

Coping with Racial/Ethnic Discrimination: The Role of Color-Blind Racial Ideology
among Asian Americans

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Dedication

To my family and my rock, Stephen.

Abstract

The present study examined how Asian Americans ($N = 404$) experience and manage racial/ethnic discrimination in both its explicit and ambiguous forms. Color-blind racial ideology also was examined as a moderator in the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and negative affect (anger and anxiety), social state self-esteem, and behavior following a racist event. Results from this experimental vignette study showed that Asian Americans experience more anger and anxiety when confronted with explicit racial/ethnic discrimination. Asian Americans who were more racially color-blind about racial privilege experienced less anxiety when confronted with ambiguous discrimination compared to Asian Americans with less racial color-blindness. Asian Americans used a variety of strategies to respond to racial/ethnic discrimination. These strategies ranged from disengaging from the source of stress or engaging with the stressor in both positive (neutral or warm/friendly) and negative (contentious) ways. Asian Americans who were more racially color-blind about institutional discrimination were less likely to engage as a response to discrimination. Furthermore, when confronted with ambiguous discrimination, Asian Americans were more inclined to positively counter ambiguous discrimination than be disengaged from it. Asian Americans respond differently to explicit and ambiguous forms of discrimination and use a variety of strategies to manage and negotiate their racialized status.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Discourse on race in America vacillates between two competing narratives. The dominant narrative asserts that racism – construed as acts of overt racial hatred and bigotry – is a thing of the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013). This narrative highlights the social and legal condemnation of explicitly discriminatory attitudes and practices, such as Jim Crow laws (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, & Embrick, 2004), and asserts racism has been dismantled. The election of President Obama as the first African American US President is often presented as an example of having arrived at a “post-racial” society. The counter narrative argues that it is premature to say that America has successfully transitioned to a “post-racial” society. It is instead argued that racism has not decreased in significance; racism has merely become less conspicuous. That is, racist attitudes and practices have changed into a more “ambiguous and nebulous” form (Sue et al., 2007a, p. 272), which makes it all the more challenging to identify and to go unnoticed.

Asian Americans do not have a strong presence in this conversation because the topic of race and racism is persistently constructed within a Black/White binary (C. J. Kim, 1999; Wu, 2003). Within this binary, Asian Americans’ racial experiences are seen as less of an imperative. This sentiment inevitably affects scholarship as well. As a result, there has been limited psychological research on how Asian Americans understand their position in the racial order, and how these views subsequently inform the way they experience and manage racial/ethnic discrimination.

Racism and Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Racism is defined as attitudes, ideas, and practices that perpetuate inequalities along racial lines (Feagin, 2000). Racism can be enacted institutionally and interpersonally in practices and policies that have differential impact on various racial/ethnic groups and unfair treatment of individuals based on racial/ethnic differences, respectively (e.g., Gee, Ryan, Laflamme, & Holt, 2006; Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999). The civil rights movement had an undeniable impact on reducing “old fashioned” forms of overt racism (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007b). However, contemporary forms of racism, which are manifested in more covert and ambiguous ways, have replaced these readily identifiable and objectionable attitudes and practices (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Sue et al., 2007a).

When Asian Americans are recognized as a racial/ethnic group, it is often in the context of having more privilege in comparison to other racial/ethnic minorities. The “model minority” stereotype, which valorizes Asian Americans for their economic and educational achievements, perpetuates the image that they are exempt from experiences of racial/ethnic disadvantage (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; F. Wong & Halgin, 2006). To this end, many Americans believe Asian Americans do not encounter racial/ethnic discrimination (Wu, 2003). However, research has consistently challenged the notion that Asian Americans receive fairer treatment compared to other racial/ethnic minority groups. In fact, in a large nationally representative sample, Asian Americans were at higher risk for racial/ethnic discrimination compared to White Americans ($OR = 6.09, p < 0.01$), only second to the risk that African Americans experience compared to White Americans ($OR = 28.65, p < 0.01$) (Puhl, Andreyeva, & Brownell, 2008).

There has been a consistent amount of reports of anti-Asian violence in the US, including assault and battery, harassment, vandalism, theft, and even homicide, with a slight increase observed in most recent years (US Department of Justice, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Beyond these unsettling explicit assaults against Asian Americans, members of this group continuously face discrimination as “non-Americans” (Park, 2005; Sue et al., 2007a). Despite increased access to naturalization and citizenship, they are excluded from social citizenship, or full access to membership in the nation (C. J. Kim, 1999). This is evidenced in the pervasive stereotype that portrays Asians and Asian Americans as “perpetual foreigners” regardless of levels of cultural and behavioral assimilation (Espiritu, 2008; Tuan, 1998).

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Associated Outcomes

The stress and coping theory (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) is a useful framework for conceptualizing the health impact of racial/ethnic discrimination (R. Clark, Anderson, V. R. Clark, & Williams, 1999; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). According to this theoretical framework, stress is “a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being” (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19). When an event is cognitively appraised as beyond one’s resources, stress is experienced, which triggers a process of psychological (e.g., anxiety, hopelessness, fear, anger) and physiological responses (e.g., elevated blood pressure, cardiovascular activity), and over time can have negative effects on mental and physical health (e.g., Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination, then, may be conceptualized as a psychosocial

stressor that negatively impacts the overall well-being of minorities in the US (R. Clark et al., 1999; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams et al., 2003).

There is strong empirical evidence to support that racial/ethnic discrimination adversely affects the mental health of Asian Americans. Discrimination leads to an increase in negative (i.e., psychologically distressing) affect, which can eventually impair mental health. Self-reports of discrimination have been associated with increased anxiety and depression (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Hwang & Goto, 2008; I. Kim, 2014; D. L. Lee & Ahn, 2011; R. M. Lee, 2003; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). In a meta-analysis, D. L. Lee and Ahn (2010) examined 23 independent studies on the relation between racial/ethnic discrimination and mental health for Asians, in both US and international samples. They found an effect size of $r = .28$ and $r = .26$ for anxiety and depression, respectively. Notably, the magnitude of these effects in Asian samples are greater than those reported ($r = -.20$) from an analysis on the effects of discrimination and mental health across racial groups (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).

Although there is extensive literature on the mental health effects of racial/ethnic discrimination, research on the mechanisms that link discrimination to health is still developing (Harrell et al., 2011). Most scholars have pursued examining potential psychophysiological pathways linking discrimination with an individual's reactions, and the concomitant effect on disease. This line of research points to negative affective reactions in response to challenges or threats as an important intermediary variable that eventually shapes physiological processes that lead to more permanent alterations

associated with disease (Brondolo et al., 2008). The types of negative affective reactions that are observed in response to challenges or threats are varied, but can broadly be categorized as emotions that elicit an approach orientation (e.g., anger) and avoidance orientation (e.g., anxiety) (Barretto & Ellemers, 2005; Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009). There is a substantial amount of empirical research that demonstrates an association between racial/ethnic discrimination and anxiety (e.g., Cassidy et al., 2004). However, the empirical literature on the relation between racial/ethnic discrimination and anger has been relatively limited. Most of the research on anger as a response to discrimination has been conducted with African Americans or multiethnic samples (Broudy et al., 2007; Simons et al., 2006; Whitbeck, Hoyt, McMorris, Chen, & Stubben, 2001). Broudy et al. (2007), for example, found that baseline measures of racial/ethnic discrimination was associated with daily ratings of anger after controlling for cynicism, hostility, anxiety, and defensiveness. There are only a handful of studies that examine the link between racial/ethnic discrimination and anger among Asian Americans (Sue et al., 2007b; Yoo & Lee, 2008), but this literature seems to converge with the broader literature that examines the discrimination-anger association in other racial/ethnic minority groups. For example, Yoo and Lee (2008) found that Asian American college students who imagined experiencing multiple incidents of racial/ethnic discrimination reported higher negative affect (including anger among other emotions) than those who imagined experiencing a single incident of discrimination.

The negative affective reactions that arise from discrimination are accompanied by decreases in state self-esteem (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Racial/ethnic discrimination influences self-concept by hindering self-control, which is essential for

psychological well-being (see Thompson & Spacapan, 1991, for a review), thereby negatively impacting self-esteem over time (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Armenta et al., 2013; Barry & Grilo, 2003; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; R. M. Lee, 2003). Greene et al. (2006), for example, conducted a longitudinal study examining the correlates of racial/ethnic discrimination among a racially diverse sample of high school students. For Asian Americans (and other racial/ethnic groups), peer and adult racial/ethnic discrimination was significantly associated with decreased self-esteem. Specifically, within-person changes in self-esteem (i.e., decrease over time) were predicted by within-person changes in racial/ethnic discrimination (i.e., increase over time).

Coping with Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Despite experiencing stress from prejudice and discrimination, racial/ethnic minorities function as well as other non-devalued people (Clark et al., 1999; Major & Schmader, 2001). Theories on social identity and intergroup behavior propose that people make active attempts to maintain positive self-evaluations in the face of negative societal views about their group (Allport, 1954; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In turn, researchers have increasingly been examining how coping responses shape the consequence of racial/ethnic discrimination (e.g., Kuo, 1995; Noh et al., 1999; Yoo & Lee, 2005).

Coping is defined as the process whereby an individual manages a threat through cognitive, emotional, and behavioral efforts (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The research on coping with racial/ethnic discrimination has largely focused on cognitive and emotional efforts to regulate the impact of stress. Limited attention has been given to understanding how coping manifests as a broad set of behavioral processes, beyond internal processes, that are enacted in response to stress (Holahan, Moos, & Schaefer, 1996). In Lazarus and

Folkman's (1984) original theoretical conceptualization of the stress and coping framework, coping included volitional behaviors that are employed by an individual to withstand stressful events or circumstances. As psychological research on the impact of racial/ethnic discrimination expands to include the target's perspective, it becomes necessary to look at behavioral responses to racial/ethnic discrimination without neglecting to account for internal, private interactions. Failure to do so portrays an inaccurate view of racial/ethnic minorities as passive recipients that simply absorb racial/ethnic offenses (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003).

Behavioral coping responses to stress involve engagement or disengagement with the stressful event or problem (Compas et al., 2001; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). This distinction is consistent with evolutionary psychology perspectives that humans are equipped with a biobehavioral system (e.g., Cannon, 1932) that coordinates response to threat, commonly known as the fight (engagement) or flight (disengagement) response (Compas et al., 2001). The few empirical studies that have examined how targets respond to discrimination support distinguishing coping behaviors as either engaging or disengaging from the source of stress (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Dickter & Newton, 2013; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim and Hyers; 1999; Swim et al., 2003; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). For example, Fleming, Lamont, and Welburn (2012) analyzed in-depth interviews with African Americans to understand how they made sense of their experience with racial stigmatization and how they responded to specific instances of being stigmatized. Thirty-two percent of the 150 respondents referred to responding with confrontation (engagement; e.g., speaking out about unfairness, using violence, insulting, suing, lodging a formal complain, intimidating), while 27% of the

participants chose what the researchers described as conflict deflation (disengagement) as a strategy of responding (e.g., observing, adopting strategic silence, walking away and ignoring). A small number of participants referred to a range of other responses, including absence of reaction due to shock and surprise. Only one study had been identified to examine behavioral responses to discrimination among Asian Americans. E. A. Lee, Soto, Swim, and Bernstein (2012) analyzed Asian Americans' and Black Americans' verbal responses to a racist comment (i.e., "Don't get me wrong, but dating Blacks/Asians is painful. Dating Blacks/Asians is for tools who let Blacks/Asians control them") made by a confederate in an online chatting program. They found that participants responded with varying degrees of confrontation that ranged from disengagement to engagement (i.e., did not confront or notice comment, give advice, ask a question, assert a contrasting opinion, accuse partner of being offense or express wrong in some way).

Whether an individual chooses to engage or disengage from a stressor depends on if that individual perceives that they have the resources to manage the stress. Specifically, cognitive appraisals of stressful conditions are thought to shape the specific nature of a response. Stress that is appraised as uncontrollable may lead to an integrated psychobiological response that includes disengagement, manifested as withdrawal, inactivity, and reduced effort (Kemeny, 2003). In fact, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) noted that in general, individuals who perceive stress as threatening (i.e., uncontrollable) are more likely to experience "withdrawal or defensive operations that turn the person inward" (p. 191). On the other hand, stress that is appraised as controllable may lead to an integrated response involving engagement with the stressor (Kemeny, 2003).

Color-Blind Racial Ideology

The stress and coping framework highlights that the experience of a negative event, and subsequent response to the event, is informed by cognitive appraisals. These cognitions are embedded in the social world, and thus, are shaped by the dominant belief systems in society. Researchers have increasingly been examining how racial ideology, or the set of beliefs and attitudes regarding the significance and meaning of race and racism in one's life experiences, influences racial/ethnic minorities' experience of discrimination (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Chatman, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Smalls, White, Chavous, & Sellers, 2007).

In contemporary America, the dominant racial ideology is color-blind racial ideology. This ideology has been defined as a set of beliefs and attitudes that minimize, and even deny, the significance of race and racism as a source of social challenges (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Neville et al., 2013). Color-blind racial ideology is built upon the evasion of power relationships in society, and therefore, provides a framework in which to ignore racism. Neville and colleagues (2013) identified three primary types of evading power when it comes to race, including denial of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant forms of racism. Denial of racial privilege refers to being blind that White privilege exists. Denial of institutional discrimination refers to having limited awareness of institutional forms of racial/ethnic discrimination and exclusion. Denial of blatant racial issues indicates an unawareness of general, pervasive racial/ethnic discrimination. These categories of power evasion are consistent with the subscales in the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), a commonly used measure in psychological research to assess color-blind racial ideology. Power evasion through denial of racial privilege and institutional discrimination, in

particular, are noteworthy in that both attitudes explicitly disregard racism as a systemic and institutionalized issue. Because this study defined color-blind racial ideology in terms of denial that race and racism are factors that systematically present social challenges for racial/ethnic minorities, the present study only examined racial privilege and institutional discrimination (and not blatant racial issues).

In being comprised of beliefs and attitudes, color-blind racial ideology is cognitive in nature. Specifically, it is a “part of a cognitive schema used to interpret racial stimuli” (Neville et al., 2000, p. 61). Some scholars have referred to this portion of one’s cognitive schema as a racially-based schema (e.g., Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Helms, 1990) that serves as a “filter” of sorts that guides and facilitates the processing of race-related stimuli, including race-related stressors. As racially-based schemas become more elaborated throughout life, individuals begin to encode and interpret race-related stimuli in ways consistent with the content of their existing schema. Thus, racial ideologies should inform appraisal of racial/ethnic discrimination.

Color-Blind Racial Ideology among Racial/Ethnic Minorities

Although White Americans predominantly endorse color-blind racial ideology, racial/ethnic minorities, too, adopt racially color-blind beliefs (Feagin, 2000; Neville et al., 2013). Given that race and racism are, in fact, ubiquitous at both the experiential and structural level of US society (Omi & Winant, 2014), it seems counterintuitive that racial/ethnic minorities would endorse color-blind racial ideologies when this appears to conflict with their interests and motives as a racial/ethnic minority group. So why would some racial/ethnic minorities choose to preserve the legitimacy of the existing social system?

Theory and research suggest that there are both benefits and costs for racial/ethnic minorities to adopt a strategy of preserving the racial status quo. Scholars have found that members of low status and disadvantaged groups may be inclined to endorse ideologies that explain, justify, and rationalize inequality, also known as system-justifying ideologies, because it helps to adapt to an unjust reality that appears to be inevitable (Jost & Hunyady, 2003; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002). In many ways, color-blind racial ideology is a system-justifying ideology because it legitimizes institutional racism, thereby, perpetuating victim-blaming rationalizations to explain racial inequality. Color-blind racial ideology can serve a palliative function in that it minimizes the salience of racial/ethnic discrimination and thereby protects against psychological distress (i.e., anxiety and anger; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Quinn & Crocker, 1999). That is, those who endorse racial color-blindness may not see an event as being racially/ethnically motivated and avoid experiencing the negative psychological sequelae associated with discrimination.

For racial/ethnic minorities, preserving the racial status quo through system-justifying beliefs, such as color-blind racial ideology, can come at a cost. Believing that the system is just entails grappling with the difficult idea that one's own group is deserving of the racial status quo. In fact, an emerging body of literature suggests that color-blind racial ideology is associated with internalized oppression (e.g., Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, & Dodd, 2006; Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005). In addition, disregarding systemic forms of discrimination can lead individuals to inappropriately attribute setbacks and failures solely to self (Neville et al., 2013). Altogether, racial/ethnic minorities who endorse color-blind racial ideology may be

protected from immediate psychological distress, but their self-esteem is more likely to be jeopardized due to the psychological consequences of making degrading attributions about group and self (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; O'Brien & Major, 2005).

Qualitative work in disciplines, such as sociology and ethnic studies, have highlighted that Asian Americans endorse color-blind racial ideology to varying degrees (Kibria, 1998; S. J. Lee, 2006). In her examination of in-depth qualitative interviews, S. J. Lee (2006) found that the majority of Korean American high school students did not connect acts of racial/ethnic discrimination as being tied to a larger racialized system that perpetuates inequality. A smaller group of students, however, understood that Asian Americans held less power politically, economically, and socially than White Americans. Thus, this latter group of students was less racially color-blind.

Color-Blind Racial Ideology as a Moderating Factor

Does the way that racial/ethnic minorities (namely Asian Americans in this particular study) understand themselves as a racialized member of society influence how they cope with discrimination? As a racially-based schema, racial ideology should moderate minorities' appraisal and response to racial/ethnic discrimination. Hence, color-blind racial ideology may inform the extent to which one "sees" racial/ethnic discrimination in such a way that minorities who endorse the ideology may be less likely to experience distressing emotions after a negative racial encounter because they are inclined to deny that the event was racially/ethnically motivated. However, because they presumably take personal ownership of unfair and hurtful treatment rather than situating it in a broader system, their self-esteem may be negatively impacted. In addition, racial/ethnic minorities who endorse racial color-blindness will likely have had less

opportunity to deal with discrimination, and therefore see the stressor as uncontrollable and be less prepared to engage with the stressor in the moment relative to an individual who does not endorse racial color-blindness (Chatman et al., 2001; Neblett & Roberts, 2013; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Indeed, an emerging body of research examining the role of racial ideology in the context of discrimination suggests that beliefs about the significance of race moderate the relation between discrimination and psychological health (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Chatman et al., 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Smalls et al., 2007). For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) examined racial ideology as a relevant individual difference variable that influences the consequence of racial/ethnic discrimination. In contrast to the aforementioned predictions based on stress and coping theory, they found that the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and psychological distress was weaker for students who endorsed more nationalist ideology as compared to students who endorsed less nationalist ideology. As a set of beliefs that stress the oppression of African Americans with an emphasis on the need to develop institutions, relationships, and activities specifically for African Americans, the nationalist ideology is consistent with less racial color-blindness (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Scholars have suggested that it is important to consider temporal dynamics in the stress response (Gee, 2002; Koolhaas, Meerlo, de Boer, Strubbe, & Bohus, 1997). Hence, it is noteworthy that the study by Sellers and Shelton (2003) asked participants to report psychological distress retrospectively rather than in the moment after they may have already engaged in successful strategies to cope with the stressor, which may explain why they found that less racial color-blindness was associated with less distress.

