

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION, AND
OUTGROUP CONTACT TO RACIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITE PEOPLE IN
AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Abstract

Many cities in the United States are currently in or have recently come out of situations where racial tensions are running dangerously high and are spilling out into the streets in the forms of violence and rioting. Due to the history of race relations between White/Caucasian and Black/African American people in the United States, most research in the area of racial attitudes has focused predominantly on how the majority group feels about the minority group. Interestingly, fewer researchers have looked at how the minority group feels about the majority group. This study examined the relations among experiences with racial discrimination, ethnic identity, interracial contact, self-esteem, and racial attitudes. A sample of Black/African American college students ($N = 116$) completed questionnaires to measure perceived racial discrimination, ethnic identity, quantity and quality of interracial contact, self-esteem, and racial attitudes. The purpose of this study was to increase our knowledge and understanding of the attitudes of minority group members and to inform our understanding of race relations in the United States. The primary research question was the relation of all other variables to racial attitudes, and this question was explored with a linear regression analysis predicting scores on the racial attitudes measure with five predictor variables (self-esteem, quantity of interracial contact, quality of interracial contact, perceived discrimination, and ethnic identity).

INTRODUCTION

The current study examines the relations among perceived racial discrimination, ethnic identity, interracial contact, self-esteem, and racial attitudes. Although most existing studies of racial attitudes have focused on majority group members, this study will focus on members of a racial minority group (specifically, African Americans). Understanding the attitudes of minority group members is just as important as understanding the attitudes of the dominant group if researchers hope to find a solution to the problematic race relations that plague our society.

The chronic nature of racial discrimination remains a major quality of life issue for African Americans (Feagin, 1991; Utsey et al., 2000). Racial discrimination is a daily experience for many African Americans. Perceived discrimination is one's perception or belief that they are being treated differently due to their race, gender, age, or other differing characteristic. Estimates in the United States suggest that two-thirds of adults report exposure to everyday discrimination (e.g., being treated as though one is inferior) and one-third report exposure to major lifetime discrimination (e.g., being unfairly fired) (Kessler et al., 1999). Racial discrimination has been linked to several physical (e.g., high blood pressure, hypertension, and cardiovascular disease) and mental (e.g., depression, stress, and anxiety) issues by many researchers (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Broman et al., 2000; Grollman, 2012; Kessler et al., 1999; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Sellers et al., 2003).

Racial identity development is an active and fluid process involving individuals coming to racial self-acceptance and racial acceptance of others (Abrams & Trusty, 2004). Ethnic identity is that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from knowledge of membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981). Both racial and ethnic identities are processes that begin in adolescence and

develop into adulthood. Research in the area of racial/ethnic identity and discrimination has found that the more individuals are identified with their group, the more likely they are to make attributions to discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

A large body of research has examined the relationship between interracial contact and racial attitudes. Gordon Allport (1954) was one of the first researchers to argue for the importance of interracial contact. Allport (1954) argued that inter-group contact reduces prejudice when: 1) participants in the contact situation have equal status, 2) these individuals are pursuing common goals, 3) participants in the contact situation are interdependent or work cooperatively, and 4) relevant authorities are thought to sanction contact (Van Laar et al., 2005). Intergroup contact is thought to promote the development of a common ingroup identity in which those formerly perceived as outgroup members are now viewed as part of the ingroup (Crystal, 2008). Group contact is also thought to enhance empathy towards outgroup individuals thus improving race relations. Contact is also thought to reduce prejudice when it affords the participating individuals the opportunity to discover previously unnoticed similarities (Van Laar et al., 2005). There is little work on the relations between perceptions of discrimination and intergroup contact for minority group members.

Symbolic racism, modern racism, aversive racism, ambivalence-response amplification, compunction, and social dominance are all theories developed around racism and racial attitudes. However, these theories are all primarily concerning with the attitudes of dominant groups toward subordinates (Stephan et al., 2002). There is a large gap in theories and the research of racial attitudes of minorities toward the majority. Currently, no theoretical models of prejudice exist that specifically address what African Americans' racial attitudes are based on, what the implications of having the attitudes are, or how the attitudes might be changed (Shelton, 2000).

The consequences that African Americans experience as a result of being a target of prejudice and research on self-fulfilling prophecies are the two main areas of study involving racial prejudice from the perspective of African Americans (Shelton, 2000).

The present study examined the interrelation of individuals' perceived racial discrimination, ethnic identity, interracial contact, self-esteem, and racial attitudes. This study addressed nine research questions: 1) How does outgroup contact relate to perceived discrimination; 2) How does ethnic identity relate to perceived discrimination; 3) How does perceived discrimination relate to racial attitudes; 4) How does the interaction of ethnic identity with perceived discrimination relate to racial attitudes; 5) How does the interaction of outgroup contact with perceived discrimination relate to racial attitudes; 6) How is self-esteem related to perceived racial discrimination; 7) How is self-esteem related to ethnic identity; 8) How is the interaction of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination related to self-esteem; and 9) How is the interaction of self-esteem and perceived discrimination related to racial attitudes.

This study is important for several reasons. First, it addresses a gap in the literature by attempting to understand attitudes of Black/African American individuals toward White/Caucasian individuals. Second, another goal of the study is to possibly find a solution that can help to alleviate the ever growing racial tensions in the United States between White/Caucasian people and Black/African American people. Currently, most of the research that has been done on racial attitudes has come from the perspective of White/Caucasian people's attitudes and feelings about Blacks/African Americans; that is, the majority group's thought and beliefs about the minority group. Only looking at White/Caucasian people's attitudes toward an outgroup leaves researchers with only a partially painted picture. It is impossible to change a situation or draw conclusions when all of the information is not available,

and that is exactly what has been occurring in the literature. By ignoring the opinions, thoughts, and attitudes of Blacks/African Americans, it perpetuates the cycle of marginalizing Blacks/African Americans in the United States saying, “You Blacks/African Americans still do not matter and your voice does not need to be heard.” By understanding the attitudes of Blacks/African Americans in the United States, researchers can begin to put the pieces of the puzzle together to alleviating racial tensions in America. It is interesting that research has clearly found distinct differences in White/Caucasian people and Black/African American people in how they react to different situations and how they are affected differently physically, mentally, and emotionally but still fail to ask the questions, “How do Blacks/African Americans think and feel about White/Caucasian people? How are Blacks/African American affected by and feel about contact with White/Caucasian people?” This study hopes to answer these questions or at least begin the conversation and research into how Blacks/African Americans, the minority, feel and their attitudes toward White/Caucasian people, the majority.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination has been a topic of interest since the era of Jim Crow. Over 60 years later, discriminatory events are common experiences for youth, with reports of 87% of African American youth experiencing discrimination in 2013 (Jones et al., 2014). Racial discrimination is a pervasive phenomenon in the lives of many racial minorities that can take the form of both blatant (e.g., being called a derogatory name) and subtle (e.g., being stared at by security guards while shopping) behaviors that permeate the daily lives of individuals (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Discrimination—unfair treatment by others on the basis of one’s social group membership—grows from the negative beliefs, emotions, or behavioral intentions regarding another person based on that person’s membership in a social group, or prejudice (Binder et al., 2009; Grollman, 2012). Experiences of discrimination are not only pervasive but have profound effects on the psychological well-being of African American adolescents and young adults (Neblett et al, 2012; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Perceived discrimination is one’s perception or belief that they are being treated differently due to their race, gender, age, or other differing characteristic. Perceived discrimination is important in that it has been linked to many mental and physical health issues (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Broman et al., 2000; Grollman, 2012; Kessler et al., 1999; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Physical health issues associated with perceived discrimination include elevated blood pressure, heart rate issues, cortisol secretions, and higher risk for cardiovascular disease (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Researchers have found perceived discrimination to be linked to depression, anxiety, sadness, fatigue, and irritability (Brody et al., 2006). Some studies report associations between

discrimination and specific emotions including anger, hopelessness, fear, and nervousness (Brody et al., 2007; Brondolo et al., 2005). A recent study of 260 individuals (58% African American) by Carter and Forsyth (2010) determined that the most common emotional reactions to discrimination among African American participants were feeling disrespected and angry, and also included emotions such as disappointment and shock. Continual discrimination has been found to cause chronic stress and is much stronger than acute stress caused by rare occurrences of discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003). African Americans and Hispanics were found to have more feelings of anger and depression from perceived experiences with discrimination, and report lower levels of satisfaction and happiness (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Higher psychiatric symptoms found to be associated with perceived discrimination in African Americans included intrusion and avoidance, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and somatization (2003).

The biopsychosocial model of racism (Clark et al., 1999) and Harrell's (2000) multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress highlight the potential negative impact of racial discrimination on one's psychological and physical health. According to Clark et al. (1999), the perception of racism leads to coping responses (e.g., suppressing angry feelings, expressing anger verbally), which, in turn, can lead to amplified psychological and physiological responses and poor health outcomes. Harrell (2000) suggests that immediate emotional responses (e.g., sadness, disgust) to racism can contribute to the qualitative way in which the stress is experienced, with implications for well-being.

Racial Attitudes

Much of what we have learned about racial attitudes has been concerned with the relations of the dominant group to minority groups, especially White people's attitudes toward and relations with African American. Theories of symbolic racism, modern racism, aversive

racism, ambivalence-response amplification, compunction, and social dominance are all primarily concerned with the attitudes of dominant or majority groups toward oppressed or minority groups (Stephan et al., 2002). Much less is known about the attitudes and behaviors of minority groups members toward the majority group, or the causes of these attitudes (Shelton, 2000).

Understanding the attitudes of the minority groups is just as important as understanding the attitudes of the dominant groups. For instance, by understanding African Americans' attitudes toward White people, we can learn more about reasons for African Americans' behaviors toward White people. African Americans who dislike White people may avoid them in social settings, discriminate against them if the opportunity arises, express hostility toward them, and refuse to live or work with them. These outward expressions of negative racial attitudes toward White people by African Americans may lead White people to fear them and may be used by White people as a justification to avoid and discriminate against African Americans (Stephan et al., 2002).

In an extensive review of the literature, Shelton (2000) found that the field was severely lacking in research in the area of prejudice and attitudes from the perspective of African Americans. They found that research tended to focus on White people as active perceivers and African Americans as passive targets (Shelton, 2000). In research, African Americans are treated as a relatively homogenous and amorphous group in the form of photographs and experimental confederates (Shelton, 2000). In their search, they discovered the opinion of Amir (1969) stating that "The emphasis in American studies on attitudes and behavior of the white majority group has led to consideration of minority group members almost exclusively in their

role as “objects” and of the white majority group as “subjects”; Shelton (2000) argued that this emphasis has persisted over time.

Currently, a substantive amount of work exists that addresses intrapersonal issues of prejudice from the perspectives of White people, but research is lacking from the perspective of African Americans. Two primary areas involving racial prejudice include the consequences that African Americans experience as a result of being a target of prejudice and research on self-fulfilling prophecies (Shelton, 2000). Shelton (2000) states that in more recent research, researchers have started addressing the ways targets of prejudice protect themselves psychologically from the negative consequences. This research has shown that by attributing negative feedback from others to prejudice, limiting their social comparisons to ingroup members, and disengaging themselves from outcomes in which their group is negatively valued, members of oppressed or minority groups might protect their psychological well-being (Shelton, 2000).

Shelton (2000) gives several reasons for the lack of research in this area. One possibility is that if White psychologists examine African Americans’ role in racial prejudice beyond passive targets, it might appear that they deny their powerful role in White-Black race relations. Along the same lines, by studying how African Americans’ attitudes might impact race relations, it might be equivalent to blaming the victim, which is something most White liberal academics want to avoid. Another thought is that if psychologists examine African Americans’ roles in racial prejudice beyond targets, it might seem as if they were ignoring African Americans’ historical experiences with racial oppression. Shelton (2000) also considered that the lack of research could be due the majority of mainstream social psychologists conducting research on racial prejudice are in fact White people, thus perceiving African Americans from a perspective

other than as targets of racial oppression might be difficult for them. Finally, Shelton (2000) reasoned that most social psychological research is conducted with college students at predominately White universities, thus limiting the availability of Black participants for psychological research.

In their review of the literature, Shelton (2000) found that very few studies had been conducted examining the relation between African Americans' racial attitudes and behaviors, and those that did exist focused primarily on understanding stereotypes. In the few studies conducted, an important finding showed that despite being a target of prejudice, not all African Americans have negative perceptions of White people. A study by Brigham (1993) found standard deviations greater than 1 for all of the items on the Attitudes Toward Whites Scale, indicating variability in African Americans' responses. Variability was also found in the percentage of African Americans who agreed with each item, indicating that African Americans did not endorse each sentiment presented in an item to the same extent (Shelton et al., 2000). Essentially this means that because African Americans' attitudes are not homogenous, treating them as targets who all react or behave the same way across all interracial interactions is not acceptable.

