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**THE ROLE OF STEREOTYPES AND CULTURE
ON PUBLIC CONFRONTATIONS OF DISCRIMINATION**

A Thesis in

Psychology

by

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ABSTRACT

Stereotypes and cultural norms of Black and Asian women's assertiveness during a conflict were examined in a study on Black and Asian women's actual responses to discrimination. Explanations of the behavior of targets of discrimination can be fraught with misunderstandings depending on whether one is basing their judgment on a stereotype or on the cultural norms for that specific group. In Study 1, Whites were asked to report their stereotypes of Black and Asian women's likely reactions to a racist and a rude perpetrator. Results showed Whites perceived Blacks as more likely to get offended, to confront, to get angry, and to be expressive of their feelings than Asians, regardless of the type of comment they were subjected to. Mediation analyses showed perceived offense mediated group differences in expected confronting. Study 2 was conducted with Black and Asian women in a high impact lab study, where they were subjected to either a racist or rude comment over the course of an interaction. Results showed that Black and Asian women were equally offended by the perpetrator's derogatory comment and that race moderates the relationship between level of offense taken and its influence on confronting behavior. Implications for how stereotypes and cultural norms can affect how Black and Asian female targets are perceived by others and behave in the face of bias are discussed.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Roles of Stereotypes and Culture on Public Confrontations of Discrimination

Targets of interpersonal discrimination often report a desire to confront a perpetrator's behavior (e.g., Feagin & Sikes, 1994). Naturally, during a conflict, a common response is to express disagreement with the other party. During a discriminatory incident, confronting is the public disapproval of a perpetrator of bias. This action includes direct comments as well as less direct comments, such as asking the perpetrator questions possibly to clarify that person's intent. Targets, however, often do not actually confront perpetrators and overestimate how directly they would confront (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), suggesting there may be a mismatch between descriptive and prescriptive norms.

Because cultures prescribe norms for handling conflict (Ting-Toomey, 2005), such norms also likely influence how targets confront perceived discrimination in interpersonal interactions. Prescriptive norms for behavior can differ widely across ethnic and racial groups, which may help explain the variety of behavioral responses demonstrated by diverse targets (Swim, Gervais, Pearson, & Stangor, 2008; Swim & Thomas, 2006). Additionally, such norms can coincide with an individual's personal preferences or counteract them, such as when a target wants to confront, but the cultural norm may dictate suppression of the target's anger.

The purpose of the present research is to understand the role of culture in confronting discrimination. I do this by comparing Asian and Black women's confronting of interpersonal discrimination, specifically in the form of racist statements about their ingroup. Yet cultural differences between Asians and Blacks coincide with stereotypes about these groups suggesting that the stereotypes are accurate to some degree. Thus, the present research explores stereotypes

about group differences in behaviors including self-stereotyping. Interestingly, culture and/or stereotypes' effect on confronting is likely dependent on the extent to which the targets have internalized what is expected of them and have identified with their ingroup. Research on targets' reactions to discrimination has predominantly utilized female samples reacting to sexist situations. Given critical gender differences in targets' methods of coping in response to bias (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002), this work focuses on female targets' and further extends the literature by examining their responses to racism.

Given the pervasive role everyday discrimination plays in the lives of stigmatized group members, comprehending the implications of confronting is important. Unfortunately, the bias endured due to a stigma is a source of everyday stress (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Krieger, 1990; Moradi & Subich, 2003) and is associated with negative consequences for well-being (Jackson et al., 1996; King, 2003; Lee, 2003; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). Interpersonal discrimination, which emerges in interactions between people who may or may not be acquainted with each other, can elicit complex reactions as targets weigh the potential interpersonal and intrapersonal costs and benefits of their actions (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Confronting offers potential advantages (Kaiser & Miller, 2004), such as altering social norms about appropriate behavior (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994), and it is possible to strategically confront in ways that may avoid interpersonal costs (Quinliven, Gervais, & Swim, 2008). Yet, targets often do not explicitly confront as much as they think they would (Swim, Eysell, Gervais, & Ferguson, 2008; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), which can be cause for concern if they feel bad for not confronting (Shelton, et al., 2006) or if the lack of confronting permits discriminatory behaviors to continue.

Asian and Black Cultural Norms¹

A fuller understanding of how individuals respond to discrimination would be enhanced by probing work documenting cultural norms surrounding conflict that may shape Asian and

Black women's behavior. First, I will consider work that suggests Asian women would be unlikely confronters, and then I consider work that suggests Black women would be likely confronters of discrimination.

Cross-cultural research has shown that Asian and Western cultures' place contrasting emphases on the use of assertiveness (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, & Nishida, 1996). Findings on preferred and demonstrated communication approaches show that Asians advocate being polite rather than forceful. Yew (2002) found that Asians who used a reticent communication style often cited cultural attributions, such as prioritizing group needs over their own, avoiding confrontation, and showing respect to others. Furthermore, Asians tend to endorse managing conflict either by avoiding the topic, person, or situation tied to a conflict or by accommodating another person's interests over one's own (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Compared to other racial groups, Asians engage in indirect ways of communicating more than Whites (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Holtgraves, 1997) and rely on avoidance of conflict more than Blacks or Whites (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). Though such strategies may be unfamiliar to members of other cultures, these strategies likely are not viewed as maladaptive to Asians since these behaviors ultimately are meant to help maintain relationships.

The social goal of promoting interpersonal harmony is more highly valued by Asians than Westerners (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and helps explain why Asians would want to minimize eliciting negative reactions from others. When Japanese participants were exposed to negative stimuli, they were less likely than American subjects to express negative affect in front of an experimenter, though both groups were equally likely to express negative affect when alone (Ekman, 1972; Matsumoto & Kupperbusch, 2001). Matsumoto (1993) explains that Asians tend to have restrictive display rules, especially for negative emotions since such displays can threaten or destabilize a relationship. Additionally, Asians are more likely than Whites or Blacks to engage in self-silencing (Gratch, Bassett, &

Attria, 1995), which is the suppression of certain thoughts, feelings or actions in order to conform to expectations in a relationship (Jack & Dill, 1992). This behavior is associated with less confronting of interpersonal discrimination (Swim, Eysseil, Gervais, & Ferguson, 2008). Thus, an affinity for interpersonal sensitivity suggests that Asian women would hesitate to explicitly convey their disapproval of discrimination.

On the other hand, aspects of Black culture suggest that Black women are comparatively likely confronters of discrimination. Many important Black American figures such as Harriet Tubman, W. E. B. DuBois, Sojourner Truth, and Robert Abbott are celebrated as role models who very publicly confronted racism and sexism (Carney, 2003; The African American Registry, 2005). Emerging from a history of collective action aimed at redressing issues of discrimination (Feagin & Sikes, 1994), Black feminists work to empower Black women to actively oppose discrimination. Collins (2000) describes the foundation for Black feminism arising from women's struggles to ensure their children's survival in a hostile environment. A cultural norm of promoting concern for the welfare of Black Americans as a group (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2003) may compel Black women to see confronting discrimination as a social responsibility.

Communication styles research has explored Black American cultural norms for assertively engaging in conflict situations. Although males were expected to use more direct styles of dealing with conflict than females, Ting-Toomey (1986) found Black females were more likely to choose forcing and controlling styles than Black males and over Whites of either gender as well. Later work comparing Blacks with Asians found Asians preferred avoiding conflict and involving of a third party more so than Blacks (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). Furthermore, Locke (1992) explains that emotional assertiveness resulted from experiences that have taught Blacks they must know how to assert themselves due to an environment that is, "ambiguous and marginal" (p. 21). Indeed, socialization research has found Black families engage in discussions of prejudice including lessons on how to prepare for such bias (Hughes et al., 2007), and they do

this more than Asian and White parents (Lee & Swim, 2008). Overall, research suggests Black women may be better acquainted than Asian women with direct ways of handling conflict, and thus predicted to more directly confront a perpetrator of discrimination. Based upon these cultural differences in responding to conflict, the following hypothesis is made.

Hypothesis 1: Blacks will be more likely than Asians to publicly confront a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction.

Explaining group differences in behaviors

Cultural norms, ethnic identity, and acculturation

Cultural norms are a powerful force dictating behaviors. Thus, individuals' perceptions of these norms and the extent to which their personal norms sway their behaviors should influence confronting. For instance, according to the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1973), individuals' perceptions of group norms and their motivation to comply with group norms are one source of predictors of individuals' behaviors. Ingroup norms consist of what people think other group members would do (i.e., descriptive norms), whereas personal norms reflect what individuals think they should do (i.e., prescriptive norms). Thus, the more individuals think that other group members would confront and the more they think they should confront, are predicted to be associated with confronting.

Based upon cultural differences noted above, Blacks would be predicted as more likely to confront discrimination than Asian Americans. To the extent that these expectations are internalized, Blacks should also be more likely to hold confronting as a personal norm. However, whether ingroup and personal norms reflect descriptions of these cultural differences, research indicating that norms influence behaviors would suggest that the more individuals perceive that their group norm is to confront and their personal norm dictates confronting, the more likely they should confront.

