Thus, research focusing on ways to curtail the negative effects of discrimination remains vital. It has been long recognized that ingroup identification may be a particularly important resource in reducing these negative impacts, but it is only recently (e.g., Outten et al., 2009) that researchers have begun to directly investigate the specific psychological processes that individuals higher in identification may use to better cope with group-based maltreatment. By investigating these psychological processes, it is hoped that we can come to discover ways to help the targets of discrimination maintain or even enhance their well-being and self-esteem when confronted with such stressful, unjust, and all too common experiences.

References

- Adler, J. M. (2012). Living into the story: Agency and coherence in a longitudinal study of narrative identity development and mental health over the course of psychotherapy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*, 367-389. doi:10.1037/a0025289
- Ahmed, S. R., Kia-Keating, M., & Tsai, K. H. (2011). A structural model of racial discrimination, acculturative stress, and cultural resources among Arab American adolescents. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 48*, 181-192. doi:10.1007/s10464-011-9424-3
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Alamilla, S. G., Kim, B. S. K., & Lam, N. A. (2010). Acculturation, enculturation, perceived racism, minority social stressors, and psychological symptomatology among Latino/as. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32*, 55-76. doi:10.1177/0739986309352770
- Armenta, B. E., & Hunt, J. S. (2009). Responding to societal devaluation: Effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on the ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem of Latino/Latina adolescents. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 12*, 23-39. doi:10.1177/1368430208098775
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Monteith, M. J., Arthur, S. A., & Bain, A. (2007). Race and the psychological health of African-Americans. *Group Process and Intergroup Relations, 10*, 471-491. doi:10.1177/1368430207081536
- Avery, D. R., Richeson, J. A., Hebl, M. R., & Ambady, N. (2009). It does not have to be uncomfortable: The role of behavioural scripts in Black-White interracial interactions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 1382-1393. doi:10.1037/a0016208
- Bair, A. N., & Steele, J. R. (2010). Examining the consequences of exposure to racism for the executive functioning of Black students. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*, 127-132. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2009.08.016
- Bandura, A. (1994). Self-efficacy. In V. S. Ramachandran (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of human behavior* (Vol. 4, pp. 71-81). New York: Academic Press.

- Barnes, L. L., De Leon, C. F. M., Wilson, R. S., Bienias, J. L., Bennett, D. A., & Evans, D. A. (2004). Racial differences in perceived discrimination in a community population of older Blacks and Whites. *Journal of Aging and Health, 16*, 315-337. doi:10.1177/0898264304264202
- 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. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.51.6.1173
- Berkowitz, N. H. (1994). Evidence that subject's expectancies confound intergroup bias in Tajfel's minimal group paradigm. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 184-195. doi:10.1177/0146167294202006
- Bierman, A. (2006). Does religion buffer the effects of discrimination on mental health? Differing effects by race. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 45*, 551-565. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5906.2006.00327.x
- Blalock, H. M. (1963). Correlated independent variables: The problem of multicollinearity. *Social Forces, 42*, 233-237. doi:10.1093/sf/42.2.233
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2010). Decomposing identity: Differential relationships between several aspects of ethnic identity and the negative effects of perceived discrimination among First Nations adults in Canada. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*, 507-516. doi:10.1037/a0021373
- Bourguignon, D., Seron, E., Yzerbyt, V., & Herman, G. (2006). Perceived group and personal discrimination: Differential effects on personal self-esteem. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36*, 773-789. doi:10.1002/ejsp.326
- 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*, 135-149. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.77.1.135
- Broman, C. L. (2007). Perceived discrimination and alcohol use among Black and white college students. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, 51*, 8-16. Retrieved from: <http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=i3h&AN=25057336&site=ehost-live>
- Brondolo, E., Beatty, D., Cubbin, C., Pencille, M., Saegert, S., Wellington, R. L., et al. (2009a). Sociodemographic variations in self-reported racism in a community sample of Blacks and Latinos. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 39*, 407-429. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2008.00444.x
- Brondolo, E., Libby, D. J., Denton, E-G., Thompson, S., Beatty, D. L., Schwartz, J., et al. (2008). Racism and ambulatory blood pressure in a community sample. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 70*, 49-56. doi:10.1521/jscp.2008.27.2.150