Currently, no theoretical models of prejudice exist that specifically address what African Americans' racial attitudes are based on, what the implications of having the attitudes are, or how the attitudes might be changed (Shelton, 2000). Racial identity is recommended by Shelton (2000) as a start to researching and understanding African Americans' attitudes because most models of African American racial identity incorporate some aspect of African Americans' attitudes toward White people. Another area the reviewers felt would be beneficial to researchers is research on racial socialization. It is believed that it is highly likely that how

African Americans are socialized will impact both the content and structure of racial attitudes (Shelton, 2000).

More research in the area of African Americans' attitudes is important for understanding African Americans' behavior in interracial interactions. Understanding African Americans' racial attitudes might also help to deter misunderstandings and conflict between White people and African Americans. Only with the inclusion of the examination of African Americans' racial attitudes will we be able to fully understand the processes involved with why conflict may exist between White people and African Americans.

A model of intergroup attitudes that has been suggested as being applicable to African Americans is the integrated threat theory. This theory states that the same threats that create negative attitudes toward minority groups also should create negative attitudes toward majority groups (Stephan et al., 2002). The idea is that members of an ingroup expect outgroup members to behave in ways that are detrimental to ingroup members. The theory focuses on four types of threats: *realistic threats*, *symbolic threats*, *threats stemming from intergroup anxiety*, and *threats arising from negative stereotypes* (Stephan et al., 2002). *Realistic threats* refer to threats to the very existence of the ingroup (e.g., through warfare), threats to the political and economic power of the ingroup, and threats to the physical and material well-being of the ingroup (e.g., their health). *Symbolic threats* involve perceived group differences in morals, values, standards, beliefs, and attitudes. Symbolic threats are those that jeopardize the worldview of the ingroup. The concept of *intergroup anxiety* refers to feelings of threat people experience during intergroup interactions because people are concerned about negative outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed. *Negative outgroup stereotypes* can create feelings

of threat among ingroup members when these stereotypes serve as a basis for negative expectations concerning outgroup members.

Integrated threat theory also argues that a number of other variables may influence the likelihood of perceived threats by outgroup members, such as group identities. For example, people who strongly identify with their ingroups are likely to be attuned to threats from outgroups (Stephan et al., 2002). In general, integrated threat theory posits that the mechanisms by which negative outgroup attitudes arise (i.e., perceived threats) will be the same whether the perceived is a member of a majority or a minority group.

Racial / Ethnic Identity

Racial-group identity refers to an individual's psychological attachment to a social category based on race, skin color, or a common history of oppression and discrimination attributable to skin color (Thompson, 1999). Racial identity development is the active and fluid process of identifying one's own racial group as a viable self-reference group (Smith, 1989). This process involves individuals coming to increased racial self-acceptance and acceptance of racially different others (Abrams & Trusty, 2004).

The term ethnicity (from the Greek term *ethnikos*, for a people or a nation) is used to refer to a social group of people whose defining characteristics may be based upon physiology, language, ancestry, culture, and/or nationality (Smith, et al., 1999). *Ethnic* identity is defined by Tajfel (1981, p. 63) as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from [his] knowledge of [his] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership." Ethnic identity derives from a sense of peoplehood within a group, a culture, and a particular setting. Both theoretical and empirical evidence suggest that ethnic identity is a multifaceted construct that includes a number of

dimensions (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ethnic identity is also dynamic meaning it changes over time and context and must therefore be considered with reference to its formation and variation (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The achievement of a secure ethnic identity derives from experience, but experience is not sufficient to produce it. Ethnic identity, like personal identity, refers to a sense of self, but differs in that it involves a shared sense of identity with others who belong to the same group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The process of ethnic identity formation involves the construction over time of one's sense of self as a group member and of one's attitudes and understandings associated with group membership (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ethnic identity begins in a rudimentary form in childhood, and undergoes a major developmental change in adolescence and young adulthood, through the joint processes of exploration and commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007). By adulthood, most people have acquired a relatively stable and secure sense of themselves as ethnic group members, an achieved ethnic identity. The evaluation of ethnic identity denotes feelings of belonging and ethnic pride. It refers to the extent to which people feel good about their ethnic background and are positive about their ethnic group membership (Verkuyten & Brug, 2002). Exploration of ethnic identity can continue throughout adulthood.

Developmental theorists postulate that the transition from adolescence to young adulthood is a period when individuals attempt to learn more about their background and explore the implications of ethnic group affirmations (Xu et al, 2015). Adolescents who can resolve uncertainties about their ethnicity via exploration generally develop an affirmation with their ethnic group, feel comfortable with who they are, and manifest high self-esteem, self-confidence, and sense of purpose in life. Thus exploration is a critical process that helps individuals understand and form a commitment to their ethnic group. A shared sense of identity with others

who belong to the same ethnic group is an important aspect of individuals' social identity and is closely tied to their respective minority—majority status within a social context (Xu et al., 2015).

Empirical research indicates that ethnic identity is a central component of identity for many adolescents and young adults. Research has found that both African Americans and Mexican Americans self-reported race-ethnicity as an important or very important identity area to explore and resolve (Verkuyten & Brug, 2002). Research also found that race, when investigated as a domain of ego identity was the most important of all identity domains in self-definition among a sample of African Americans (Miville et al., 2000). In a study of college students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, Phinney and Alipuria (1990) found that ethnic minority students rated ethnicity as a central identity concern, equal to religion and above politics. Another study found that for minority Black female adolescents, ethnicity was the domain most predictive of overall identity status and was regarded by participants as the domain most important to self-definition (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Ethnic identity development theory stems from the Erik Erikson's ego identity model. Erikson considered identity as a subjective feeling of sameness and continuity that provides individuals with a stable sense of self and serves as a guide to choices in key areas of one's life (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Thus identity is not something that individuals automatically have. Rather identity develops over time, beginning in childhood, through a process of reflection and observation that is particularly salient during adolescence and young adulthood but may continue through adulthood and is expected to lead to a resolution or an achieved identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). An achieved identity combines childhood identifications, individual interests and talents, and the opportunities afforded by the context in a unified self-structure. According to Phinney (1990, 1992), people are thought to form their ethnic or racial identity by exploring and making decisions about the

role of race and ethnicity in their lives. Phinney (1989) proposed a three-stage progression from an unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration to an achieved or committed ethnic identity. Ethnic identity achievement refers to the extent to which a person has developed a secure sense of their self as a member of an ethnic or racial group and understating and acceptance of their ethnicity or race (Phinney, 1990, 1992). Not all individuals achieve stable identity, and the failure to do so results in role confusion and the inability to make progress toward meaningful commitments (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

There are many different theoretical approaches to ethnic identity, but one of the most widely used is that of Phinney (2007). Phinney's model of Ethnic identity development stems from Erik Erikson's ego identity model (1968) and James Marcia's (1980) identity status model. Phinney's approach to ethnic identity involves 5 components: self-categorization and labeling, commitment, exploration, values and beliefs, and importance and salience. The first component includes self-categorization and labeling. Self-categorization is identifying oneself as a member of a particular social grouping and is considered to be the basic element of group identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The next component of ethnic identity and also considered the most important is commitment. Commitment, or a sense of belonging, has been used to refer to a strong attachment and personal investment in a group. When the term ethnic identity is used in everyday language, what is most often meant, among the various meanings of the construct, is this idea of commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Another component of ethnic identity is exploration. Exploration is defined as seeking information and experiences relevant to one's ethnicity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Exploration can involve a range of activities, such as reading and talking to people, learning cultural practices, and attending cultural events. Exploration is most common in adolescence, but is an ongoing

process that can continue over time and possibly throughout life, depending on individual experiences (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Exploration is important to the process because without it, one's commitment may be less secure and more subject to change with new experiences. A strong sense of belonging to a group is assumed to include feeling comfortable with one's ethnicity and having positive feelings about one's group membership (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Based on an individual's levels of exploration and commitment, Phinney's model allows for classification of individuals into three stages of identity: unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search, and achieved ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). An achieved ethnic identity implies that attitudes about one's group have been examined and evaluated independently and are not simply the internalization of what other people think (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Values and beliefs are also believed to be a component of ethnic identity. Values are important indicators of one's closeness to the group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The final component of ethnic identity includes importance and salience. Research has shown that there is a wide variation in the importance attributed to one's ethnic identity across individuals and groups, with ethnic minority group members typically attributing greater importance to their ethnicity than do members of the dominant majority group. Salience is also shown to vary over time (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Although many models of ethnic identity (such as Phinney's) were designed to apply to members of a variety of racial or ethnic groups, some research has focused more specifically on the racial identity development of African Americans. Such studies attempt to examine and account for the unique cultural and structural experiences associated with the position of African Americans.

Recent research has posited a developmental organization to the development of racial identity based on the hypothesis that African Americans are socialized into the majority culture, which results in a diminished African American identification (Collins & Lightsey, 2001). To regain a strong African American identification, individuals must progress through developmental stages of growth and discovery (Collins & Lightsey, 2001). One framework that focuses on identity development for African Americans is Cross's (1978; 1995) model of nigrescence. The model describes the social-developmental sequence through which African Americans come to terms with their race and the society where they live. The model describes five distinct racial identity stages: (a) The pre-encounter stage is marked by a nonracial identification in which a White frame of reference rather than a Black one is used, (b) the encounter stage is when experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination encourage the reexamination of racial identity, (c) the immersion-emersion stage is when an African American frame of reference dominates and pro-Black and anti-White attitudes develop, (d) the internalization stage is that in which the individual's racial identity matures into a stable yet more flexible orientation and a less idealized view regarding Black identity, and finally (e) the internalization/commitment stage in which internalized identity as well as a continued commitment to African Americans as a people; political commitment to diversity and ethnicity concerns (Cross, 1978; 1995).

A number of studies have found that racial/ethnic identity is tied to a variety of outcomes, including mental health. For example, Carter and Reynolds (2011) studied African American adults and found that identity beliefs were tied to feelings of anger and depression, with greater commitment to the racial group being tied to more positive outcomes. Another study found that racial identity attitudes are a critical factor in predicting stress and coping responses of African

American students at predominantly White institutions (Neville, Heppner, & Wang, 1997). In contrast, they found that more negative identity beliefs, such as devaluing of African American culture or denial of African American identity was tied to more negative outcomes. Researchers have also argued that a positive sense of racial identity may promote academic motivation and achievement. For example, Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2006) found that middle school students with stronger feelings of connection to their racial / ethnic group earned higher grades.

Impacts of college on racial/ethnic identity development. Racialization is the process through which, in each sociohistorical period, individuals and groups acquire racial identities and meanings (Ispa-Landa & Conwell, 2014). Racialization also involves placement of individuals and groups into preexisting race-based social hierarchies (Ispa-Landa & Conwell, 2014). Because race relations involve power and hierarchy, African American students are forced to negotiate their position as outsiders who represent difference from the invisible norm of whiteness. African American students may not have to bear these burdens in other institutional spaces, such as predominantly African American institutions. Time spent at college has been found to have a significant influence on students' attitudes on a wide range of topics, their beliefs and values, personalities and self-concepts, as well as academic and cognitive development and satisfaction with the college environment (Camp et al., 2009). For example, students may develop more liberal and feminist attitudes, cultivate self-concepts as scholars or social activists, and report increased social and analytical skills (Astin, 1999). Therefore, the kind of activities chosen by students during these formative years has great potential to influence their overall development, including their racial/ethnic identity development (Van Camp et al., 2009).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were established to provide education for Black students at a time when segregation prevented their enrollment at many

colleges and universities (Sissoko & Shiau, 2005). Common mission-related characteristics of HBCUs include: provision of social, economic, and leadership opportunities for Black and the Black community; maintenance of Black historical and cultural traditions; and education of graduates who are uniquely qualified to articulate and interpret issues between minority and majority population groups (Brown & Davis, 2001 & Peterson & Hamrick, 2009). Some scholars have maintained that attending non-minority dominated schools can “deculturize” African American students by attempting to convert them to “replicas of White middle class suburban children (Bankston & Caldas, 1996:538). Similarly, others argue that “thrusting the black child into a predominantly white, status-oriented classroom does nothing to enhance a black child’s self-esteem” (Bankston & Caldas, 1996:538). Research conducted by William Sedlacek in 1999 investigated Black undergraduate student’s experiences at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) over a 20-year period. Among the findings were themes that persisted over the 20 years indicating that Black students continued to perceive the campus environment of the PWIs as hostile and confusing, experienced negative attitudes of White students toward Black students in a variety of situations, had difficulties in their relationships with White faculty, and experienced feelings of a disconnect—that they did not belong (Closson & Henry, 2008). When comparing Black students at HBCUs to Black students at PWIs, researchers have found that Black students tend to be more satisfied with their overall college experience (Astin, 1993), more likely to persist until graduation (Allen, 1992), and entered doctoral programs more frequently than their peers attending PWIs (Gray, 1997).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) differ from other four-year colleges in their campus climate. Research suggest that HBCUs provide campus environments designed to nurture black students. Qualitative data suggests a number of benefits of attending an HBCU

including not being a minority and an increased feeling of belonging and pride (Freeman, 1999; Nora, 2004; Tobolowsky et al., 2005). Curricula at HBCUs include a greater integration of black history and culture than those at majority-white colleges and universities (Bennett & Xie, 2003). Additionally, black students themselves are more integrated into campus life at HBCUs than at other colleges and universities, enjoy closer relationships with faculty and participate more fully in campus organizations and activities (Bennett & Xie, 2003). HBCUs offer greater exposure to Black academic role models with whom they can identify, and therefore offer more positive student-faculty interactions than predominantly White institutions (Berger & Milem, 2000; Cokley, 2002). Previous research has found that Black college students face a number of stressors including institutional racism, poor health and energy, social isolation, and family and economic problems (Grier-Reed et al, 2008). Other researchers found that with there is no critical mass of Blacks and/or students of color on campus, Black students' social networks tend to be compromised and the challenges compounded (D'Augelli & Hersberger, 1993; Pike & Kuh, 2006). More specifically, predominantly White campuses may be experienced as less accepting or even as a hostile source of stress for Black students (Barnett, 2004).