In regard to how color-blind racial ideology influences racial/ethnic minorities' behavioral response to discrimination, those who are color-conscious might be more inclined to engage with racial/ethnic challenges and stressors (Chatman et al., 2001). For instance, Smalls et al. (2007) considered how racial ideology influences adaptations and responses within domains where those identities are made salient, namely the achievement domain for African Americans adolescents. They found that African American adolescents who espouse an assimilationist ideology (beliefs that highlight similarity of all individuals who are "American") have lower school engagement in the context of experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination, relative to those who endorsed those beliefs less.

Color-blind racial ideology and situational factors. Recall that in the stress and coping framework, both person characteristics and situation characteristics play an important role in the way that a negative event is experienced. Therefore, the extent to which color-blind racial ideology moderates responses to racial/ethnic discrimination also depends on situational factors, such as the specific type of racial/ethnic discrimination that is being expressed to a target. Racial/ethnic discrimination continues to manifest in "old fashioned" ways that explicitly and overtly derogate a minority person based on their racial/ethnic status (e.g., being called a racial slur). More commonly, though, racial/ethnic bias and prejudices are communicated in an ambiguous way where it is challenging for a minority person to conclusively classify treatment as racial/ethnic discrimination.

The specific type of racial/ethnic discrimination may either facilitate or inhibit a target's perception that they have been discriminated against. In the case of explicit and

overt racial/ethnic discrimination, the increased situational clarity of cues to prejudice facilitates a target's perception that discrimination has taken place (Operario & Fiske, 2001). Ambiguous and covert racial/ethnic discrimination, however, lacks these cues and inhibits a target's perception that they have been discriminated. Clarity of cues to prejudice in a situation may interact with an individual's level of racial color-blindness to influence the experience of a potentially discriminatory event. Specifically, racial color-blindness can make racial/ethnic minorities reluctant to see themselves as a target of prejudice (Major & Schmader, 2001), and thus, less likely to pick up on ambiguous and covert forms of racial/ethnic discrimination. In a related example, Barreto and Ellemers (2005) found that women were less likely to detect modern sexist statements as opposed to old-fashioned sexist statements, whereas males considered both types of statements as equally prejudicial. The researchers concluded that this gender difference could be due to the fact that women might be less inclined to perceive themselves as targets of sexism due to the internalization of meritocratic ideology (i.e., belief that achievement is due to merit and lack of achievement is due to ability, effort, and choices). In situations where there are strong cues to prejudice, however, the influence of individual differences in behavior (e.g., color-blind racial ideology) are overwhelmed by contextual factors (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Hence, individual differences in racial color-blindness may influence attributions to discrimination in ambiguous conditions, but not explicit conditions. Accordingly, more racial color-blindness may shield against psychological distress in the context of ambiguous discrimination, but does not necessarily preserve self-esteem. Furthermore, because individuals who are more racially color-blind may not

consider race as a relevant factor when encountering ambiguous discrimination, they may be less prepared to manage the stressor in the moment and disengage in response.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH STUDY

Study Purpose and Hypotheses

The psychological literature on racial ideology and behavioral coping responses to racial/ethnic discrimination minimally (if at all) include Asian American experiences and perspectives, but these issues are especially pertinent to this community (I. Kim, 2014). Asian Americans who have a cursory understanding of the social challenges that their racial/ethnic group encounters may be prone to believe that racism is not a significant problem for their community. The resulting lack of awareness around issues of race and racism results in Asian Americans being unable to see and respond to the persistent discriminatory attacks they experience. Furthermore, Asian Americans who are not racially color-blind might be better able to make accurate assessments of racial/ethnic discrimination, distance self from discriminatory attacks, and be more equipped to cope with the situation.

The purpose of this study is to extend the limited research on Asian Americans' racial/ethnic experiences. This study examines how Asian Americans experience and manage racial/ethnic discrimination. Although previous research begins to provide some understanding into how Asian Americans negotiate racial/ethnic discrimination in both its explicit and ambiguous forms, the present study builds upon relevant literature in a few novel ways. Specifically, the study examines how Asian Americans behaviorally respond to racial/ethnic discrimination. Examining behavioral responses not only addresses the issue of portraying racial/ethnic minorities as passive targets, it is also an integral aspect

of developing a more complete understanding of how Asian Americans negotiate racially charged issues in an era when encounters with prejudice are common. In looking at behavior, this study focuses on more proximal responses to discrimination, as compared to distal outcomes (e.g., mental health, well-being), which may help scholars better understand the mechanism through which discrimination has a negative impact on health. Drawing from the stress and coping model (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), which frames the experience of stress as a result of both individual and situational factors, the study also examines whether color-blind racial ideology (person characteristic) and type of discrimination (situation characteristic) influence affective reactions, state self-esteem, and behavioral responses to racial/ethnic discrimination among Asian Americans. The aim of this study is not to come to a conclusion on what is a more effective coping strategy in managing racial/ethnic discrimination, and certainly the intention is not to shift the onus of racial/ethnic discrimination onto targets to respond appropriately. Rather, the purpose is to illuminate how Asian Americans are managing their racialized status.

This study examines the following research questions:

1. What are the immediate psychological consequences (affect and state self-esteem) of racial/ethnic discrimination?

It was hypothesized that participants in the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition would report more negative affect (i.e., anger and anxiety) and lower state self-esteem than participants in the ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination condition.

2. Does racial ideology moderate the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and negative affect and state self-esteem?

It was hypothesized that color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination would moderate the association between racial/ethnic discrimination conditions and negative affect and state self-esteem. Specifically, high color-blind racial ideology (both racial privilege and institutional discrimination) would protect against psychological distress, but exacerbate state self-esteem in the ambiguous discrimination condition because these individuals are less inclined to attribute the ambiguous condition to racism, which helps to palliate immediate distress, but harms sense of self. Color-blind racial ideology would have no moderating effect on the association between explicit racial/ethnic discrimination and negative affect and state self-esteem because it is less possible to deny the racist encounter.

3. How do participants behaviorally respond to racial/ethnic discrimination?

Behavioral responses to racial/ethnic discrimination were assessed using both quantitative (engagement or disengagement) and qualitative data. It was hypothesized that participants in the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition would be more likely to engage than participants in the ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination condition. A priori hypotheses were not made about the types of behavioral responses that would emerge from the qualitative data.

4. Does racial ideology moderate the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and behavioral response?

It was hypothesized that color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination would moderate the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and behavioral response. Specifically, participants with high color-blind racial ideology (both racial privilege and institutional discrimination) were predicted to

disengage in the ambiguous discrimination condition because they are less inclined to attribute the ambiguous condition to racism and less prepared to manage the stressor with a response in the moment. Color-blind racial ideology would have no moderating effect on the association between explicit racial/ethnic discrimination and behavioral responses.

Method

Sample

The final sample ($N = 404$; see Data Preparation and Screening section in Analyses for elaboration on the procedures for arriving at the final N) consisted of participants from across the United States. Approximately 48% of the sample spent the majority of their life in the West coast, 21% in the Northeast, and 18% in the Midwest with the remainder of the sample coming from the Pacific, Southwest, and Southeast. The average age was 29.0 years old ($SD = 7.32$, range = 18 – 50). The sample consisted of 259 females, 143 males, and 2 who identified as transgender. Seventy-eight percent indicated that they were born in the United States. Among these US-born participants, the majority belonged to immigrant families. Approximately 72% of US-born participants reported that their mother, father, or both were not born in the U.S. Eleven participants indicated that they are adopted. The majority of participants indicated that the highest education level they completed is a college degree ($n = 120$, 29.7%) or a post-graduate degree ($n = 275$, 68.1%). Approximately 59% of participants reported an annual household income of at least \$60,000.

Participants indicated their racial/ethnic identity by responding to the open-ended question, “In terms of my racial and/or ethnic group membership, I consider myself to be an ____.” Participants were then classified into 14 racial/ethnic groupings (see Table 1).

The groups were chosen on the basis of the distribution of racial/ethnic groups in the sample. Some respondents identified as a pan-ethnic group (i.e., *Asian American*). Other respondents were classified into one ethnic grouping if they provided the same single ethnic label (e.g., *Chinese*) or a hyphenated label (e.g., *Chinese American*). A few respondents indicated two or more Asian ethnicities and were classified into the *Mixed Asian* category. Last, respondents who indicated that they did not fall under the same pan-ethnic group were classified into separate categories (i.e., *White, Asian and Latino, Asian*).

Table 1

Self-Reported Racial/Ethnic Group Membership (n = 404)

Racial/Ethnic Group	Frequency
Asian American	93
Bengali American	2
Cambodian/Cambodian American	5
Chinese/Chinese American	117
Filipino/Filipino American	21
Hmong American	1
Indian/Indian American	10
Japanese/Japanese American	13
Korean/Korean American	51
Laotian American	1
Taiwanese/Taiwanese American	30
Thai American	2
Vietnamese/Vietnamese American	23
Mixed Asian	18
White, Asian	15
Latino, Asian	1

Data Collection

Participants were recruited using social and digital media, including Facebook, the Internet blog, *Angry Asian Man*, and various psychology list serves. Potential participants were told that the present study aimed to examine the experiences and

attitudes of Asians/Asian Americans and offered the rationale that there is limited research on Asians/Asian Americans' life experiences in the US, despite being a rapidly growing population. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be 18 years of age or older, self-identify as an Asian/Asian American, and had been born in the US or had lived in the US since age 10 or younger. Participants completed an online survey at two separate time points. Compensation in the form of a \$10 Amazon gift card was provided for participation in both surveys. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained for this study.

Procedure

The first online survey included measures on affect, state self-esteem, color-blind racial ideology, and demographics. The second online survey was distributed five days later and included a randomly assigned vignette of an explicit or ambiguous incident of racial/ethnic discrimination. Participants had up to three weeks to complete the second online survey. The vignette was followed by the same measures on affect and state self-esteem from the first survey along with open-ended questions on participants' behavioral response to the incident of racial/ethnic discrimination. No information was given to participants about the nature of the association of the two surveys. After study data had been collected, a follow-up questionnaire was sent out to participants to gather additional background and demographic information (i.e., "How did you hear about the study?" and "Do you own or rent/lease your current residence?").

Measures

Demographics. The first online survey included a battery of items related to obtaining biographical data on the participant's age, gender, race/ethnicity, nativity,

parent(s) immigration status, adoption status, hometown, annual income, and education level of participant and parent(s). The survey also included an open-ended question about the participant's racial/ethnic identification.

Affect. The affect scale included words designed to assess anger (*angry, irritated, bothered, frustrated, threatened, agitated, hostile, annoyed, resentful, mad*) and anxiety (*anxious, nervous, relaxed, tense, uneasy, calm, worried, awkward, apprehensive, uncomfortable*) (Harmon-Jones & Sigelman, 2001; Plant & Devine, 2003; Zinner, Brodish, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2008). The first online survey instructed participants to indicate to what extent they felt each feeling in general on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very slightly/not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). The second survey asked participants to indicate how they felt at the moment.

Due to limited past research validating the dimensional structure of this measure, a principal axis factor analysis with two factors and a promax (oblique) rotation was conducted on the 20-items from the anger and affect subscales. The results are shown in Appendix C. The analysis yielded a two-factor solution with the original 10-items from the anger subscale loading onto one factor and the original 10-items from the anxiety subscale loading onto the other factor. Pre- and post-experiment Cronbach's α for anger = .92 and .96, respectively, and Cronbach's α for anxiety = .90 and .91, respectively.

State self-esteem. State self-esteem was measured using selected items on the State Self-Esteem Scale (SSES; Heatherton & Polivy, 1991). The 20-item scale captures short-lived changes in self-esteem. The measure includes three subscales, which consist of performance self-esteem (e.g., "I feel confident about my abilities"), appearance self-esteem (e.g., "I feel good about myself"), and social self-esteem (e.g., "I am worried

about what other people think of me”). Both the performance and appearance self-esteem subscales were excluded in the present study because they were deemed unrelated to the research questions. Participants rated their agreement with the remaining seven social state self-esteem items using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) on both questionnaires. All the items were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated higher social self-esteem. The SSES has been demonstrated to be sensitive to manipulations designed to temporarily alter self-esteem (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) and has been found to possess adequate reliability and construct validity (e.g., R. M. Lee & Robbins, 1998). The SSES has been used in a sample of minority group members (e.g., women, Asians, and African Americans) and shows similarly good reliability estimates (Ruggerio & Taylor, 1997). Pre- and post-experiment Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$ and $.92$, respectively.

Color-blind racial ideology. Color-blind racial ideology was assessed using the 20-item Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). The measure includes three dimensions of color-blind racial attitudes, including Racial Privilege (e.g., “Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich”), Institutional Discrimination (e.g., “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discrimination unfairly against white people”), and Blatant Racial Issues (e.g., “Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations”). Items are rated on a six-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) where a higher score on the CoBRAS represents more racial color-blind attitudes. Because this study defined racial ideology in terms of beliefs about racism as a systemic and institutionalized issue, the Blatant Racial Issues subscale was not included in the analyses. The CoBRAS has been

used with various racial/ethnic groups, including Asian ethnic groups, and shows strong internal reliability estimates (Chen et al., 2006; Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, Hart, 2008). In the full sample, Cronbach's α were as follows: $\alpha = .81$ for Racial Privilege and $\alpha = .79$ for Institutional Discrimination.

Racial/ethnic discrimination vignette. In the second survey, participants were asked to read a vignette imagining themselves in a situation where they were rejected from a neighborhood block party either explicitly or ambiguously due to race. Directions read, "Carefully read the following story and imagine the situation happening to you." Explicit and ambiguous incidents of racial/ethnic discrimination read as follows with bolded text reflecting the differences between the two conditions:

[Explicit Incident]: You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – **complain about the neighborhood becoming "too diverse."** A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

[Ambiguous Incident]: You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or

concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – **comment about the diversity of the neighborhood**. A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

Several items were used to assess for validity of the vignettes. In testing for external validity at the end of the survey, participants in both conditions agreed that the situation with Jim was believable (Explicit = 4.15, Ambiguous = 4.05) and realistic (Explicit = 4.13, Ambiguous = 4.02) on a five-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). To assess the validity of imagined response to Jim, participants were asked how likely it was that they would actually respond this way in reality (Explicit = 6.12, Ambiguous = 5.97) on a seven-point scale from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*), how certain they are about actually responding this way in reality (Explicit = 5.95, Ambiguous = 5.71) on a seven-point scale from 1 (*very uncertain*) to 7 (*very certain*), and if they wish to have responded differently (Explicit = 2.60, Ambiguous = 2.51) on a seven-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Of those participants in the explicit condition, approximately 71% ($n = 146$) stated that they have responded this way to a similar situation in the past and approximately 27% ($n = 56$) said that they have not responded this way to a similar situation in the past. Of those participants in the ambiguous condition, approximately 74% of participants ($n = 146$) stated that they have responded this way to a similar situation in the past and approximately 24% ($n = 48$) said that they have not responded this way to a similar situation in the past.

As manipulation checks, participants were asked to indicate their attributions for why they did not receive an invitation to the neighborhood block party (as described in the vignette) at the end of the survey. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare attributions (rated on a seven-point scale from 1 [*not at all*] to 7 [*very much*]) in explicit and ambiguous conditions. As Table 2 depicts, there are significant differences in attributions by vignette condition. Participants in the explicit condition made significantly more attributions to “race/ethnicity,” their “skin color,” “a racially prejudiced neighbor (i.e., Jim),” and “racial discrimination” than those in the ambiguous condition. Participants in the ambiguous condition made more attributions to “an honest mistake” and “miscommunication” than those in the explicit condition.

From the full sample, 181 participants took the follow-up questionnaire. There were no significant demographic differences between participants who completed the follow-up questionnaire and the rest of the sample. Approximately 21% of the respondents heard about the study through Facebook, 18.1% heard about it through email/list serves, 46.7% heard about it through the Internet blog *Angry Asian Man*, and

Table 2

Manipulation Checks by Discrimination Condition

	Discrimination Condition		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Explicit	Ambiguous		
An honest mistake	3.69 (1.74)	4.71 (1.60)	6.05***	393
My race/ethnicity	4.84 (1.54)	3.79 (1.57)	-6.69***	393
My skin color	4.29 (1.63)	3.43 (1.61)	-5.31***	393
Miscommunication	3.68 (1.69)	4.51 (1.49)	5.17***	393
A racially prejudiced neighbor (i.e., Jim)	4.89 (1.54)	3.74 (1.61)	-7.29***	393
Racial discrimination	4.82 (1.61)	3.64 (1.61)	-7.22***	393

Note. *** $p < .001$. Standard deviations in parentheses.

13.2% heard it through other means (e.g., family member, friend). Because responses to the situation described in the vignette may be influenced by whether participants are homeowners or not, participants were asked about their current living situation. Approximately 34% of the respondents reported that they own a home, which includes a condominium or apartment, 43.6% indicated that they rent, and 22.1% indicated that they live with parents or other family/friends in their home. In this subsample of participants who completed the follow-up questionnaire, 94 participants were in the explicit discrimination condition with 33 of these participants reporting that they owned a home, 39 participants reporting that they rent/lease, and 22 reporting that they live with parents or other family/friends. Eighty-seven of these subsample of participants were in the ambiguous discrimination condition with 29 of these participants reporting that they own a home, 40 participants reporting that they rent/lease, and 18 reporting that they live with parents or other family/friends.

Behavioral response to racial/ethnic discrimination. After reading the vignette, participants completed measures on affect and state self-esteem. Following these two measures, participants were asked to reflect back on the vignette. The prompt read as follows:

[Explicit Incident]: Please think back to the situation described in the story. Recall that you heard **Jim complain about the neighborhood becoming "too diverse."** Imagine that the situation continues in the following manner: The day after realizing that you did not receive an email or flyer about the neighborhood block party, you happen to bump into Jim on the sidewalk as you are picking up your mail. Answer the following questions according to the situation described in the story. Please be as open and honest as you can. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers.