- Brondolo, E., ver Halen, N. B., Pencille, M, Beatty, D., & Contrada, R. J. (2009b). Coping with racism: A selective review of the literature and a theoretical and methodological critique. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 32, 64-88. doi:10.1007/s10865-008-9193-0
- Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice: Its social psychology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Bucholtz, M. (2011). 'It's different for guys': Gendered narratives of racial conflict among white California youth. *Discourse Society*, 22, 385-402. doi:10.1177/0957926510395832
- Burrow, A. L., & Ong, A. D. (2010). Racial identity as a moderator of daily exposure and reactivity to racial discrimination. *Self and Identity*, 9, 383-402. doi:10.1080/15298860903192496
- Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L. P., Schmeelk-Cone, K. H., Chavous, T. M., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2004). Racial discrimination and racial identity as risk or protective factors for violent behaviour in African-American young adults. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33, 91-105. doi:10.1023/B:AJCP.0000014321.02367.dd
- Callan, M. J., Kay, A. C., Davidenko, N., & Ellard, J. H. (2009). The effects of justice motivations on memory for self- and other-relevant events. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 614-623. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.013
- Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and Identity*, 3, 239-262. doi:10.1080/13576500444000047
- Carter, R. T., & Forsyth, J. (2010). Reactions to racial discrimination: Emotional stress and help-seeking behaviours. *Psychological Trauma*, 2, 183-191. doi:10.1037/a0020102
- Chae, D. H., Lincoln, K. D., & Jackson, J. S. (2011). Discrimination, attribution, and racial group identification: Implications for psychological distress among Black Americans in the National Survey of American Life (2001–2003). *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81, 498-506.
- Chae, D. H., Takeuchi, D. T., Barbeau, E. M., Bennett, G. G., Lindsey, J. C. et al. (2008). Alcohol disorders among Asian Americans: Associations with unfair treatment, racial/ethnic discrimination, and ethnic identification (the National Latino and Asian Americans Study, 2002-2003). *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 62, 973-979. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2011.01122.x
- Cihangir, S., Barreto, M. & Ellemers, N. (2010). The dark side of ambiguous discrimination: How state self-esteem moderates emotional and behavioural responses to ambiguous and unambiguous discrimination. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 49, 155-174. doi:10.1348/014466609X425869

- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Williams, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist*, *54*, 805-816. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.54.10.805
- Collins, N. L., & Miller, L. C. (1994). Self-disclosure and liking: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *116*, 457-475. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.116.3.457
- Combs, D. R., Penn, D. L., Cassisi, J., Michael, C., Wood, T., Wanner, J., & Adams, S. (2006). Perceived racism as a predictor of paranoia among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology* *32*, 87-104. doi:10.1177/0095798405283175
- Conway, M. A., & Pleydell-Pearce, C. W. (2000). The construction of autobiographical memories in the self-memory system. *Psychological Review*, *107*, 261-288. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.107.2.261
- Crabtree, J. W., Haslam, S. A., Postmes, T., & Haslam, C. (2010). Mental health support groups, stigma, and self-esteem: Positive and negative implications of group identification. *Journal of Social Identity*, *66*, 553-569. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01662.x
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, *96*, 608-630. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.96.4.608
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 2. pp. 504 – 553). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Crocker, J., Voelkl, K., Testa, M., & Major, B. (1991). Social stigma: The affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *60*, 218-228. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.60.2.218
- Cronin, T. J., Levin, S., Branscombe, N. R., van Laar, C., & Tropp, L. R. (2012). Ethnic identification in response to perceived discrimination protects well-being and promotes activism: A longitudinal study of Latino college students. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *15*, 393-407. doi:10.1177/1368430211427171
- Crosby, F. J. (1993). Why complain? *Journal of Social Issues*, *49*, 169-184. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1993.tb00916.x
- Czopp, A. M., Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2006). Standing up for a change: Reducing bias through interpersonal confrontation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 784-803. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.784
- Davies, K., Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T. F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *15*, 332-351. doi:10.1177/1088868311411103

- De Rivera, J., & Sarbin, T. R. (1998). *Believed-in imaginings: The narrative construction of reality*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Dion, K. L. (2001). Immigrants' perceptions of housing discrimination in Toronto: The Housing New Canadians project. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 523-539. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00227
- Dolgin, K. G., Meyer, L., & Schwartz, J. (1991). Effects of gender, target's gender, topic, and self-esteem on disclosure to best and midling friends. *Sex Roles, 25*, 311-329. doi:10.1007/BF00289759
- Eccleston, C. P., & Major, B. N. (2006). Appraisals to discrimination and self-esteem: The role of group identification and appraisals. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 9*, 147-162. doi:10.1177/1368430206062074
- Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2009). Collective action in modern times: How modern expressions of prejudice prevent collective action. *Journal of Social Issues, 65*, 749-768. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01621.x
- Ellis, H. B., MacDonald, H. Z., Klunk-Gillis, J., Lincoln, A., Strunin, L., & Cabral, H. J. (2010). Discrimination and mental health among Somali refugee adolescents: The role of acculturation and gender. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 80*, 564-575. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01061.x
- Feagin, J. R., & McKinney, K. D. (2003). *The many costs of racism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Finch, B. K., Hummer, R. A., Kol, B., & Vega, W. A. (2001) The role of discrimination and acculturative stress in the physical health of Mexican-origin adults. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23*, 399-429. doi:10.1177/0739986301234004
- Flournoy, J. M., Prentice-Dunn, S., & Klinger, M. R. (2002). The role of prototypical situations in the perceptions of prejudice of African Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 406-423. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00222.x
- Folkman, S., Lazarus, R. S., Gruen, R. S., & DeLongis, A. (1986). Appraisal, coping, health status and psychological symptoms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 571-579. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.50.3.571
- Foster, M. D. (2000). Positive and negative responses to personal discrimination: Does coping make a difference? *Journal of Social Psychology, 140*, 93-106. doi:10.1080/00224540009600448
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Ann Arbor: Psychology Press.
- Galliher, R. V., Jones, M. D., & Dahl, A. (2010). Concurrent and longitudinal effects of ethnic identity and experiences of discrimination on psychosocial adjustment of Navajo youth. *Developmental Psychology, 47*, 509-526. doi:10.1037/a0021061