Interracial Contact

Interracial contact, contact between members of different racial groups (Rutland et al, 2005), has been studied primarily as a mechanism for improving racial attitudes and reducing racial discrimination (discussed in greater detail below). Allport (1954) argued that inter-group contact reduced prejudice only when it was optimal. Optimal contact is characterized as four factors: 1) participants in the contact situation have equal status, 2) these individuals are pursuing common goals, 3) participants in the contact situation are interdependent or work cooperatively, and 4) relevant authorities are thought to sanction contact (Van Laar et al., 2005). Under

favorable conditions, the reduction of various types of prejudice is particularly effective (Crystal, 2008; Dixon et al., 2010). Although much research has supported Allport's theory, other researchers have argued that other qualifications are required for prejudice reduction (Schwartz & Simmons (2001). Cook (1984) argued that contact with outgroup members is effective in reducing prejudice only when that contact disconfirms the stereotypes associated with the outgroup. Scarberry et al. (1997) demonstrated that stereotyping-disconfirming contact leads to more favorable attitudes only when the outgroup member is seen as representative of the group rather than as an individual.

Intergroup contact is seen as increasing what people know about others and, thus increasing the likelihood of seeing members of the outgroup in individuated and personalized ways thus decreasing prejudice (Barlow et al., 2009; Crystal, 2008; Paolini et al., 2004). Intergroup contact is also thought to promote the development of a common ingroup identity in which those formerly perceived as outgroup members are now viewed as part of the ingroup (Crystal, 2008). Viewing members of the outgroup as members of the ingroup through recategorization heightens one's sense of equality, fairness and justice vis-à-vis outgroup individuals (Crystal, 2008). Recent research has found conflicting results that racially diverse areas, in which intergroup contact is presumably common, often show the highest levels of prejudice and intergroup antipathy (Ayers et al., 2009; Cernat, 2010; Stein et al., 2000).

The emotional benefit of group contact is that it is believed to enhance empathy towards outgroup individuals – empathy in-turn can lead one to feel more positively about members of another group and elicit an emotional experience called empathic concern, that produces a prosocial motivation to improve the welfare of another person (Crystal, 2008). When negative contact occurs between the majority and minority groups, it can be detrimental to relations. A

large body of research has shown that we typically weight negative information more heavily than positive information (Baumeister et al., 2001)

When considering interracial contact, it is important to remember that majority and minority members can experience the same contact situation quite differently (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Some evidence suggests that African American students attending predominantly white universities may be especially vulnerable to negative outcomes as a result of stress related to being a racial or ethnic minority (Wei et al., 2010). Young people from class- and race-disadvantaged backgrounds often face formidable hurdles to social integration (Aries & Maynard, 2005; Lehmann, 2007). In intergroup contact situations, minority group members are likely to be most concerned with being discriminated against by majority group members (Shelton, 2003; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Any perceived discrimination can be interpreted as an affirmation of their lower status. Minorities are also under constant threat of being stereotyped negatively. Majority group members are often of higher status. In intergroup contact situations, majority group members may be concerned with avoiding displaying discrimination against minorities because this would be interpreted as a counter normative exploitation of status differences (Binder et al., 2009). They may also be concerned with avoiding the appearance of prejudice (Shelton, 2003; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

With the differences in experiences of contact by the ingroup (the minority) and the outgroup (the majority), it is possible that frequency and quality of contact may not be a deciding factor in thoughts and beliefs of the each group about the other. The positive-negative asymmetry effect holds that negative stimuli have a stronger impact than positive stimuli in human cognition (Eby et al., 2010). Negative stimuli are processed more thoroughly and systematically and contribute more to one's overall impression than positive stimuli (Baumeister

et al., 2001; Eby et al., 2010). Thus, people remember negative behaviors more accurately and vividly than positive behaviors, and overemphasize negative data in impression formation (Wang et al., 2009). Related research on prospect theory of decision-making holds that greater weight is given to costs than gains when rendering judgments, which may reflect the adaptive importance of responding to negative stimuli in one's environment (Pratto & John, 1991). Thus threatening events such as discrimination or stereotyping, require immediate action and behavior change for self-protection whereas positive, non-threatening events do not require behavior change. With positive-negative asymmetry effect, the tendency to focus on the bad rather than the good, and to respond more strongly to bad experiences, lies in the adaptive survival value of responding to negative events (Eby et al., 2010).

Research has found that bad experiences trigger more immediate, intense reactions and negative information requires less conscious information processing than positive information (Pratto & John, 1991). This self-regulatory behavior has survival value by helping individuals meet environmental demands that may be perceived as psychologically, cognitively, or physically threatening, such as racism and discrimination. Baumeister et al. (2001) hypothesized that bad is stronger than good; defining good as desirable, beneficial, or pleasant outcomes including states or consequences, and bad defined as undesirable, harmful, or unpleasant thus concluding that bad things will produce larger, more consistent, more multifaceted, or more lasting effects than good things. They reasoned that it is evolutionary adaptive for bad to be stronger than good because evolutionary history had demonstrated that organisms more attuned to bad things had better chances of surviving threats and consistently passed these genes along (Baumeister et al., 2001). They also reasoned that survival requires urgent attention to possible bad outcomes, but it is less urgent with regard to good ones (Baumeister et al., 2001). They

concluded that all lives have bad and good events in them, thus if bad is stronger than good, then the bad events will have longer lasting and more intense consequences than good events (Baumeister et al., 2001). Supporting research found that undesirable events had more pervasive effects on subsequent mood than desirable (good) events (David et al., 1997), and bad events had longer lasting effects than good events (Sheldon et al., 1996). Applying these ideas to organizations, researchers have proposed that negative organizational relationships can have greater predictive power in understanding individual outcomes than positive relationships in that they offer explanations for the greater adaptive value of responding to negative events due to their inherent threat, and lesser ambiguity associated with negative information which allows for faster social judgements and interpretation (Eby et al., 2010).

Perceptions of Discrimination and Racial Attitudes

As with other areas of research in respect to racial attitudes of African Americans, there is very little literature on racial attitudes in relation to perceptions of discrimination. Although it seems logical that negative experiences (such as being the target of discrimination) might impact one's attitudes toward members of a racial outgroup, few studies have examined this relationship directly (for exceptions, see Barlow et al., 2011; Dixon et al., 2010).

One relevant approach to examining the impact of experiences with discrimination is the collective action framework, which focuses on promoting collective awareness of, and resistance to, institutionalized forms of injustice (Wright & Lubonsky, 2008). This framework examines the reactions of historically disadvantaged groups (e.g., African Americans in the United States), exploring how, when, and why members of such groups come to recognize and challenge systemic inequalities. In a study using this theoretical framework, Dixon et al. (2010) found perceived discrimination and racial attitudes to be indirectly related, and that perceived

discrimination was a better predictor of positive or negative thoughts toward White people than racial attitudes held by African Americans. Given this relationship, a decrease in personal experiences of discrimination may result in less negative racial attitudes on the part of African Americans.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Racial / Ethnic Identity

Research has been conducted on racial identity and discrimination finding that the more individuals are identified with their group, the more likely they are to make attributions to discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). For example, African Americans for whom race was a central component of their identity were more likely to attribute an ambiguous discriminatory event to race compared with African Americans for whom race was a less central component of their identity (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Ethnic minorities who were highly identified with their ethnic group were more likely to make attributions to discrimination about subtle, ambiguous behaviors of a White confederate compared with ethnic minorities who were less identified with their group (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Highly ethnically identified individuals also perceived themselves as more personally vulnerable to discrimination, reported more personal experiences with ethnic discrimination, and were more likely to perceive themselves as targets of discrimination than did less ethnically identified minorities (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Other findings have also found that the likelihood of recognizing and experiencing discrimination increases when ethnic identity is more achieved, which, in turn, may increase psychological distress (Kim et al., 2014; McCoy & Major, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2008).

Developmental theories also focus on how context shapes ethnic identity and, specifically, how changes in context can trigger changes in ethnic identity. Identity development is thought to happen through dynamic interactions between the individual and his or her context

(Erikson, 1968). Exploration may be triggered and intensified by experiences of prejudice and discrimination and thus varies significantly for ethnic majority and minority adolescents (Yuh et al., 2014). Heightened exploration may in turn strengthen minority adolescents' affirmation with their ethnic group. A social identity framework also predicts that ethnic identity should change based on the individuals' context. Social identity theory considers ethnic identity as one of many possible available social identities and predict that the extent to which ethnic identity becomes salient depends on the wider context that defines minority—majority status (Turner, et al., 1994). Social identity theory suggest that being a visible minority in a particular context can increase the situational salience of a particular social identity, such as ethnicity, gender, or social class, and over time the centrality of a particular group identity (e.g., ethnic identity in the case of ethnic minorities) (Yuh et al., 2014). Similar to developmental theories, social identity theory emphasizes that prejudice and discrimination may strengthen ethnic identification in minority group individuals (Leach et al., 2010).

Perceptions of Discrimination and Interracial Contact

Although interracial contact has been found to be associated with more positive racial attitudes in some studies (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), it is also the case that minority group members are often concerned with being discriminated against by majority members in interracial contact situations (Dixon et al., 2010; Shelton, 2003). Researchers have focused primarily on the opportunities for positive interracial interactions provided by interracial contact, but such contact provides opportunities for negative interactions as well. Interracial friendships have also been shown to enhance positive feelings toward the racial majority group among minority group members who have been exposed to racial prejudice (Tropp, 2007). Thus, perceived discrimination may play a less prominent role in predicting interracial orientations

when minority group members have interracial friendships, as these friendships would offer positive interracial experiences that could serve to inform their feelings toward the racial majority group as a whole.

Interracial Contact and Racial Attitudes

More and more research suggests that interracial contact can promote positive orientations toward members of other racial groups (Ellison & Powers, 1994; Levin et al, 2003). These studies provide converging evidence that interracial contact fosters positive feelings across group boundaries. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of contact studies and concluded that a significant association between interracial contact and positive racial attitudes.

Research has found that in order for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice and lead to positive intergroup relations, it should unfold under favorable conditions: equal status, common goals, cooperation rather than competition, and support of intergroup contact by external authorities (Allport, 1954; Crystal, et al, 2008; Dixon, et al, 2010; Levin, et al, 2003; Shelton, 2000). Other research has found that affective ties and the opportunity to learn about outgroups are also conditions for reducing prejudice as a function of contact (Van Laar et al., 2005). However, contact can have beneficial impacts on attitudes even under non-optimal conditions (for example, unequal group status; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Contact is also thought to reduce prejudice when it affords participating individuals the opportunity to discover previously unnoticed similarities and the chance to see counter-stereotypic characteristics and behaviors in one another (Van Laar et al., 2005). A study by Van Laar et al (2005) found that exposure to roommates from ethnic outgroups reduced ethnic prejudice and increased one's sense of competence in dealing with people from different ethnic groups. Though research has found positive effects of intergroup contact when reducing

prejudice and discrimination, research by Binder et al. (2009) found that contact effects did not last for long and did not generalize well to the members of the outgroup not yet encountered.

Past research on interracial friendships has found that when fostered by daily interactions, contact is one of the strongest predictors of prejudice reduction. Empirical studies attest to the efficacy of intergroup friendships for reducing racial segregation and prejudice (Crystal et al., 2008). Intergroup friendship may achieve cross-group identification. One comes to like and identify with out-group members beyond simply learning more about the out-group (Pettigrew, 2007). Research by Pettigrew (2007) indicated that having outgroup friends is strongly associated with lower intergroup prejudice. Further research has shown that Europeans who had more friends of another nationality, race, religion, culture, and social class were lower in prejudice toward the major minority groups in their country, even when controlling for political conservatism, group relative deprivation, political interest, national pride, urbanism, education and age (Levin et al., 2003). Powers and Ellison (1995) found that close interracial friendships lead to more positive racial attitudes among Black Americans, even when accounting for possible selection bias. Other research has argued that cross-group friendships must be given time to develop in order for intergroup contact to have its beneficial effects.

More and more research suggest that interracial contact can promote positive orientations toward members of other racial groups (Ellison & Powers, 1995; Levin et al., 2003). These studies provide converging evidence that interracial contact fosters positive feelings across group boundaries. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of contact studies and concluded that a significant association exists between interracial contact and positive attitudes. However, few studies have investigated whether contact can promote positive interracial orientations among members of both racial minority and majority groups. In their analysis,

Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) found that contact effects are significantly weaker for racial minority groups than for racial majority groups.