Hypothesis 2: Blacks will be more likely than Asians to perceive that their ingroup norm is to confront discrimination.

Hypothesis 3: Blacks will be more likely than Asians to indicate a personal norm prescribing confronting discrimination.

Hypothesis 4: Blacks will be more likely than Asians to perceive that ingroup and personal norms to confront discrimination will be associated with confronting, and the more they think they personally should confront, will be associated with being more likely to confront a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction.

Cultural norms can compete with individual differences that may steer targets to behave in ways contrary to what is proscribed by their culture. The level of salience of the cultural norms may be an important factor; norms may be most salient for those who are high in ethnic identity. Thus, the greatest difference between Asian and Black women in confronting would therefore be predicted for those who are most highly ethnically identified. Additionally, acculturation, especially for Asian women, may influence confronting. American culture, commonly described as promoting independence, personal goals, and control, contrasts with East Asian culture's general emphasis on interdependence, ingroup goals, and cooperation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Such cultural standards imply American culture promotes direct confronting whereas East Asian culture discourages such overt hostility. Thus, the less Asian Americans are acculturated to Asian culture, thus assumed to be more "Americanized", the more likely they may directly confront the perpetrator. Blacks also have a culture distinct from the predominantly White culture. However, given this culture and American culture presumably both advocate confronting, I anticipate acculturation's impact would affect Asians more so than Blacks.

Hypothesis 5: Ethnic identity and racial group membership will interact to predict confronting a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction. The greatest difference in confronting will occur for those who are most identified with their racial group.

Hypothesis 6. Lesser acculturation to Asian culture will increase the likelihood that Asians will confront, but greater acculturation to Black culture will have less if any effect on the likelihood that Blacks will confront.

Stereotyping and confronting

Although predictions that Blacks will confront more than Asians is based upon an analysis of cultural norms, these norms likely fit group stereotypes. Stereotypes of Asian and Blacks contrast as sharply as do their cultural norms regarding assertiveness. Asian Americans are commonly stereotyped as a “model minority” and as “busy worker bees” having achieved success as a result of personal effort (Kawai, 2005). The image of the quiet, non-threatening and compliant Asian woman (Niemann et al, 1994; Root, 1995) lends itself to predictions that Asian women would not confront a perpetrator of discrimination or express her negative feelings. On the other hand, Black men and women have been stereotyped as loud and aggressive (Niemann et al, 1994; Givens & Monahan, 2005) and significantly more “hostile” compared to White women (Landrine, 1985). The stereotype of the “strong Black woman” is characterized by self-reliance, invulnerability, and independence (Romero, 2000) illustrating how Black female targets could be perceived as openly expressive and likely confronters of interpersonal discrimination. Thus, divergent expectations of minority women’s responses to discrimination likely arise from differences in the more general stereotype content of these groups.

Hypothesis 7: White’s stereotypes will indicate an expectation that Blacks will be more likely than Asians to confront and express her feelings in reaction to a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction

Self-stereotyping and Affiliative Desires

It is possible that Blacks and Asians’ beliefs about their ingroups coincide with Whites’ stereotypes, and that Blacks and Asians internalize these ingroup stereotypes. Moreover, these beliefs may predict their behaviors. As noted above, perceived norms can influence individuals’

behaviors thus, perceived descriptive norms may influence behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1973). Expectations about one's own likelihood of confronting may also increase the likelihood of actually engaging in confronting behaviors. For instance, women who describe themselves as activists were found to be more likely to confront a sexist comment in a group setting (Swim & Hyers, 1999). Thus, although I expect group differences in expectations for groups and for oneself, to the extent that Black and Asian women expect that their group members and that they will confront interpersonal discrimination, the more likely they may be to do so.

Hypothesis 8: Consistent with group stereotypes and group norms, Blacks will be more likely than Asians to indicate they would confront a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction.

Hypothesis 9: The more likely Blacks and Asians indicate that their ingroup would and they would confront a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction, the more likely they will confront racist comments.

Situational factors influencing the tendency to self-stereotype may also moderate racial group differences in confronting. Black and Asian women may be especially likely to act in accordance with what is expected of them when someone they are interacting with, holds stereotypes that approximate their cultural norms. Self-stereotyping, behavior performed in order to fulfill the expectations of the interaction partner is most likely to emerge when there is a high desire to get along with this person holding the stereotypic views. Contrary to self-presentation concerns that might lead people to disconfirm stereotypes, individuals may even act in stereotype-consistent ways in interpersonal situations where they want to affiliate with an interaction partner that holds derogatory stereotypes (Sinclair & Huntsinger, 2006). Sinclair and Huntsinger's study showed that Black males and females who wanted to affiliate with White males, who were known to endorse stereotypes about Blacks as unintelligent, described themselves and behaved in accordance with the stereotype that Blacks are intellectually inferior whereas those who did not

want to affiliate described themselves and behaved in a stereotype-inconsistent manner.

Furthermore, Black participants knew their negative self-evaluations would be seen by the White male and that these self-evaluations could hurt their chances of being picked by the White male to be part of a desirable group. This finding suggests people sometimes behave in negative and stereotypical ways in order to facilitate developing a relationship with someone who holds stereotypical perceptions of one's ingroup. This leads to the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 10: Affiliative desire and race will interact to predict confronting a racist comment in a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction such that the tendency for Blacks to confront more than Asians will be most likely to occur when they have a desire to affiliate with their partner.

One key observation though, as it relates to targets' confronting, is that self-stereotyping behavior may emerge from motivations that are not immediately obvious. Hearing a racist comment may diminish affiliative desires and then lead to an opposite pattern of finding noted in Hypothesis 1. That is, those who do not wish to affiliate have been shown to behave in ways that contradict stereotypes. If the racist comment diminishes affiliative desire, then I may find that Asians are more likely to confront a racist statement than Blacks.

Internal reactions to perpetrators predicting confronting

The more offended individuals are by another person is logically related to being more likely to confront the individual. For instance, this is the basis of Kowalski's (1996) model of complaining. According to this model, complaining will occur when individuals' level of offense exceeds a certain threshold. Thus, if one group is more likely to confront interpersonal discrimination, then it may be the case that that group was more offended by discrimination. Additionally, expectations of taking offense may go hand in hand with expectations of feeling anger. Given contrasting group norms and stereotypes for Blacks and Asians, Whites may also

assume a contrast in targets' likelihood of becoming angry. Moreover, they may anticipate that group differences in perceived offense and anger will explain group differences in behavior.

Hypothesis 11: White's stereotypes will indicate an expectation that Blacks will be more likely than Asians to be offended and angered by a racist statement in an interpersonal interaction

Hypothesis 12: Whites expectations about racial group differences in confronting a racist statement will be mediated by perceptions in the extent to which the groups are offended and angered.

Interestingly, this may be a source of flaws in people's stereotypes about group differences in confronting. People are often more likely to believe individual characteristics (in this case how offended someone is) explain behavior at the expense of situational factors. These expectations are reflected in the Fundamental Attribution Error (Jones & Harris, 1967). However, in the present case, the cultural norms prescribe differences in behaviors, not necessarily thoughts. Although Kowalski's model may hold true, there may be a critical difference in the extent to which the model holds for Blacks and Asians. Thresholds of offense for confronting may be different for different racial groups. Specifically, given cultural norms described above, Blacks may have lower thresholds for confronting than Asians. However, this does not mean that they would differ in their perceptions of the incidents. They may agree that a statement is racist, but Blacks may be more likely to confront depending on their reaction to the perpetrator. Thus, it is necessary to test whether race affects level of offense which then predicts confronting behavior as this is a possible lay theory that could be quite inaccurate because it discounts other potential factors involved. An alternative model is that race will not influence perceived offensiveness but will influence the extent to which offensiveness predicts confronting such that perceived offensiveness will be a better predictor of Blacks likelihood of confronting than Asians. Thus, one

hypothesis would follow our predictions about lay theories for confronting discrimination.

Specifically,

Hypothesis 13a: Perceived offensiveness will mediate the relation between racial group membership and confronting discrimination. However, an alternative hypothesis may be supported. Specifically:

Hypothesis 13b: Race will interact with perceived offensiveness of a comment such that perceived offensiveness will be more strongly associated with confronting in Blacks than Asians.

Summary

This research seeks to understand the role that culture plays in responding to interpersonal forms of discrimination. I do this by comparing Black and Asian females' actual responses to a racist statement said in an interpersonal setting and test whether perceived group norms, internalization of these norms in the form of personal norms, ethnic identity, and acculturation influence confronting. My research questions, thus, are: 1) Do Blacks and Asians respond differently to racist statements said in interpersonal settings (Hypothesis 1); 2) Do perceived group norms and personal norms reflect cultural norms and predict their behaviors (Hypothesis 2, 3, and 4); 3) Are racial group differences in confronting most prominent for those who are ethnically identified and less acculturated to their own culture (Hypothesis 5 and 6). In addition, I explore the role that stereotypes may play in this process both by examining what dominant group stereotypes are, whether the stereotypes match actual responses to interpersonal discrimination, and whether they influence actual behavioral responses. My additional research questions, thus, are: 1) Do Whites' stereotypes about Asians and Blacks' behaviors reflect cultural norms (Hypothesis 7); 2) Do the stereotypes address not only expectations about behaviors, but also expectations about personal reactions to interpersonal discrimination (Hypothesis 11 and 12); 3) Do Asians and Blacks share the same expectations as Whites do about group responses to discrimination, and do these expectations about their ingroup and themselves

predict their confronting responses (Hypothesis 8 and 9); 5) Does affiliative motive interact to accentuate group differences in behaviors (hypothesis 10; 6) Does perceived offensiveness play the same role in confronting discrimination for Blacks and Asians (Hypothesis 13).