- Garcia, D. M., Reser, A. H., Amo, R. B., Redersdorff, S., & Branscombe, N. R. (2005). Perceivers' responses to in-group and out-group members who blame a negative outcome on discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 769-780. doi:10.1177/0146167204271584
- Garstka, T. A., Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Hummert, M. L. (2004). How young and older adults differ in their responses to perceived age discrimination. *Psychology and Aging*, *19*, 326-335. doi:10.1037/0882-7974.19.2.326
- Gaudet, S., Clement, R., & Deuzeman, K. (2005). Daily hassles, ethnic identity and psychological adjustment among Lebanese-Canadians. *International Journal of Psychology*, *40*, 157-168. doi:10.1080/00207590444000267
- Griffin, L. J., & Bollen, K. A. (2009). What do these memories do? Civil rights remembrance and racial attitudes. *Annual Sociological Review*, *74*, 594-614. doi:10.1177/000312240907400405
- Hahm, C. H., Ozonoff, A., Gaumond, J., & Sue, S. (2010). Perceived discrimination and health outcomes: A gender comparison among Asian-Americans nationwide. *Women's Health Issues*, *20*, 350-358. doi:10.1016/j.whi.2010.05.002
- Hansen, N., & Sassenberg, K. (2006). Does social identification harm or serve as a buffer? The impact of social identification on anger after experiencing social discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*, 983-996. doi:10.1177/0146167206287639
- Hansen, N., & Sassenberg, K. (2011). Exploring the self-directed anger of the stigmatized: The interplay between perceived legitimacy and social identification. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *14*, 807-818. doi:10.1177/1368430210392933
- Harrell, J. P., Hall, S., & Taliaferro, J. (2003). Physiological responses to racism and discrimination: An assessment of the evidence. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*, 243-248. doi:10.2105/AJPH.93.2.243
- Herd, D., & Grube, J. (1996). Black identity and drinking in the US: A national study. *Addiction*, *91*, 845-857. doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.1996.tb03579.x
- Holmberg, D., & Veroff, J. (1996). Rewriting relationship memories: The effects of courtship and wedding scripts. In G. J. O. Fletcher and J. Fitness (Eds.), *Knowledge structures in close relationships: A social psychological approach* (pp. 345-368). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hughes, D. & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*, 200-214. doi:10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 747-770. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747
- Hughes, D., Witherspoon, D., Rivas-Drake, D., & West-Bey, N. (2009). Received ethnic-racial socialization messages and youths' academic and behavioural outcomes: Examining the mediating role of ethnic identity and self-esteem. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*, 112-124. doi:10.1037/a0015509
- Hwang, W., & Goto, S. (2009). The impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 5*, 15-28. doi:10.1037/1948-1985.S.1.15
- Hyers, L. L. (2007). Resisting prejudice every day: Exploring women's assertive responses to anti-Black racism, anti-semitism, heterosexism and sexism. *Sex Roles, 56*, 1-12. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9142-8
- Inman, M. L., Huerta, J., & Oh, S. (1998). Perceiving discrimination: The role of prototypes and norm violation. *Social Cognition, 16*, 418-450. doi:10.1521/soco.1998.16.4.418
- Jasperse, M., Ward, C., & Jose, P. E. (2012). Identity, perceived discrimination, and psychological well-being in Muslim immigrant women. *Applied Psychology, 61*, 250-271. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.2011.00467.x
- Jetten, J., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1996). Intergroup norms and intergroup discrimination: Distinctive self-categorization and social identity effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*, 1222-1233. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.71.6.1222
- Johnson, C. S., Olson, M. A., & Fazio, R. H. (2009). Getting acquainted in interracial interactions: Avoiding intimacy but approaching race. *Personal and Social Psychology Bulletin, 35*, 557-571. doi:10.1177/0146167208331160
- Jones, D. C. (1991). Friendship satisfaction and gender: An examination of sex differences in contributors to friendship satisfaction. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 8*, 167-185. doi:10.1177/0265407591082002
- Jones, H. L., Cross, W. E., Jr., & DeFour, D. C. (2007). Race-related stress, racial identity attitudes, and mental health among Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 33*, 208-231. doi:10.1177/0095798407299517
- Jose, P. E. (2008). ModGraph-I: A programme to compute cell means for the graphical display of moderational analyses: The internet version, Version 2.0. Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved [date] from <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/psyc/staff/paul-jose-files/modgraph/modgraph.php>