Some researchers have proposed that contact effects tend to be weaker among members of racial minority groups because they are more likely to come into contact with members of the racial majority group in their everyday lives (Tropp, 2007). Tropp also noted that perceptions and experiences associated with contact differ qualitatively for members of racial minority groups, with most African Americans perceiving substantial discrimination against their racial group. Interracial friendships have also been shown to enhance positive feelings toward the racial majority group among minority group members who have been exposed to racial prejudice (Tropp, 2007). Thus, perceived discrimination may play a less prominent role in predicting interracial orientations when minority group members have interracial friendships, as these friendships would offer positive interracial experiences that could serve to inform their feelings toward the racial majority group as a whole (Tropp, 2007).

Interracial friendship may be an especially powerful form of interracial contact. Pettigrew (1997) found that intergroup friendship generate cross-group empathy. A study by Ellison and Powers (1994) found that Black adults who reported having a close White friend in childhood expressed more favorable attitudes of White people than did Black adults who did not have close White friends in childhood.

Racial/Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem

A shared sense of identity with others who belong to the same ethnic group is an important aspect of individuals' social identity and is closely tied to their respective minority—majority status within a social context. An achieved ethnic identity is thought to be associated with favorable psychological outcomes, such as positive self-concept. Self-esteem, which can be

defined as positive or negative attitudes toward the self (Rosenberg, 1989), is an important indicator of psychological adjustment. Several studies report higher self-esteem among Black people than White people, and higher self-esteem among White people than Hispanics and Asians (Gray-Little & Hafdahl 2000; Twenge & Crocker 2002). A number of studies have found that stronger ethnic identity is associated with higher self-esteem among minority high school and college students (Lorenzo-Hernandez & Oullette, 1998; Phinney, 1992; Verkuyten & Brug, 2002).

It is possible that an achieved ethnic identity contributes to the individual's self-esteem, by providing a sense of belonging and by acting as a buffer against the negative impact of experiences such as discrimination. According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981), minority group members strive to preserve a positive self-concept when faced with experiences that threaten their group identity. The type of self-protective strategies people use may depend on their level of ethnic identity, and the correlation between self-esteem and ethnic identity development may be due to the fact that people at higher stages use better, more effective self-protecting strategies. Chavira and Phinney (1991) found that adolescents with high ethnic identity had higher self-esteem and used more active strategies in dealing with threats such as discrimination and stereotypes than did those with low ethnic identity. Similarly, it has been proposed that high ethnic identity achievement might influence involvement in problem behavior, in that youth with a positive group image might use legitimate means of goal attainment (Smith, et al, 1999). Ethnic identity has also been found to influence antisocial behavior. African American and White students who had strong ethnic identifications (e.g., Italian American, Irish American, etc.) reported fewer behavior problems than their peers without strong ethnic identities (Rotheram-Borus, 1990). In a study by Jagers and Mock (1993),

the research found that orientation toward one's ethnic group to be related to prosocial attitudes and problem behavior. Research in support of this found that African American youth with high ethnic identity achievement and Afrocentric values were significantly related to decreased drug attitudes and low levels of substance abuse (Bankston, 1995; Schier et al., 1997). Research has supported that ethnic identity is a predictor of enhanced quality of life and self-esteem (Schwartz, et al., 2007; Utsey, et al., 2002). Similarly, ethnic identity has been found to alleviate the negative effects of culture-related stressors, such as perceived discrimination and acculturative stress, on mental well-being (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000).

Conversely, an equally plausible explanation is that higher personal self-esteem leads to higher stages of ethnic identity development. Sufficient confidence for an individual to explore and question what he or she has taken for granted is required for ethnic identity achievement. There are many risks involved in differing with one's parents, uncovering painful information about one's culture, and taking a stand in the face of conflicting and differing viewpoints. A study concluded that growth involves risk when it showed that identity achieved women differed from those in other identity statuses by valuing their own competence more highly, and thus being able to take greater risk in exploring options (Phinney & Chavira, 1992).

Research has found a highly significant relationship between ethnic identity achievement and self-esteem for African Americans and Mexican Americans but a much weaker relationship for Asian Americans and particularly White students (Verkuyten & Brug, 2002). In contrast, the meaning and value of ethnicity and race are matters of special concern for ethnic and racial minority members. One study found a strong relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity assessed with the MEIM among Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and African American students in New York (Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette, 1998).

Exploration and resolution of identity issues may lead to a more positive attitude toward one's ethnic identity, which in turn may affect self-esteem positively. Although ethnic identity appears to be positively related to self-esteem, the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem varies depending on the particular ethnic group and social context (Yuh, 2005). Ethnic identity is more salient when ethnic individuals are few in number, rather than when they are members in the majority since they are more conscious of the evaluations of their group (Yuh, 2005). One study on ethnic identity found that early adolescent Caucasian students scored the lowest, monoracial students scored the highest, and multiracial students scored in the mid-range (Spencer et al., 2000). Social identity theory suggest that group identity is an important aspect of self-esteem and that ethnic minorities may have more negative self-esteem as a result of the internalization of society's negative view (Yuh, 2005). Therefore, it is possible that the evaluation of ethnic identity mediates the relationship between ethnic identity achievement and self-esteem.

African Americans with positive racial identity may have higher self-esteem and feelings of inner security than those who have a more conflicted or distorted racial identity. In contrast, African Americans whose identity is dominated by a European American frame of reference may have lower self-esteem and think, act, and behave in ways that devalue their racial identity. Research by Phinney (1992) showed that the greater the ethnic identity, the higher the self-esteem among minority high school and college students. Another study revealed that ethnic identity is related to self-esteem, particularly among minorities (Lorenzo-Hernandez & Oullette, 1998). Because of the history of sociopolitical subordination that people of color may have experienced and the ensuing psychological work in which they may engage to create a more positive racial or cultural identity, racial or cultural identity may become a psychologically

central or salient part of the self-concepts of this group of people (Miville et al., 2000). Thus, how an individual identifies as a racial or cultural being, particularly if he or she has to work at feelings positively about their racial or cultural characteristics, may significantly influence how they identify as a unique individual (regarding, for example, personal values and beliefs).

METHOD

Procedure

Participants for this study were recruited in several ways. Students at the large state university were recruited by visiting student organization meetings and requesting voluntary participation from students, or through a system in which students participated in research for course credit. The students were given a presentation about the research and then given the link to the survey. At the medium size community college, I set up a table with a sign requesting research participants, and the students stopped and inquired voluntarily. At this site, I provided two laptops and a tablet for students to take the survey right then, and offered others the link to take the survey on their phone. Other participants were recruited through social media. Participants were informed of that the survey would take approximately 25-30 minutes to complete. Participants were instructed to complete the entire survey but that there was no penalty for not completing the survey in its entirety.

Participants

One hundred thirty-four participants were recruited to participate in this study (age 18 – 61 years; $M = 26.33$ years; $SD = 9.06$) (see Table 1 for more demographic information). Of the participants recruited, only one hundred sixteen participants self-identified as African American college students and completed all of the measures. The students were recruited from different colleges and universities across the United States with the majority of the participants from colleges and universities in the Midwest. The two most-represented institutions in the study were a medium-size public community college in an urban setting in the Midwest ($n = 57$) and a large state university in a suburban environment in the Midwest ($n = 13$). Other institutions included private Christian universities, technical and vocational institutes, and online

universities. The sample for the present study is 60.6% female and 39.4% male. The majority of the students categorized themselves as “single/never married” ($n = 75$). Of the participants, 62.2% were classified as undergraduate students with an “associate’s degree” or “some college, no degree”. Most of the participants were employed in addition to attending school, either working part-time ($n = 43$) or working full-time ($n = 45$).

The education level of the participants’ mothers were reported as 5.5% having no high school diploma/no GED, 24.8% having a high school diploma/GED, 19.3% having some college/no degree, 21.1% having an associate’s degree, 17.4% having a bachelor’s degree, 4.6% having a master’s degree, .9% having a doctoral degree, and 6.4% did not know (see Table 1). The education level of the participants’ fathers were reported as 9.2% having no high school diploma/no GED, 33.9% having a high school diploma/GED, 16.5% having some college/no degree, 6.4% having an associate’s degree, 11% having a bachelor’s degree, 2.8% having a master’s degree, 1.8% having a doctoral degree, and 18.3% did not know (see Table 1).

All of the participants classified themselves as Black or African American prior to completing any other survey measures. When asked to report their race, 82.4% of participants identified as only Black or African American; 17.6% participants identified as Black or African American and another race or races. The participants reported that 76.1% of their mothers were Black or African American and 86.2% of their fathers were Black or African American. The age range of participants ranged from 18 to 61 (See Table 1 for more age information), with 57 participants reporting to be of traditional college student age (18-23).

Measures

The questionnaire was administered in an online format using Qualtrics through the University of Kansas. The questionnaire consisted of 74 items from five existing measures:

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R), The Attitudes Toward Whites Measure, Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version, Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and the Interracial Anxiety Measure. The questionnaire also included a demographic measure that asked participants to report their age, sex, race, marital status, educational attainment, and occupational status, as well as their parents' racial backgrounds and levels of educational attainment. See Table 2 for summary of measures and Appendices for full versions of all measures.

Ethnic Identity. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (Phinney & Ong, 2007) was developed to provide a way to assess ethnic identity across diverse samples. This measure consists of 6 items (e.g., “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group”) with response options using a 5-point Likert scale from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5), with 3 as a neutral position. A high score indicates more exploration of ethnic identity and higher commitment to one's ethnic identity. Scores were calculated by using a mean score. In previous research, for the combined 6-item scale, alpha was .81 (Roberts et al., 1999). For the current sample, a reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .85. (See Appendix A for full measure.)

Racial Attitudes. The Attitudes Toward Whites Measure (ATW) was developed to serve as a contemporary measure of Blacks' attitudes toward White people and the degree of interracial contact experienced by Blacks. This measure consists of 20 items (e.g., “Most Whites cannot understand what it's like to be Black”) with response options using a 7-point Likert scale from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (7). A high score indicates more negative attitudes toward White/Caucasian people. Scores were calculated by using a mean score. In previous research, reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .75 (Brigham et al., 1993).

For the current sample, a reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .84. Items 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are reverse scored. (See Appendix E for full measure.)

Perceived Discrimination. The Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire—Community Version (PEDQ-CV) is a 34-item Lifetime Discrimination scale. The items (e.g., “Have you been kept out of a public place or group”) required participants to indicate how often they have ever “had these experiences during their lifetime,” with response options using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from “never happened” (1) to “happened very often” (5). Higher scores indicate more frequent experiences with discrimination. A high score indicates more perception of discrimination. Scores were calculated by using a mean score. In previous research, all of the responses had Cronbach's alpha coefficients greater than .75 (Brondolo et al., 2005). For the current sample, a reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .96. (See Appendix B for full measure.)

Self-Esteem. The Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was used to measure self-esteem, one's self-concept (Rowley et al., 1998). The scale is composed of 10 items (e.g., “I certainly feel useless at times”), five which are negatively worded. Items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 are reverse scored. This measure uses a 4-point Likert scale from “strongly disagree” (1) to “strongly agree” (4). Sum scores for all ten items. Scores are on a continuous scale. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. Scores were calculated by using a mean score. This scale was reported to have a Cronbach's alpha of .88 in previous research (Bringle et al., 2004). For the current sample, a reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .85. (See Appendix C for full measure.)

Interracial Contact. The Interracial Anxiety Measure consists of 32 items (e.g., “In the past, I have rarely interacted with White/Caucasian people”) assessing the quantity and quality of

respondents' previous contact with White people, their outcome expectancies regarding interactions with White people, their anxiety resulting from such interactions, their desire to avoid interactions with White people, and their degree of hostility resulting from interacting with White people. Responses are rated on a 7-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (7). A high score on quantity items indicates more positive contact and less hostility in interactions with White/Caucasian people. A high score on quality items indicates more contact with White/Caucasian people. Scores were calculated by using a mean score. Previous research showed coefficient alpha values ranged from .73 to .91 (Plant & Devine, 2003). For the current sample, a reliability analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .71 for quantity items and a Cronbach's alpha of .88 for quality items. For the present study, the quantity and quality subscales of the Interracial Anxiety Measure were used. Items measuring quantity included questions like "In the past, I have rarely interacted with White/Caucasian people," and quality of contact was measured using items like "I have had many positive experiences with White/Caucasian people." Seven additional items were added to assess the quantity (e.g., "The neighborhood I currently live in has mostly Black/African American people" and quality (e.g., "Currently (in the present), my experiences with White/Caucasian people has been pleasant") of current contact (in addition to the existing items measuring quantity and quality of past contact). In addition, the labels "Black" and "Caucasian" were changed on all measures to "Black/African American" and "White/Caucasian" to encompass different labeling preferences. Items 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, and 15 are reverse scored. (See Appendix D for full measure.)

Hypotheses

The overall aim of this study was to examine the interrelation of individuals' ethnic identity, racial attitudes, perceived discrimination, and out-group contact. This study addressed nine research questions with eleven hypotheses.