[Ambiguous: Incident] Please think back to the situation described in the story. Recall that you heard **Jim comment about the diversity of the neighborhood.**

Imagine that the situation continues in the following manner: The day after realizing that you did not receive an email or flyer about the neighborhood block party, you happen to bump into Jim on the sidewalk as you are picking up your mail. Answer the following questions according to the situation described in the story. Please be as open and honest as you can. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers.

Participants were then instructed to indicate whether they would engage with Jim about the issue (Yes or No). If participants responded, “Yes,” they were asked, “What would you do or say? Please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.” This question was followed by, “What is your reasoning for responding in this way? Please provide a detailed explanation. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.” If participants responded, “No,” they were asked, “What else, if anything, would you do or say about the issue? If applicable, please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.” Next, participants were asked, “What is your reasoning for responding in this way? Please provide a detailed explanation. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more too” (see Appendix B).

Quantitative data. Participants’ response to the question, “Would you engage with Jim about the issue?” which is answered as “Yes” or “No,” will indicate overall behavioral response. That is, if participants respond, “Yes,” their behavioral response will be coded as “engagement.” If participants respond, “No,” their behavioral response will

be coded as “disengagement.” To this end, this code is already embedded in the original data and did not require further analysis.

Qualitative data. A coding scheme using participants’ response to the question, “What would you do or say?” was developed in order to examine more specific types of engagement. Both theory-driven (i.e., top-down) and theoretically driven inductive (i.e., bottom-up) approaches were used to develop a coding scheme for the data. Specifically, the coding scheme was informed by prior empirical research (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), suggesting that individuals often counter an interpersonal offense in a manner that is either positive or negative in tone. Positive counters to discrimination are characterized as being non-contentious and are devoid of accusations or criticisms. Negative counters, on the other hand, are characterized as being contentious because some level of accusation or criticism is being expressed. Negative counters include behaviors that oppose or challenge the counterpart, especially in a direct and/or forceful way.

The principal investigator prepared a preliminary coding manual based on the review of 120 cases (see Appendix E). This coding manual was then discussed in detail with the reliability coder, an undergraduate research assistant. The undergraduate research assistant then tested the coding manual on the same set of 120 transcripts and then compared codes and discussed discrepancies with the principal investigator. The coding manual was finalized and applied to the rest of the participants’ responses. The primary investigator was the master coder and the undergraduate research assistant’s codes were used to establish inter-rater reliability on a randomly assigned subset of the remaining cases (25%). Delta was calculated as a reliability statistic ($\Delta = .93$, $\kappa = .91$).

Delta, in comparison to Cohen's kappa, has recently been proposed as a more adequate reliability statistic for data with highly skewed distribution of categories (e.g., Andrés & Marzo, 2004; Syed & Nelson, 2015).

Analyses

Data Preparation and Screening

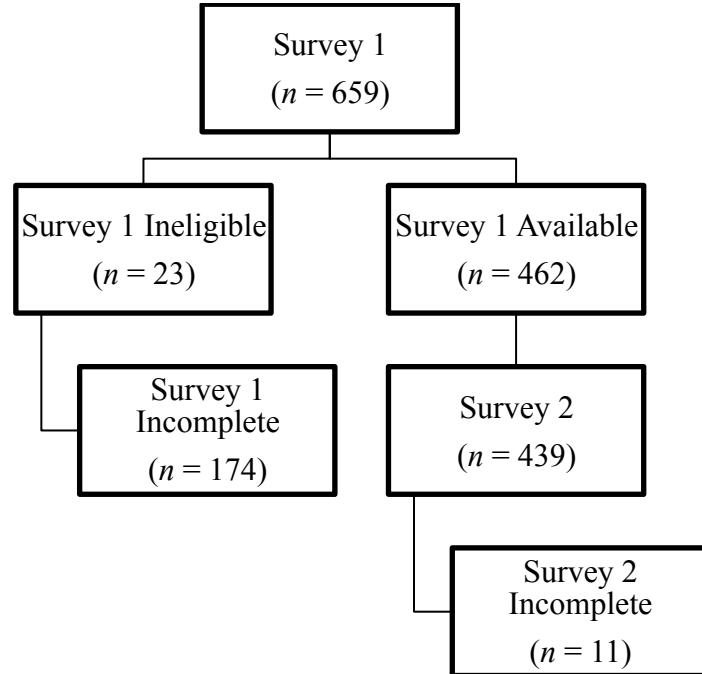
A total of 659 participants attempted to complete the first online survey. Based on the exclusion criteria (i.e., < 18 years of age, does not self-identify as Asian/Asian American, and not a US-native or has not lived in the US since age 10 or younger), 23 cases were excluded. An additional 174 cases were excluded because of incomplete data. Altogether, there were a total of 462 eligible cases from the first survey and all of these participants were invited to take the second online survey. A total of 439 participants attempted to complete the second survey. Eleven cases were excluded from the second survey due to incomplete data, making a total of 428 participants who completed both surveys. Figure 1 provides detailed information about the participant screening process. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 86. In order to keep a relatively homogeneous sample in terms of age group, we removed participants who were not between the ages of 18-50 ($n = 18$), leaving a sample size of 410. After data cleaning, an additional four cases were excluded from analysis due to duplicate responses in the first online survey, leaving a total of 406 participants.

The data were prepared to account for issues that are relevant to the assumptions underlying the statistical methods of this study (i.e., hierarchical regression and logistic/multinomial regression), including missing data, normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity. Missing value analysis was conducted on

primary variables of interest to identify variables with greater than 5% missing data.

None of the variables of interest had significant portions of missing values. The data was standardized and screened for potential univariate and multivariate outliers, excluding cases with z -values < -3.3 and $> +3.3$. Two outliers were identified in the first online survey, including pre-experiment anger ($z = 3.33$) and institutional discrimination ($z = 3.40$), and were removed from further analyses. Independent variables were then screened for extreme skewness and kurtosis. Pre-experiment anger had a skewness of .63 ($SE = .12$), pre-experiment anxiety had a skewness of .41 ($SE = .12$), and racial privilege had a skewness of .43 ($SE = .12$). Because ordinary least squares-based analyses are robust to normality problems, these variables were not transformed (Lumley, Diehr, Emerson, & Chen, 2002). Scatter plots were examined to detect non-linearity between independent variables (i.e., pre-experiment anger, anxiety, state self-esteem, racial privilege, and institutional discrimination) and dependent variables of interest (i.e., post-experiment anger, anxiety, and state self-esteem), all of which indicated linear relationships. Collinearity diagnostics were performed and determined to be within appropriate range (Miles, 2009) (see Appendix D). Residual plots were examined for heteroscedasticity and residuals were relatively evenly distributed, indicating that the variance of errors is similar across all levels of independent variables.

Figure 1. *Diagram of Participant Screening Process*



Results

Descriptive Statistics

See Table 3 for bivariate correlations between study variables (both pre-experiment and post-experiment), as well as means and standard deviations for the full sample. Correlations split by vignette condition are presented in Table 4. From the full study sample, all dependent variables significantly correlated with one another at pre-experiment and post-experiment. The pre-experiment correlation between anger and anxiety was very high ($r = .72$). Likewise, the post-experiment correlation between anger and anxiety was very high ($r = .81$). Pre-experiment and post-experiment inter-correlations between anger and state self-esteem as well as anxiety and state self-esteem

were lower but still high (r 's = -.26 to -.63). Color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege, but not institutional discrimination, was significantly correlated with pre-experiment anxiety (r = -.13). It was not significantly correlated with pre-experiment anger or state self-esteem. Color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination were significantly correlated with anger and anxiety, but not state self-esteem, at post-experiment (r 's = -.18 to -.22).

In general, correlations between study variables split by vignette condition followed a consistent pattern. However, there were a few notable differences by condition. There is a significant positive correlation between pre-experiment state self-esteem and post-experiment anxiety (r = .38) in the ambiguous discrimination condition, while there is a significant negative correlation in the explicit discrimination condition (r = -.34). There is a significant negative correlation between color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and pre- and post-experiment anxiety (r = -.16 and r = -.31, respectively) in the ambiguous discrimination condition while there is no significant correlation between these variables in the explicit discrimination condition. Last, correlations between color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination and post-experiment state self-esteem are significantly positively correlated in the explicit discrimination condition (r = .14), while there is no significant correlation in the ambiguous discrimination condition.

Differences in study variables by demographics. All pre-experiment study variables (anger, anxiety, state self-esteem, color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination) were analyzed for group differences by demographic variables. Young adults (aged 18 – 30; M = 2.68, SD = .79) reported higher

anxiety than adults (aged 31 – 40; $M = 2.36$, $SD = .73$), $F(2, 401) = 7.38$, $p = .001$. Young adults also reported lower state self-esteem ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.01$) than adults ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.08$) and middle-aged adults (aged 41 – 50; $M = 3.70$, $SD = .91$), $F(2, 401) = 7.76$, $p < .001$. Men reported more color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination ($M = 20.08$, $SD = 6.58$) than women ($M = 16.43$, $SD = 5.81$), $t(400) = 5.74$, $p < .001$. Those who identified as transgender were not included in the analyses because of small sample size ($n = 2$). Women reported more anxiety ($M = 2.62$, $SD = .76$) than men ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .81$), $t(400) = -2.11$, $p < .05$. Participants classified as “upper-middle class” based on self-reported income had higher state self-esteem ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .98$) than participants classified as “working class” ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.07$), $F(4, 399) = 3.39$, $p = .01$. There were no significant group differences in study variables by nativity.

Additionally, there were no significant group differences in all primary study variables by discrimination condition.

Post-experiment study variables (anger, anxiety, state self-esteem) were also analyzed for group differences by demographic variables.¹ Young adults reported lower state self-esteem ($M = 3.40$, $SD = .99$) than middle-aged adults (aged 41 – 50, $M = 3.80$, $SD = .90$), $F(2, 401) = 3.8$, $p < .05$). Women reported more anxiety ($M = 2.50$, $SD = .99$) than men ($M = 2.25$, $SD = .93$), $t(399) = -2.54$, $p < .05$. There were no significant group differences in study variables by social class and nativity.²

¹ Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with and without demographic group differences (age group and gender) on post-experiment outcomes as covariates. Overall, the inclusion of these covariates did not affect main and interaction effects. Notes will be made when differences were found.

² Data was also analyzed for group differences in post-experiment study variables by living situation based on the subsample of respondents who participated in the follow-up questionnaire. No significant group differences were found.

Table 3

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations in Full Sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pre Anger	--	.30**	.72**	.35**	-.49**	-.38**	-.09	-.01
2. Post Anger		--	.23**	.81**	-.26**	-.43**	-.18**	-.18**
3. Pre Anxiety			--	.38**	-.63**	-.48**	-.14**	-.11
4. Post Anxiety				--	.36**	-.56**	-.22**	-.20**
5. Pre State Self-Esteem					--	.67*	.03	.00
6. Post State Self-Esteem						--	.06	.07
7. Racial Privilege							--	.60**
8. Institutional Discrimination								--
Mean	2.08	2.54	2.57	2.71	3.33	3.50	16.27	17.67
SD	.77	1.08	.79	.90	1.04	.99	6.24	6.36
N	404	403	404	403	404	404	404	404

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

Table 4

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations Separated by Discrimination Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pre Anger	--	.35**	.75**	.36**	-.45**	-.39**	-.10	.02
2. Post Anger	.30**	--	.36**	.80**	-.27**	-.41**	-.20**	-.17*
3. Pre Anxiety	.69**	.16*	--	.47**	-.58**	-.50**	-.16*	-.07
4. Post Anxiety	.35**	.82**	.31**	--	.38**	-.54**	-.31**	-.19**
5. Pre State Self-Esteem	-.53**	-.27**	-.67**	-.34**	--	.66**	-.02	-.13
6. Post State Self-Esteem	-.36**	-.45**	-.47**	-.58**	.67**	--	.05	-.03
7. Racial Privilege	-.08	-.17*	-.11	-.13	.08	.08	--	.55**
8. Institutional Discrimination	-.04	-.21**	-.15*	-.23**	.12	.14*	.65**	--

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Upper diagonal values are for participants in the ambiguous discrimination condition ($n = 197$). Lower diagonal values are for participants in the explicit discrimination condition ($n = 207$).

Affect and State Self-Esteem

The first research question examined the immediate psychological consequences (i.e., anger, anxiety, and state self-esteem) of racial/ethnic discrimination and the moderating role of color-blind racial ideology in this association. Hierarchical regression analyses were used to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects (see Table 5). Aiken and West's (1991) statistical procedure was employed to examine the moderating role of color-blind racial ideology on the relation between discrimination and affect and state self-esteem. After centering all study variables, three hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed, with post-experiment anger, anxiety, and state self-esteem as dependent variables. In Step 1, pre-experiment anger, anxiety, and state self-esteem scores were accordingly entered (depending on which dependent variable was being analyzed). By controlling for pre-experiment levels of the dependent variables, the independent variables in these analyses are a closer reflection of the effect of the vignette condition rather than a reflection of individual-level differences. In Step 2, type of discrimination (explicit or ambiguous discrimination) was entered. In Step 3, the two types of color-blind racial ideologies (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) were entered. In Step 4, the two interaction terms were entered ($\text{disc} \times \text{racial privilege}$ and $\text{disc} \times \text{institutional discrimination}$). All reported regression coefficients in the text are unstandardized.

Anger. In Step 1, pre-experiment anger explained 8.9% of the variance in post-experiment anger (hereafter referred to as anger), $b = .42$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$. In Step 2, the main effect of racial/ethnic discrimination on anger was statistically significant, $R^2 = .15$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$; $b = .55$, $SE = .10$, $p < .001$ (explicit discrimination coded as 1). In Step 3,

the incremental main effect of the set of color-blind racial ideology (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) on anger was statistically significant, $R^2 = .19$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$. Specifically, only institutional discrimination was a significant predictor, $b = -.03$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .01$. In Step 4, the incremental effect of the set of two interaction terms between discrimination and color-blind racial ideologies (disc \times racial privilege and disc \times institutional discrimination) did not explain a significant difference in the variance of change in anger, $R^2 = .19$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$.

Anxiety³. In Step 1, pre-experiment anxiety explained 14.3% of the variance in post-experiment anxiety (hereafter referred to as anxiety), $b = .43$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$. In Step 2, the main effect of racial/ethnic discrimination on anxiety was statistically significant, $R^2 = .16$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$; $b = .23$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$ (explicit discrimination coded as 1). In Step 3, the incremental main effect of the set of color-blind racial ideologies (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) on anxiety was statistically significant, $R^2 = .19$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$. In Step 3, the incremental main effect of the set of color-blind racial ideologies (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) on anxiety was statistically significant, $R^2 = .19$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$. Specifically, institutional discrimination was approaching significance, $b = -.02$, $SE = .01$, $p = .05$, $sr^2 = .01$ as well as racial privilege, $b = -.02$, $SE = .01$, $p = .06$, $sr^2 = .01$. In Step 4, the incremental effect of the set of two interaction terms between discrimination and color-blind racial ideologies (disc \times racial privilege

³ When age group and gender are included as covariates, only racial privilege in Step 3 is now statistically significant, $b = -.02$, $SE = .01$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .01$. Step 4 is now statistically significant, $R^2 = .21$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 394) = 3.09$, $p < .05$. The interaction between discrimination and color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege also is statistically significant, $b = .04$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .01$.

Table 5

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Testing Color-Blind Racial Ideology as a Moderator

Step and Variable	B	SE	β	sR^2	R^2
Dependent variable: anger					
Step 1					.09***
(Constant)	2.54	.05			
Pre Anger	.42***	.07	.30		
Step 2					.15***
(Constant)	2.26	.07			
Pre Anger	.43***	.07	.31	.09	
Disc	.55***	.10	.26	.07	
Step 3					.19***
(Constant)	2.26	.07			
Pre Anger	.43***	.06	.30	.09	
Disc	.56***	.10	.26	.07	
Racial Privilege	-.01	.01	-.06	.00	
Institutional Disc	-.03**	.01	-.15	.01	
Step 4					.19
(Constant)	2.26	.07			
Pre Anger	.42***	.06	.30	.09	
Disc	.56***	.10	.30	.07	
Racial Privilege	-.02	.01	-.09	.00	
Institutional Disc	-.02	.01	-.12	.00	
Disc × Racial Privilege	.01	.02	.04	.00	
Disc × Institutional Disc	-.13	.02	-.05	.00	
Dependent variable: anxiety					
Step 1					.14***
(Constant)	2.71	.04			
Pre Anxiety	.43***	.05	.38		
Step 2					.16**
(Constant)	2.60	.06			
Pre Anxiety	.44***	.05	.38	.15	
Disc	.23**	.08	.13	.02	
Step 3					.19***
(Constant)	2.60	.06			
Pre Anxiety	.41***	.05	.36	.13	
Disc	.23**	.08	.13	.02	
Racial Privilege	-.02	.01	-.11	.01	
Institutional Disc	-.02	.01	-.11	.01	
Step 4					.21
(Constant)	2.31	.06			
Pre Anxiety	.41***	.05	.36	.70	
Disc	.22*	.09	.12	.02	
Racial Privilege	-.03*	.01	-.20	.02	
Institutional Disc	-.01	.01	-.05	.00	
Disc × Racial Privilege	.04*	.02	.19	.01	
Disc × Institutional Disc	-.03	.02	-.13	.00	

Step and Variable	B	SE	β	sr^2	R^2
Dependent variable: state self-esteem					
Step 1					.44***
(Constant)	3.50	.04			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67		
Step 2					.44
(Constant)	3.51	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67	.44	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.01	.00	
Step 3					.45
(Constant)	3.51	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67	.44	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.02	.00	
Racial Privilege	.00	.01	.00	.00	
Institutional Disc	.01	.01	.07	.00	
Step 4					.45
(Constant)	3.50	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.66	.43	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.02	.00	
Racial Privilege	.01	.01	.04	.00	
Institutional Disc	.01	.01	.04	.00	
Disc × Racial Privilege	-.01	.02	-.06	.00	
Disc × Institutional Disc	.01	.02	.04	.00	

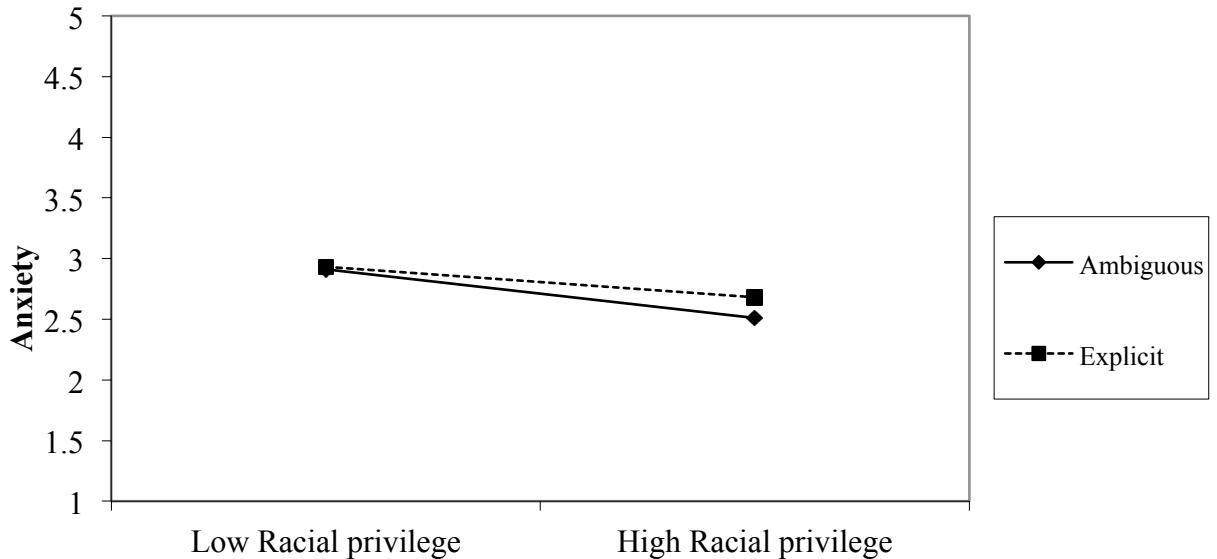
Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

and disc \times institutional discrimination) approached statistical significance, $R^2 = .21$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$ $F(2, 396) = 2.80$, $p = .06$. The interaction between discrimination and color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege was a significant predictor, $b = .04$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .01$, though the effect was small.