- Joyner, K., & Kao, G. (2000). School racial composition and adolescent racial homophily. *Social Science Quarterly*, 81, 810-825. Retrieved from: <http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=3832575&site=ehost-live>
- Kaiser, C. R., Hagiwara N., Malahy, L. W., & Wilkins C. L. (2009). Group identification moderates attitudes toward ingroup members who confront discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 770-777. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2009.04.027
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Stop complaining! The social costs of making attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 254-263. doi:10.1177/0146167201272010
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2003). Derogating the victim: The interpersonal consequences of blaming events on discrimination. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 227-237. doi:10.1177/13684302030063001
- Kaiser, C. R., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2009). Distributing prejudice unequally: Do Whites direct their prejudice toward strongly identified minorities? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 432-445. doi:10.1037/a0012877
- Kaiser, C. R., & Wilkins, C. L. (2010). Group identification and prejudice: Theoretical and empirical advances and implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 461-476. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01656.x
- Karney, B. R., & Coombs, R. H. (2000). Memory bias in long-term close relationships: Consistency or improvement? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 959-970. doi:10.1177/01461672002610006
- Kelly, A. E. & McKillop, K. J. (1996). Consequences of revealing personal secrets. *Psychological Bulletin*, 120, 450-465. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.120.3.450
- Klonoff, E. A., Landrine, H., & Ullman, J. B. (1999). Racial discrimination and psychiatric symptoms among Blacks. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 5, 329-339. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.5.4.329
- Knowles, E. D., & Peng, K. (2005). White selves: Conceptualizing and measuring a dominant-group identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 223-241. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.89.2.223
- Krieger, N., & Sidney, S. (1996). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: The CARDIA study of young Black and White adults. *American Journal of Public Health*, 86, 1370-1378. doi:10.2105/AJPH.86.10.1370
- Lampert, R. (2010). Anger and ventricular arrhythmias. *Current Opinion in Cardiology*, 25, 46-52. doi:10.1097/HCO.0b013e32833358e8

- 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*, 144-168. doi:10.1177/00957984960222002
- Latrofa, M., Vaes, J., Pastore, M., & Cadinu, M. (2009). 'United we stand, divided we fall! The protective function of self-stereotyping for stigmatised members' psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 58*, 84-104. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00383.x
- Lee, D. L., & Ahn, S. (2012). Discrimination against Latina/os : A meta-analysis of individual-level resources and outcomes. *The Counseling Psychologist, 40*, 28-65. doi: 10.1177/0011000011403326
- Lee, R. M. (2003). Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 50*, 133-141. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.50.2.133
- Leonard, D. J., Moons, W. G., Mackie, D. M., & Smith, E. R. (2011). "We're mad as hell and we're not going to take it anymore": Anger self-stereotyping and collective action. *Group Process and Intergroup Relations, 44*, 99-111. doi: 10.1177/1368430210373779
- Leonardelli, G. J., & Tormala, Z. L. (2003). The negative impact of perceiving discrimination on collective well-being: The mediating role of perceived ingroup status. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 507-514. doi:10.1002/ejsp.159
- Levine, L. J., Prohaska, V., Burgess, S. L., Rice, J. A., & Lulhere, T. M. (2001). Remembering past emotions: The role of current appraisals. *Cognition and Emotion, 15*, 393-417. doi:10.1080/02699930125955
- Levine, L. J., & Safer, M. A. (2002). Sources of bias in memory for emotions. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 11*, 169-173. doi:10.1111/1467-8721.00193
- Lopez, C. R., Antoni, M. H., Fekete, E. M., & Penedo, F. J. (2012). Ethnic identity and perceived stress in HIV+ minority women: The role of coping self-efficacy and social support. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 19*, 23-28. doi:10.1007/s12529-010-9121-x
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*, 302-318. doi:10.1177/0146167292183006
- Mackie, D. M., Smith, E. R., & Ray, D. G. (2008). Intergroup emotions and intergroup relations. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 2*, 1866-1880. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00130.x

- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol 34, pp. 251-330). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- 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. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(02)00547-4
- Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2009). Anger and shame elicited by discrimination: Moderating role of coping on action endorsements and salivary cortisol. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 163-185. doi:10.1002/ejsp.522
- McCoy, S. K., & Major, B. (2003). Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*, 1005-1017. doi:10.1177/0146167203253466
- McLaughlin, K., Hatzenbuehler, M. L., & Keyes, K. K. (2010). Responses to discrimination and psychiatric disorders among Black, Hispanic, female, and lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*, 1477-1484. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2009.181586
- Meegan, C. K., & Kashima, E. S. (2010). Emotional and self-esteem consequences of perceiving discrimination against a new identity group. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13*, 195-201. doi:10.1111/j.1467-839X.2010.01316.x
- Miller, J., Donner, S., & Fraser, E. (2010). When talking is tough: Taking on conversations about race, sexual orientation, gender, class and other aspects of social identity. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 74*, 377-392. doi:10.1080/00377310409517722
- Molero, F., Fuster, M. J., Jetten, J., & Moriano, J. A. (2011). Living with HIV/AIDS: A psychosocial perspective on coping with prejudice and discrimination. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 41*, 609-626. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00729.x
- Moradi, B., & Hasan, N. T. (2004). Arab American persons' reported experiences of discrimination and mental health: The mediating role of personal control. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 418-428. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.418
- Mossakowski, K. N. (2003). Coping with perceived discrimination: Does ethnic identity protect mental health? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 44*, 318-331. doi:10.2307/1519782
- Mullen, B., Brown, R., & Smith, C. (1992). Ingroup bias as a function of salience, relevance, and status: An integration. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 22*, 103-122. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420220202

- Neblett, E. W., Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2004). The role of racial identity in managing daily racial hassles. In G. Philogene (Ed.), *Racial identity in context: The legacy of Kenneth B. Clark* (pp. 77-90). Washington, DC: APA.
- Nelson J. C., Adams, G., Branscombe, N. R., & Schmitt M. T. (2010). The role of historical knowledge in perception of race-based conspiracies. *Race and Social Problems*, 2, 69-80. doi:10.1007/s12552-010-9031-1
- Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 40, 193-207. doi:10.2307/2676348
- Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 232-238. doi:10.2105/AJPH.93.2.232
- Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). Whites see racism as a zero-sum game that they are now losing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6, 215-218. doi:10.1177/1745691611406922
- 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, 550-561. doi:10.1177/0146167201275004
- Outten, H. R., Schmitt, M. T., Garcia, D. M., & Branscombe, N. R. (2009). Coping options: Missing links between minority group identification and psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology*, 58, 146-170. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00386.x
- Outten, H. R., Schmitt, M. T., Miller, D. A., & Garcia, A. L. (2012). Feeling threatened about the future: Whites' emotional reactions to anticipated ethnic demographics changes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 14-25. doi:10.1177/0146167211418531
- Paez, D. R., & Liu, J. H. (2011). Collective memory of conflicts. In D. Bar-Tal (Ed.), *Intergroup conflicts and their resolution: A social psychological perspective* (pp. 105-124). New York: Psychology Press.
- Page-Gould, E., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). With a little help from my cross-group friend: Reducing anxiety in intergroup contexts through cross-group friendship. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 1080-1094. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.95.5.1080
- Pascoe, E. A., & Richman, L. S. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Review*, 135, 531-554. doi:10.1037/a0016059

- Pautasso, M. (2010). Worsening file-drawer problem in the abstracts of natural, medical and social science databases. *Scientometrics*, *85*, 193-202. doi:10.1007/s11192-010-0233-5
- Pennebaker, J. W. & Banasik, B. L. (1997). On the creation and maintenance of collective memories: History as social psychology. In J. W. Pennebaker, D. Paez and B. Rime (Eds.), *Collective memory of political events: Social psychological perspectives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Perez, D. J., Fortuna, L., & Alegria, M. (2008). Prevalence and correlates of everyday discrimination among U.S. Latinos. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *36*, 421-433. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20221
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65-85. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65
- Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *7*, 156-176. doi:10.1177/074355489272003
- Pincus, F. L. (2003). *Reverse discrimination: Dismantling the myth*. Lynne Rienner Publications: London.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (2003). The antecedents and implications of interracial anxiety. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *29*, 790-801. doi:10.1177/0146167203029006011
- Platow, M. J., Byrne, L., & Ryan, M. K. (2005). Experimentally manipulated high in-group status can buffer personal self-esteem against discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *35*, 599-608. doi:10.1002/ejsp.292
- Plaut, V. C. (2011). Law and the zero-Sum game of discrimination: Commentary on Norton and Sommers (2011). *Perspectives of Psychological Science*, *6*, 219-221. doi:10.1177/1745691611406929
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, *36*, 717-731. doi:10.3758/BF03206553
- Preacher, K. J., Rucker, D. D., & Hayes, A. F. (2007). Addressing moderated mediation hypotheses: Theory, methods and prescriptions. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *42*, 185-227. doi:10.1080/00273170701341316
- Prelow, H. M., Mosher, C. E., & Bowman, M. A. (2006). Perceived racial discrimination, social support, and psychological adjustment among African American college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *32*, 442-454. doi:10.1177/0095798406292677