The first research question asked "How does contact relate to perceived discrimination?" This question included two hypotheses. Hypothesis 1: Quantity of outgroup contact will be positively correlated with perceived discrimination. Research finds that greater outgroup contact is related to lower prejudice (Allport, 1954; Crystal et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). One way researchers suggest outgroup contact might reduce prejudice is by providing opportunities for individuals to discover previously similarities Van Laar et al., 2005; that are counter-stereotypic characteristics and behaviors in a person from another race or ethnicity (Binder et al., 2009; Crystal et al., 2009; Van Laar et al., 2005). Hypothesis 2: Quality of outgroup contact will be negatively correlated with perceived discrimination. There is a gap in the literature as to whether the proposed impact of the frequency of contact is attributable to the quality of the outgroup contact (e.g., positive or negative). The literature suggests that higher quality of outgroup contact will be related to lower perceived discrimination (Allport, 1954; Crystal et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Van Laar et al., 2005). The literature, however, does not suggest what the magnitude of this relation might be.

The second question that this study addressed was "How does ethnic identity relate to perceived discrimination?" This question had one hypothesis. Hypothesis 3: Ethnic identity will be positively related to perceived discrimination. The research conducted on racial identity and discrimination has found that those individuals that identify more strongly with their racial group are more likely to make attributions to discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

The third question addressed in this study was “How does perceived discrimination relate to racial attitudes toward White people?” with the one hypothesis. Hypothesis 4: Perceived discrimination will be negatively correlated with racial attitudes toward White people. Previous research suggests that perceptions of racism may relate to more negative attitudes toward White people among African American individuals (Monteith & Spicer, 2000).

The next question addressed in this study was “How does the interaction of ethnic identity with perceived discrimination related to racial attitudes?” This analysis was exploratory, therefore there is not a directional hypothesis for this research question.

The next research question addressed in this study was “How does the interaction of outgroup contact with perceived discrimination relate to racial attitudes?” This analysis was exploratory, therefore there is not a directional hypothesis for this research question.

The next research question addressed by this study was “How is self-esteem related to perceived racial discrimination?” This research question was addressed with one hypothesis. Hypothesis 5: Self-esteem will be negatively correlated with perceived discrimination.

The next research question addressed by this study was “How is self-esteem related to ethnic identity?” This research question was addressed with one hypothesis. Hypothesis 6: Self-esteem will be positively correlated to ethnic identity. Research has shown that the greater the ethnic identity, the higher is the self-esteem among minority high school and college students (Phinney, 1992). According to Verkuyten & Brug (2002), an achieved ethnic identity is thought to be associated with favorable psychological outcomes such as positive self-concept and self-esteem. This was determined through their research of African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican students that showed a strong relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity.

The next research question addressed by this study was “How is the interaction of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination related to self-esteem?” This analysis was exploratory, therefore there is not a directional hypothesis for this research question. Research has shown that adolescents with high ethnic identity had higher self-esteem and used more active strategies in dealing with threats such as discrimination and stereotypes than did those with low ethnic identity (Chavira & Phinney, 1991). Similarly, ethnic identity has been found to alleviate the negative effects of culture-related stressors such as perceived discrimination on mental well-being (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000).

Lastly, this research addressed “How is the interaction of self-esteem and perceived discrimination related to racial attitudes?” This analysis was exploratory, therefore there is not a directional hypothesis for this research question.

RESULTS

Plan of Analysis

First, descriptive statistics were calculated to explore the results of individual measures. Next, to examine relations between measures, bivariate correlations were calculated between all measures. Finally, to examine research questions and test hypotheses, linear regression analyses were conducted. The primary research question was the relation of all other variables to racial attitudes, and this question was explored with a linear regression analysis predicting scores on the racial attitudes measure with five predictor variables (self-esteem, quantity of interracial contact, quality of interracial contact, perceived discrimination, and ethnic identity).

Descriptive Statistics

Outgroup contact. In a review of outgroup contact, it was discovered that when asked “In the past my experiences with White/Caucasian people have been pleasant” 75% of the participants responded strongly disagree to slightly disagree, showing that most of the participants did not feel as if they had had positive experiences with White/Caucasian people. When asked about present experiences with White/Caucasian people, “Currently, my experience with White/Caucasian people has been pleasant”, positive experiences increased with only 61.4% of participants responding strongly to slightly disagree. This trend supports the literature that intergroup contact both enhances positive emotions and reduces negative emotions toward the outgroup (Miller et al., 2004; Pettigrew et al., 2007). When asked “Over the course of my life, I have had many White/Caucasian friends”, 74.1% responded strongly disagree to slightly disagree, showing that most participants did not include the outgroup in their ingroup. The percentage of participants currently not having White/Caucasian friends in the present time decreased to 60.7%. This trend suggests that college and universities foster and possibly nurture

ingroup-outgroup relationships, which supports the literature that interracial friendships among African American, Asian, and White adults were more common among joiners, individuals who were members of organized activities and who had greater overall levels of socializing (Briggs, 2007).

Further review of outgroup contact revealed that when asked “Over the course of my life, I have had many White/Caucasian friends, 74.1% responded strongly disagree to slightly disagree, while 60.7% of the participants strongly to slightly disagreed to “Currently I have many White/Caucasian friends.” This result also suggest more interaction between and nurturing of ingroup-outgroup contact in college. A similar trend was discovered with intergroup interaction showing present interaction (“Currently, I have interacted with White/Caucasian people in many areas of my life”) (82.1% strongly to slightly disagreed) increased from past interaction (94.1% strongly to slightly disagreed). However, of the 82.1% of participants that reported not currently interacting with White/Caucasian people, almost 50% strongly disagreed with the statement regarding interaction. Interestingly, overall frequency of contact ($M = 3.76$) was much higher than quality of contact ($M = 2.69$). See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for all items.

Ethnic identity. In a review of the ethnic identity measure, there were several items that stood out. This measure used a 5-point Likert scale with a high score meaning more exploration of ethnic identity and higher commitment to one’s ethnic identity. Seventy-seven percent of the participants reported exploring their ethnicity (“I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.”). In exploring their ethnicity, 73.8% of participants had talked to others (“I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.”). Seventy-seven percent of the participants showed a strong sense of belonging to their ethnicity (“I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.”).

Almost 90% of the participants reported understanding group membership (“I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.”). Seventy-five percent of the participants reported having strong attachments to their ethnic group (“I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.”). Overall, most of the participants indicated high exploration of their ethnic identity and a high commitment to their own ethnic identity ($M \geq 3.99$ on all items). See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for all items.

Self-esteem. In a review of the self-esteem measure, most of the participants indicated having high self-esteem ($M = 3.31$). See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for all items.

Racial attitudes. In a review of the racial attitudes measure, overall the participants had more negative than positive attitudes towards White/Caucasian people. However, the negative attitudes were not strong ($M = 4.08$). See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for all items.

Perceived discrimination. Finally, the perceived discrimination measure, indicated low overall perceptions of discrimination for the participants ($M = 2.14$). The two items that had the highest perception of discrimination were “Has someone said something disrespectful, either to your face or behind your back?” ($M = 2.97$) and “Have people been nice to you to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?” ($M = 2.67$). See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for all items.

Age. This study had a wide range of ages of the participants with a mean age of 26.33. An analysis of age and other study variables showed that as age increased, self-esteem ($r(108) = .234, p = .015$) and quantity of outgroup contact ($r(108) = .252, p = .009$) increased. The analysis suggest that participants were having more contact with the outgroup as they increased in age. (See Table 1 for detailed age demographics.)

Statistical Analyses of Research Questions and Hypothesis Testing

Frequency of outgroup contact and perceived discrimination. The first research question examined the relationship between frequency of outgroup contact and perceived discrimination. The hypothesis was that higher frequencies of out-group contact would be related to higher levels of perceived discrimination. Contrary to expectations, results indicated no significant correlation between these variables, $r(112) = .12, p = .21$. See Table 3 for means and standard deviations of all measures and Table 4 for correlations.

Quality of outgroup contact and perceived discrimination. The next research question examined the relationship between quality of outgroup contact and perceived discrimination. The hypothesis was that greater outgroup contact quality would be associated with lower levels of perceived discrimination. Results indicated that this hypothesis was supported, $r(112) = .44, p < .001$. See Table 4.

Perceived discrimination and ethnic identity. The next research question examined the relationship between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination. The hypothesis was that higher levels of ethnic identity would be related to perceived discrimination. Contrary to expectations, results indicated no significant correlation between these variables, $r(116) = -.01, p = .92$. See Table 4.

Perceived discrimination and racial attitudes. The next research question examined the relationship between racial attitudes and perceived discrimination. The hypothesis was that higher levels of perceived discrimination would be associated with more negative attitudes towards White people. Results indicated that this hypothesis was supported, $r(110) = -.51, p < .001$. See Table 4.

Perceived discrimination, frequency of contact, quality of contact, ethnic identity, and self-esteem predicting racial attitudes. To examine which measures would predict racial attitudes, a linear regression was conducted with perceived discrimination, frequency of contact, quality of contact, ethnic identity, and self-esteem as predictor variables and racial attitudes as the outcome variable. Results indicated that the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .29$, $F(5, 104) = 8.48$, $p < .001$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to attitudes toward White people, $\beta = -.52$, $t = -5.23$, $p < .001$. Frequency of contact, quality of contact, ethnic identity, and self-esteem were unrelated to attitudes toward White people.

Perceived discrimination and frequency of contact predicting racial attitudes. The next research question examined the possible interaction between perceived discrimination and frequency of contact on attitudes toward White people. In order to examine possible interaction effects, a multiple regression was conducted, with perceived discrimination and frequency of contact entered in the first block and the interaction term entered in the second block. Results indicated that, for the first step, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .28$, $F(2, 109) = 20.68$, $p < .001$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to attitudes toward White people, $\beta = -.50$, $t = -5.97$, $p < .001$. Frequency of contact was unrelated to attitudes toward White people. For the second step, results indicated that adding the interaction term did not significantly improve the explanatory power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .005$, $F \text{ change}(1, 106) = 0.77$, $p = .30$. See Table 6.

Perceived discrimination and quality of contact predicting racial attitudes. The next research question examined the possible interaction between perceived discrimination and contact quality on racial attitudes (ATW). In order to examine possible interaction effects, a multiple regression was conducted, with perceived discrimination and contact quality entered in

the first block and the interaction term entered in the second block. Results indicated that, for the first step, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .26$, $F(2, 109) = 19.12$, $p < .001$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to racial attitudes (ATW), $\beta = -.53$, $t = -5.71$, $p < .001$. Contact quality was unrelated to racial attitudes (ATW). For the second step, results indicated that adding the interaction term did not significantly improve the explanatory power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .002$, $F \text{ change}(1, 106) = 0.24$, $p = .63$. See Table 7.

Perceived discrimination and ethnic identity predicting racial attitudes. The next research question examined the possible interaction between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity on racial attitudes (ATW). In order to examine possible interaction effects, a multiple regression was conducted, with perceived discrimination and ethnic identity entered in the first block and the interaction term entered in the second block. Results indicated that, for the first step, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .28$, $F(2, 109) = 20.15$, $p < .001$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to racial attitudes (ATW), $\beta = -.51$, $t = -6.23$, $p < .001$. Ethnic identity was unrelated to racial attitudes (ATW). For the second step, results indicated that adding the interaction term did not significantly improve the explanatory power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .009$, $F \text{ change}(1, 106) = 1.31$, $p = .26$. See Table 8.

Perceived discrimination and self-esteem. The next research question examined the relationship between self-esteem and perceived discrimination. The hypothesis was that higher levels of self-esteem would be related to lower levels of perceived discrimination. Results indicated that this hypothesis was supported, $r(115) = -.35$, $p < .001$. See Table 4.

Self-esteem and ethnic identity. The next research question examined the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity. The hypothesis was that higher levels of self-esteem

will be related to higher levels of ethnic identity. Contrary to expectations, results indicated no significant relationship between these variables, $r(115) = .18$, $p = .92$. See Table 4.

Perceived discrimination and ethnic identity predicting self-esteem. The next research question examined the possible interaction between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity with self-esteem. In order to examine possible interaction effects, a multiple regression was conducted, with perceived discrimination and ethnic identity entered in the first block and the interaction term entered in the second block. Results indicated that, for the first step, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .15$, $F(2, 112) = 10.14$, $p < .001$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to self-esteem, $\beta = -.35$, $t = -4.02$, $p < .001$. Ethnic identity was unrelated to self-esteem $\beta = .17$, $t = 1.97$, $p = .52$. For the second step, results indicated that adding the interaction term did not significantly improve the explanatory power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .013$, F change $(1, 111) = 1.67$, $p = .20$. See Table 9.