To examine the nature of the interaction effect, variables of interest were centered and plotted using predicted values for representative high and low racial privilege on anxiety (see Figure 2). There was a significant negative slope for ambiguous discrimination ($b = -.04$, $p < .001$) and the slope for explicit discrimination was approaching significance ($b = -.02$, $p = .05$). In other words, participants in the

Figure 2

Interaction Effect Between Color-Blind Racial Ideology about Racial Privilege on Discrimination-Anxiety



ambiguously discrimination condition who had more color-blindness about racial privilege experienced less anxiety compared to participants with less color-blindness.

State self-esteem. In Step 1, pre-experiment state self-esteem explained 4.4% of the variance in scores on post-experiment state self-esteem (hereafter referred to as state self-esteem), $b = .64$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$. In Step 2, the main effect of racial/ethnic discrimination was not statistically significant $R^2 = .44$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$ (explicit discrimination coded as 1). In Step 3, the incremental main effect of the set of color-blind racial ideologies (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) on state self-esteem was not statistically significant ($R^2 = .45$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$). In Step 4, the incremental effect of the set of two interaction terms between discrimination and color-blind racial ideologies (disc ×

racial privilege and disc \times institutional discrimination) did not explain a significant difference in the variance of change in social self-esteem, $R^2 = .45$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$.

Behavioral Response

The second research question examined behavioral responses to racial/ethnic discrimination and the moderating role of color-blind racial ideology in this association. Analyses are separated into two sections below. The first section examines engagement and disengagement as behavioral responses. This set of analyses is based on participants' self-report of whether they would engage or disengage in the vignette situation. The aim of the second section is to further examine the unique ways in which Asian Americans behaviorally respond to discrimination and the moderating role of color-blind racial ideology in this association using quantified qualitative data (Sandelowski, Voils, & Knafl, 2009). This set of analyses is based on participants' response to an open-ended question about what they would do or say in the vignette situation.

Quantitative data (engagement versus disengagement). A hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict behavioral response – a binary (engagement or disengagement) variable. This technique assessed the contribution of type of racial/ethnic discrimination (explicit or ambiguous discrimination), color-blind racial ideology (racial privilege and institutional discrimination), and the interaction term of these two variables (disc \times racial privilege and disc \times institutional discrimination) to predict the probability of being in the engage group. The hierarchy consisted of three blocks and was structured as follows: (1) type of discrimination (explicit or ambiguous discrimination), (2) two types of color-blind racial ideologies (racial privilege and institutional discrimination), and (3) two interaction terms (disc \times racial privilege and

disc \times institutional discrimination). Beta coefficients from logistic regression equations predict the log odds (logit) for engagement.

A test of the full model against a model with only predictors was not statistically significant, indicating that the interaction terms as a set did not reliably distinguish between those who engaged and disengaged ($\chi^2 = 10.29, p = .07$ with $df = 5$). In the final multivariable logistic regression, institutional discrimination was a significant predictor. For every unit increase in Asian Americans' color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination, the likelihood of responding with engagement decreased slightly ($OR = .92$). In other words, each additional unit increase in color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination results in 8% reduction ($1 - .92 = .08$) in the odds of engaging (95% CI [.86, .99]). Results of the hierarchical logistic regression analysis are provided in Table 6.

Qualitative data (types of behavioral responses). Qualitative analysis was conducted to examine different styles of engagement. Based on prior research, styles of engaging with someone who has acted in a discriminatory way (e.g., Jim in the vignette conditions) primarily fall into two broad categories: positive and negative counters (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Open-ended responses were analyzed to further examine styles within these broader categories of positive and negative counters (see Appendix E). The following codes were derived: (a) *positive counter - inquire*, (b) *positive counter - inquire & affiliate*, (c) *negative counter - demand explanation*, and (d) *negative counter - communicate being offended*. See Table 7 for frequency of types of response, including disengagement.

Table 6

Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Engagement vs. Disengagement

	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>OR</i>	CI (95%)	
			Lower	Upper
Block 1				
Disc – Explicit	-.42(.24)	.66	.41	1.05
Block 2				
Disc – Explicit	-.41(.24)	.66	.41	1.06
Racial Privilege	.01(.02)	1.01	.97	1.06
Institutional Disc	-.05(.02)*	.95	.91	.99
Block 3				
Disc – Explicit	-.45(.25)	.64	.39	1.03
Racial Privilege	.05(.04)	1.05	.98	1.13
Institutional Disc	-.08(.04)*	.92	.86	.99
Disc × Racial Privilege	-.06(.05)	.94	.85	1.03
Disc × Institutional Disc	.06(.05)	1.07	.97	1.17

Note. * $p < .05$. The dependent variable in this analysis is behavioral response coded so that 0 = disengagement and 1 = engagement.

The *positive counter – inquire* code reflects a response that has a neutral to warm/friendly effort to follow-up about the invitation or the block party. Inquiries can range from mentioning something about the invitation or block party, stating that they must have missed the invite, and making a friendly “joke” about not being invited. The *positive counter – inquire & affiliate* code reflects a response that has a neutral to warm/friendly effort to follow-up about the invitation or the block party, in addition to attempts to increase the extent to which one is viewed as a member of the community and/or to affiliate with Jim (i.e., emphasize commonalities and to present oneself as an in-group member). Strategies of affiliating fell into two categories: offering help (e.g., planning the party, setting up the party) or sharing one’s desire (e.g., excitement, anticipation) to go to the party and/or be a part of the community by either expressing positive emotion or stating their interest in the event.

Table 7

Types of Response by Discrimination Condition

Response	Discrimination Condition			Total
	Ambiguous	Explicit		
Disengagement	39	56	95	
Positive Counter				
Positive – Inquire	105	85	190	
Positive – Inquire & Affiliate	40	41	81	
Negative Counter				
Negative – Demand Explanation	6	13	19	
Negative – Communicate Being Offended	2	4	6	

Note. 5 cases could not be coded due to short, uninformative responses and 8 cases were missing.

The *negative counter – demand explanation* code was given when responses opposed or challenged Jim to give an explanation about his intentions and/or the reason

for not being invited to the party. Note that in this code, responses convey to Jim that mistreatment or discrimination is suspected. Last, the *negative counter – communicate being offended* reflects an effort to oppose or challenge Jim in a way that communicates his/her displeasure about his behavior. Sometimes this communication may be veiled in the form of sarcasm.

A custom multinomial logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict behavioral response types (i.e., positive counter, negative counter, disengagement). The four coded behavioral response types (i.e., *positive counter – inquire*, *positive counter – inquire & affiliate*, *negative counter – demand explanation*, and *negative counter – communicate being offended*) were collapsed into two categories (positive counter and negative counter) to reduce Type I error. In addition to these two categories, disengagement (e.g., no counter) was also examined as a behavioral response type, creating a total of three different response types. A custom technique was used because the default IBS 22 Multinomial Logistic Regression procedure does not allow for hierarchical examination of main effects and interaction effects. Therefore, separate regressions were run with main effects only and then main effects and interaction effects (in a single step).

In the first regression analysis (main effects only), the final estimated multinomial logistic regression model fit significantly better than a model with no predictors ($\chi^2 = 21.33, p < .01$ with $df = 6$). The type of discrimination played a statistically significant role in differentiating the positive counter group from the disengagement group. The odds of individuals in the ambiguous discrimination condition responding with positive counter are 1.65 times the odds for individuals in the explicit discrimination condition. In

other words, individuals in the ambiguous discrimination condition showed a 65% increase ($1.65 - 1 = .65$) in odds of responding with positive counter. In addition, for every unit increase in Asian Americans' color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination, the odds of responding with negative counter rather than disengagement decreased slightly ($OR = .90$). Specifically, each additional unit increase in color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination results in 10% reduction ($.90 - 1 = -.10$) in odds of responding with negative counter.

In the second regression analysis (main effects and interaction effects included), the final estimated multinomial logistic regression model fit significantly better than a model with no predictors ($\chi^2 = 27.68, p < .01$ with $df = 10$). The main effect with type of discrimination remained ($OR = 1.72$). Individuals in the ambiguous discrimination condition showed a 72% increase ($1.72 - 1 = .72$) in odds of responding with positive counter (see Table 8).

Post-Hoc Analyses

Aggregate color-blind racial ideology. Given the high correlation between color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination ($r = .60$), all analyses were conducted with an aggregate measure of racial color-blindness (i.e., combined scores on racial privilege and institutional discrimination).

Distress. Anger and anxiety was also aggregated as an overall indicator of distress because of the strong correlation ($r = .72$ for pre-experiment scores and $r = .79$ for post-experiment scores). Hierarchical regression analyses were used to test the hypothesized main and interaction effects (see Table 9) following the same steps as the original

Table 8

Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Positive Counter vs Disengagement and Negative Counter vs. Disengagement

	Main Effects Only				Main and Interaction Effects			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>OR</i>	CI (95%)		<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>OR</i>	CI (95%)	
			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper
Positive Counter vs. Disengagement								
Intercept	.84(.16)				.83(.16)			
Discrimination – Amb	.50(.24)*	1.65	1.02	2.65	.54(.25)*	1.72	1.06	2.80
Racial Privilege	.02(.02)	1.02	.97	1.07	.01(.03)	.99	.93	1.05
Institutional Disc	-.04(.02)	.96	.92	1.00	-.02(.03)	.99	.93	1.05
Amb Disc × Racial Privilege					.07(.05)	1.07	.97	1.18
Amb Disc × Institutional Disc					-.06(.05)	.94	.86	1.03
Negative Counter vs. Disengagement								
Intercept	-1.36(.31)				-1.25(.29)			
Discrimination – Amb	-.41(.48)	.67	.26	1.72	-1.21(.78)	.30	.07	1.36
Racial Privilege	-.04(.05)	.96	.86	1.06	-.03(.06)	.97	.86	1.09
Institutional Disc	-.10(.05)*	.90	.82	1.00	-.06(.06)	.94	.84	1.06
Amb Disc × Racial Privilege					-.09(.14)	.91	.70	1.19
Amb Disc × Institutional Disc					-.12(.12)	.89	.71	1.11

Note. * $p < .05$. *OR* = odds ratio, Amb = ambiguous discrimination.

analyses. In Step 1, pre-experiment distress explained 12.2% of the variance in post-experiment distress (hereafter referred to as distress), $b = .45$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$. In Step 2, the main effect of racial/ethnic discrimination on distress was statistically significant, $R^2 = .17$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$; $b = .39$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$ (explicit discrimination coded as 1). In Step 3, the main effect of the aggregate measure of color-blind racial ideology on distress was statistically significant, $R^2 = .20$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$; $b = -.02$, $SE = .00$, $p < .001$. In Step 4, the incremental effect of the interaction term between discrimination and aggregate color-blind racial ideology ($disc \times$ racial color-blindness) did not explain a significant difference in the variance of change in distress, $R^2 = .20$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$.

State self-esteem. In Step 1, pre-experiment state self-esteem explained 4.4% of the variance in scores on post-experiment state self-esteem (hereafter referred to as state self-esteem), $b = .64$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$. In Step 2, the main effect of racial/ethnic discrimination was not statistically significant $R^2 = .44$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$ (explicit discrimination coded as 1). In Step 3, the main effect of the aggregate measure of color-blind racial ideology on state self-esteem was not statistically significant, $R^2 = .45$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$. In Step 4, the incremental effect of the interaction term between discrimination and aggregate color-blind racial ideology ($disc \times$ racial color-blindness) did not explain a significant difference in the variance of change in state self-esteem, $R^2 = .45$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$ (see Table 9).

Engagement versus disengagement. A test of the full model against a model with only predictors was not statistically significant, indicating that the interaction terms as a set did not reliably distinguish between those who engaged and disengaged ($\chi^2 = 5.79$, $p = .12$ with $df = 3$). In the final multivariable logistic regression, racial/ethnic

Table 9

Post-Hoc Analyses Multiple Regression Analyses Testing Aggregate Measure of Color-Blind Racial Ideology as a Moderator

Step and Variable	B	SE	β	sr^2	R^2
Dependent variable: Distress (Anger + Anxiety)					
Step 1					.12***
(Constant)	2.63	.04			
Pre Distress	.45***	.06	.35		
Step 2					.17***
(Constant)	2.43	.06			
Pre Distress	.47***	.06	.36	.13	
Disc	.39***	.09	.21	.04	
Step 3					.20***
(Constant)	2.43	.06			
Pre Distress	.44***	.06	.34	.11	
Disc	.39***	.08	.21	.04	
Color-blind	-.02***	.00	-.20	.04	
Step 4					.20
(Constant)	2.43	.06			
Pre Distress	.44***	.06	.34	.11	
Disc	.39***	.09	.21	.04	
Color-blind	-.02	.01	-.22	.02	
Disc × Color-blind	.00	.01	.03	.00	
Dependent variable: state self-esteem					
Step 1					
(Constant)	3.50	.04			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67		
Step 2					.44
(Constant)	3.51	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67	.44	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.01	.00	
Step 3					.45
(Constant)	3.51	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64***	.04	.67	.44	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.02	.00	
Color-blind	.01	.00	.06	.00	
Step 4					.45
(Constant)	3.51	.05			
Pre Self-Esteem	.64	.04	.67	.44	
Disc	-.03	.07	-.02	.00	
Color-blind	.01	.01	.07	.00	
Disc × Color-blind	.00	.01	-.01	.00	

Note. *** $p < .001$.

discrimination condition (explicit or ambiguous discrimination), the aggregate measure of color-blind racial ideology, and the interaction term (disc \times racial color-blindness) did not significantly predict probability of being in the engage group (see Table 10).

Table 10

Post-Hoc Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Engagement vs. Disengagement

	B (SE)	OR	CI (95%)	
			Lower	Upper
Block 1				
Disc – Explicit	-.42(.24)	.66	.41	1.05
Block 2				
Disc – Explicit	-.41(.24)	.66	.42	1.06
Color-blind	-.02(.01)	.98	.96	1.00
Block 3				
Disc – Explicit	-.41(.24)	.98	.41	1.06
Color-blind	-.02(.02)	1.05	.95	1.02
Disc \times Color-blind	-.06(.05)	.94	.96	1.04

Types of behavioral response. In the first regression analysis (main effects only), the final estimated multinomial logistic regression model fit significantly better than a model with no predictors ($\chi^2 = 19.21, p < .01$ with $df = 4$). Type of discrimination played a statistically significant role in differentiating the positive counter group from the disengagement group. The odds of individuals in the ambiguous discrimination condition responding with positive counter are 1.64 times the odds for individuals in the explicit discrimination condition (see Table 11). Furthermore, for every unit increase in the aggregate measure of color-blind racial ideology, the odds of responding with negative counter rather than disengagement decreased ($OR = .93$). More specifically, each additional unit increase in Asian Americans' overall level of racial color-blindness results in 7% reduction (.93 – 1 = -.07) in odds of responding with negative counter.

Table 11

Post-Hoc Multinomial Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Positive Counter vs. Disengagement and Negative Counter vs. Disengagement

	Main Effects Only				Main and Interaction Effects			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>OR</i>	CI (95%)		<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>OR</i>	CI (95%)	
			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper
Positive Counter vs. Disengagement								
Intercept	.83(.16)				.82(.16)			
Discrimination – Amb	.50(.24)*	1.64	1.02	2.64	.50(.24)*	1.65	1.02	2.65
Color-blind	-.01(.01)	.99	.97	1.01	-.02(.01)	.99	.96	1.01
Amb Disc × Color-blind					.00(.02)	1.00	.96	1.05
Exp Disc × Color-blind					0 ^a	-	-	-
Negative Counter vs. Disengagement								
Intercept	-1.39(.31)				-1.25(.29)			
Discrimination – Amb	-.41(.48)	.66	.26	1.71	-1.26(.77)	.28	.06	1.28
Color-blind	-.07(.02)**	.93	.89	.97	-.05(.03)	.95	.91	1.00
Amb Disc × Color-blind					-.10(.06)	.90	.80	1.01
Exp Disc × Color-blind					0 ^a	-	-	-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. *OR* = odds ratio, Amb = ambiguous discrimination.

In the second regression analysis (main effects and interaction effects included), the final estimated multinomial logistic regression model fit significantly better than a model with no predictors ($\chi^2 = 23.28, p < .01$ with $df = 6$). The main effect with type of discrimination remained ($OR = 1.65$). Individuals in the ambiguous discrimination condition showed a 65% increase in odds of responding with positive counter.

Color-blind racial ideology and attributions. Multiple linear regressions were conducted to examine the role of types of color-blind racial ideology on attributions for not receiving an invitation to the neighborhood block party (rated on a seven-point scale from 1 [*not at all*] to 7 [*very much*]). It was found that participants who endorsed more color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination tend to make attributions to non-racial reasons (see Table 12).