- Quillian, L., & Campbell, M. E. (2003). Beyond black and white: The present and future of multiracial friendship segregation. *American Sociological Review*, *68*, 540-566. doi:10.2307/1519738
- Richard, N. T. (2006). How does ethnic identification impact recall of and reactions to discrimination? (Unpublished master's thesis). Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada.
- Richard, N. T., Wright, S. C., & Tropp, L. R. (in preparation). How does ethnic identification impact recall of and reactions to discrimination?
- Risen, J. L., & Gilovich, T. (2007). Target and observer differences in the acceptance of questionable apologies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 418-433. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.3.418
- Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *33*, 2288-2305. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2003.tb01885.x
- Rosenthal, R. (1979). The "file drawer problem" and tolerance for null results. *Psychological Bulletin*, *86*, 638-641. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.86.3.638
- Ryan, A. M., Gee, G. C., & Laflamme, D. F. (2006). The associations between self-reported discrimination, physical health and blood pressure: Findings from African Americans, Black immigrants, and Latino immigrants in New Hampshire. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, *17*, 116-132. doi:10.1353/hpu.2006.0092
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Exploring the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *57*, 1069-1081. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.57.6.1069
- Ryff, C. D., Keyes, C. L. M., & Hughes, D. L. (2003). Status inequalities, perceived discrimination, and eudaimonic well-being: Do the challenges of minority life hone purpose and growth? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *44*, 275-291. doi:10.2307/1519779
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. H. (2006). Best news yet on the six-factor model of well-being. *Social Science Research*, *35*, 1103-1109. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2006.01.002
- Safer, M. A., & Keuler, D. J. (2002). Individual differences in misremembering pre-psychotherapy distress: Personality and memory distortion. *Emotion*, *2*, 162-178. doi:10.1037//1528-3542.2.2.162
- Sahdra, B., & Ross, M. (2007). Group identification and historical memory. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *33*, 384-395. doi:10.1177/0146167206296103
- Sanderson, J. (2010). Weighing in on the coaching decision: Discussing sports and race online. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *29*, 301-320. doi:10.1177/0261927X10368834

- Schaafsma, J. (2011). Discrimination and subjective well-being: The moderating roles of identification with the heritage group and the host majority group. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*, 786-795. doi:10.1002/ejsp.825
- Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2001). The meaning and consequences of perceived discrimination in disadvantaged and privileged social groups. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 167–169). Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley.
- Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). The meaning and consequence of perceived discrimination in disadvantaged and privileged social groups. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 167-199). Chichester, England: Wiley.
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., & Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving discrimination against one's gender group has different implication for well-being in men than women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 197-210. doi:10.1177/0146167202282006
- Schmitt, M. T., Spears, R., & Branscombe, N. R. (2003). Constructing a minority group identity out of shared rejection: The case of international students. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 1-12. doi:10.1002/ejsp.131
- Schneider, M. E., & Ward, D. J. (2003). The role of ethnic identification and perceived social support in Latinos' adjustment to college. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 25*, 539-554. doi:10.1177/0739986303259306
- Schwartz, A. L., Galliher, R. V., & Domenech Rodriguez, M. M. (2011) Self-disclosure in Latinos' intercultural and intracultural friendships and acquaintanceships: Links with collectivism, ethnic identity, and acculturation. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*, 116-121. doi:10.1037/a0021824
- Schwarzer, R., & Jerusalem, M. (1995). Generalized self-efficacy scale. In J. Weinman, S. Wright, & M. Johnston (Eds.), *Measures in health psychology: A user's portfolio. Causal and control beliefs* (pp. 35-37). Windsor, UK: Nfer-Nelson.
- Seaton, E. K., Caldwell, C. H., Sellers, R. M., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). The prevalence of perceived discrimination among African American and Caribbean Black youth. *Developmental Psychology, 44*, 1288-1297. doi:10.1037/a0012747
- Sellers, R. M., Caldwell, C. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K. H., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity, racial discrimination, and psychological distress among African-American young adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 43*, 302-317. doi:10.2307/1519781
- Sellers, R., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P., & Lewis, R. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 16*, 187-216. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00128.x

- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 1079-1092. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079
- Shariff-Marco, S., Klassen, A. C., & Bowie, J. V. (2010). Racial/ethnic differences in self-reported racism and its association with cancer-related health behaviours. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*, 364-374. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2009.163899
- Shelton, J. N., Dovidio, J. F., Hebl, M., & Richeson, J. A. (2009). Prejudice and intergroup interactions. In S. Demoulin, J. Levens and J. F. Dovidio (Eds.), *Intergroup misunderstandings: Impact of divergent social realities* (pp. 21-38). New York: Psychology Press.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., & Vorauer, J. (2006). Threatened identities and interethnic interactions. *European Review of Social Psychology, 17*, 321-358. doi:10.1080/10463280601095240
- Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2000). Situational stability and variability in African American racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 26*, 27-50. doi:10.1177/0095798400026001002
- Shelton, J. N., Trail, T. E., West, T. V., & Bergsieker, H. B. (2010). From strangers to friends: The interpersonal process model of intimacy in developing interracial friendships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 27*, 71-90. doi:10.1177/0265407509346422
- Shorey, H. S., Cowan, G., & Sullivan, M. P. (2002). Predicting perceptions of discrimination among Hispanics and Anglos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 24*, 3-22. doi:10.1177/0739986302024001001
- Sigelman, L., Bledsoe, T., Welsh, S., & Combs, M. W. (1996). Making contact? Black-White social interaction in an urban setting. *American Journal of Sociology, 101*, 1306-1332. doi:10.1086/230824
- Simon, R. W. (2010). Sex, anger and depression. *Social Forces, 88*, 1543-1568. doi:10.1353/sof.2010.0031
- Smith, J. A. (1994). Reconstructing selves: An analysis of discrepancies between women's contemporaneous and retrospective accounts of the transition into motherhood. *British Journal of Psychology, 85*, 371-394. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8295.1994.tb02530.x
- Smith, T. B., & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*, 42-60. doi:10.1037/a0021528
- Spears, R., Doosje, B., & Ellemers, N. (1997). Self-stereotyping in the face of threats to group status and distinctiveness: The role of group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 538-553. doi:10.1177/0146167297235009

- Srimathi, N. L., & Kirin Kumar, S. K. (2010). Psychological well-being of employed women across different organisations. *Journal of the Indian Academy of Applied Psychology*, 36, 89-95. Retrieved from: <http://medind.nic.in/jak/t10/i11/jakt10i1p89.pdf>
- Stangor, C., Swim, J. K., Van Allen, K. L., & Sechrist, G. B. (2002). Reporting discrimination in public and private contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 69-74. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.82.1.69
- Statistics Canada (2007a, March 13). 2006 Community Profiles: Vancouver, British Columbia. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>.
- Statistics Canada (2007b, March 13). 2006 Community Profiles: Richmond, British Columbia. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Statistics Canada (2007c, March 13). 2006 Community Profiles: Richmond, British Columbia. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-175. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01134.x
- St. Louis, G. R., & Liem, J. H. (2005). Ego identity, ethnic identity, and the psychosocial well-being of ethnic minority and majority college students. *Identity*, 5, 227-246. doi:10.1207/s1532706xid0503_1
- Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68, 199 – 214. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.68.2.199
- Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me- what did you just say?!: Women's public and private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 68-88. doi:10.1006/jesp.1998.1370
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *The psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Thompson, L., & Fine, G. A. (1999). Social shared cognition, affect, and behavior: A review and integration. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 278-302. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0304_1
- Thompson Sanders, V. L. (1994). Socialization to race and its relationship to racial identification among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 20, 175-188. doi:10.1177/00957984940202006

- Thompson Sanders, V. L. (1999). Variables affecting racial-identity salience among African Americans. *Journal of Social Psychology, 139*, 748-761.
doi:10.1080/00224549909598254
- Thompson Sanders, V. L. (2002). Racism: Perceptions of distress among African Americans. *Community Mental Health Journal, 38*, 111-118.
doi:10.1023/A:1014539003562
- Torres, L., Yznaga, S. D., & Moore, K. M. (2011). Discrimination and Latino psychological distress: The moderating role of ethnic identity exploration and commitment. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 81*, 526-534.
doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2011.01117.x
- Tran, A. G. T. T., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*, 169-178.
doi:10.1037/a0016400
- Tropp, L. R. (2003). The psychological impact of prejudice: Implications for intergroup contacts. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6*, 131-149.
doi:10.1177/1368430203006002001
- Turner, R. N., Hewstone, M., & Voci, A. (2007). Reducing explicit and implicit prejudice via direct and extended contact: The mediating role of self-disclosure and intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 369-388.
doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.3.369
- Verkuyten, M. (2011). Assimilation ideology and outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority members. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 14*, 789-806.
doi:10.1177/1368430211398506
- Verkuyten, M., & Thijs, J. (2006). Ethnic discrimination and global self-worth in early adolescents: The mediating role of ethnic self-esteem. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 30*, 107-116. doi:10.1177/0165025406063573
- Vohra, N., & Adair, J. (2000). Life satisfaction of Indian immigrants in Canada. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 12*, 109-138.
doi:10.1177/097133360001200201
- Wakefield, W. D., & Hudley, C. (2005). African American male adolescents' preferences in responding to racial discrimination: Effects of ethnic identity and situational influences. *Adolescence, 40*, 237-256. Retrieved from:
<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=byh&AN=17582493&site=ehost-live>
- Walker, R. L., Wingate, L. R., Obasi, E., & Joiner, T. E., Jr. (2008). An empirical investigation of acculturative stress and ethnic identity as moderators in depression and suicidal ideation in college students. *Cultural Diversity, 14*, 75-82.
doi:10.1037/1099-9809.14.1.75