Chapter 2

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Research examining how targets of discrimination are perceived to respond versus how they actually respond is important given the implications of these targets' experiences and the potential for this work to point to more factors that demand future study. Most importantly, this research is designed to identify potential mechanisms that can affect a target's behavior in an actual situation involving discrimination.

I first assess expectations people have about differences in Asian and Black women's tendency to be offended and to confront a perpetrator who makes a prejudicial statement versus a perpetrator who makes a rude, though prejudicially irrelevant statement. In Study 1, I used a White sample to ascertain stereotypes among representatives of the currently dominant group and also so that they are reporting their perceptions of outgroup members. I assess expectations about confronting and expressing themselves as well as expectations about the extent to which Black and Asian women would be offended and angered by the comments. As noted in Hypotheses 7, 11, and 12, I predicted that Whites would expect that Blacks would be more offended and angry than Asians, be more likely to confront and express themselves than Asians, and that expectations about offense and anger would mediate the relation between racial group and behavior responses.

I also included expectations about rude as well as racist statements to test whether the expectations reflect general beliefs about responses to any type of conflict situation. Predictions about actual behaviors reflect cultural differences in responding to conflict situations. So it is possible that the same pattern of findings would occur for rude as well as racist statements. Yet, it is also possible that stereotypes about confronting offensive incidents may be different for racist statements than statements that do not implicate one's ethnic or racial group. On the one hand,

perhaps racism is so offensive that it dictates a more forceful, angered response by both Blacks and Asians. On the other hand, it may be so offensive that it requires a more tactful, indirect response by both groups. Thus, interactions of potential confronter race and type of comment are assessed as well.

In Study 2, I recruited Asian and Black female participants to assess their descriptive expectations about their ingroups (ingroup stereotypes or descriptive norms) and themselves (self-stereotyping or personal norms), expectations about how their groups think they should behave (prescriptive norms), and whether these expectations are associated with their actual behavior in an offensive situation. Thus, these expectations can be compared to White's stereotypes and each group's respective cultural norms.

In Study 2, I measured differences in Asian and Black women's actual confronting behavior in the lab. Women's responses to racist comments made by a confederate were assessed to see whether general group differences in behavior emerged. In addition to testing the role that stereotypes and norms play in individuals' behaviors, I test whether ethnic identity and acculturation to one's ingroup culture accentuates group differences in confronting. I also test the role that perceived offensiveness of the racist comments plays in responding to discrimination to examine whether it can explain group differences in behavior or whether perceived offensiveness plays a different role in Black and Asian's responses to racist comments.

Study 2 also tested group differences in responses to rude behaviors. Past research on the ways that Blacks and Asians handle conflict would suggest that we would find group differences in response to both racist and rude behaviors. Like expectations about behaviors, it is possible that these group differences would not translate into responses to interpersonal forms of racism. On the one hand, racist comments may not only be perceived to be particularly offensive requiring action, they may make individuals feel a need to defend their group resulting in Asians being as likely to respond to discrimination as Blacks. On the other hand, self-presentation

concerns have been found to be more likely to influence public responses to discriminatory comments than nondiscriminatory but offensive comments (Hyers, 2007; Sechrist, Swim, & Stangor, 2004; Shelton, & Stewart, 2004; Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002; Swim & Hyers, 1999). This could result in Blacks inhibiting responses to racist comments to the same extent as Asian Americans.

Study 1

The purpose of Study 1 is to assess the perceptions White people hold of Asian and Black women's responses to interpersonal discrimination. White participants were asked how they would expect Asian and Black women to respond to a White male expressing anti-Black racism, anti-Asian racism, and a rude comment. A White male was used because he represented a prototypical perpetrator of racism (Inman & Baron, 1996). I measured participants' expectations of the target being offended by, directly confronting, getting angry at, and expressing feelings to the perpetrator of racist and rude comments. This study aimed to confirm that Whites, as representative of the dominant culture, perceive group differences in target responses and to explore the extent to which they perceive discrimination as a unique circumstance compared to a situation involving any rude offense.

The main prediction is participants would expect Black females to be particularly likely to confront an offensive perpetrator compared to Asian females. Thus, compared to expectations for Black females, Asian females would be expected by Whites to respond with less direct behavior or to say nothing (Hypothesis 7). Additionally, I predict participants' perceptions of group differences will include Blacks being seen as more easily offended (Hypothesis 11). Such perceptions Whites have of Blacks would be in line with perceptions of Blacks as likely confronters. I also predict that expectations about racial differences in confronting behavior would be explained by how offended targets are perceived to be (Hypothesis 12).

Furthermore, I tested whether expectations generalized not just to thoughts about the interaction, but feelings as well. I tested whether participants would expect that Blacks would not only be angrier about incidents (Hypothesis 11), but would also be more likely to express their feelings (Hypothesis 7). One possible reason why a target would be predicted to confront would be because they would be expected to be angry. Thus, I test whether anger mediates the relation between racial group and confronting (Hypothesis 12).

Finally, to the extent that perceptions of behavior are drawn from general beliefs of how group members tend to respond to interpersonal conflict, I would expect similar results for expectations of confronting across the racist and rude comments. If interaction effects emerge, however, they could point to nuances of Whites' perceptions of minority targets of discrimination.

Method

Participants

Two hundred-one White female (n = 165, 82.1%) and male (n = 36, 27.9%) undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses at a large public university on the East coast filled out an online survey in order to earn extra course credit. The average age was 18.65 years (range 18-22 years) with most students in their first year of college (72.6%). Almost all students were born in the U.S. (98.5%) with the rest all immigrating before the age of 10.

Design.

The design was a 2 (potential confronter: Black, Asian) x 2 (type of comment: racist to ingroup, rude) repeated measures ANOVA.

Procedure and measures

Participants completed measures via the internet asking them to report their predictions of how Asian, Black, and White women would respond in all of the following unambiguously offensive scenarios:

#1 (anti-Black racism): Imagine a White male has said something clearly racist such as, “White people are better than Black people,” directed at a particular target.

#2 (anti-Asian racism): Imagine a White male has said something clearly racist such as, “White people are better than Asian people,” directed at a particular target.

#3 (sexist): Imagine a White male has said something clearly sexist such as, “Men are better than women,” directed at a particular target.

#4 (rude): Imagine a White male has said something clearly rude such as, “Most students from other schools are better than students from your school,” directed at a particular target.

White women’s responses and responses to sexist scenarios are fillers.²

The order in which these scenarios were presented was in a random order. Unfortunately, the order of presentation was not tracked during the data collection. However, because, the survey included measures of participants’ perceptions of White female targets responding to anti-Black racism, anti-Asian racism, sexism, and rudeness, though not part of the full design of interest in this work, their inclusion in the survey may have mitigated any contrast effects participants may have been subject to when reporting their perceptions of Asian versus Black females.

After each scenario was presented, participants reported their perceptions of the women’s thoughts, feelings, and behavior. First, participants rated how offended the women would be in each situation on a 4-point scale ranging from not at all to very much. Predictions of confronting behavior were rated on a 5-point scale. The five choices were previously piloted to range from the least direct to most direct approach: 1 = not say anything at all, 2 = change the subject to avoid talking about it, 3 = say something indirect such as, “Everyone is entitled to their opinions”, 4 = ask a question like, “Why do you say that?”, and 5 = directly say that it was racist/rude. Then participants reported predictions for targets’ emotional responses by rating adjectives depicting four different emotions such as “angry, content, anxious, and depressed” on the previously described 4-point scale. The adjectives of interest were those that corresponded to anger, namely

annoyed, resentful, peeved, angry, mad, frustrated and irritated. The anger scale showed high reliability (Cohen's alpha = .93) across confronter races and types of comment. Lastly, participants used the 4-point scale to respond to one item asking "How much do you think the following people would openly express their feelings in this scenario?"

Results²

Overview

I submitted participant expectations to a 2 (potential confronter: Black, Asian) x 2 (type of comment: racist to ingroup, rude) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) in order to test for perceived differences between Asian and Black women's likelihood of being offended, angry, confront, and expressive.