Table 12

<i>Regression Analyses Testing Color-Blind Racial Ideology on Attributions</i>		
Attributions	B (SE)	
“an honest mistake”		
Racial Privilege	.04(.02)*	
Institutional Disc	.03(.02)	
“my race/ethnicity”		
Racial Privilege	-.06(.02)***	
Institutional Disc	-.01(.02)	
“my skin color”		
Racial Privilege	-.05(.02)**	
Institutional Disc	-.02(.02)	
“miscommunication”		
Racial Privilege	.03(.02)	
Institutional Disc	.04**(.02)	
“a racially prejudiced neighbor”		
Racial Privilege	-.07(.02)***	
Institutional Disc	-.01(.02)	
“racial discrimination”		
Racial Privilege	-.07(.02)***	
Institutional Disc	-.01(.02)	

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

Comparing attributions by behavioral response. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare attributions (rated on a seven-point scale from 1 [*not at all* to] 7 [*very much*]) by behavioral response (engagement or disengagement). As Table 13 depicts, there are significant differences in attributions by behavioral response. Participants who said they would respond with engagement made significantly more attributions to “an honest mistake” and “miscommunication” than participants who said they would respond with disengagement.

Table 13

Attributions by Behavioral Response

	Behavioral Response		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Engagement	Disengagement		
An honest mistake	4.46 (1.67)	3.31 (1.70)	-5.81***	393
My race/ethnicity	4.18 (1.61)	4.77 (1.66)	3.04**	393
My skin color	3.80 (1.61)	4.09 (1.85)	1.44	393
Miscommunication	4.24 (1.65)	3.61 (1.53)	-3.30**	393
A racially prejudiced neighbor (i.e., Jim)	4.21 (1.65)	4.68 (1.71)	2.38*	393
Racial discrimination	4.11 (1.68)	4.66 (1.76)	2.74**	393

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

CHAPTER 3: DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to acquire a greater understanding of how Asian Americans experience and manage racial/ethnic discrimination, specifically by examining the influence of person characteristics (color-blind racial ideology) and situation characteristics (type of discrimination) on affect, state self-esteem, and behavioral response to discrimination. It was hypothesized that Asian Americans would experience more negative affect (i.e., anger, anxiety) and lower state self-esteem immediately after the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition relative to the

ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination condition because the former type of discrimination is more easily identifiable and objectionable. Asian Americans who endorsed more color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination were expected to be protected against negative affect (not state self-esteem) in the ambiguous discrimination condition because these individuals are less inclined to attribute the ambiguous condition to racism, which helps to palliate immediate distress, but harms sense of self. It was hypothesized that color-blind racial ideology would have no moderating effect in the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition.

In terms of behavioral responses, Asian Americans were expected to be more likely to engage when encountering explicit racial/ethnic discrimination in comparison to ambiguous discrimination. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that Asian Americans who endorsed more color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination would be more likely to disengage in the ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination conditions because they are less inclined to attribute the ambiguous condition to racism and less prepared to manage the stressor with a response in the moment. It was hypothesized that color-blind racial ideology would have no moderating effect in the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition. A priori hypotheses were not made about the main and interaction effects of racial/ethnic discrimination and color-blind racial ideology on types of behavioral response.

Overall, the results from the study provide mixed support for our hypotheses. Explicit racial/ethnic discrimination is associated with immediate psychological distress (both anger and anxiety) more so than ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination. As theorized, it seems that color-blind racial ideology could indeed function as a cognitive

schema that informs the appraisal of race-related stimuli (Neville et al., 2000). Asian Americans who endorsed more color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination were found to experience less anger. Furthermore, there was a strong trend (although not statistically significant at an alpha level of 0.05) that showed Asian Americans who endorsed more color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination experienced less anxiety. These findings on attitudes about racial privilege and institutional discrimination lend credence to the idea that racial ideologies can serve a palliative function for Asian Americans (Jost & Thompson, 2000; Quinn & Crocker, 1999). Although the specific mechanism through which color-blind racial ideology is palliating remains unclear, it is possible that Asian Americans who are more racially color-blind may deny that an event is racially/ethnically motivated, which then circumvents experiencing distressing emotions.

Contrary to hypothesis, racial/ethnic discrimination did not have a significant effect on state self-esteem in the social domain. The finding is quite opposite to prevailing literature (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Armenta et al., 2013; Barry & Grilo, 2003; Greene et al., 2006; R. M. Lee, 2003). There are a couple of possible reasons for this result. First, racial/ethnic discrimination may only have a negative impact on self-esteem after experiencing repeated offenses of a similar type. Scholars have suggested that it is the cumulative effect of racial/ethnic discrimination in a particular domain that impacts self-esteem (Smart Richman & Leary, 2007). To this end, Asian American's state self-esteem may have been unperturbed by discrimination because they had never (or rarely) experienced racial/ethnic discrimination of such a kind (e.g., rejection from a neighborhood). Therefore, their sense of personal control, an essential piece of

psychological well-being, as it relates to similar social situations described in the vignette has not yet been challenged, and thus, their self-esteem in the social domain may be intact. It is also plausible that the racial/ethnic discrimination conditions challenged a different part of Asian Americans' self-concept other than their social state self-esteem. For example, Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) work suggests that racial/ethnic discrimination challenges collective identity (i.e., identity of oneself as a member of a particular social group), which would impact collective self-esteem (i.e., perceptions of worth as a member of a particular social group) more so than social self-esteem, which are self-evaluations based on social attributes (e.g., being regarded as a success or failure, being concerned about what kind of impression one is making).

No specific hypotheses were made about the impact of color-blind racial ideology on social state self-esteem. According to theory, color-blind racial ideology is expected to protect against negative affect, but have a negative impact on self-esteem (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; O'Brien & Major, 2005). It is interesting to note that this study did not find that attitudes about racial privilege and institutional discrimination have a significant effect on social state self-esteem. In contrast to what was found in the current study, Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) found that minimizing attributions to discrimination, which is a common consequence of racial color-blindness, preserves self-esteem in the social domain. These equivocal findings implicate a need for further research on the costs and benefits of endorsing system-justifying beliefs, such as color-blind racial ideology, for racial/ethnic minorities. It seems worthwhile for future research to specify the aspect of self-esteem that would be harmed when racial/ethnic minorities endorse color-blind racial ideology.

It is important to recognize that only one of six hypothesized interactions was found to be significant, which suggests only partial support for the interaction between racial/ethnic discrimination and color-blind racial ideology (racial privilege and institutional discrimination) on anger, anxiety, and state self-esteem. The lack of significant findings may be due to the measures used in this study. The items that were used to assess affect may have measured more trait-like, stable differences in mood, which is what scholars have noted about similarly structured affect measures (i.e., PANAS; Schmukle, Egloff, & Burns, 2002). In an attempt to circumvent this potential measurement issue, participants in this study had been instructed to “indicate to what extent [they] feel this way in GENERAL” in the first survey and then instructed to “indicate to what extent [they] feel this way RIGHT NOW” in the second survey to differentiate stable differences in mood from situation-provoked differences in affect. Yet, it is possible that this prime was not sufficient to capture situation-specific changes in affect based on racial/ethnic discrimination. As already mentioned, too, it is possible that the particular aspect of self-esteem that was measured in this study is not relevant in the context of racial/ethnic discrimination.

The lack of significant findings on the interaction effects also may be partially due to the vignette in the discrimination conditions. This study used vignettes as participants imagined racial/ethnic discrimination. A concern with the vignette methodology is whether artificially constructed, brief written narratives can adequately portray a real context, and thus elicit responses that would be similar to real world scenarios (Barter & Renold, 2000). Although manipulation check analyses suggested that participants interpreted the racial/ethnic vignettes as intended, it is possible that the

scenarios described in the vignette did not elicit emotional responses as impactful as would a real world scenario of being racially/ethnically discriminated.

Despite these limitations, the current study extends the research in understanding how color-blind racial ideology informs Asian Americans' experience of racial/ethnic discrimination. The hypothesis that color-blind racial ideology would moderate the association between discrimination and anxiety was supported, although the effect was small. Asian Americans who are more color-blind about racial privilege experience less anxiety when confronted with ambiguous discrimination compared to Asian Americans with less color-blindness. This finding suggests that Asian Americans who do not believe that being White grants privileges that remove the challenges and barriers that many racial/ethnic minorities face seem to experience ambiguous acts of racial/ethnic discrimination in a non-threatening way that dampens the anxiety response. They may be more inclined to give someone the "benefit of the doubt," so to speak, in instances of ambiguous racial/ethnic discrimination and interpret an assailant's behavior as benign.

Asian Americans appear to use multiple different types of behavioral strategies when confronted with racial/ethnic discrimination. In this sample, about 24% percent chose to disengage and about 75% chose to engage with racial/ethnic discrimination in either a positive or negative manner. In comparison with Fleming and colleagues' (2012) analysis of how African Americans had dealt with a racist incident in the past, Asian Americans from our sample were similarly inclined to disengage from encounters of racial/ethnic discrimination (24% in present study vs. 27% in Fleming's study). One notable difference between the current study findings and Fleming and colleagues' (2012) findings is that 76% of participants in the present study's sample stated that they

would confront the issue while only 32% of African Americans in Fleming et al.'s (2012) sample stated that they would confront the issue. Before further interpreting these differences, however, it is important to note that confrontation in the way that it was defined in Fleming et al.'s (2012) study refers to behaviors that the current study categorized as negative counter (e.g., contentious). Thus, while 32% of African American in Fleming et al.'s (2012) study used negative counter, only 6% of Asian American in our study used negative counter (the remaining 69% used positive counter). Hence, it seems that Asian Americans might be less inclined to address racial/ethnic discrimination in a manner that directly names the problem. E. A. Lee et al.'s (2012) study further supports the finding that Asian Americans may be less inclined to directly respond to racism (i.e., confront or express displeasure, disapproval, or anger toward an assailant). They compared Asian American women's response to a hypothetical racist scenario with Black American women's response to the same scenario and found that the former group is more likely to use indirect verbal communication than direct verbal communication (e.g., "Are you cold?" vs. "Please shut the window").

There was limited support for the set of hypotheses about behavioral responses (engagement vs. disengagement) to a racist event. The type of racial/ethnic discrimination had no effect on likelihood of engaging in comparison to disengaging. This means that even though Asian Americans are significantly more distressed after experiencing explicit racial/ethnic discrimination, their behavioral response to the stressor does not change. The current study's finding that distress does not inform behavior is inconsistent with prior research showing that distressing affect should lead individuals to act in ways that helps them exert control in the situation (i.e., engage) as a self-regulatory

strategy (Monteith, 1993). Although no specific hypotheses were made about the impact of color-blind racial ideology on behaviors, it is noteworthy that Asian Americans with more color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination are less likely to respond with engagement. Coupled with the finding that denial of institutional discrimination is associated with less anger and anxiety, it is possible that Asian Americans who endorse higher color-blind racial ideology about institutional discrimination did not engage because they did not see the encounter as being racially/ethnically motivated. This explanation is supported by the post-hoc finding that participants who were higher in denial of institutional discrimination tended to make attributions about the conflict presented in the vignette to “miscommunication” rather than racial reasons. There was no support for the hypothesized interaction between racial/ethnic discrimination and color-blind racial ideology about racial privilege and institutional discrimination on behavior. Similar to aforementioned explanations, the lack of significant findings on the interaction effects may be partially due to the strength of the vignette conditions.

Results from the exploratory analysis looking at behavioral response types showed that Asian Americans who experience ambiguous discrimination are more inclined to engage with the issue in a positive manner. It is possible that they are suspending judgment about the potentially discriminatory situation in an effort to gather more information. This ability to congenially engage with a potential assailant of racial/ethnic discrimination is possibly afforded to them because they experience less anxiety and anger in the moment, and therefore, have more internal resources to purposefully navigate through the situation. Positive counters to racial/ethnic

discrimination may erroneously be construed as a “passive” response. However, findings from the qualitative analysis portion of this study show that some Asian Americans quite strategically and assertively use positive counters in a way to project an image of oneself as a deserving member of the community, particularly as evidenced by the *positive counter – inquire & affiliate code*. Fleming and colleagues (2012) also noted that African Americans commonly used this strategy. They found that in addition to challenging out-group members, African Americans participants heavily used the strategy of managing the self, or “projecting an image of oneself that is positive or conform to out-group norms, so as to gain recognition” (p. 408).

It is interesting to note that Asian Americans in the explicit racial/ethnic discrimination condition were not more inclined to respond with negative counter even when they had enough information to come to the conclusion that they had been victimized. Confronting an assailant oftentimes comes with the consequence of expending additional time and energy defending oneself against potential lash back, such as being called “too sensitive.” Both the act of positively engaging with an assailant and the act of contentiously confronting an assailant demand expenditure of internal resources (cognitive, emotional, and behavioral). Some scholars have even gone as far as to label the amount of energy lost to coping with racial/ethnic discrimination, either directly or indirectly, as “racial battle fatigue” (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). With this theoretical framing of the costs of coping with race-related stress in mind, it is challenging to say which strategy is “better.”

Limitations and Future Directions

The findings of the present study should be considered in the context of the following limitations. First, as already noted, only one out of the eight (if including analyses with behaviors) hypothesized interactions were found significant, which suggests limited to no support for the interaction between racial/ethnic discrimination and color-blind racial ideology on negative affect, state self-esteem, and behavior to a racist event. Therefore, the aforementioned interpretation of the interaction effect should be read with caution. As discussed earlier, the lack of support for these interaction effects may be due to the vignette. The current study assumed that the discrimination vignettes presented to the participants were realistic enough to elicit accurate reporting of authentic emotional reactions as well as coping strategy use. However, the association between participants' self-report and actual reactions is assumed. Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) found discrepancy between female participants' imagined and actual response to sexual harassment where they observed that participants tend to overestimate confrontational responses in vignettes. They suggest that vignettes may be assessing participants' beliefs about how they should or could respond, which may be very different from how they do respond in a real life situation. In real life there are factors, such as power differential, that have a strong influence on the way that people feel and respond to threat (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998). Despite the support for using the vignette methodology to assess coping (Kuo, Roysircar, & Newby-Clark, 2006), the extent to which the present study's participants coping responses truly reflect actual coping behaviors is undeterminable at this point. Future studies could employ experimental techniques to examine how Asian Americans respond to a real-life encounter of racial/ethnic discrimination.

Second, future studies should consider controlling for within-group variability among participants in terms of centrality of racial/ethnic identity, or the degree to which one's racial/ethnic identity is core to one's self-concept (Sellers et al., 1998). Among many racial/ethnic minorities, racial/ethnic identity is just but one part of many other important social identities. Whether Asian Americans behave in a way that is in line with the content of their racial/ethnic identity (i.e., racially-based cognitive schema) depends on the centrality of their racial/ethnic identity (Yip, 2005). For Asian Americans whose racial/ethnic identity is not the most central part of their identity, color-blind racial ideology might be less influential in guiding and facilitating response(s) to race-related stimuli.

Third, the use of a convenience sample in the present study requires careful interpretation about the generalizability of its findings to the broader Asian American community. There is the possibility that Asian Americans who participated in this study differ from those who declined. After all, it is reasonable to assume that individuals who volunteer their time to research on the racial/ethnic experiences of Asian Americans are generally more devoted and committed to advancing the rights of this community, even if they received compensation for their participation. This self-selection bias could mean that participants in our sample are more aware that race and racism are factors that systematically present social challenges for Asian Americans, which means that they may endorse less color-blind racial ideology than the broader Asian American population.

Conclusions

The present study contributes to the literature on coping with racial/ethnic discrimination in a few novel ways. By examining how coping manifests as a broad set of

processes beyond intra-psychological mechanisms that are enacted in response to stress, the study provides a fuller, and more theoretically accurate picture of how Asian Americans negotiate racially charged issues. By nature of examining behaviors, this study focuses on proximal outcomes associated with racial/ethnic discrimination, which may help scholars better understand the mechanism through which discrimination harms health. Last, the study highlighted that stress is a product of interactions between the person and environment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Asian Americans' conceptions about race and racism, including their beliefs around how significantly these factors pose as social barriers, inform their experiences of racial/ethnic offenses. The study demonstrates that one's beliefs and attitudes do color everyday experiences. Whether being blind to the systems and institutions that persistently privilege White Americans at the expense of racial/ethnic minorities is helpful or unhelpful for Asian Americans is a question that likely has no simple answer. With more research, educators and clinicians may be able to begin to identify, for whom, when, and under what circumstances racial consciousness is valuable.

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APPENDIX A

Literature Review

Discourse on race in America vacillates between two competing narratives. The dominant narrative asserts that racism – construed as acts of overt racial hatred and bigotry – is a thing of the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Neville, Awad, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013). This narrative highlights the social and legal condemnation of explicitly discriminatory attitudes and practices, such as Jim Crow laws (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, & Embrick, 2004), and asserts that racism has been dismantled. The election of President Obama as the first African American US President is often presented as an example of a “post-racial” society. The counter narrative argues that it is premature to say that America has successfully transitioned to a “post-racial” society. It is instead argued that racism has not decreased in significance; racism has merely become less conspicuous. That is, racist attitudes and practices have changed into a more “ambiguous and nebulous” form (Sue et al., 2007a, p. 272), which makes it all the more challenging to identify and to go unnoticed. A growing body of literature from multiple disciplines supports the assertions of these individuals who state that racism is alive and well today (e.g., Feagin, Vera, & Batur, 2001). For instance, public opinion polls show that racial prejudice has not improved since the election of President Barack Obama and, in fact, has slightly regressed (Agiesta & Ross, 2012).

Some may wonder why there are such contrasting narratives about race. Scholars have attributed this chasm to the changing expressions of racism. Since the civil rights movement in the 1960s, America has been moving towards embracing color-blind racial ideology, which is a set of beliefs and attitudes that minimize, and even deny, the

significance of race and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Neville et al., 2013). On the surface, this ideology appears benign and perhaps even aspirational as seen in statements such as, “there is only one race – the human race.” However, deeper analysis of this ideology uncovers that it preserves racial inequality through inaction (Neville et al., 2013).

It is in the dominant race’s interest to “sell” color-blind racial ideology to racial/ethnic minorities, but minorities develop their own beliefs that are for or against the ideological positions of the dominant race. Research shows that minorities oftentimes hold oppositional views to dominant racial ideologies. Notably, much of this research focuses on the experiences of Black Americans in juxtaposition to White Americans. Black Americans tend to be more skeptical, in comparison to White Americans, that the US has made significant racial progress and support policies that assist people as members of groups, like affirmative action (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005). These divergent views are exemplary of the fact that how minorities make sense of the racial order are fundamentally shaped by their position and experiences in this order. To this end, it is necessary to look at Asian Americans’ racial experiences separate of Black Americans’ and White Americans’ experiences. This literature review aims to explore how Asian Americans understand their position in the racial order, and how these views subsequently inform the way they experience and manage racial/ethnic discrimination.