Perceived discrimination and self-esteem predicting racial attitudes. The last research question examined the possible interaction between perceived discrimination and self-esteem with racial attitudes. In order to examine possible interaction effects, a multiple regression was conducted, with perceived discrimination and self-esteem entered in the first block and the interaction term entered in the second block. Results indicated that, for the first step, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .26$, $F(2, 107) = 19.10$, $p < .001$. Self-esteem was not related to racial attitudes, $\beta = -.02$, $t = -.24$, $p = .81$. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to racial attitudes, $\beta = -.52$, $t = -5.86$, $p < .001$. For the second step, results indicated that adding the interaction term significantly improved the explanatory power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, F change $(1, 108) = 6.30$, $p = .014$. See Table 10.

In order to further investigate the interaction effect, the sample was divided into three groups: high self-esteem (RSE score ≥ 30 , $n = 25$), one standard deviation or more above the mean; moderate self-esteem (RSE score 28-38, $n = 67$), within one standard deviation of the mean; and low self-esteem (RSE score ≤ 27 , $n = 23$), one standard deviation below the mean or lower. Correlations between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes were calculated for each of the three groups. Results indicated that perceived discrimination and racial attitudes were significantly correlated for the moderate self-esteem ($r(65) = -.35$, $p = .005$) and low self-esteem ($r(22) = -.72$, $p < .001$) groups, but not for the high self-esteem group ($r(23) = -.35$, $p = .10$).

DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to examine the relations among perceived racial discrimination, ethnic identity, interracial contact, self-esteem, and racial attitudes from the perspective of members of a racial minority group, specifically African Americans. The purpose of this study was to increase our knowledge and understanding of the attitudes of minority group members as a possible solution to the problematic race relations that plague our society. The primary question driving this study was whether experiences with discrimination were related to racial attitudes. The results of this study show some evidence that perceived discrimination is related to racial attitudes. Participants who perceived themselves as having experienced more racial discrimination had more negative racial attitudes toward White people.

Age

Results indicated that participants were having more contact with the outgroup as they increased in age. This finding can be explained by changes in environment, such as going to college, entering the workforce, and moving out of the home to more outgroup populated area. The literature suggests that more contact gives ingroup and outgroup members an opportunity to discover previously unnoticed similarities and the chance to see counter-stereotypic characteristics and behaviors in one another resulting in prejudice reduction (Van Laar et al., 2005). This may explain some differences in the results observed as compared to previous research with traditional college-aged students. Future research should further explore the possible impact of age on the relations between variables such as outgroup contact and racial attitudes.

When adolescents attend high school, personal identity formation comes into prominence as they launch themselves in the exploration process (Meeus et al., 2010). Research on K-12

educational settings demonstrates that identities and peer culture shape youth experiences, practices, and social pathways (Carter, 2005; Crosnoe, 2011). Specifically, high school students have to figure out what they want to achieve in their lives, such as exploring which educational pathway would suit them. Most college freshmen can no longer fully rely on their existing social network of friends and family and have to deal with many life changes and choices, which can lead to substantial changes in identity (Luyckx et al., 2013). For example, college freshmen have to adapt to a new academic environment and living situation and have to invest in independent time management. At the same time, they are exposed to peers from different backgrounds with different values, attitudes, and beliefs, which can lead to substantial re-evaluations of personal choices and commitments. Therefore, it is also possible that the quantity and quality of contact changed for the participants when they started college possibly fostering Allport's (1954) conditions for prejudice reduction. College allows ingroup and outgroup members to spend more time with each other when members are in similar classes, join and participate in organizations and activities, and student employment. Pettigrew (2007) found that one comes to like and identify with out-group members beyond simply learning more about the out-group, and that having outgroup friends is strongly associated with lower intergroup prejudice.

Perceived discrimination and racial attitudes

As predicted, the analysis of perceived discrimination and racial attitudes found these two variables to be related. Participants who reported having experienced more racial discrimination had less positive attitudes toward White people. Little research has been done on the direct relationship between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes (Dixon et al., 2010). It is possible that experiences with discrimination may lead to more negative racial attitudes. Alternatively, it is possible that more negative racial attitudes increase the likelihood of

perceiving discrimination in ambiguous situations or when another person's intentions are unclear (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Outgroup contact and perceived discrimination

Past research has shown that outgroup contact is not experienced by the minority and majority group members in the same way (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2000). In intergroup contact situations, minority group members are subject to feelings of inferiority, stereotyping, and fear of discrimination from the majority (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Wei et al., 2010). One could conclude from the results of this study that: 1) though the frequency of contact was high, it could be that the participants were the majority group in instances of contact, or 2) the ingroup members were similar to the outgroup in socioeconomic status, background (e.g., raised in same neighborhoods). In both of these instances, it is highly unlikely that the participants would experience the feelings of inferiority, stereotyping or fear of discrimination from majority group members.

In the current study, outgroup contact was measured by quality of contact and frequency of contact with the outgroup. Even though quantity of outgroup contact did not yield any significant results, it can be concluded that greater contact quantity does not mean lower perceptions of discrimination. Numerous studies have found that in order for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice and lead to positive intergroup relations, it should unfold under favorable conditions: equal status, common goals, cooperation rather than competition, and support of intergroup contact by external authorities (Allport, 1954; Crystal, et al, 2008; Dixon, et al, 2010; Levin, et al, 2003; Shelton, 2000). The finding that contact quantity was unrelated to perceived discrimination or racial attitudes suggests that these conditions may not have been met in the interracial contact situations the participants experienced. However, the contact quality measure

used in the present study did not measure these aspects of contact quality. The present measure of contact quality also did not assess the depth of relationships, only whether interactions were pleasant. Future research should explore additional aspects of contact quality (such as common goals, intimacy, or discussing racially meaningful topics such as privilege and oppression).

Although quantity of outgroup contact was unrelated to perceived discrimination, quality of outgroup contact and perceived discrimination were related. Participants who reported less positive contact quality reported more experiences with discrimination. It is logical that there would be a relationship between these measures, since discrimination would be an example of an unpleasant intergroup contact.

Perceived discrimination and ethnic identity

Contrary to the hypothesis and past research, ethnic/racial identity did not show a relation to perceived discrimination. This would argue against Cross's (1978, 1995) theory that experiences with discrimination are a major factor in promoting ethnic identity exploration and commitment.

There are a variety of possible explanations for this finding. Ethnic identity development theory posits that during adolescence and adulthood, ethnic identity is achieved through exploration and commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Verkuyten & Brug, 2002). One possible explanation for the lack of findings in the current study is that, due to the older age of participants relative to participants in previous research, most participants scored quite high on the measure of identity exploration and commitment. The lack of variability in the ethnic identity of the participants made it difficult to find any relationship between ethnic identity and the other variables.

Another possible explanation has to do with the sites from which participants were drawn. The institution with the majority of the participants was located in an urban area that is predominantly African American. These participants are primarily surrounded and interact with people that look like them. Previous research did not discuss whether ethnic identity achievement can or cannot be reached depending on the predominant race/ethnicity of those that surround a person. This leads to several questions: Does being surrounded predominantly ingroup members assist or hinder ethnic identity exploration? Does a person explore something that is familiar to them or explore deeper something that they might think they already know? Future research should examine the role of diversity of the college or neighborhood context on ethnic identity and its relationship with perceived discrimination.

Another possible explanation for the results showing no relation between ethnic/racial identity and perceived discrimination could be the demographics reported by the participants in how they identify themselves racially/ethnically. Although all of the participants reported identifying themselves as Black or African American, a substantial minority reported that they or one of their parents was multiracial. An achieved ethnic identity involves values and beliefs and implies that attitudes about one's group have been evaluated independently and are not simply the internalization of what other people think (Phinney & Ong, 2007). If a person is being raised by a parent that is of a different race/ethnicity or multiracial, what values and beliefs are being learned, those of the outgroup or ingroup?

Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and racial attitudes

The analysis of the interaction of perceived discrimination and ethnic identity with racial attitudes reported significant findings. As will be seen also in later interaction analyses, it was determined that the relation between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes made the

overall analysis significant. However, there was no significant effect of the interaction between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity.

Perceived discrimination, frequency of contact, and racial attitudes

This interaction analysis of perceived discrimination and frequency of contact with racial attitudes showed an overall significance in the model. However, like the previous interaction with racial attitudes as the dependent variable, this significance was caused by the relationship between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes. Contact is thought to reduce prejudice when it affords participating individuals the opportunity to interact with the outgroup (Van Laar et al., 2005). The location of the majority of the participants was a college located in an urban area. It is unknown as to the frequency to which the participants in this area have with the outgroup. Outgroup contact could be frequent but questions unanswerable are: “Is the contact substantial in time to create favorable conditions (e.g., cooperation versus competition)?” “What are the roles of each group? Is the outgroup member a person of authority (e.g., supervisor at work), thus having unequal positions?” The results of this analysis could also be explained by past research that proposes that contact effects tend to be weaker among members of racial minority groups because they are more likely to come into contact with members of the racial majority group everyday of their lives (Tropp, 2007).

Perceived discrimination, quality of contact, and racial attitudes

The analysis of the interaction of perceived discrimination and quality of outgroup contact with racial attitudes showed significant findings. As with the previous interactions, this was caused by the relation between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes. Research has found that in order for outgroup contact to reduce prejudice and lead to positive relations, it should unfold under favorable conditions: equal status, common goals, cooperation rather than

competition, and support of contact by external authorities (Allport, 1954; Crystal et al., 2008; Dixon et al., 2010; Levin et al., 2003; Shelton, 2000). The majority of the participants were from a college located in an urban area and potentially surrounded predominantly by ingroup members with little interaction with outgroup members to create favorable conditions. Pre-college experiences in diverse environments and with diverse peers have been consistently associated with interracial/contact in college (Saenz et al., 2007; Schofield et al., 2010). Saenz et al., (2007) suggest that diverse high school friendships may also increase the attributional complexity with which students view college friendships.

Another explanation of the findings in this study related to group contact could be explained by positive-negative asymmetry effect discussed in the literature review. If this theory holds true, the instrument (Interracial Anxiety Measure) used did not look at incidents of contact and determine if they were deemed good or bad by the participant, or measure whether an incident considered bad outweighed a good contact situation. Therefore, it was impossible to determine if a participant had a bad experience that influenced their responses on attitudes toward the outgroup based on contact.

Perceived discrimination and self-esteem

Self-esteem has been found to act as a buffer against the negative impact of discrimination (Tajfel, 1981). Contrary to previous research and the hypothesis that higher levels of self-esteem would be related to lower levels of perceived discrimination, a correlation of perceived discrimination and self-esteem showed no relationship between these two variables. The literature suggest that individuals with high self-esteem find more productive ways of dealing with negative issues such discrimination (Chavira & Phinney, 1991). The fact that most of the participants showed high self-esteem could be an explanation to their low perception of

discrimination. The participants could have found ways to counter discrimination resulting in the lower reporting of perceived discrimination.

Self-esteem and ethnic identity

Contrary to previous research that an achieved ethnic identity is thought to be associated with favorable psychological outcomes, such as self-concept (Lorenzo-Hernandez & Oullette, 1998; Phinney, 1992; Verkuyten & Brug, 2002), correlation of self-esteem and ethnic identity showed no relationship between these two variables.

Perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and self-esteem

Chavira & Phinney (1991) found that adolescents with high ethnic identity had higher self-esteem and used more active strategies in dealing with discrimination and stereotyping. Contrary to previous research, an interaction analysis of perceived discrimination, ethnic/racial identity, and self-esteem was conducted yielding no relation between these variables.

Perceived discrimination, self-esteem, and racial attitudes

An interaction analysis of perceived discrimination and self-esteem predicting racial attitudes showed significance of the overall model. As with previous analyses, this analysis showed that perceived discrimination and racial attitudes were negatively related. However, this analysis also showed a significant interaction effect, with the interaction of self-esteem and perceived discrimination adding to the model beyond the impact of each of these variables individually. Further analyses indicated that the high and moderate self-esteem groups (but not the low self-esteem group) showed a significant correlation between perceived discrimination and racial attitudes.

This finding is in line with the previous literature. Some theorists believe that an achieved ethnic identity requires the person to have high self-esteem in order to explore and

question what he or she has taken for granted, as well as questioning and possibly differing from the values and beliefs of their parents (Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Verkuyten & Brug, 2002).

One possible explanation for the finding that perceived discrimination and racial attitudes for participants with high or moderate self-esteem (but not low self-esteem) is that participants with high self-esteem may be more likely to react to discrimination with anger and translate that anger into negative attitudes toward the group engaging in the discrimination. In contrast, individuals with low self-esteem may be more likely to blame themselves when they experience discrimination.

Limitations

Limitations of this study include small sample size, location of study, and sample demographics. The sample collected was limited to participants volunteering. The participants were not offered monetary compensation for their participation in the study. Offering monetary compensation could potentially increase the sample size. The students could potentially receive class credit for their participation in the study but this option was not available to all of the students for various reasons. The participant could not be enrolled in a class that gave credit for research participation and this an option at all of the survey institutions. The primary location of the study was conducted in the Midwest with the exception of the participants recruited through social media. It is quite possible that the values and beliefs of a minority group differ by regions and ethnic/racial exploration is higher in different regions, thus yielding individuals with higher ethnic identity achievement and self-esteem. Regions could also differ in the amount of quantity and quality of outgroup contact, also resulting in different levels of discrimination and perceived discrimination by participants. How participants will identify racially/ethnically cannot be

predicted but not having a more detailed demographic section could prevent unanswered questions in the future and allow for more analyses to explain differing results.