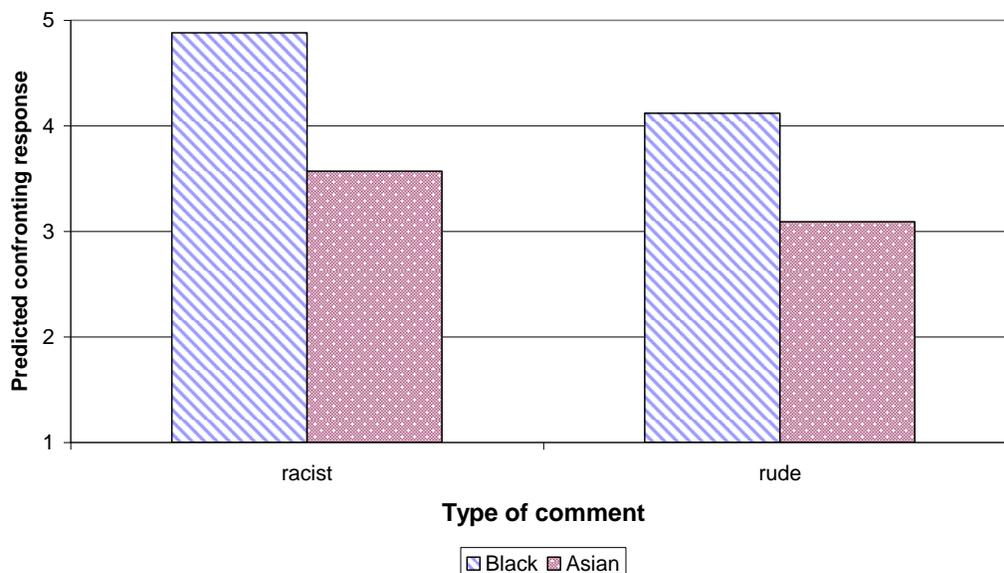
Offense. In support of Hypothesis 11, the main effect of the confronter's race was significant and indicated that Whites perceived Blacks ($M = 2.37$) would be more offended than Asians ($M = 2.08$), $F(1,197) = 54.64$, $p < .01$, ($\eta_p^2 = .217$). There was also a main effect of type of comment, $F(1,197) = 260.92$, $p < .01$, ($\eta_p^2 = .570$); women were expected to see racism as more offensive than rudeness ($M = 2.76, 1.69$, respectively). Most of the variance (78.7%) was accounted for by these variables. The effect sizes show that more variance was accounted for by type of comment than confronter race. There was no interaction between race of confronter race and type of comment.

Confronting. In support of Hypothesis 7, a significant main effect of confronter race revealed that participants predicted Blacks' behavioral responses ($M = 4.50$) would be more direct than Asians' behavioral responses ($M = 3.33$), $F(1,198) = 226.73$, $p < .001$, ($\eta_p^2 = .534$). The main effect for type of comment showed confronters more likely to directly confront the racist ($M = 4.23$) than the rude ($M = 3.61$) remarks, $F(1,198) = 64.41$, $p < .001$, ($\eta_p^2 = .245$).

Again most of the variance was accounted for (77.9%), but in contrast to the results for offense, the effect size for type of comment was less than that of confronter race.

Interestingly, the interaction of type of comment and confronter race was significant, $F(1,198) = 8.07, p < .01$, with a modest effect size compared to the main effects ($\eta_p^2 = .039$). Though both potential confronters were expected to confront racist more than rude perpetrators, Black women were particularly expected to confront ($M = 4.88$) more so than Asian women ($M = 3.57$) in the racist scenario, $F(1,199) = 205.24, p < .001$. Thus, the discrepancy between perceptions of Black and Asian women's directness of confronting the racist comment was more pronounced than for confronting in the rude comment (Black, $M = 4.12$; Asian, $M = 3.09$), $F(1,198) = 120.22, p < .001$ (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Expectations of Black and Asian women confronting racist and rude comments



Anger. Significant main effects for confronter race supporting Hypothesis 11 and type of comment showed that Blacks ($M=2.23$) were perceived to get angrier than Asians ($M=1.77$), $F(1,199) = 163.95, p < .001, (\eta_p^2 = .452)$, and targets of racism ($M=2.51$) were perceived to get

angrier than targets of rudeness ($M=1.48$), $F(1,199) = 369.94$, $p < .001$, ($\eta_p^2 = .650$). This time the effect size for type of comment was more than that of confronter race, which is similar to the results for offense, but not confronting.

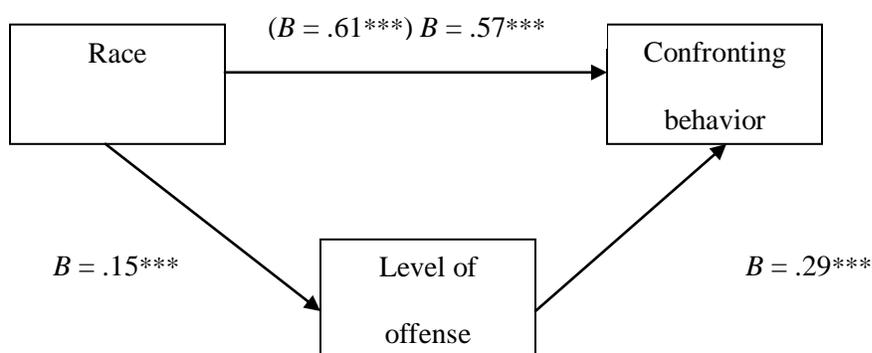
The interaction between confronter race and type of comment was significant, $F(1,199) = 9.37$, $p < .01$, ($\eta_p^2 = .045$) with results mirroring findings for perceived confronting behavior. Both potential confronters were expected to get angrier at the racist than the rude perpetrator, but Black women were particularly expected to get angrier ($M = 2.78$) than Asian women ($M = 2.24$) in the racist scenario, $F(1,199) = 123.52$, $p < .001$. Thus, just like with the perceived confronting behavior results, the discrepancy between Whites' perceptions of Black and Asian women's anger in the racist comment was more pronounced than for anger in the rude comment (Black, $M = 1.67$; Asian, $M = 1.29$), $F(1,199) = 84.49$, $p < .001$.

Expression of feelings. The effect of race was significant confirming Hypothesis 7, for expectations about expressing their feelings, $F(1,200) = 245.48$, $p < .001$, ($\eta_p^2 = .551$), indicating that Black women ($M=2.57$) were perceived as more expressive than Asian women ($M=1.70$). Additionally, the effect of type of comment was significant, $F(1,200) = 139.16$, $p < .001$, ($\eta_p^2 = .410$), with more expressiveness believed to emerge in the racist scenario ($M=2.45$) than the rude scenario ($M=1.82$). This analysis showed 96.1% of the variance was accounted for, and just as with the results for confronting, the effect size for type of comment was less than the effect size of confronter race. Lastly, the interaction was not significant.

Mediation analyses. I conducted a mediation analysis, as explained in Hypothesis 12, to test whether perceived level of offense explained the effect of potential confronter race on perceived confronting behavior for the racist comments. First, I regressed perceived confronting behavior on the confronter race ($B = .79$, $t = 25.53$, $p < .001$), which showed Blacks more than Asians were associated with direct confronting. Second I regressed level of offense on race ($B =$

.26, $t = 5.46$, $p < .001$), which showed Blacks more than Asians were associated with taking offense. Lastly, I regressed confronting behavior on confronter race and level of offense. In this model, the beta weight for confronter race decreases, though remains significant, ($B = .75$, $t = 24.20$, $p < .001$) and the effect of offense is significant ($B = .16$, $t = 5.17$, $p < .001$), showing that offense acts as a partial mediator (Fig. 2). Sobel tests indicated a significant partial mediation (Sobel statistic = 2.41, $p < .05$). Thus, these analyses suggest Whites perceive race effects on confronting behaviors are partially mediated by level of offense taken.

Fig. 2. Mediation model of offense as the mediator between race and confronting



I then conducted a mediation analysis as explained in Hypothesis 12 to test whether expectations about anger explained the effect of potential confronter race on perceived confronting behavior for the racist comments. Previous analyses revealed Whites' perceptions that Blacks more than Asians were more associated with direct confronting. Next, I regressed level of anger on race ($B = .43$, $t = 9.50$, $p < .001$), which showed Blacks more than Asians were associated with getting angry. Lastly, I regressed confronting behavior on confronter race and perceived anger. In this model, the beta weight for confronter race decreases, though remains significant, ($B = .72$, $t = 21.54$, $p < .001$) and the effect of anger is significant ($B = .16$, $t = 4.74$, $p < .001$), showing that anger, just like offense taken, also acts as a partial mediator. Sobel tests

indicated a significant partial mediation (Sobel statistic = 2.73, $p < .01$). Thus, these analyses suggest Whites perceive race effects on confronting behaviors are in part, explained by how angry the target gets.