The first section of this chapter discusses theory on the racialization of Asian Americans. The second section focuses on Asian Americans’ experience with racial/ethnic discrimination and empirical findings on the psychological correlates of discrimination. The third section further examines the mechanism in which racial/ethnic discrimination impacts psychological health by situating this relation within a stress and

coping framework (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), which posits that vulnerability to the onset of psychological problems depend on appraisal of the stressor as well as resources available to cope with the stressor. In this section, behaviors are examined as a coping response. The fourth section examines color-blind racial ideology as an individual-level variable that moderates immediate psychological consequences as well as behavioral responses to racial/ethnic discrimination.

Situating Asian Americans

The racialization (i.e., formation and characterization of racial categories) of minorities is reflected in the public discourses that surround them. Rhetoric on Asian Americans has shifted throughout US history. Earlier views of Asian Americans centered on how they are unassimilable and even backwards. Sometimes deemed as the “yellow peril,” Asian Americans are stereotyped as economic, political, cultural, and sexual threats. In fact, this antagonistic sentiment served as the sociopolitical backdrop for banning Asians from immigrating into the US up until the mid-1960s (Espiritu, 2008; Kibria, 1998). Following the 1965 Immigration Act, the racial discourse surrounding Asian Americans took a radical change. A rhetoric of Asians as the “model minority” replaced the previously unflattering portrayal of members of this group. The “model minority” stereotype valorizes Asian Americans for their economic and educational achievements, which are presumably attributable to cultural values (e.g., strong work ethic and commitment to family and education) that set them apart from other racial/ethnic minority groups (Kibria, 1998).

Whether portrayed as the “yellow peril” or the “model minority,” both types of discourses perpetuate the image of Asian Americans as existing outside the nation’s

polity (R. G. Lee, 1999; Yu, 2001). Despite increased access to naturalization and citizenship, Asian Americans still lack access to social citizenship (Park, 2005), as evidenced by frequent portrayal as foreigners (C. J. Kim, 1999). Claire Jean Kim's (1999) theory of racial triangulation draws on a two-axes approach to frame this racial positioning of Asian Americans. While most scholars conceptualize racialization as occurring on a Black-White (i.e., inferior-superior) axis, she adds an insider-outsider axis. In this framework, Asian Americans remain outsiders despite climbing the ladder of racial superiority. That is, they can be threatening foreigners ("yellow peril") or helpful foreigners ("model minority"), but nonetheless, un-American. The theory of racial triangulation is supported by yet another popular stereotype of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners" (Ancheta, 2006; Wu, 2003), where the name in itself indicates that there is very little that Asian Americans can do to escape the ascription as "foreigner."

Racism and Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Racism is defined as attitudes, ideas, and practices that perpetuate inequalities along racial lines (Feagin, 2000). Racism can be enacted institutionally in practices and policies that have differential impact on various racial/ethnic groups (Feagin, 2000) and interpersonally in the unfair treatment of individuals based on racial and ethnic differences (e.g., Gee, Ryan, Laflamme, & Holt, 2006; Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999). The civil rights movement had an undeniable impact on reducing "old fashioned" forms of racism where racial bias and behaviors are overt and direct (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007b). Replacing these readily identifiable and objectionable attitudes and practices are contemporary forms of racism, which are manifested in more covert and ambiguous ways (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Sue et al., 2007a).

When left unexamined, the dominant contemporary stereotype of Asian Americans as a “model minority” facilitates the image of a privileged minority group that is presumably exempt from experiences of racial/ethnic disadvantage (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; F. Wong & Halgin, 2006). However, research has consistently challenged the notion that Asian Americans receive fairer treatment compared to other racial/ethnic minority groups. In fact, in a large nationally representative sample, Asian Americans were at higher risk for racial/ethnic discrimination compared to White Americans ($OR = 6.09, p < 0.01$), only second to the risk that African Americans experience compared to White Americans ($OR = 28.65, p < 0.01$) (Puhl, Andreyeva, & Brownell, 2008).

Racial/ethnic discrimination is the behavioral manifestation of racism in interpersonal contexts. Although there has been a reduction in overt racial/ethnic discrimination, there is no evidence to support its elimination. There has been a consistent amount of reports of anti-Asian violence, including assault and battery, harassment, vandalism, theft, and even homicide, with a slight increase in most recent years (US Department of Justice, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Additionally, the rising number of incidents involving harassment against Asian American youth, oftentimes by other young people, speaks to the persistence of anti-Asian violence as a present-day issue. In 2005, the issue had come to the attention of the Associated Press who chronicled hate crimes committed against Asian American youth, documenting how these youth across the nation were reporting experiences of being beaten, threatened, and called ethnic slurs.

Asian Americans are also increasingly subjected to contemporary forms of racial/ethnic discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Sue et al., 2007a). This “new”

manifestation of racial/ethnic discrimination has been labeled by scholars as racial microaggressions, or “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults” (Sue et al., 2007a, p. 273). Sue and colleagues’ work suggests that Asian Americans may be more likely to experience being treated as an “alien in own land” in comparison to other racial/ethnic minorities. That is, being treated in a manner that assumes one is a foreigner or foreign-born, and thus outside of mainstream American culture. This finding is marked in the sense that it fits with the ways in which Asian Americans have and continue to be racialized as “perpetual foreigners.” For instance, a common experience for Asian Americans is to be asked, “Where are you *really* from?” Although the instigator may not consciously intend to be offensive, and often even perceives their own remark as being well intentioned, recipients are left feeling like their American-ness is questioned and even challenged (Sue et al., 2007a).

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Associated Outcomes

Racial/ethnic discrimination is a psychosocial stressor that negatively impacts the overall well-being of minorities in the US (R. Clark, Anderson, V. R. Clark, & Williams, 1999; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). The stress and coping theory (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) is often identified as a useful framework for conceptualizing the health impact of racial/ethnic discrimination (Clark et al., 1999; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). According to this theoretical framework, stress is “a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being” (Lazarus

& Folkman, 1984, p. 19). When an event is cognitively appraised as beyond one's resources, stress is experienced, which triggers a process of psychological (e.g., anxiety, hopelessness, fear, anger) and physiological responses (e.g., elevated blood pressure, cardiovascular activity), and over time can have negative effects on mental and physical health (e.g., Williams et al., 2003).

There is strong empirical evidence to support that racial/ethnic discrimination adversely affects the mental health of Asian Americans. Discrimination leads to an increase in negative (i.e., psychologically distressing) affect, which can eventually impair mental health. For instance, Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, and Takeuchi (2007) examined a nationally representative sample of Asian Americans and found that racial/ethnic discrimination was significantly associated with depressed mood and anxiety, such that discrimination was associated with greater odds of being classified with any DSM-IV disorder ($OR = 1.90$), depressive disorder ($OR = 1.72$), or anxiety disorder ($OR = 2.24$) within the past 12 months, controlling for contextual factors (e.g., sociodemographic characteristics, acculturative stress, poverty). Specifically, the psychological consequences of discrimination commonly include elevated anxiety and depression (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Hwang & Goto, 2008; I. Kim, 2014; D. L. Lee & Ahn, 2011; R. M. Lee, 2003; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). In a meta-analysis, D. L. Lee and Ahn (2010) examined 23 independent studies on the relation between racial/ethnic discrimination and mental health for Asians, in both US and international samples. They found an effect size of $r = .28$ and $r = .26$ for anxiety and depression, respectively. In a similar meta-analysis

by Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) that examined the discrimination-mental health association across racial groups, they reported an effect size that is notably lower ($r = -.20$) than the effects found in Asian samples.

Although there is extensive literature on the mental health effects of racial/ethnic discrimination, research on the mechanisms that link discrimination to health is still developing (Harrell et al., 2011). Most scholars have pursued examining potential psychophysiological pathways linking discrimination with an individual's reactions, and the concomitant effect on disease. This line of research points to negative affective reactions in response to challenges or threats as an important intermediary variable that eventually shapes physiological processes that lead to more permanent alterations associated with disease (Brondolo et al., 2008). The types of negative affective reactions that are observed in response to challenges or threats are varied, but can broadly be categorized as emotions that elicit an approach orientation (e.g., anger) or avoidance orientation (e.g., anxiety) (Barretto & Ellemers, 2005; Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009).

As noted above, there is a substantial amount of empirical research that demonstrates an association between racial/ethnic discrimination and anxiety (e.g., Cassidy et al., 2004). However, the empirical literature on the relation between racial/ethnic discrimination and anger has been relatively limited. Most of the research on anger as a response to discrimination has been conducted with African Americans or multiethnic samples (Broudy et al., 2007; Simons et al., 2006; Whitbeck, Hoyt, McMorris, Chen, & Stubben, 2001). Broudy et al. (2007), for example, found that baseline measures of racial/ethnic discrimination was associated to daily ratings of anger after controlling for cynicism, hostility, anxiety, and defensiveness. Some studies even

suggest that racial/ethnic discrimination is more strongly related to anger (and hostility) than anxiety and depression (Scott & House, 2005). For instance, Minior, Galea, Stuber, Ahern, and Ompad (2003) found that African American adults were more likely to say they felt angry (in addition to educating others or talking to the person mistreating them) in response to discrimination than to say they felt ashamed (in addition to avoiding or doing nothing).

There are only a handful of studies that examine the link between racial/ethnic discrimination and anger among Asian Americans (Sue et al., 2007b; Yoo & Lee, 2008), but this literature seems to converge with the research on other racial/ethnic minority groups. Among a variety of different Asian ethnic groups, racial/ethnic discrimination is correlated with negative emotional states, including anger (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Yoo & Lee, 2008). In an experimental vignette study, Yoo and Lee (2008) found that Asian American college students who imagined experiencing multiple incidents of racial/ethnic discrimination reported higher negative affect (including anger among other emotions) than those who imagined experiencing a single incident of discrimination. Furthermore, in Cheryan and Monin's (2005) experimental study, Asian American students who were turned away from participating in a research study by a White American experimenter for the reason that one "[has] to be an American to be in this study," reported being more offended and angrier than participants in the control condition who were simply allowed to proceed with a questionnaire.

The negative affective reactions that arise from discrimination are accompanied by decreases in state self-esteem (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Racial/ethnic

discrimination influences self-concept by hindering self-control, which is essential for psychological well-being (see Thompson & Spacapan, 1991, for a review), thereby negatively impacting self-esteem over time (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Armenta et al., 2013; Barry & Grilo, 2003; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; R. M. Lee, 2003). Greene et al. (2006), for example, conducted a longitudinal study examining the correlates of racial/ethnic discrimination among a racially diverse sample of high school students. For Asian Americans (and other racial/ethnic groups), peer and adult racial/ethnic discrimination was significantly associated with decreased self-esteem. Specifically, within-person changes in self-esteem (i.e., decrease over time) were predicted by within-person changes in racial/ethnic discrimination (i.e., increase over time) by adults and peers.

Coping with Racial/Ethnic Discrimination

Despite experiencing stress from discrimination, racial/ethnic minorities and individuals from other socially devalued groups function as well as other non-devalued people (Clark et al., 1999; Major & Schmader, 2001). Theories on social identity and intergroup behavior propose that people make active attempts to maintain positive self-evaluations in the face of negative societal views (Allport, 1954; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In turn, researchers have increasingly been examining how coping responses shape the consequence of racial/ethnic discrimination (e.g., Kuo, 1995; Noh et al., 1999; Yoo & Lee, 2005).

Coping is defined as the process whereby an individual manages a threat (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping researchers unequivocally agree that how people deal with stress can reduce or amplify the adverse effects associated with stress, not just on short-

term functioning, but also long-term functioning, such as the development of mental and physical health problems (Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009; Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007). The vast literature on stress and coping indicates that people respond to stress (i.e., cope) in many different ways. Coping consists of cognitive, emotional and behavioral efforts to manage stress (Holahan, Moos, & Schaefer, 1996; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). However, limited attention has been given to how coping manifests as a broad set of behavioral processes, beyond intra-psychological mechanisms (i.e., cognitive and emotional), that are enacted in response to stress (Holahan et al., 1996).

In Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) original theoretical conceptualization of the stress and coping framework, coping includes volitional behaviors that are employed to withstand stressful events or circumstances. As psychological research on the impact of racial/ethnic discrimination expands to include the target's perspective, it becomes necessary to look at behavioral responses without neglecting to account for more internal, private interactions. Failure to do so portrays an inaccurate view of racial/ethnic minorities as passive recipients who simply absorb racial/ethnic offenses (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003).

Behavioral coping responses are seen as a self-regulation strategy (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Guthrie, 1997). In the stress and coping literature, behavioral regulation strategies are often distinguished in terms of engagement or disengagement with the stressful event or problem (Compas et al., 2001; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). This distinction is consistent with the evolutionary psychology perspective that humans are equipped with a biobehavioral system (e.g., Cannon, 1932) that coordinates response to a stressor,

commonly known as the fight (engagement) or flight (disengagement) response or the approach and avoidance response (Compas et al., 2001).

Whether an individual chooses to engage or disengage from a stressor depends on if that individual perceives that they have the resources to manage the stress. Specifically, cognitive appraisals of stressful conditions are thought to shape the specific nature of a response. Stress that is appraised as uncontrollable may lead to an integrated psychobiological response that includes disengagement, manifested as withdrawal, inactivity, and reduced effort along with related affective states, such as anxiety (Kemeny, 2003). In fact, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) noted that in general, individuals who perceive stress as threatening (i.e., uncontrollable) are more likely to experience “withdrawal or defensive operations that turn the person inward” (p. 191). On the other hand, stress that is appraised as controllable may lead to an integrated response involving engagement with the stressor along with the affective state of anger (Kemeny, 2003).

Numerous empirical studies support the higher-order distinction between engagement and disengagement coping as a response to discrimination (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Dickter & Newton, 2013; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim and Hyers, 1999, Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Engagement, in the context of discrimination, is often defined as confrontation. Although the word confrontation is colloquially used to convey hostile and aggressive behaviors, in stress and coping literature it also refers to non-hostile behaviors (e.g., expressing displeasure or disagreement). Disengagement, on the other hand, is often defined as not engaging in any type of reciprocal behavior in response to an offense. Shelton and Stewart (2004) conducted an experiment to examine women’s behavioral responses to sexist comments made by men in a face-to-face

encounter. Female participants were informed that they were participating in a study on first impressions. Participants were “randomly assigned” to be an interviewee and were asked a series of questions, three of which were sexist (e.g., Do you have a boyfriend? Do people find you desirable? Do you think it is important for women to wear bras to work?). Participants’ responses were coded for a wide range of behaviors, from subtle to direct, where seven different categories were noted: 1) no confrontation – ignored completely or just answered the question, 2) negative confrontation – aggressively countering the legitimacy of the question, 3) positive confrontation – asking why the question was asked, 4) questioning – asking to clarify or explain the question, 5) exclaiming – responding in surprise or disgust, 6) grumbling, and 7) reporting the incident to the experimenter. Outside of those who did not confront (disengage), all other participants engaged with the stressor in one form or another.

In regards to racial/ethnic discrimination, Dickter and Newton (2013) asked college students to recount a recent experience in which another person made a negative comment about a racial out-group and how they responded in this interaction. They found that the majority of the participants indicated no verbal reaction (disengagement), but a few participants indicated confrontation (engagement; “explicitly saying it was offensive,” “pursuing a conversation about remark,” “stating surprise”). Furthermore, Fleming, Lamont, and Welburn (2012) analyzed in-depth interviews with African Americans to understand how they made sense of their experience with racial stigmatization and how they responded to specific instances of being stigmatized. Thirty-two percent of the 150 respondents referred to responding with confrontation (engagement; e.g., speaking out about unfairness, using violence, insulting, suing,

lodging a formal complain, intimidating), while 27% of the participants chose what the researchers described as conflict deflation (disengagement) as a strategy of responding (e.g., observing, adopting strategic silence, walking away and ignoring). A small number of participants referred to a range of other responses, including absence of reaction due to shock and surprise.

Only one study had been identified to examine behavioral responses to discrimination among Asian Americans. E. A. Lee, Soto, Swim, and Bernstein (2012) were interested in whether culture influences response styles to racial/ethnic discrimination between Black and Asian women. In this study, participants were told that they were to engage in an online conversation with another student about the topic of “friendships, dating, and social life” through an online chatting program. Confederates were trained to make a timely racist comment (i.e., “Don’t get me wrong, but dating Blacks/Asians is painful. Dating Blacks/Asians is for tools who let Blacks/Asians control them”). Participants’ responses were coded into five different categories that the researchers described as behaviors that were least to most directly confrontational (e.g., did not confront or notice comment, give advice, ask a question, assert a contrasting opinion, accuse partner of being offense or express wrong in some way). Although Lee and colleagues conceptualized disengagement as a lack of confrontation, overall their coding categories fit into the conceptualization that behavioral coping responses can be broadly distinguished into categories of engagement versus disengagement. Interestingly, they found that Black women responded more directly than Asian women to racial/ethnic discrimination. However, it is important to note that nearly half of the Asian women in this sample were born outside of the US. This sample bias, in addition to the fact that

only women were examined, limits the generalizability of the researchers' conclusions that there are culturally-informed differences in how Black Americans and Asian Americans respond to racial/ethnic discrimination.

Color-Blind Racial Ideology

The stress and coping framework highlights that the experience of a negative event, and subsequent response to the event, is informed by cognitive appraisals. These cognitions are embedded in the social world, and thus, are shaped by the dominant belief systems in society. Researchers have increasingly been examining how an individual's racial ideology, or the set of beliefs and attitudes regarding the significance and meaning of race and racism in one's life experiences, influences racial/ethnic minorities' experience of discrimination (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Chatman, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Small, White, Chavous, & Sellers, 2007).

In contemporary America, the dominant racial ideology is color-blind racial ideology. This ideology has been defined as a set of beliefs and attitudes that minimize, and even deny, the significance of race and racism as a source of social challenges (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Neville et al., 2013). Color-blind racial ideology is built upon the evasion of power relationships in society, and therefore, provides a framework in which to ignore racism. Neville and colleagues (2013) identified three primary types of evading power when it comes to race, including denial of racial privilege, institutional discrimination, and blatant forms of racism. Denial of racial privilege refers to being blind that White privilege exists. White privilege, in the context of American society, is the phenomena that individual, structural, economic, and social systems that serve to privilege Whites while inevitably oppressing racial/ethnic minorities. Denial of

institutional discrimination refers to having limited awareness of institutional forms of racial/ethnic discrimination and exclusion, specifically policies that are put in place to have a differential and/or harmful impact on racial/ethnic minorities. Denial of blatant racial issues indicates an unawareness of general, pervasive racial/ethnic discrimination. These categories of power evasion are consistent with the subscales in the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), a commonly used measure in psychological research to assess color-blind racial ideology. Power evasion through denial of racial privilege and institutional discrimination, in particular, are noteworthy in that both attitudes explicitly disregard racism as a systemic and institutionalized issue. Because this study defined color-blind racial ideology in terms of denial that race and racism are factors that systematically present social challenges for racial/ethnic minorities, the present study only examined racial privilege and institutional discrimination (and not blatant racial issues).