Implications for Future Research

Where do we go from here? First of all, a larger sample would be recommended if this study were to be replicated. This study could be replicated in different areas of the United States to get potentially a more generalizable sample. The majority of the participants ($n = 75$) were from the Midwest, which is predominantly Caucasian. It is possible that ethnic identity achievement could be hindered when the minority is constantly surrounded by the majority. Ethnic identity develops during adolescence and young adulthood, therefore the age of the participants ($M = 26.33$) could have been a reason the results yielded few significant results. Research has found that the likelihood of recognizing and experiencing discrimination increases when ethnic identity is more achieved (Kim et al., 2014; McCoy & Major, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2008).

If this study were to be replicated in the future, it would be interesting to do a longitudinal study of participants at three different periods in their life: when in high school, their freshman year of college, and again in their junior or senior year of college. I think this would give researchers an opportunity to investigate trends and changes in quantity and quality of outgroup and its relationship to racial attitudes toward White people and perceived discrimination. A longitudinal study would also allow researchers to see development of ethnic identity and how levels of perceived discrimination and racial attitudes towards White people differ at the different stages of development of the participants.

If replicated, it would be recommended to have more detailed demographic question (e.g. "Do you live with both parents, one parent, or other?") This would allow deeper analysis of ethnic

identity and how a participant identifies them. It was concluded that how an individual identifies as a racial or cultural being may significantly influence how they identify as a unique individual regarding personal values, beliefs, attitudes, etc. (Miville et al., 2000). For example, if a participant was African American but was raised by a parent of a different race/ethnicity or that was multiracial, this could possibly effect the quantity and quality of contact the participant has with outgroup members. The participant could be exposed to quality outgroups more frequently thus having more positive feelings toward outgroups. In addition, the sample size in this study was not large enough to allow for separate analyses of participants who identified as only African American versus African American and another race or races. These groups might differ in important ways in terms of their racial identity or experiences with discrimination, especially for participants whose other racial group membership is of the dominant group (White / Caucasian). Future research could examine the experiences of these groups separately.

Lastly, I think future research in this area should further delve into the quantity of contact and the positive-negative asymmetry effect. If bad or negative contacts are processed more thoroughly, have longer lasting effects, and weigh more heavily than good or negative contacts, then it may be difficult to truly measure quality of contact without knowing if there is a negative or bad contact that is influencing the participant's responses to perceived discrimination, quality and frequency of contact, and their attitude toward outgroup members. This study yielded few significant results but was helpful in giving researchers a direction in which to go next to further examine the interrelations of ethnic identity, racial attitudes, perceived discrimination, self-esteem, and outgroup contact in African Americans. The results also showed us that this topic is quite complex meaning future research will need to be very selective in the instruments used to

measure each variable, and other variables, such as positive-negative asymmetry, may need to be included in order to further explain each variable and their interrelation to each other.

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TABLES

Table 1. Demographics.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percentage
Age:	108	26.33	9.055	
18	9			8.3
19	15			13.9
20	12			11.1
21	13			12.0
22	4			3.7
23	4			3.7
24	8			7.4
25	3			2.8
26	1			.9
27	4			3.7
28	2			1.9
29	1			.9
30	2			1.9
31	3			2.8
32	2			1.9
33	1			.9
34	1			.9
35	6			5.6
36	1			.9
37	4			3.7
38	1			.9
39	3			2.8
40	1			.9
43	3			2.8
44	1			.9
52	1			.9
61	2			1.9
Sex:				
Female	66			60.6
Male	43			39.4

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percentage
Marital Status:	108			
Single/Never Married	75			69.4
Married	17			15.7
Living w/ Partner	11			10.2
Divorced	5			4.6
What is the highest grade or level you have completed or the highest degree you have received?	107			
Some college	66			61.7
Associate's degree	16			15
Bachelor's degree	14			13.1
Master's degree	11			10.3
Work Status:	109			
Unemployed	21			19.3
Working part-time	43			39.4
Working full-time	45			41.3
Race	108			
Black/African American	89			82.4
White/Caucasian	1			.9
Hispanic	1			.9
Other	3			2.8
Multiple Categories	14			13
Mother's Race	109			
Black/African American	83			76.1
White/Caucasian	3			2.8
Hispanic	2			1.8
Indian	3			2.8
Other	1			.9
Multiple Categories	17			15.6

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Percentage
Father's Race	109			
Black/African American	94			86.2
White/Caucasian	2			1.8
Hispanic	1			.9
Indian	3			2.8
Don't Know	1			.9
Multiple Categories	8			7.3
Parent Education: Mother	109			
No high school diploma/GED	6			5.5
High school diploma/GED	27			24.8
Some college, no degree	21			19.3
Associate's degree	23			21.1
Bachelor's degree	19			17.4
Master's degree	5			4.6
Doctoral degree	1			.9
Don't Know	7			6.4
Parent Education: Father	109			
No high school diploma/GED	10			9.2
High school diploma/GED	37			33.9
Some college, no degree	18			16.5
Associate's degree	7			6.4
Bachelor's degree	12			11
Master's degree	3			2.8
Doctoral degree	2			1.8
Don't Know	20			18.3

Table 2. Summary of Measures.

Coding Dimension	Description	Codes and Examples
<i>Ethnic Identity</i> Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R)	Self-identification and ethnicity, ethnic behaviors and practices, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic identity achievement	1 = “Strongly Disagree” 2 = “Disagree” 3 = “Neither Agree nor Disagree” 4 = “Agree” 5 = “Strongly Agree” (e.g., “I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.”)
<i>Perceived Discrimination</i> Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire—Community Version	Measures several subdimensions of racism including lifetime discrimination, media discrimination, discrimination against family members, discrimination in different settings, and past week discrimination	1 = “Never” 2 = “Rarely” 3 = “Sometimes” 4 = “Quite Often” 5 = “Very Often” (e.g., “Has someone said something disrespectful, either to your face or behind your back?”)
<i>Self-Esteem</i> Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale	Measures global self-esteem	1 = “Strongly Disagree” 2 = “Disagree” 3 = “Agree” 4 = “Strongly Agree” (e.g., “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.”) Reverse coding on items 2,5,6,8, & 9
<i>Outgroup Contact</i> Interracial Anxiety Measure	Assesses the quantity and quality of Blacks/African Americans’ previous contact with White people, their anxiety resulting from the interactions, their desire to avoid interactions with White people, and the degree of hostility resulting from interaction with White people	1 = “Strongly Disagree” 2 = “Disagree” 3 = “Slightly Disagree” 4 = “Neutral” 5 = “Slightly Agree” 6 = “Agree” 7 = “Strongly Agree” (e.g., “In the past, my experiences with White/Caucasian people have been pleasant.”) Reverse coding on items 2,3,4,13,14, & 15

<p><i>Racial Attitudes Toward Whites Measure</i></p>	<p>Measures Blacks'/African Americans' attitudes toward White people</p>	<p>1 = "Strongly Disagree" 2 = "Disagree" 3 = "Disagree Somewhat" 4 = "Neither Agree nor Disagree" 5 = "Agree Somewhat" 6 = "Agree" 7 = "Strongly Agree" (e.g., "Most Whites can't be trusted to deal honestly with Black/African Americans.") Reverse coding on items 1,4,5,6,7,9,12,11,13,14,15,16,17,18, & 19</p>
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Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations of Measures.

Measures	<i>n</i>	Mean	SD
Ethnic Identity	122	24.34	4.38
Perceived Discrimination	116	71.45	25.07
Self-Esteem	115	27.15	3.30
Outgroup Contact Quantity	112	3.76	1.12
Outgroup Contact Quality	112	2.69	1.33
Racial Attitudes	110	81.65	20.04

Table 4. Correlations Between Measures.

	Ethnic Identity	Perceived Discrimination	Self-Esteem	Outgroup Contact Quantity	Outgroup Contact Quality
Ethnic Identity					
Perceived Discrimination	-.01				
Self-Esteem	.15	.03			
Contact Quantity	-.02	.12	-.29**		
Contact Quality	-.03	.44**	-.03	.04	
Racial Attitudes	.10	-.51**	.04	-.20*	-.20*

** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for all Items.

Perceived Discrimination - Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version Measure	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has someone said something disrespectful, either to your face or behind your back?	116	2.97	3.00	1.075
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have you been kept out of a public place or group?	116	1.82	1.00	1.001
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have you been treated unfairly by teachers, principals, or other staff at school?	116	2.41	2.00	1.173
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others thought you couldn't do things or handle a job?	116	2.56	3.00	1.159
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others threatened to hurt you (ex: said they would hit you)?	114	1.74	1.00	.996
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others actually hurt you or tried to hurt you (ex: kicked or hit you)?	116	1.55	1.00	.878
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others avoided talking to you or answering you?	116	2.38	2.00	1.093
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have you felt that you were kept out of certain places?	116	2.05	2.00	1.110
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have policemen or security offices been unfair to you?	116	2.23	2.00	1.260
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others hinted that you are stupid?	116	2.15	2.00	1.189
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others threatened to damage your property?	116	1.50	1.00	.860

How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others actually damaged your property?	116	1.46	1.00	.859
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people called you bad names related to your ethnicity?	115	2.30	2.00	1.102
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others made you feel like an outsider who doesn't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?	116	2.40	2.00	1.257
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Were you left out when others were planning a party or get-together?	116	2.16	2.00	1.027
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have you been treated unfairly by co-workers or classmates?	116	2.29	2.00	1.135
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others hinted that you are dishonest or can't be trusted?	116	1.79	1.50	.956
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has someone made rude gestures?	116	2.16	2.00	1.027
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others avoided touching or sitting next to you (ex: in class or on a bus)?	116	2.13	2.00	1.146
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have you been left out of social gatherings or get-togethers (ex: going to lunch or to a bar)?	116	1.92	2.00	.925
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people like waiters, bank tellers, or secretaries been unfair or treated you badly?	116	1.98	2.00	1.134
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has a clerk or waiter ignored you or made you wait longer than others to be served?	116	2.40	2.00	1.243
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people been nice to you to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?	116	2.67	3.00	1.193

How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people who speak a different language made you feel like an outsider?	116	2.48	2.00	1.190
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people on the street been unwilling to help you or give you directions?	116	1.96	2.00	1.122
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has a taxi driver passed you by or refused you service?	116	1.58	1.00	1.014
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others hinted that you must be violent or dangerous?	116	2.19	2.00	1.250
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others physically harmed members of your family?	116	1.68	1.00	1.027
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others ignored you or not paid attention to you?	116	2.39	2.00	1.185
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has your boss or supervisor been unfair to you?	116	2.09	2.00	1.201
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have others hinted that you must not be clean?	116	1.56	1.00	.935
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people not trusted you?	116	2.15	2.00	1.129
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Have people not taken you seriously or not wanted to give you responsibility?	116	2.23	2.00	1.233
How often have any of the things listed below happened to you because of your ethnicity? -Has it been hinted that you must be lazy?	116	2.16	2.00	1.251

	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
Self-Esteem - Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale				
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	115	3.42	3.00	.635
At times I think I am no good at all.	115	2.97	3.00	.959
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	115	3.61	4.00	.631

I am able to do things as well as most other people.	115	3.57	4.00	.677
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	115	3.26	4.00	.899
I certainly feel useless at times.	115	3.08	3.00	.984
I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	115	3.52	4.00	.654
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	115	2.83	3.00	1.034
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	115	3.30	4.00	.900
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	115	3.49	4.00	.693

Quality and Quantity of Contact - Interracial Anxiety Measure

	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
In the past, I have interacted with White/Caucasian people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).	112	1.55	1.00	1.153
The neighborhood(s) I grew up in had mostly Black/African American students.	112	3.59	3.00	2.280
The high school I attended had mostly Black/African American students.	112	3.77	3.50	2.282
In the past, I have rarely interacted with White/Caucasian people.	112	5.41	6.00	1.975
In the past, my experience with White/Caucasian people have been pleasant.	112	2.69	2.00	1.671
Over the course of my life, I have had many White/Caucasian friends.	112	2.58	2.00	1.642
I have had many positive experiences with White/Caucasian people.	112	2.45	2.00	1.500
Currently, I interact with Whites/Caucasians in many areas of life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).	112	2.15	2.00	1.584
The neighborhood I currently live in has mostly Black/African American people.	112	4.27	4.00	2.189
The college I currently attend has mostly Black/African American students.	110	4.22	4.00	2.074
Currently, I rarely interact with White/Caucasian people.	112	5.17	6.00	2.004
Currently, my experience with White/Caucasian people has been pleasant.	112	2.64	2.00	1.702

Currently, I have had many White/Caucasian friends.	112	3.08	3.00	1.880
Currently, I have many positive experiences with White/Caucasian people.	112	2.71	2.00	1.701