Additional analyses. It is possible that even though participants perceived that differences in behavior were a function of expected differences in private responses to the incidents, they may still have perceived that Asian women were suppressing their responses. In order to test this, a series of regressions investigated whether the relationships between expectations about confronting and offensiveness, anger, and expressiveness and tested whether the relation between predicting confronting and these variables were moderated by race. I regressed expectations about confronting on offensiveness, race, offensiveness x race, and the offensiveness x race x type of comment interaction term. The three-way interaction was not significant; thus, I reran the results without the three way interaction. These results showed the interaction term ($B = .38$, $t = 4.73$, $p < .001$) was significant suggesting that race did indeed moderate the effect of perceived offensiveness on confronting (see Table 1). Follow-up simple regressions split by race showed perceived offensiveness predicted confronting for both Asian ($B = .19$, $t = 3.90$, $p < .001$) and Black ($B = .67$, $t = 17.97$, $p < .001$) confronters, but the relationship between perceived offense taken and perceived confronting was stronger for Blacks.

Table 1. Standardized Beta Weights for confronter race and offensiveness as predictors of confronting behavior

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
step 1	offense	0.29	10.97	***
	race	0.57	21.52	***
step 2	offense	-0.07	-0.88	ns
	race	0.57	21.79	***
	Race x offense	0.38	4.73	***

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

Next, I regressed expectations of confronting on predicted anger, race, anger x race, and the anger x race x type of comment interaction term. The three-way interaction was again not

significant; so the results are presented without the three way interaction. The two-way interaction was significant ($B = .48, t = 5.75, p < .001$) suggesting that race also moderated the effect of anger on confronting (see Table 2). Follow-up simple regressions split by race showed anger positively predicted confronting for both Asian ($B = .14, t = 2.73, p < .01$) and Black ($B = .69, t = 19.44, p < .001$) confronters, but this association was stronger for Blacks than Asians, the same pattern that emerges for perceived offense and confronting.

Table 2. Standardized Beta Weights for confronter race and anger as predictors of confronting behavior

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
step 1	Anger	0.28	10.18	***
	Race	0.54	19.74	***
step 2	Anger	-0.18	-2.12	*
	Race	0.54	20.07	***
	Race x anger	0.48	5.75	***

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

Lastly, I regressed perceptions of confronting on expectations of expressiveness, race, expressiveness x race, and the expressiveness x race x type of comment interaction term. The three-way interaction and the two-way interaction were not significant suggesting that race does not interact with Whites' perceptions of targets expressing their feelings (Table 3).

Table 3. Standardized Beta Weights for confronter race and expressing feelings as predictors of confronting behavior

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
step 1	Anger	0.28	10.18	***
	Race	0.54	19.74	***
step 2	Anger	-0.18	-2.12	*
	Race	0.54	20.07	***
	Race x anger	0.48	5.75	***

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

Study 1 Discussion

Whites' anticipated responses of Black and Asian women to discrimination mirror the contrasting cultural norms endorsed by these two groups. Blacks were expected to confront more than Asians for both racist and rude situations³, though the group difference was more accentuated in the racist scenario. The mean for expectations about Black women's confronting racism corresponded to the highest point of the scale, "directly say that it was racist", whereas the mean for Asian women's confronting racism hovered between "say something indirect" or "ask a question". Additionally, no participants predicted that a Black woman would "not say anything at all" to a racist perpetrator. The interaction result showed the predicted group difference in perceived behavior is most pronounced in the racism than the rude scenario, however, interestingly Blacks are particularly seen as likely confronters of racism compared to Asians. Whites also believed Blacks would express their feelings more than Asian women, which is in line with the respective cultural norms and stereotypes of assertiveness. Measuring impressions of targets' expressiveness could be considered similar to measuring expectations of targets' confronting, but this item gets at a broader impression Whites have of Black and Asian women that is not limited by the options in the confronting behavior measure. Asking about the expressiveness hones in on perceptions of how free targets feel to share whatever reaction they had to the perpetrator. However, if Asian women believe they should prioritize interpersonal harmony, they may prefer to suppress their feelings to prevent a conflict. This finding provides some suggestion that Whites are aware that Asians' public responses may not fully reflect their private responses to the incident.

As predicted, Whites' also believed Black females would be more offended and angrier than Asian females. Expectations of group differences on offensiveness occurred regardless of whether the situation involved racism toward the ingroup or rudeness. However, a significant

interaction result for anger reflected the interaction pattern for confronting behavior. Blacks were especially expected to become angry in response to racism toward the ingroup.

Intriguingly, expectations about offensiveness and anger may have to do with how visibly apparent the person's response is. Because Asians have norms for limiting the expression of negative emotions, it may be the case that Asians get just as offended and angry as Blacks, but this is not easily perceived due to a stricter regulation of emotion display. Supporting this argument, perceived offensiveness and anger mediated participant's expectations about differences in confronting, indicating that participants perceived that group differences in behavioral responses were at least in part a function of expected group differences in personal reactions to the incidents. These mediation results imply that Whites' stereotypes of targets' confronting behavior reflect level of perceived offense taken and anger felt. Thus, the more directly the target is expected to confront, the more likely she was perceived to be initially offended and angered. This assumption, however, implies Asian female reticence is explained by not being offended enough to feel direct confronting is necessary. Whether this is actually the case for Asian Americans or not, such a lay theory is in danger of committing the Fundamental Attribution Error by not considering situational or cultural factors (Jones & Harris, 1967).

The results did, however, show some indication that Whites were aware that differences in responding would not fully be a function of differences in private responses to racist and rude comments. They indicated that Blacks' perceived offensiveness and anger were more strongly related to confronting than for Asians. Whites seem to perceive Blacks as more likely than Asians to allow their external behaviors to be guided by their internal reactions

The main picture being painted is Black women compared to Asian women are stereotyped as more likely to be offended by, more likely to get angry at, more willing to directly confront, and more willing to express feelings to a perpetrator. The potential confronters' race was particularly important for confronting behavior, where the effect size for confronter race was

approximately double the effect size for type of comment. There were also indications that Whites, on the one hand believed that there would be more of a correspondence between Blacks and Asians' private and public responding, yet they also believed that the association would be stronger for Blacks than Asians.

Study 2

The purpose of Study 2 was first, to test whether Black and Asian females differed in the likelihood and nature of their confronting of interpersonal discrimination and second, to uncover possible explanations for their behavior. Black and Asian women interacted via computer-mediated communication with a confederate, who expressed either a racist or rude remark directed to their ingroup. Participants' self-reports on various individual difference measures, their impressions of their interaction partner, and the directness of their response to the perpetrator were measured.

The main hypothesis was that Black females would be more likely to directly confront the perpetrator compared to Asian females (Hypothesis 1). To the extent that these targets adhere to the respective general cultural prescriptions and stereotypes of their behavior, this group difference could emerge when faced with either a discriminatory or a rude statement. Furthermore, testing the importance of culture on confronting, ethnic identity and acculturation were predicted to moderate ethnic differences in confronting behavior (Hypotheses 5 and 6). High ethnic identity was predicted to be associated with more direct confronting in Black women and less confronting in Asian women. However, women may be unlikely to act in stereotype-consistent ways if they do not highly identify with their respective ethnic group identities. Acculturation to ingroup culture can also increase group differences in confronting, but acculturation was predicted to have more of an effect on Asian than Black women.

I also assessed whether Asian women and Black women have different expectations about how they *should* and *would* respond to interpersonal discrimination. To the extent that

cultural differences play a role in their responses to discrimination and they attend to these cultural differences, Black women were predicted to be more likely than Asian women to perceive that they *should* and *would* confront discrimination (Hypotheses 3 and 8). The “Should” responses reflect an ingroup prescriptive norm that is predicted to have an effect on women’s confronting behavior (Hypothesis 4). The “Would” responses reflect a personal descriptive norm, which also could be considered a self-stereotype. I explored whether such an effect is a function of the degree to which the women are ethnically identified or acculturated and whether these personal norms predicted actual confronting (Hypothesis 9). Additionally, I measured participants’ ratings of what they thought women in their ethnic *ingroup* *would* do in order to see if women applied the stereotypes of assertiveness to their ingroup with the expectation that Black women would report a higher ingroup norm for confronting than Asian women (Hypothesis 2). Then these ratings were also tested as predictors of the women’s actual confronting behavior (Hypothesis 9).

Additionally, I explored the extent to which women evaluated themselves to be assertive, to be a “strong Black woman”, and a “model minority” and how these self-evaluations may affect confronting responses. First, the more individuals described themselves in a stereotype-consistent way, the more they might act in accordance to the stereotype. Second, individuals are more likely to act in accordance with the stereotype, when they want to affiliate with someone they are interacting with. This would suggest that the more Asian women wanted to affiliate with the interaction partner, the less likely they would confront the offensive comments. Conversely, if Black women’s actions were in accordance with the stereotype, namely directly confronting, this would seem to sabotage the goal to affiliate. Moreover, for any target, affiliative motives may diminish when experiencing discrimination as it is plausible that the desire to get along with others is overridden when a perpetrator treats the target unfairly (Hypothesis 10).