Color-blind racial ideology drives society's aspirational goal to ignore race and racism in an attempt to view everyone as an individual. Across disciplines, however, scholars agree that this strategy of evading issues around race is unattainable and therefore harmful because it preserves racial/ethnic prejudices and disparities in a society as racially stratified as the US (Neville et al., 2013). More specifically, in the aim to not see race (or color), we ignore the existence of racial/ethnic inequality. Statistics show that racial/ethnic minorities fall behind Whites in multiple indicators of social life, which draws attention to the point that we do not live in a racially egalitarian society. In 2011, the median White household held \$111,146 in wealth holdings (assets minus debts), compared to \$7,113 for the median Black household and \$8,348 for the median Latino

household (US Census Bureau Survey of Income and Program Participation, 2011). In terms of homeownership, 73% of Whites own a home, compared to 47% of Latinos and 45% of Blacks (US Census Bureau Survey of Income and Program Participation, 2011). Asian Americans, too, are underrepresented in socioeconomic indices. A cursory glance at recent US Census data would suggest that Asian Americans have achieved socioeconomic advancement, however, empirical examinations that contextualize and disaggregate Census data suggest that Asian Americans have not “out-done” their White majority counterparts. According to Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim (2009), US-raised Asian Americans appear to have achieved income equality with White peers, but if you take into consideration the fact that Asian Americans tend to live in more urban environments that have a higher cost of living, which is reflected in higher pay, the seemingly equitable incomes are more likely to reflect geography rather than true income equality. In addition, despite their high educational attainment, numerous studies point to the existence of a glass ceiling in which Asian Americans remain in lower-tier positions in the labor market despite having credentials for upper-management positions (Woo, 2000).

In the aim to not see racism, we ignore that power is systemically and institutionally distributed in ways that privilege the White majority (Feagin, 2000). It is then assumed that all racial/ethnic minorities have equal access to advance their position in society (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Because of this strong confidence in a “just” and “fair” system, racial inequality is explained away as the product of cultural deficits and/or a reflection of the “natural” order (Bonilla-Silva, 2014) rather than problematic policies and practices. Interestingly, the model minority stereotype buttresses ideologies that

minimize racism. Asian Americans are lauded for their cultural values, which are presumed to have allowed them to overcome disadvantage, in contrast to other racial/ethnic minorities who remain unable to lift themselves out of poverty (Kibria, 1998).

Emerging data illustrates that color-blind racial ideology perpetuates racial/ethnic prejudice and discrimination (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000; Tynes & Markoe, 2010). Tynes and Markoe (2010) measured Black and White college students' reaction to racially themed parties that denigrate African Americans and Latinos (e.g., image of a "gangsta party" to celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and image of students wearing a landscaping shirt with "Spic and Span" written across the back) as if they were posted on a friends' social networking site. White students and students who are high in racial color-blindness were more likely to report that they were not bothered by the images. Furthermore, they were more likely to condone the racial theme party practice, while some even encouraged it (e.g., "Where's the Colt 45?"). Students who are low in racial color-blindness vocally expressed their opposition to the images, such as saying that they would "defriend" a person who were engaged in the practice and also pointing out that the photos were racist. Similarly, Correll and colleagues (2008) found that in high conflict situations, color-blind approaches to interethnic interactions increased prejudice towards racial/ethnic minorities, although, this prejudice was not expressed openly. The bias was found to manifest in more subtle implicit measures and in situations that were temporally removed from the conflict.

Other data show that it is ineffective to not acknowledge race in an effort to appear unbiased. Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) found that White participants who strategically tried to make a positive impression on Black confederates through racial color-blindness were coded as less friendly (as determined by non-verbal behaviors). Apfelbaum and colleagues also found that Black and White participants had different impressions of color-blind behavior after viewing clips of both colorblind and race-acknowledged interactions. Notably, Black participants viewed the avoidance of race during an interracial interaction as indicative of greater racial prejudice in situations where race was clearly relevant whereas White participants viewed acknowledging race as more indicative of prejudice.

Color-Blind Racial Ideology among Racial/Ethnic Minorities

Color-blind racial ideology is produced and disseminated by the majority race (Bonilla-Silva, 2014) and tend to be the dominant ideas in society. Given that White Americans benefit from color-blind racial ideology as a whole, they endorse more color-blind racial ideology than racial/ethnic minorities (e.g., Neville et al., 2000; Tynes & Markoe, 2010; Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, & Hart, 2008). However, by fact of being embedded within the same ideological system, racial/ethnic minorities can also adopt color-blind racial ideology (Feagin, 2000; Neville et al., 2013) even though doing so seemingly conflicts with their group interests and motives.

Theory and research suggest that there are both benefits and costs for racial/ethnic minorities to adopt a strategy of preserving the racial status quo. Scholars have found that members of low status and disadvantaged groups may be inclined to endorse ideologies that explain, justify, and rationalize inequality, also known as system-justifying

ideologies, because it helps to adapt to an unjust reality that appears to be inevitable (Jost & Hunyady, 2003; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002). In many ways, color-blind racial ideology is a system-justifying ideology because it legitimizes institutional racism, thereby, perpetuating victim-blaming rationalizations to explain racial inequality. Color-blind racial ideology can serve a palliative function in that it minimizes the salience of racial/ethnic discrimination and thereby protects against psychological distress (i.e., anxiety and anger; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Quinn & Crocker, 1999). That is, those that endorse racial color-blindness may not see an event as being racially/ethnically motivated and avoid experiencing the negative psychological sequelae associated with discrimination.

For racial/ethnic minorities, preserving the racial status quo through system-justifying beliefs, such as color-blind racial ideology, can come at a cost. Neville and colleagues (2013) offer the example of a fictional person of color who believes that race does not influence her chances of securing a job and that she and other racial/ethnic minorities should be more concerned about improving skill and ability in order to succeed. This individual is denying the existence of institutional racism, and instead, endorsing the belief that one's hard work will be appropriately rewarded, which in essence blames racial/ethnic minorities for disparities. Because this individual never considered systemic forms of discrimination, she may inappropriately attribute setbacks and failures solely to self. Altogether, racial/ethnic minorities who endorse color-blind racial ideology may be protected from immediate psychological distress, but their self-esteem is more likely to be jeopardized due to the psychological consequences of making

degrading attributions about self and group (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; O'Brien & Major, 2005).

Color-Blind Racial Ideology as a Moderating Factor

Does the way that Asian Americans understand themselves as a racialized member of society influence how they cope with discrimination? In being comprised of beliefs and attitudes, color-blind racial ideology is cognitive in nature. Specifically, it is a “part of a cognitive schema used to interpret racial stimuli” (Neville et al., 2000, p. 61). Some scholars have referred to this portion of one’s cognitive schema as a racially-based schema (e.g., Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Helms, 1990) that serves as a “filter” of sorts that guides and facilitates the processing of race-related stimuli, including race-related stressors. Racially-based schemas become more elaborated throughout life and individuals accordingly encode and interpret race-related stimuli in ways consistent with the content of their existing schema.

As a cognitive “filter of what one ‘sees’ and responds to in the social world” (Dawson, 2001, p. 4-5), racial ideology should moderate minorities’ appraisal and response to racial/ethnic discrimination. Hence, color-blind racial ideology should inform the extent to which one “sees” racial/ethnic discrimination in such a way that minorities who endorse the ideology may be less likely to experience distressing emotions after a negative racial encounter because they are inclined to deny that the event was racially/ethnically motivated. However, because they also presumably take personal ownership of unfair and hurtful treatment rather than situating it in a broader system, their self-esteem may be negatively impacted. In addition, racial/ethnic minorities who endorse color-blind racial ideology will likely have had less opportunity to deal with

discrimination, and therefore see the stressor as uncontrollable and be less prepared to engage with the stressor in the moment relative to an individual who does not endorse racial color-blindness (Chatman et al., 2001; Neblett & Roberts, 2013; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Indeed, an emerging body of research examining the role of racial ideology in the context of discrimination suggests that beliefs about the significance of race and racism moderate the relation between discrimination and well-being (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Chatman et al., 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Smalls et al., 2007). For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) examined racial ideology as a relevant individual difference variable that influences the consequence of racial/ethnic discrimination. In contrast to the aforementioned predictions based on stress and coping theory, they found that the association between racial/ethnic discrimination and psychological distress was weaker for students who endorsed more nationalist ideology as compared to students who endorsed less nationalist ideology. As a set of beliefs that stress the oppression of African Americans with an emphasis on the need to develop institutions, relationships, and activities specifically for African Americans, the nationalist ideology is consistent with low racial color-blindness, or color-consciousness (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Similarly, Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) took a person-centered approach to examine racial/ethnic identity profiles and found that African American college students in the “integrationist” cluster who were characterized as such for their high endorsement of assimilationist and humanist (belief in the similarity of all individuals regardless of race/ethnicity, which are aligned with racial color-blindness) ideologies with low nationalist ideologies showed a stronger association between

discrimination and depressive symptoms as compared to other cluster groups. Scholars have suggested that it is important to consider temporal dynamics in the stress response (Gee, 2002; Koolhaas, Meerlo, de Boer, Strubbe, & Bohus, 1997). Hence, it is noteworthy that both of the aforementioned studies by Sellers and Shelton (2003) and Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) asked participants to report psychological distress retrospectively rather than in the moment after they may have already engaged in successful strategies to cope with the stressor, which may explain why they found that less racial color-blindness (i.e., seeing relatively more racial/ethnic discrimination than those who have high racial color-blindness) was associated with less distress.

In regard to how racial ideology influences racial/ethnic minorities' behavioral response to discrimination, an emerging body of literature suggests that those who are racially conscious might be more inclined to engage with racial/ethnic challenges and stressors (Chatman et al., 2001; Smalls et al., 2007). For instance, Smalls and colleagues (2007) considered how racial ideology influences adaptations and responses within domains where those identities are made salient, namely the achievement domain for African Americans adolescents. They found that African American adolescents who espouse an assimilationist ideology (beliefs that highlight similarity of all individuals who are "American") have lower school engagement in the context of experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination, relative to those who endorsed those beliefs less. Similarly, Chatman and colleagues (2001) examined multidimensional racial/ethnic identity typologies and found that African American adolescents whose racial/ethnic identity was embedded within the meaning system that being Black presented social challenges (i.e., racially conscious) had higher GPAs than adolescents with other identity clusters (e.g.,

those with low or moderate expectations of race-based challenges in society). The researchers suggested that the former group of youths could be responding to racial/ethnic discrimination in an “agentic” manner, at least to the extent of academic pursuits, perhaps by contextualizing experiences of discrimination in a broader system and understanding that it is not a personal offense.

Color-blind racial ideology and situational factors. Recall that in the stress and coping framework, both person characteristics and situation characteristics play an important role in the way that a negative event is experienced. Therefore, the extent to which racial color-blind attitudes moderates responses to racial/ethnic discrimination also depends on situational factors, such as the specific type of racial/ethnic discrimination that is being expressed to a target. Racial/ethnic discrimination continues to manifest in “old fashioned” ways that explicitly and overtly derogate a minority person based on their racial/ethnic status (e.g., being called a racial slur). More commonly, though, racial/ethnic bias and prejudices are communicated in an ambiguous way where it is challenging for a minority person to conclusively classify treatment as racial/ethnic discrimination.

The specific type of racial/ethnic discrimination may either facilitate or inhibit a target’s perception that they have been discriminated against. In the case of explicit and overt racial/ethnic discrimination, the increased situational clarity of cues to prejudice facilitates a target’s perception that they have been discriminated against (Operario & Fiske, 2001). Ambiguous and covert racial/ethnic discrimination, however, lacks these cues and inhibit a target’s perception that they have been discriminated. Clarity of cues to prejudice in a situation may interact with an individual’s level of racial color-blindness to

influence the experience of a potentially discriminatory event. Specifically, racial color-blindness can make racial/ethnic minorities reluctant to see themselves as a target of prejudice (Major & Schmader, 2001), and thus, less likely to pick up on ambiguous and covert forms of racial/ethnic discrimination. In a related example, Barreto and Ellemers (2005) found that women were less likely to detect modern sexist statements as opposed to old-fashioned sexist statements whereas males considered both types of statements as equally prejudicial. The researchers concluded that this gender difference could be due to the fact that women might be less inclined to perceive themselves as targets of sexism because of internalization of meritocratic ideology (i.e., belief that achievement is due to merit and lack of achievement is due to ability, effort, and choices). In situations where there are strong cues to prejudice, however, the influence of individual differences in behavior (e.g., color-blind racial ideology) are overwhelmed by contextual factors (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Hence, individual differences in racial color-blindness may influence attributions to discrimination in ambiguous conditions, but not explicit conditions. Accordingly, more racial color-blindness may shield against psychological distress in the context of ambiguous discrimination, but does not necessarily preserve self-esteem. Furthermore, because individuals who are more racially color-blind may not consider race as a relevant factor when encountering ambiguous discrimination, they may be less prepared to manage the stressor in the moment and disengage in response.

Asian Americans' Racial Ideology and Response to Discrimination

The psychological literature on racial ideology and behavioral coping responses to racial/ethnic discrimination minimally include Asian American experiences and perspectives. Color-blind racial ideology is an especially pertinent issue for Asian

Americans (I. Kim, 2014). Asian Americans who have a cursory understanding of the social challenges that their racial/ethnic group encounters may be prone to believe that racism is not a significant problem for their community. The resulting lack of awareness of race and racism ends in Asian Americans being unable to see and respond to the persistent discriminatory attacks they experience. Furthermore, Asian Americans who are not racially color-blind might be better able to make accurate assessments of racial/ethnic discrimination, distance self from discriminatory attacks, and be more equipped to cope with the situation.

Scholars in other disciplines, such as sociology and ethnic studies, have highlighted that Asian Americans come to varied understandings about the significance of race and racism (e.g., Espiritu, 2008; Kibria, 1998). Though there is generally some consistency in the literature showing that Asian Americans are aware of being a racialized minority group, they come to different conclusions about their position in the larger society (S. J. Lee, 2006). For example, S. J. Lee (2006) conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with Korean American high school students and delineated four identity groups that were categorized on the basis of the meanings that these students attributed to their racial/ethnic group. A sizeable number of students were categorized as “Korean-identified” because they identified solely with their ethnic group, distinguishing themselves as culturally unique from other Asian ethnic groups. Notably, these students also believed that they could overcome racism and gain acceptance into mainstream society with effort, not as members who held equal status as White Americans, but similar nonetheless. Most of the students were “Asian-identified” meaning that they believed in a common “Asian” experience. These students reported being a target of

racial/ethnic discrimination, yet they mostly believed that it is possible to become integrated into the mainstream much like the “Korean-identified” students. Furthermore, these students did not connect acts of discrimination as being tied to a larger racialized system that perpetuates inequality. On the other hand, another group of students, labeled as the “New Wavers,” understood that Asian Americans held less power politically, economically, and socially than White Americans. Thus, they were aware of racial oppression and questioned the fairness of mainstream institutions, but were largely reactive and protective in their response to it. The final group of students, whom were labeled as the “Asian American-identified” students, were also aware of oppression and believed that racism was a reality that all people of color faced, but they were proactive about challenging the status quo of racial inequality. These students were concerned with building alliance across racial groups to engage in a cohesive fight for social justice. Many of them were also active participants in Asian American community groups that engaged in political activities (e.g., immigrant rights, housing rights for low-income families). In addition, these students were academically successful and among the highest-achieving students at school. It can be argued that these categories of Korean American students, from Korean-identified, Asian-identified, New Wavers, and Asian American-identified, varied by levels of racial color-blindness with the first presented group of students having the highest racial color-blindness. It also seems that as the students became more color-conscious, they increasingly approached and engaged with discrimination and racial injustice.

APPENDIX B

First Online Survey

Pre-Experiment Affect

Indicate to what extent you feel this way in GENERAL. Use the following scale to record your answer.

	Very slightly/not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
Alert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confident	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Angry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anxious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Content	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Irritated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Relaxed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bothered	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Frustrated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Excited	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uneasy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threatened	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Agitated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worried	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inspired	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Awkward	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hostile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Apprehensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Annoyed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Energetic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Resentful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Optimistic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enthusiastic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Pre-Experiment State Self-Esteem

This is a questionnaire designed to measure what you are thinking at this moment. There is, of course, no right answer for any statement. The best answer is what you feel is true of yourself at the moment. Be sure to answer all of the items, even if you are not certain of the best answer. Again, answer these questions as they are true for you RIGHT NOW.

	Not at all	A little bit	Somewhat	Very much	Extremely
I feel self-conscious.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about whether I am perceived as a success or failure.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel displeased with myself.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about what other people think of me.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel inferior to others at this moment.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel concerned about the impression I am making.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about looking foolish.	<input type="radio"/>				

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale

The following is a set of questions that deal with social issues in the United States (U.S.). Please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	<input type="radio"/>					
Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	<input type="radio"/>					
It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	<input type="radio"/>					
Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	<input type="radio"/>					
Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	<input type="radio"/>					
Race is very important in determining	<input type="radio"/>					

who is successful and who is not.						
Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.	○	○	○	○	○	○
White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	○	○	○	○	○	○
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the	○	○	○	○	○	○

U.S.						
English should be the only official language in the U.S.	○	○	○	○	○	○
White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Demographics

1. Age

2. Gender

- Male
- Female
- Transgender

3. Were you born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No

No Is Selected

3a. If no, how old were you when you immigrated to this country? Please give your answer in years.

4. Were you adopted?

- Yes
- No

Yes Is Selected

4a. If yes, how old were you when you were adopted? Please give your answer in months and round to the nearest month (e.g., 1.5 months becomes 2 months and 2 years becomes 24 months).

5. In this country, people come from different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or racial/ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of racial/ethnic groups are Asian, Asian American, Filipino, Korean American, and many others. With this in mind, please fill in: In terms of my racial and/or ethnic group membership, I consider myself to be _____.

6. How important is your racial/ethnic identity to the way you think about yourself?

- Very important
- Important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not important

7. What is your father's race/ethnicity?

8. Was your father born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No

9. What is your mother's race/ethnicity?

10. Was your mother born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No

11. Where have you lived for the majority of your life (city, state)?

12. What state do you live in currently?

13. Annual household income (check one):

- \$19,000 or less
- \$20,000 to 39,000
- \$40,000 to 59,000
- \$60,000 to 79,000
- \$80,000 to 99,000
- \$100,000 to 119,000
- \$120,000 to 139,000
- \$140,000 or more

14. How would you describe your family's social status?

- Poor
- Working class
- Middle class
- Upper-middle class
- Upper class/wealthy

15. Highest education level you have completed (Slide to Value)

16. Highest education level your father has completed (Slide to Value)

17. Highest education level your mother has completed (Slide to Value)

18. You have now completed the first questionnaire. Please write your e-mail address so that we may send you the second questionnaire in a few days.