- Welch, R. D., & Houser, M. E. (2010). Extending the four-category model of adult attachment: An interpersonal model of friendship attachment. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 27*, 351-366. doi:10.1177/0265407509349632
- Wertsch, J. V. (2008). Collective memory and narrative templates. *Social Research, 75*, 133-156. Retrieved from:
<http://proxy.lib.sfu.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=32455567&site=ehost-live>
- Wiederman, M. W. (2005). The gendered nature of sexual scripts. *The Family Journal, 13*, 496-502. doi:10.1177/1066480705278729
- Wilkins, C. L., Kaiser, C. L., & Rieck, H. (2011). Detecting racial identification: The role of phenotypic prototypicality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*, 1029-1034. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.05.017
- Williams, D. R., & Neighbors, H. (2001). Racism, discrimination and hypertension: Evidence and much needed research. *Ethnicity & Disease, 11*, 800-816. doi:10.1007/s10865-008-9185-0
- Williams, R., & Williams, V. (1998). *Anger kills: Seventeen strategies for controlling the hostility that can harm your health*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Wolsko, C., Park, B., Judd, C. M. (2006). Considering the tower of Babel: Correlates of assimilation and multiculturalism among ethnic minority and majority groups in the United States. *Social Justice Research, 19*, 277-306. doi:10.1007/s11211-006-0014-8
- Wong, C., & Cho, G. E. (2005). Two-headed coins or Kadinskys: White racial identification. *Political Psychology, 26*, 699-720. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00440.x
- Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71*, 1197-1232. doi:10.1111/1467-6494.7106012
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 994-1003. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.58.6.994
- Yasui, M., Dorham, L., & Dishion, T. J. (2004). Ethnic identity and psychological adjustment: A validity analysis for European American and African American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 19*, 807-825. doi:10.1177/0743558403260098
- Yip, T., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2008). Racial discrimination and psychological distress: The impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental Psychology, 44*, 787-800. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.787

Yzerbyt, V., Dumont, M, Wigboldus, D, & Gordijn, E. (2003). I feel for us: The impact of categorization and identification on emotions and action tendencies. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42, 533-549. doi:10.1348/014466603322595266

Appendices

Appendix A.

Study 1 Vignettes

Beginning of All Vignettes

You are looking to find a new place to live before you start the new semester at university. Since you are unable to afford your own apartment, you are searching for suitable roommates. While reading the Roommates Wanted section on Craigslist, you notice an ad posted by SFU students. The advertisement is for a three-bedroom townhouse that is already occupied by two students, and is located in a nice area of town reasonably close to campus and shopping. You call the number listed, and a man picks up. You ask him some questions about the house and nearby amenities, and he seems very pleasant. He tells you that they have not found a roommate yet, but you sound like a very good match for them, and he would be happy to have you move in once you have a look at the place. You arrange to drop by later that afternoon.

Later on, you arrive at the townhouse, which is located just off a main road. It is two stories high, and you are impressed to see that it looks relatively new and has a decent sized front yard. You walk up the front steps and knock on the door.

Blatant-Discrimination Condition

A(n) Caucasian/Asian (depending on participant ethnicity) man around your age answers, and you recognize his voice of being that of the person you spoke to on the phone. You take a step into the front door, and take a quick look around the house. The man then says to you, "Listen, it doesn't look like you would be the best choice for our roommate. I've lived with people of your race before, and it really didn't work out, so I've decided I don't want to live with them again if I can help it."

Subtle-Discrimination Condition

A(n) Caucasian/Asian (depending on participant ethnicity) man around your age answers the door, and looks somewhat distressed. You recognize his voice of being that of the person you spoke to on the phone. You take a step into the front door, and take a quick look around the house. After scanning the entrance, you look back at the man, who you notice appears troubled and is looking at you attentively. He says, "I'm sorry, but you actually don't need to come in. We've already found a roommate."

Control Condition

A man around your age answers the door. You recognize his voice of being that of the person you spoke to on the phone. The man then says to you, "Could you wait outside for just a few minutes while I finish tidying up? By the way, my roommate will be back in five minutes. She would like to meet you before we make a final decision."