Lastly, I further tested whether group differences in confronting could be explained by differences in being offended by the perpetrator as White participants appeared to expect in Study 1. In Study 2, participants rated their interaction partner after the online conversation as to the extent to which they perceived him and his behavior to be racist and how negatively they evaluated him. We used these as proxy measures of offensiveness. Presumably, the more racist or the more negative they saw the perpetrator, the more likely they were offended by his remarks. Additionally, to the extent that group differences in confronting are a function of private reactions to the incidents, it is predicted that perceived offensiveness would mediate behavioral responses (Hypothesis 13a). However, as discussed before, whereas anger and confronting behavior may be more readily witnessed, whether such behavior is a reflection of how offended the person is an assumption that Whites are making. An alternative model would predict that the extent to which individuals were offended would be more predictive of Black than Asians' actual behaviors (Hypothesis 13b). Thus, both of these possibilities were tested.

Method

Participants

Participants were Asian (N = 41) and Black (N = 46) female undergraduate students enrolled at a large public university on the East coast participating in order to earn extra course credit for an introductory psychology course. The average age was 19.14 years (range 18-29 years) with most students in their first year (57.6 %) or second year (20.0%) of college. Most of the students were born in the U.S. (70.6%) while the rest had all immigrated at various ages ranging from less than 0 years to 19 years. Among Asian participants, nearly half reported being born outside of the U.S. (42%) and most were of East Asian descent and two were of South Asian descent. Among Black participants, a much lower percentage reported being born outside of the U.S. (18%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited for a study advertised as research examining first impressions made over computer-based communication. I employed a 2 (participant race: Black, Asian) x 2 (type of comment: racist, or rude) between-subjects design. Prior to interacting with a confederate and responding to the interpersonal discrimination, participants completed a set of individual difference measures to test for moderators of group differences in confronting. Half the participants completed the measures online before coming to the study and half while at the lab. The switch in procedures was necessary because too few participants were signing up to complete the online measures and, from these, too few were showing up for the second part of the study. When participants completed the measures in the lab, they were given a distracter task in between completing measures and interacting with the confederate in order to establish more time in between these tasks. This procedural change did not moderate any of the effects of the measures on outcomes.

After completing the above battery of scales, participants were informed they would move onto the interaction part of the experiment. However, participants were first asked to fill out a “profile sheet” asking for their first name, age, gender, race, major, political affiliation and religiosity. Political affiliation and religiosity were measured on a 5-pt Likert scale from 1 (*very conservative, very religious*) to 5 (*very liberal, very unreligious*). The participant ostensibly was exchanging profile information with the other participant in order to form an initial impression. During the exchange, experimenters always presented the participant with a pre-filled profile sheet depicting their conversation partner as Donald, 19 years of age, male, White, undecided major, moderately conservative and moderately religious. This was done to ensure all participants believed the perpetrator of the offensive behavior was a White male, a prototypical perpetrator of prejudice (Inman & Baron, 1996). Because individual differences such as conservatism and religiosity (Haslam & Levy, 2006; Sears & Henry, 2003) are correlated with likelihood to endorse

prejudiced attitudes, the profile sheet purposefully indicated Donald as moderately conservative and religious. Thus, participants had some suggestion that his behavior was based on prejudice as opposed to some external attribution.

After the profile exchange took place, but before the online interaction, participants rated their initial impressions of the interaction partner, which was our measure of affiliative motive at Time 1. Participants were told they would have a conversation with another student using Instant Messenger, a program that allows users to type messages to each other in real time using an internet connection. They were asked to interact with their interaction partner on the topic of “friendships, dating, and social life” in order for both students to get to know each other and form an impression. The topic was chosen to be a something anyone could chat about, but also to set up the discriminatory conditions.

Depending on the condition, the confederate typed during the conversation either a racist or a rude comment. Confederates were extensively trained to conduct the same scripted conversation as much as possible with each participant without raising suspicion. The script included questions the confederate asked to initiate the conversation, as well as generic answers for common questions the participant might pose. The answers were intended to be average characteristics of college students so as not to allow the participant to make firm impressions of any individual differences characterizing the partner. The conversation was piloted to last approximately 10 minutes with the offensive remark being made half way through the chat.

Confederates typed in the racist condition, “Don’t get me wrong, but dating Blacks/Asians is painful. Dating Blacks/Asians is for tools who let Blacks/Asians control them”. Confederates typed in the rude condition, “Don’t get me wrong, but dating women is painful. Dating women is for tools who let *emotions* control them.” Some participants were paired with a confederate that said, “Don’t get me wrong, but dating women is painful. Dating women is for tools who let *women* control them.” This last scripted remark was originally used as a

manipulation intended to be sexist. However, participants' ratings of the remark indicated that they did not perceive the sexist remark to be sexist and not any more ($M=1.56$ on a 1 to 4 scale) than the racist or rude comments ($M = 1.39$, $M=1.42$, respectively). Additionally, when examining the negative evaluations participants made of their partner, the one-way ANOVA testing the evaluations across the three types of comments was significant, $F(2,83) = 16.08$, $p<.001$. However, post hoc tests showed the perpetrator was rated equally negatively in the sexist and rude conditions ($M=2.62$, $M=2.65$, respectively) and these two conditions differed from the racist condition ($M=3.49$). Thus, I collapsed the two conditions ($n = 38$ and 17) together. In both the rude and sexist versions of the offensive comment, the confederate always directed the derogatory statement towards dating of women. A fourth type of comment was also tested early in the study. This comment was the same as the rude comment above, except that dating women was not mentioned. Debriefing suggested that participants assumed the confederate was gay, so we did not use this as a way to manipulate rude comments.

The confederate then waited at least 30 seconds for the participant to respond before typing another message. The confederate did not remark further on the offensive comment regardless of the participant's next comment, but merely tried to move the conversation along with more scripted generic questions. The entire transcript of the exchange was recorded for later coding. Immediately after the interaction, Time 2, they again rated their affiliative motive and filled out items reporting their reactions to the interaction partner and then were debriefed.

Individual difference measures

Ethnic identity. All participants completed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992), which is a measure of their ingroup ethnic identity, using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) Cronbach alpha = .92 for the total scale. Subscales were affirmation and belonging Cronbach alpha = .80, ethnic identity achievement Cronbach alpha = .85, ethnic behaviors Cronbach alpha = .70, and other group

orientation Cronbach alpha = .67. Respectively, these subscales describe participants feeling glad to belong to their ethnic group (e.g., I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments), learning about and exploring the role ethnicity plays in their lives (e.g., I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me), engaging in ingroup related activities (e.g., I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs), and engaging in activities with outgroups (e.g., I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups).

Acculturation. Participants then filled out surveys measuring acculturation specific to their group membership. Black women were surveyed on their acculturation levels using the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS) (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000), using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*I totally disagree/Not true at all*) to 7 (*I strongly agree/Absolutely true*). They expressed agreement with items on religious beliefs (e.g., When I was young, I was a member of a Black church), preference for things African American (e.g., I read *Essence* or *Ebony* magazine), interracial attitudes (e.g., IQ test were set up purposefully to discriminate against Black people), family practices (e.g., When I was young, my cousin, aunt, grandmother, or other relative lived with me and my family for awhile), health beliefs (e.g., Some older Black women know a lot about pregnancy and childbirth), cultural superstitions (e.g., When the palm of your hand itches, you'll receive some money), racial segregation (e.g. I grew up in a mostly Black neighborhood), and family values (e.g., A child should not be allowed to call a grown woman by her first name, "Alice". The child should be taught to call her "Miss Alice") (Cronbach alpha = .91).

On the other hand, Asian women were asked about acculturation using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987), using a multiple choice item format that ranged from 1 indicating high Asian identification/low acculturation to 5 indicating Western identification/high acculturation (mean

Cronbach alpha = .94). Like the AAAS, the SL-ASIA assessed acculturation level by asking about participant's activities and preferences in multiple domains such as language preference (e.g., What language do you prefer?), ethnic makeup of friendships (e.g., What was the ethnic origin of friends and peers you had as a child from age 6-18?), preference for Asian things (e.g., What is your music preference?), exposure to Asian culture (e.g., What contact have you had with Asia?), and ethnic behaviors (Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc?).

Self-stereotyping and perceived norms. In order to explore the possible role of self-stereotyping in women's confronting behavior, participants completed measures that assess the extent to which they identify with stereotypes that apply to Black and Asian women. All the women completed the Strong Black Woman Attitudes Scale (SBWAS) (Thompson, 2003), which evaluates how much they described themselves as a stereotypical "Strong Black woman". They used a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*almost always*) to indicate how much items (e.g., I believe that it is best not to rely on others, I pride myself on my ability to take care of others) applied to them (Cronbach alpha = .77). All participants also filled out the Internalization of the Model Minority Stereotype Scale (IMMSS) (Chen, 1995), which judges how much they perceived themselves as a "model minority". They used a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*rarely or none of the time*) to 5 (*most of the time*) to indicate how much items (e.g., How much do you actually pressure yourself to achieve academically?, To what extent do you believe in NOT complaining about academic difficulties?) applied to them (Cronbach alpha = .73). Two other subscales measured their actual academic performance and the extent to which they believed others perceived them as a "model minority". The multiple subscales could then be used to compare how much the participant sees others' expectations, personal expectations, and actual performance correlate. These latter two subscales, however, were not included in the analyses as the relevant subscale pertains to the participant's internalization of the stereotype. Lastly, participants also rated themselves on a list of characteristics collected for use in this study that

quantified how much they saw themselves as assertive. They responded to a set of seven semantic differentials on a 7-point scale with endpoints of opposite characteristics (e.g., *very assertive to very unassertive, very reserved to very forward*).