19. E-mail confirmation (PLEASE DO NOT COPY AND PASTE FROM ABOVE TEXT BOX):

Second Online Survey

Discrimination Conditions

Carefully read the following story and imagine the situation happening to you.

[Explicit Incident]: You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – complain about the neighborhood becoming "too diverse". A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

[Ambiguous Incident]: You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – comment about the diversity of the neighborhood. A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

Post-Experiment Affect

Indicate to what extent you feel this way RIGHT NOW, that is, at the present moment.
Use the following scale to record your answer.

	Very slightly/not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
Alert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confident	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Angry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anxious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Content	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Irritated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Relaxed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bothered	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Frustrated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Excited	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uneasy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threatened	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Agitated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worried	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inspired	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Awkward	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hostile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Apprehensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Annoyed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Energetic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Resentful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Optimistic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enthusiastic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Post-Experiment State Self-Esteem

This is a questionnaire designed to measure what you are thinking at this moment. There is, of course, no right answer for any statement. The best answer is what you feel is true of yourself at the moment. Be sure to answer all of the items, even if you are not certain of the best answer. Again, answer these questions as they are true for you RIGHT NOW.

	Not at all	A little bit	Somewhat	Very much	Extremely
I feel self-conscious.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about whether I am perceived as a success or failure.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel displeased with myself.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about what other people think of me.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel inferior to others at this moment.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel concerned about the impression I am making.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am worried about looking foolish.	<input type="radio"/>				

[Explicit Incident]: Please think back to the situation described in the story. Recall that you heard Jim complain about the neighborhood becoming "too diverse." Imagine that the situation continues in the following manner:

The day after realizing that you did not receive an email or flyer about the neighborhood block party, you happen to bump into Jim on the sidewalk as you are picking up your mail.

Answer the following questions according to the situation described in the story. Please be as open and honest as you can. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers.

[Ambiguous Incident]: Please think back to the situation described in the story. Recall that you heard Jim comment about the diversity of the neighborhood. Imagine that the situation continues in the following manner:

The day after realizing that you did not receive an email or flyer about the neighborhood block party, you happen to bump into Jim on the sidewalk as you are picking up your mail.

Answer the following questions according to the situation described in the story. Please be as open and honest as you can. Keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers.

1. Would you engage with Jim about the issue?

- Yes
- No

Yes Is Selected

1a. What would you do or say? Please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.

Yes Is Selected

1ai. What is your reasoning for responding in this way? Please provide a detailed explanation. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.

No Is Selected

1b. What else, if anything, would you do or say about the issue? If applicable, please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more, too.

No Is Selected

1bi. What is your reasoning for responding in this way? Please provide a detailed explanation. To help us understand your response, try to write at least three complete sentences. Of course, you may write more too.

2. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
The situation was believable.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation was realistic.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Please think back to your response to Jim. Answer the following questions accordingly. How likely is it that you would actually respond this way (in reality)?

- Very unlikely 1
- 2
- 3
- Neutral 4
- 5
- 6
- Very likely 7

4. How certain are you that this is how you would actually respond?

- Very uncertain 1
- 2
- 3
- Neutral 4
- 5
- 6
- Very certain 7

5. Have you ever responded this way in the past (to a similar situation)?

- Yes
- No

6. Do you wish you had responded differently?

- Not at all 1
- 2
- 3
- Somewhat 4
- 5
- 6
- Very much 7

7. To what extent do you attribute the following factors as reason(s) for why you did not receive an invitation?

	Not at all 1	2	3	Somewhat 4	5	6	Very much 7
An honest mistake	<input type="radio"/>						
My race/ethnicity	<input type="radio"/>						
My skin color	<input type="radio"/>						
Miscommunication	<input type="radio"/>						
A racially prejudiced neighbor (i.e., Jim)	<input type="radio"/>						
Racial discrimination	<input type="radio"/>						

Follow-Up Survey

1. How did you hear about the study?

- Facebook
- Email/Listserve
- Angry Asian Man
- Other: fill in

2. Because this study was about your relationship with neighbors, it would be helpful to know more about your living situation. Do you own or rent/lease your current residence?

- Own a home (including condominium or apartment)
- Rent/Lease a home (including condominium or apartment)
- Live with parents or other family in their home
- Other: fill in

APPENDIX C

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Promax Rotated Component Loadings for Anger and Anxiety (10 items)

Component	1	2
Angry	.873	
Mad	.861	
Irritated	.781	
Annoyed	.760	
Hostile	.725	
Agitated	.670	
Frustrated	.629	
Bothered	.593	
Resentful	.561	
Threatened	.436	
Nervous		.889
Anxious		.863
Uneasy		.748
Tense		.739
Worried		.730
Relaxed (reversed)		.560
Uncomfortable		.545
Awkward		.482
Calm (reversed)		.465
Apprehensive		.455
Percentage of total variances	48.458	8.444
Eigenvalues	9.692	1.689

APPENDIX D

Collinearity Diagnostics.

Multicollinearity among independent variables can increase the standard errors of regression coefficients and make the coefficient estimates more sensitive to minor changes in the model. Variance inflation factor (VIF) higher than 10 or tolerance lower than .01 would indicate collinearity (Cohen et al., 2003). In the table below, VIF and tolerances were assessed for all three regression models and determined to be within appropriate range.

Step and Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Dependent variable: anger		
Step 1		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anger	1.000	1.000
Step 2		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anger	.999	1.001
Disc	.999	1.001
Step 3		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anger	.989	1.011
Disc	.998	1.002
Racial Privilege	.637	1.570
Institutional Disc	.641	1.560
Step 4		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anger	.988	1.012
Disc	.998	.003
Racial Privilege	.341	2.932
Institutional Disc	.315	3.172
Racial Privilege × Disc	.313	3.192
Institutional Disc × Disc	.290	3.446

APPENDIX D (continued)

Step and Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Dependent variable: anxiety		
Step 1		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anxiety	1.000	1.000
Step 2		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anxiety	.997	1.003
Disc	.997	1.003
Step 3		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anxiety	.981	1.019
Disc	.996	1.004
Racial Privilege	.638	1.567
Institutional Disc	.643	1.556
Step 4		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Anxiety	.977	1.023
Disc	.996	1.004
Racial Privilege	.340	2.937
Institutional Disc	.316	3.162
Racial Privilege × Disc	.313	3.199
Institutional Disc × Disc	.290	3.453
Dependent variable: social self-esteem		
Step 1		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Self-Esteem	1.000	1.000
Step 2		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Self-Esteem	1.000	1.000
Disc	1.000	1.000
Step 3		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Self-Esteem	.998	1.002
Disc	.999	1.001
Racial Privilege	.640	1.563
Institutional Disc	.640	1.562
Step 4		
(Constant)		
Survey 1 Self-Esteem	.982	1.018
Disc	.999	1.001
Racial Privilege	.341	2.929
Institutional Disc	.312	3.208
Racial Privilege × Disc	.311	3.220
Institutional Disc × Disc	.285	3.515

APPENDIX E

Coding Manual

Overview of project:

Self-identified Asian/Asian American adults who were either born in the U.S. or had lived in the U.S. since age 10 or younger were invited to participate in a research study on the experiences and attitudes of Asians/Asian Americans. As a part of the study, participants read one of two vignettes:

Explicit discrimination:

You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – complain about the neighborhood becoming "too diverse". A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

Ambiguous discrimination:

You have recently moved into a new neighborhood and you are feeling excited about meeting your neighbors and becoming a part of the community. You meet a neighbor who lives across the street from you and he introduces himself as Jim. He mentions that he is a long time resident of the neighborhood and current block leader. Jim explains that he is in charge of organizing social gatherings for the block (e.g., block parties) and acts as the liaison with City Hall and the neighborhood association on any issues or concerns. You introduce yourself. You request that he adds you to the neighborhood mailing list to stay up-to-date on neighborhood news. Jim agrees to do so and you give him your email. You later have the opportunity to meet neighbors on the block. You hear Jim – who is White – comment about the diversity of the neighborhood. A month after the initial exchange with Jim, by word of mouth you hear that there is a neighborhood block party coming up in a few days. You were told that Jim sent an email and dropped off flyers at each home more than two weeks ago. You did not receive either the email or flyer. You check your emails again (including the spam folder) and your pile of mail but nothing is there.

Participants were then asked to think back to the situation described in the vignette and recall what Jim had said about the neighborhood (i.e., complain that it's "too diverse" or comment about the diversity of the neighborhood). They were then asked to imagine that the vignette continues in the following manner:

The day after realizing that you did not receive an email or flyer about the neighborhood block party, you happen to bump into Jim on the sidewalk as you are picking up your mail.

Finally, participants were asked:

- 1) Would you engage with Jim about the issue? (YES or NO)
 - a. If YES – What would you do or say? Please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words.
 - b. If NO – What else, if anything, would you do or say about the issue? If applicable, please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or words.
- 2) What is your reasoning for responding in this way?

Research question:

The broad aim of this coding project is to understand what behavioral strategies Asians/Asian Americans use to cope with interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination.

- 1) How do people respond to encounters of racial/ethnic discrimination in terms of engagement or disengagement?
- 2) If people choose to engage with encounters of racial/ethnic discrimination, how do they respond?

Method:

Developing a coding manual:

Both theory-driven (top-down) and theoretically driven inductive (bottom-up) approaches will be used to develop a coding scheme for the data.

Theory-driven (top-down) code:

Prior research on coping styles suggest that people's response to stress can be discerned into two higher-order categories: *engagement* or *disengagement* (Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). Participants' response to the question, "Would you engage with Jim about the issue?" will be used to examine the first research question. If participants respond, "Yes," that will be coded as *engagement*. If participants respond, "No," that will be coded as *disengagement*. To this end, this code is already embedded in the original data and does not require further analysis.

Theoretically driven inductive (bottom-up) codes:

A coding scheme will be developed to examine styles of engagement. Participants' response to the question, "What would you do or say?" will be used to examine the second research question. This coding scheme will be data-driven, however, I will draw from prior empirical research (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), which suggests that individuals often counter an interpersonal offense in a manner that is either positive or negative in tone. Positive counters are characterized as being non-contentious and are devoid of accusations or criticisms. Negative counters, on the other hand, are characterized as being contentious because some level of accusation or criticism is being expressed. Negative counters include behaviors that oppose or challenge the counterpart, especially in a direct and/or forceful way.

Training coders:

The principal investigator will develop the coding manual. The coding manual will then be discussed in detail with one other coder, an undergraduate student. In addition to discussing the coding manual, the undergraduate student will be provided sample data to gain familiarity with the coding scheme. The initial codes from the undergraduate student will be discussed thoroughly with the principal investigator. Once the undergraduate student is sufficiently trained, she will be assigned 25% of the cases (randomly assigned) to be coded independently.

Gold standard/master coder and reliability:

The principal investigator will serve as the master coder, meaning that her code will be used in the final analysis. The undergraduate student's codes will be used to establish interrater reliability with the principal investigator.

Coding Scheme

Note:

Coders are going to code for units of meaning. In other words, a phrase, a collection of words, or an entire sentence or more may be considered a unit of meaning as long as it meets the criteria of a code. A unit of meaning can only be coded once. These are mutually exclusive categories.

Disengagement (i.e., Ignore/do nothing)

For those who responded by stating that they would not engage with Jim, no further analysis will be done.

Styles of Engagement

For those who responded by stating that they would engage with Jim, our task is to further delineate the style in which they choose to engage with Jim. To do this, coders are primarily analyzing participants' response to the question, "What would you do or say? Please describe your response in detail, including a description of your actions and/or

words.” The purpose of this code is to evaluate the participants’ initial behavioral response. Some participants give multiple responses (e.g., a succession of behaviors), but the code should be based on the first stated response. Some participants also go as far as to explain how Jim might hypothetically respond, and then how they would respond to this reaction, but again, only the first stated responses will be coded.

If it is difficult to get a sense of the tone of the response (to distinguish whether it is ‘positive’ or ‘negative’), read the participants’ reasoning for why they responded the way they did. There is usually more information that can be gleaned about the tone of the response in this section.

Positive counter

This code is for responses that carry a neutral to warm/friendly tone. To this end, responses should be characterized as non-contentious and withhold accusations and criticisms about Jim’s intentions, and the primary reason for responding in such a way would be to stay open-minded and gather more information.

Examples:

- “Hi, Jim, good to see you again...” (AA192)
- “Hey Jim, I just wanted to follow up with you about the block party you mentioned the other day. Where and when is it again? I just want to see if I can make it.” (AA061)
- “I would inquire that I heard there was a block party. I’m thinking about dropping by. I would gauge his response before I come to any conclusion.” (AA151)
 - For this example, the tone of the response is somewhat vague. In the case, refer to participants’ reason for responding in this manner: “Though I might feel there is bias or purposefully that I wasn’t included based on what Jim said. Being new to the neighborhood and not knowing Jim more than that one exchange I would try to approach it with an open mind to confirm or find out if it is a misunderstanding.” Based on the reasoning, it is more evident that the participants’ response is neutral.
- “I would smile at Jim and ask how he is doing...” (AA305)
- “... If I heard no mention of the party from him, yet he seemed genuine in our exchange, I would jokingly tell him I heard about the party and see how he reacts” (AA465)

Subcategories of positive counter:

Positive counter – Inquire

This type of positive counter reflects a neutral to warm/friendly effort to simply follow-up about the invitation or the block party. Inquiries can range from mentioning something about the invitation or block party, stating that they must have missed the invite, making a friendly “joke” about not being invited, etc.

Examples:

- “I’d ask him how his day is going, make small talk first before addressing the issue. I would not jump to conclusions in front of him since I’m the newest member of the neighborhood and it may very well have been an honest mistake. I tell him straight up I’ve heard about the block party and haven’t gotten an email, and ask for him to double check that I’m on his list.” (AA221)
- “I would make small talk and then bring up the event. I would then make a joke about him not inviting me and simply ask if he just forgot.” (AA222)
- “I would go about it in an indirect way, first asking how he was doing. Then I would say something along the lines of: ‘I heard that everyone on the block is getting together [at the designated times.]’ From there, I would determine my response from his reaction. If he seems like he wants me to be there, then I’d press further about the missing invite. If not, then I wouldn’t press further.” (AA303)

Positive counter – Inquire & affiliate

This type of positive counter reflects a neutral to warm/friendly effort to follow-up about the invitation or the block party AND attempts to increase the extent to which one is viewed as a member of the community and/or to affiliate with Jim (i.e., emphasize commonalities and to present oneself as an in-group member). Strategies of affiliating can fall into one of two categories: offer help (e.g., planning the party, setting up the party) OR share one’s desire (e.g., excitement, anticipation) to go to the party/be a part of the community by either expressing positive emotion or stating their interest in the event. Regardless of what type of strategy participants used, this single code will be assigned.

Examples:

- “I would mention the block party and ask if he needs any help organizing it” (AA183)
- “I would ask him in a non-confrontational way and mention that I heard other neighbors discuss receiving emails and invitations to the block party. I would ask him if I could double check the information he had on file for me. I would emphasize the fact that I’d like to be part of the community and I’d ask him if there was anything I could contribute for the next time.” (AA124)

Negative counter

This code is for responses that carry a contentious tone. To this end, responses communicate some level of accusations and criticisms about Jim’s intention, and

the primary reason for participants' responses would be to oppose or challenge Jim, especially in a direct and/or forceful way.

Examples:

- “I would ask him why I wasn’t contacted at all about the party. I would also ask him if he’s racist and if he really hates diversity. I would also ask him to tell me the truth about how he’s feeling.” (AA252)
- “I would ask him about the meeting in a polite fashion. I would say that other neighbors told me about it and that I plan to attend even though I received no notice of it. I would ask him to remember the invite in the future or have the courtesy now and to y (sic) face explain why he neglected to invite me.” (AA259)
- “I would walk up to Jim saying that I heard him say the neighborhood is becoming “too diverse.” I would question him what he meant with that statement. I would also ask why has the people in the neighborhood has invitations to the block party, while I didn’t get a single notice.” (AA296)
- “I heard there’s a block party coming up.” *knowing smirk, intense eye contact, slight sarcasm* “Is everyone in the neighborhood invited? Funny, my friends told me they received an invitation weeks ago. But I just found out yesterday.” *waits for response* “I’d appreciate if you’d take the time to let me know personally or via invitation next time there is a community event.” (AA421)
- “I would say something sarcastic about my failure to receive an invitation. Or I might make a joke about it. Maybe say that I’m going to sell my house to an African-American family!” (AA152)
 - Note that though this participants’ responds with a joke, it is a caustic joke, which makes the tone of their response more aggressive.

Subcategories of negative counter:

Negative counter – Demand explanation

This type of negative counter reflects an effort to oppose or challenge Jim to gain an explanation about his intentions and/or the reason for not being invited to the party. Note that in this code, responses convey to Jim that mistreatment or discrimination is suspected.

Examples:

- “I would ask him why I wasn’t contacted at all about the party. I would also ask him if he’s racist and if he really hates diversity. I would also ask him to tell me the truth about how he’s feeling.” (AA252)
- “I would walk up to Jim saying that I heard him say the neighborhood is becoming “too diverse.” I would question him what he meant with that statement. I would also ask why has the

people in the neighborhood has invitations to the block party, while I didn't get a single notice." (AA296)

- "I would mention that I heard about the block party and that I was not invited. I would ask if I had offended him in some way at the previous meeting. I would keep the tone neutral but inquire until Jim have (sic) an answer." (AA445)

Negative counter – Communicate being offended

This type of negative counter reflects an effort to oppose or challenge Jim in a way that communicates his/her displeasure about his behavior. Sometimes this communication may be veiled in the form of sarcasm.

Examples

- "I was told there was a block party, but I have heard nothing about it. As block leader and city hall liaison I don't think your personal interest should get in the way of your civic duty. In the future I would appreciate better communication." (AA127)
- "I heard there's a block party coming up." *knowing smirk, intense eye contact, slight sarcasm* "Is everyone in the neighborhood invited? Funny, my friends told me they received an invitation weeks ago. But I just found out yesterday." *waits for response* "I'd appreciate if you'd take the time to let me know personally or via invitation next time there is a community event." (AA421)
- "I would say something sarcastic about my failure to receive an invitation. Or I might make a joke about it. Maybe say that I'm going to sell my house to an African-American family!" (AA152)