Racial Attitudes - Attitudes Toward Whites Measure	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
Over the past few years, Blacks/African Americans have gotten less economically than they deserve.	110	4.10	4.00	2.045
I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve party given by a White/Caucasian couple in their own home	110	4.21	4.00	2.010
I have as much respect for Whites as do for some Blacks/African Americans, but the average White/Caucasian person and I share little in common.	110	4.23	4.00	1.754
Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both Whites/Caucasians and Blacks/African Americans.	110	4.55	5.00	1.971
Most Whites/Caucasians fear that Blacks/African Americans will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.	110	3.69	4.00	1.952
I would rather not have Whites/Caucasians live in the same apartment building I live in.	110	4.23	4.00	2.179
Most Whites/Caucasians can't be trusted to deal honestly with Blacks/African Americans.	110	4.00	4.00	1.812
If a White/Caucasian were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.	110	4.20	4.00	2.084
Most Whites/Caucasians feel that Blacks/African Americans are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.	110	3.87	4.00	1.848
Whites/Caucasians should support Blacks/African Americans in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.	110	3.80	4.00	2.229
I feel that Black/African American people's troubles in the past have built in them a stronger character than White/Caucasian people have.	110	4.10	4.00	1.944
By and large, I think Blacks/African Americans tend to be better athletes than Whites/Caucasians.	110	3.97	4.00	1.923
Some Whites/Caucasians are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.	110	3.86	4.00	1.874

I think that White/Caucasian people look more similar to each other than Black/African American people.	110	3.85	4.00	1.707
It is not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don't believe in it.	110	4.28	4.00	2.090
Most Whites/Caucasians cannot understand what it's like to be Black/African American.	110	3.91	4.00	2.297
I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.	110	4.20	4.00	2.044
When I see an interracial couple I feel that they are making a mistake in dating each other.	110	4.32	4.00	2.423
Local city officials often pay less attention to a request or complaint from a Black/African American person than from a White/Caucasian person.	110	4.04	4.00	1.886
It would not bother me if my new roommate was White/Caucasian.	109	4.28	4.00	2.240

**Ethnic Identity - Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—
Revised MEIM-R)**

	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	108	4.02	4.00	.971
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	108	4.02	4.00	.975
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	108	4.26	4.00	.821
I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.	108	4.01	4.00	.932
I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.	108	3.99	4.00	1.032
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	108	4.04	4.00	1.063

Table 6. Interactions Between Outgroup Contact Quantity X Perceived Discrimination Predicting Racial Attitudes.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Contact Quantity	-2.28	1.48	-.13
Perceived Discrimination	-.39	0.07	-.49***
Step 2			
Contact Quantity	.79	3.8	.04
Perceived Discrimination	.21	0.22	-.27
Contact Quantity X Perceived Discrimination	-.04	.05	-.31

Note. $R^2 = .279$ for Step 1 ($p < .001$); $\Delta R^2 = .005$ for Step 2 ($p = .384$).

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

Table 7. Interactions between Contact Quality X Perceived Discrimination Predicting Racial Attitudes.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Contact Quality	.43	1.39	.03
Perceived Discrimination	-.41	.07	-.53***
Step 2			
Contact Quality	1.92	3.37	.13
Perceived Discrimination	-.35	.15	-.44*
Contact Quality X Perceived Discrimination	-.02	.04	-.16

Note. $R^2 = .25$ for Step 1 ($p < .001$); $\Delta R^2 = .002$ for Step 2 ($p = .627$).

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

Table 8. Interactions between Ethnic Identity X Perceived Discrimination Predicting Racial Attitudes.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Ethnic Identity	.47	.37	.11
Perceived Discrimination	-.41	.07	-.51***
Step 2			
Ethnic Identity	-.01	.349	-.02
Perceived Discrimination	1.59	1.04	.35
Ethnic Identity X Perceived Discrimination	-.02	.01	-.57

Note. $R^2 = .274$ for Step 1 ($p < .001$); $\Delta R^2 = .000$ for Step 2 ($p = .255$).

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

Table 9. Interactions between Ethnic Identity X Perceived Discrimination Predicting Self-Esteem.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Ethnic Identity	.21	.11	.17
Perceived Discrimination	-.07	.02	-.35***
Step 2			
Ethnic Identity	-.15	.29	-.12
Perceived Discrimination	-.20	.10	-.94*
Ethnic Identity X Perceived Discrimination	.005	.004	.66

Note. $R^2 = .153$ for Step 1 ($p < .001$); $\Delta R^2 = .013$ for Step 2 ($p = .200$).

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

Table 10. Interaction between Self-Esteem X Perceived Discrimination Predicting Racial Attitudes.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Self-Esteem	-.08	.33	-.02
Perceived Discrimination	-.41	.07	-.52***
Step 2			
Self-Esteem	-2.13	.88	-.57*
Perceived Discrimination	-1.30	.36	-1.65***
Self-Esteem X Perceived Discrimination	.03	.01	1.10*

Note. $R^2 = .263$ for Step 1 ($p < .001$); $\Delta R^2 = .002$ for Step 2 ($p = .578$).

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

APPENDIX A

This research project is meant to include participants who consider themselves to be Black or African American. Think about your ethnicity/race. Would you describe yourself as:

BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN

BOTH BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND ANOTHER RACE

NOT BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R)

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
3. Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree
4. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
5. Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree
6. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.
7. Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree
8. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.
9. Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree
10. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
11. Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

APPENDIX B

Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire – Community Version

BECAUSE OF YOUR ETHNICITY/RACE...

A. <u>How often...</u>	Never	Sometimes			Very Often
1. Has someone said something disrespectful, either to your face or behind your back?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Have you been kept out of a public place or group?	1	2	3	4	5
3. Have you been treated unfairly by teachers, principals, or other staff at school?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Have others thought you couldn't do things or handle a job?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Have others threatened to hurt you (ex: said they would hit you)?	1	2	3	4	5
6. Have others actually hurt you or tried to hurt you (ex: kicked or hit you)?	1	2	3	4	5
7. Have others avoided talking to you or answering you?	1	2	3	4	5
8. Have you felt that you were kept out of certain places?	1	2	3	4	5
9. Have policemen or security officers been unfair to you?	1	2	3	4	5
10. Have others hinted that you are stupid?	1	2	3	4	5
11. Have others threatened to damage your property?	1	2	3	4	5
12. Have others actually damaged your property?	1	2	3	4	5
13. Have people called you bad names related to your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5

<u>How often...</u>	Never	Sometimes			Very Often
14. Have others made you feel like an outsider who doesn't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Were you left out when others were planning a party or get-together?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Have you been treated unfairly by co-workers or classmates?	1	2	3	4	5
17. Have others hinted that you are dishonest or can't be trusted?	1	2	3	4	5
18. Has someone made rude gestures?	1	2	3	4	5
19. Have others avoided touching or sitting next to you (ex: in class or on a bus)?	1	2	3	4	5
20. Have you been left out of social gatherings or get-togethers (ex: going to lunch or to a bar)?	1	2	3	4	5
21. Have people like waiters, bank tellers, or secretaries been unfair or treated you badly?	1	2	3	4	5
22. Has a clerk or waiter ignored you or made you wait longer than others to be served?	1	2	3	4	5
23. Have people been nice to you to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?	1	2	3	4	5
24. Have people who speak a different language made you feel like an outsider?	1	2	3	4	5
25. Have people on the street been unwilling to help you or give you directions?	1	2	3	4	5
26. Has a taxi driver passed you by or refused you service?	1	2	3	4	5
27. Have others hinted that you must be violent or dangerous?	1	2	3	4	5

<u>How often...</u>	Never	Sometimes			Very Often
28. Have others physically harmed members of your family?	1	2	3	4	5
29. Have others ignored you or not paid attention to you?	1	2	3	4	5
30. Has your boss or supervisor been unfair to you?	1	2	3	4	5
31. Have others hinted that you must not be clean?	1	2	3	4	5
32. Have people not trusted you?	1	2	3	4	5
33. Have people not taken you seriously or not wanted to give you responsibility?	1	2	3	4	5
34. Has it been hinted that you must be lazy?	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

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

APPENDIX D

Outgroup Quantity and Quality Questionnaire (Interracial Anxiety Measure)

Amount of Previous Experience With White/Caucasian People

1. In the past, I have interacted with White/Caucasian people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. The neighborhood(s) I grew up in had mostly Black/African American students.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. The high school I attended had mostly Black/African American students.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. In the past, I have rarely interacted with White/Caucasian people.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Positive Previous Experience With White/Caucasian People

1. In the past, my experiences with White/Caucasian people have been pleasant.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. Over the course of my life, I have had many White/Caucasian friends.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I have had many positive experiences with White/Caucasian people.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Intergroup Anxiety

1. I would feel awkward when interacting with a White/Caucasian person.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with a White/Caucasian person.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. When interacting with a White/Caucasian person, I would feel relaxed.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. When interacting with a White/Caucasian person, I would feel nervous.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Amount of Current Experience with White/Caucasian People

1. Currently, I interact with White/Caucasians in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. The neighborhood I currently live in has mostly Black/African American people.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. The college I currently attend has mostly Black/African American students.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. Currently (in the present), I rarely interact with White/Caucasian people.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Positive Current Experience With White/Caucasian People

1. Currently (In the present), my experiences with White/Caucasian people has been pleasant.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. Currently (In the present), I have had many White/Caucasian friends.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. Currently (In the present), I have many positive experiences with White/Caucasian people.

Strongly Agree Agree Slightly Agree Neutral Slightly Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX E

Racial Attitudes Measure (Attitudes Toward Whites)

This questionnaire contains 20 questions concerning your opinions about current social issues. Please respond to each question in terms of the 1-to-7 scale below, where 1 = **strongly disagree** with the statement and 7 = **strongly agree**. Write a number from 1 to 7 that best represents your opinion on the line to the left of each question. Please answer **every question**; do not leave any out. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers; please be as honest and straightforward as you can. All responses will be treated confidentially and analyzed as group data only.

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = disagree somewhat
- 4 = neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree
- 7 = strongly agree

- ___ 1. Over the past few years, Black/African Americans have gotten less economically than they deserve.
- ___ 2. I would accept an invitation to a New Year’s Eve party given by a White couple in their own home.
- ___ 3. I have as much respect for Whites as I do for some Black/African Americans, but the average White person and I share little in common.
- ___ 4. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both Whites and Black/African Americans.
- ___ 5. Most Whites fear that Black/African Americans will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
- ___ 6. I would rather not have Whites live in the same apartment building I live in.
- ___ 7. Most Whites can’t be trusted to deal honestly with Black/African Americans.
- ___ 8. If a White were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
- ___ 9. Most Whites feel that Black/African Americans are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
- ___ 10. Whites should support Black/African Americans in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
- ___ 11. I feel that Black/African American people’s troubles in the past have built in them a stronger character than White people have.
- ___ 12. By and large, I think Black/African Americans tend to be better athletes than Whites.
- ___ 13. Some Whites are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.

- ___ 14. I think that White people look more similar to each other than Black/African American people do.
- ___ 15. It is not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don't believe in it.
- ___ 16. Most Whites cannot understand what it's like to be Black/African American.
- ___ 17. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
- ___ 18. When I see an interracial couple I feel that they are making a mistake in dating each other.
- ___ 19. Local city officials often pay less attention to a request or complaint from a Black/African American person than from a White person.
- ___ 20. It would not bother me if my new roommate was White.

APPENDIX F

Demographics Measure

AGE: _____

ZIP CODE: _____

Please enter the university/college you currently attend: -

SEX:

MALE

FEMALE

MARITAL STATUS:

MARRIED

NEVER MARRIED

LIVING WITH PARTNER

DIVORCED

What is the highest grade or level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE

ASSOCIATE DEGREE

BACHELOR'S DEGREE (BA, AB, BS, BBA)

MASTER'S DEGREE (MA, MS, MEng, Med, MBA)

Work Status:

WORKING PART-TIME

WORKING FULL-TIME

UNEMPLOYED

What race do you consider your mother to be? Please select 1 or more of these categories.

WHITE

BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN

INDIAN (AMERICAN)

ASIAN (JAPANENSE, FILIPINO, CHINESE, KOREAN, VIETNAMESE, OTHER ASIAN)

OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

DON'T KNOW

What race do you consider your father to be? Please select 1 or more of these categories.

WHITE

BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN

INDIAN (AMERICAN)

ASIAN (JAPANENSE, FILIPINO, CHINESE, KOREAN, VIETNAMESE, OTHER ASIAN)

___ OTHER (SPECIFY) _____
___ DON'T KNOW

What is the highest grade or level of school your mother has completed or the highest degree your mother has received?

- ___ NO HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA, NO GED
- ___ HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA, GED
- ___ SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
- ___ ASSOCIATE DEGREE
- ___ BACHELOR'S DEGREE (BA, AB, BS, BBA)
- ___ MASTER'S DEGREE (MA, MS, MEng, Med, MBA)
- ___ DON'T KNOW

What is the highest grade or level of school your father has completed or the highest degree your father has received?

- ___ NO HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA, NO GED
- ___ HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA, GED
- ___ SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
- ___ ASSOCIATE DEGREE
- ___ BACHELOR'S DEGREE (BA, AB, BS, BBA)
- ___ MASTER'S DEGREE (MA, MS, MEng, Med, MBA)
- ___ DON'T KNOW