Participants also completed surveys similar to those used in Study 1 reporting their expectations of how different people deal with different situations. Anti-Black, anti-Asian, and rude scenarios were presented and participants reported how much they *would* confront, how much their ethnic culture prescribes they *should* confront, and how much they thought women in their ethnic *ingroup would* confront.

Affiliative desire. Before and after the interaction, participants responded to four items that asked how much they wanted to get to know and get along with the interaction partner, as well as how much they thought the partner would like them and they liked the partner using a 7-pt Likert scale from *Strongly agree* to *Strongly disagree* (Time 1 Cronbach alpha = .73; Time 2 Cronbach alpha = .91)⁴.

Dependent measures

Evaluation of partner. After the online conversation, participants were asked to evaluate their interaction partner and the partner's behavior on how racist, sexist, heterosexist, and ageist he appeared⁵. The ratings of the how racist the partner and the behavior were then combined into one scale especially because they were highly correlated ($r = .93$). Participants were also asked to evaluate their partners on a set of five semantic differentials (Osgood, 1952) on a 6-pt scale that ranged from one positive characteristic to its negative opposite (e.g., *very good to very bad, very positive to very negative, very valuable to very useless, very nice to very awful, and very pleasant to very unpleasant*) (Cohen's alpha = .85).

Confronting behavior. Participant reactions in the conversation transcripts were coded by undergraduate research assistants for how direct and confrontational the participant's response was. First, research assistants read through the transcripts to compare the range of actual

behaviors against the original scale of confronting developed in Study 1. Unexpectedly, participants seemed to offer sympathy and advice about women to their interaction partner (i.e. “How many women have you dated? Maybe you haven’t met the right woman”), which was assessed as a non-confrontational response. Additionally, direct confronting was split into two scale points; the difference being in terms of how angry the participant seemed to be at the perpetrator. After reviewing this range of behaviors, I updated the scale of confronting so that the wider range of behaviors was included in coding. The scale ranged from 1 = did not confront, did not notice comment, did not find comment offensive, or laughed it off, 2 = gives advice to the partner about dating, 3 = asks a question to the partner about the comment, 4 = asserts a contrasting opinion or attempts to educate the partner and 5 = direct confrontation by accusing partner of being offensive or expresses partner is wrong in some way. As before, the scale ranges from the least direct and non-confrontational to the most direct and confrontational response.

Research assistants trained by reviewing example transcripts that had been coded along the various points on the confronting continuum. In total eight research assistants coded chunks of the transcripts with half of their transcripts overlapping with the transcripts coded by someone else in order to test the interrater reliability (Cohen’s $\alpha = .97$). The few transcripts that had conflicting coding scores across coders were flagged and discussed among the research assistants and their supervisor until there was consensus.

(See Appendix A for a complete listing of all measures.)

Results

Overview

First, I test for differences in perceived offensiveness and behavioral reactions to the confederate. Then, I test for possible predictors of confronting that might help explain group differences in behavioral responses. These analyses include testing whether Asian and Black females’ expectations about their groups’ behavior match White participants expectations

established in Study 1. Finally, I test the possible role that offensiveness plays in predicting behaviors. Please see Appendix B for correlations of all variables split by participant race.

Evaluation of interaction partner

The manipulations successfully created two distinct conditions involving either racist or rude treatment towards the participant. I regressed participants' ratings of perceived racism by the interaction partner on race and condition and found 67% of the variance was accounted for. Participants believed their interaction partner and his behavior were more racist when making a racist comment than a rude comment ($B = .87, t = 4.52, p < .001$). Importantly, there was no main effect of race or interaction of race with type of comment indicating that both Blacks and Asians saw the racist perpetrator as equally racist.

Additionally, analyses of the semantic differentials measure evaluating the interaction partner showed participants evaluated the partner who made the racist comment ($M=3.49$) more unfavorably than the partner who made a rude comment ($M=2.63$) ($B = .77, t = 2.66, p < .01$). Although less variance was accounted for (26%), these results also indicated that the type of comment was the only significant predictor, not race or the interaction of race with comment.

Group Differences in Confronting Behavior

Means for Black and Asian women's confronting across the racist and rude conditions are presented in Table 4. In order to test whether Blacks and Asians differed in their confronting behavior, I regressed confronting behavior on race and type of comment. As discussed earlier (Hypotheses 1), I predicted that Blacks would be more likely to confront than Asians. Also I expected the effect of type of comment to help illuminate the extent to which group norms for dealing with conflict applied across both racist and rude situations. Contrary to predictions, the main effect of race was not significant. However, the main effect for type of comment was significant ($B = .82, t = 2.65, p = .01$) and this effect was qualified by the race x comment interaction ($B = -.83, t = -2.02, p < .05$). Simple regressions conducted separately by comment

showed race significantly predicted confronting behavior in the racist ($B = -.63$, $t = -4.37$, $p < .001$), but not the rude condition ($p < .10$). Blacks were more likely to directly confront than Asians, particularly in the racist condition (Fig. 3). Furthermore, regressions conducted separately by race showed Blacks confronted more directly the racist comment than the rude comment ($B = .44$, $t = 3.20$, $p < .01$), whereas Asians did not differ across conditions ($p < .10$) (see Fig. 3).

Fig 3. Black and Asian women confronting behavior of racist and rude comments

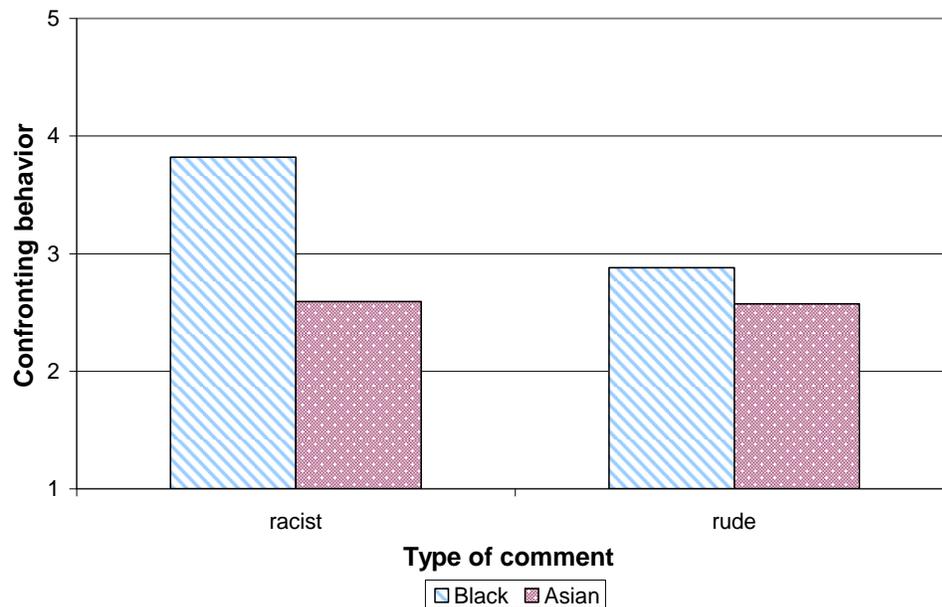


Table 4. Means for confronting behavior across race and type of comment

		Race of target	
		Black	Asian
		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Comment	Racist	3.82 (.81)	2.59 (.74)
	Rude	2.88 (1.03)	2.57 (1.18)

Potential moderators of effects

Ethnic Identity. I hypothesized that Blacks and Asians who are more ethnically identified would more strongly adhere to their groups' expected behaviors relative to those who were not ethnically identified (Hypothesis 5). I tested this by regressing confronting behavior on race, type of comment, ethnic identity, all two-way interaction terms, and the three-way interaction term. The three way interaction was not significant so all regressions presented below do not include this interaction term.

An unexpected, pattern emerged when testing the total MEIM scale ($B = -.48, t = -1.80, p = .08$), and the ethnic behaviors subscale ($B = -.51, t = -1.99, p = .05$), such that regardless of race or comment, increased ethnic identity was related to less direct confronting. This pattern, however, differed from results for the other subscales of ethnic identity. The analyses for affirmation and belonging showed a main effect ethnic identity ($B = -.67, t = -2.58, p < .05$) which was subsumed by the type of comment x ethnic identity interaction ($B = 3.54, t = 2.05, p < .05$). Follow up regressions split by type of comment showed across race, ethnic identity, as measured by the affirmation and belong subscale, again predicted less direct confronting, in the rude condition ($B = -.67, t = -2.42, p < .05$), but not in the racist condition ($B = .23, t = .70, p > .10$). The subscale for ethnic identity achievement showed no significant effects

The results for other group orientation, however showed the expected pattern, as illustrated by a race x ethnic identity interaction ($B = -2.31, t = -2.22, p < .05$). Follow up analyses were split by race while entering the type of comment, ethnic identity subscale, and the comment x ethnic identity interaction term. In support of Hypothesis 5, ethnic identity emerged as a predictor of confronting such that the more identified (i.e., the less other directed) Black women were, the more likely they confronted ($B = .36, t = 1.79, p < .10$) and the more identified Asian women were (i.e., the less other directed), the less likely they confronted ($B = -.42, t = -1.85, p < .10$).

Thus, ethnic identity did not moderate the effects on confronting in the predicted direction across all subscales. In fact, for some subscales, ethnic identity was associated with less confronting, though this finding can potentially be explained as discussed later. However, analyses on the other group orientation subscale showed ethnic identity did indeed moderate race differences in confronting in the predicted direction, such that highly identified Black women confronted more directly and highly identified Asian women confronted less directly.

Acculturation. Next I tested the hypothesis that acculturation may influence in confronting much in the same way that ethnic identity behaved (Hypothesis 6). Because the acculturation measures were specific by ethnicity, the regression analyses were conducted separately by race. I regressed confronting behavior on type of comment, acculturation, and the interaction term. No significant predictors emerged in these analyses for either sample (all p 's $>.10$). Next, I transformed the scores for both Black and Asian acculturation into z-scores in order to combine them for further testing. I regressed confronting on the new acculturation variable, race, type of comment, the two-way interaction terms, and the three-way interaction term. Acculturation and interactions with acculturation were not significant

I tested whether acculturation levels may have differed by race and or type of comment to try to help explain the null findings. I regressed the combined acculturation variable onto race and type of comment. There were no significant effects suggesting that successful random assignment was achieved in terms of acculturation level for each race and across types of comments. Lastly, I also examined whether acculturation correlated with total ethnic identity scale and found that a positive correlation emerged only for the Blacks ($r = .46, p < .05$). The other instances where the ethnic identity subscales correlated with acculturation were for the ethnic behaviors subscale (Black, $r = .45$, Asian, $r = -.52$) and for the ethnic identity achievement subscale for Blacks ($r = .48, p < .05$). Whereas, acculturation and ethnic identity showed positive correlations for Blacks,

they showed one negative correlation for Asians. Lastly, it should be noted the other group orientation scale did not relate to acculturation for either group.

Cultural Norms and Personal Predictions. I was interested in whether individuals' perceptions of ingroup descriptive norms and their assessment of their own personal prescriptive and descriptive norms would be related to their confronting (Hypotheses 4 and 9). First, however, I tested whether their perceptions of these norms conformed to stereotypes (Hypotheses 2, 3, and 8). This also allowed me to make comparisons with the results from Study 1, where I assessed Whites' expectations for confronting among Asian and Black women. Means for participants' responses are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Means for ingroup descriptive norms (*ingroup would*), ingroup prescriptive norms (*I should*), and personal descriptive norms (*I would*) across race and type of comment

		Race of target	
		Black	Asian
Dependent variable	Type of comment	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Ingroup would	Racist	4.73 (.66)	3.18 (1.43)
	Rude	4.27 (.87)	2.85 (1.41)
I Should	Racist	4.43 (.85)	3.73 (1.50)
	Rude	4.30 (.67)	3.45 (1.32)
I Would	Racist	4.59 (.95)	4.10 (1.25)
	Rude	3.98 (.95)	3.70 (1.20)

A 2 (race: Black, Asian) x 2 (type of comment: racist, rude) repeated measures ANOVA was conducted for ratings was conducted for ratings of ingroup norms (i.e., what ingroup members would do), personal prescriptive norms (i.e., what they thought they should) and personal descriptive norms (i.e., what they thought they would do). There was a main effect for race such that Blacks were more likely to expect their ingroup to confront than Asians, $F(1,81) = 45.40, p < .001$, satisfying Hypothesis 2. This same main effect of race pattern emerged for both what participants believed their group thought they *should* do, $F(1,82) = 12.60, p < .001$ (Hypothesis 3) and what they thought they *would* do, $F(1,81) = 3.20, p = .08$ (Hypothesis 8). The

results also showed a main effect for type of comment for ingroup norm, ingroup prescriptive norm, and personal descriptive norm, $F(1,81) = 14.23, p < .001$, $F(1,82) = 3.50, p = .06$, $F(1,81) = 23.77, p < .001$, respectively, such that women were more likely to endorse confronting in the racist scenario ($M = 3.95, 4.08, \text{ and } 4.35$, respectively) more than rude scenario ($M = 3.55, 3.87, \text{ and } 3.83$, respectively). Finally, there were no significant interactions for ratings of the ingroup, personal prescriptive norms, or descriptive norms. Thus minority women's self-reports of ingroup norms, personal prescriptive norms and descriptive norms match the stereotype of Blacks being likely confronters compared to Asians.

Next I tested whether these norms predicted participants' confronting by examining only the women who were subjected to a racist comment by their interaction partner because the norms specifically referred to the type of comment that was made, and I was most interested in reactions to the racist comment⁶, I regressed confronting on race, ratings of what women in the ingroup would do in a racist scenario, and the two-way interaction term. The results showed only a significant main effect of race once the non-significant interaction term was taken out of the model ($B = -.50, t = -2.44, p < .05$). A similar pattern emerged when testing ingroup prescriptive norms as a predictor for confronting. Once the nonsignificant interaction term was removed from the model, there was only the same main effect for race ($B = -.59, t = -3.95, p < .001$). Additionally, when entering either the total ethnic identity score or acculturation into the model as a moderator of the relationship between ingroup descriptive or prescriptive norms and confronting of racism, only the main effect of race was significant once the nonsignificant three-way and two-way interaction terms were removed from the model. Together these findings only further support that Blacks were more likely to directly confront than Asians.

The next model was of personal descriptive norms predicting confronting behavior. Again only examining data from women reacting to a racist perpetrator, I regressed confronting on race, ratings of what participants thought they would do in a racist scenario, and the two-way

interaction term. Contrasting with the previously mentioned findings on norms, this model's result showed significant effects of personal ratings and the two-way interaction, but no main effect of race (see Table 6). Additional analyses testing total ethnic identity or acculturation as moderators yielded only the expected main effect of race once interaction terms were removed from the model.

Table 6. Standardized Beta Weights for race and personal descriptive norms as predictors of confronting behavior

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
Step 1	Race	-.62	-4.20	***
Step 2	Race	-.57	-3.60	***
	Would	.14	.91	ns
Step 3	Race	1.17	1.40	ns
	Would	.82	2.33	*
	Race x	-1.66	-2.12	*

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

Split by race, follow up regressions were conducted showing that Black women's personal predictions of how they would confront racism did actually predict their confronting racism during the interaction with the confederate ($B = .54$, $t = 2.40$, $p < .05$). On the other hand, Asian women's reports did not remotely approach significance ($B = -.01$, $t = -.12$, $p > .10$), showing their personal descriptive norms were not predictive of their confronting behavior suggesting that at least for Black women, their self-reported predictions were accurate, whereas Asian women's predictions did not hold true.

Self stereotyping. The next set of analyses was of an exploratory nature to investigate whether the tendency to describe oneself in terms of ingroup stereotypes was associated with confronting. In other words, if Black women are more likely to identify themselves as a "strong Black woman", they may be likely to perform stereotype-consistent behavior by directly confronting a prejudiced perpetrator. Conversely, if Asian women are more likely to align themselves with the stereotype of the "model minority", they may be likely to also enact

stereotype-consistent behavior by not confronting a prejudiced perpetrator. I also was interested in to what extent simply identifying with the characteristic of assertiveness was associated with confronting.

First, however, I tested whether there were group differences in their endorsement of these stereotypes applying to themselves. One-way ANOVAs were used to test whether Black and Asian women differed in their self-stereotyping as a “strong Black woman” and as a “model minority”. The results for endorsement of the “strong Black woman” stereotype showed that Black ($M=3.28$) and Asian ($M=3.36$) women both equally thought these characteristics applied to them, $F(1, 80) = 1.08, p > .05$. The same null result occurred for internalization of the “model minority” stereotype, $F(1, 83) = 1.37, p > .10$. (Blacks $M=3.96$; Asians $M=3.81$). On the other hand, the analysis of self-reports of assertiveness, a race difference emerged, $F(1, 83) = 6.50, p < .05$, such that Blacks ($M=4.59$) rated themselves higher compared to Asians ($M=4.13$).

Overall, upon examination of the means across groups for endorsement of the “strong Black woman” and “model minority” stereotypes, it appeared the groups both maintained that both stereotypes applied to them. Theoretically, the Black women would identify more with the items describing a “strong Black women” and the Asian women would identify more with the items describing a “model minority”.

Furthermore, I regressed confronting behavior on race, type of comment, the self stereotyping measure, all two-way interaction terms, and the three-way interaction term. The three way interaction term was not significant, so the remaining analyses do not include the three-way interaction. Results for the effect of the “strong Black woman” stereotype on confronting behavior showed that describing themselves as having these characteristics did not have a main effect or an interaction effect on confronting. The only significant predictor was the previously described race x type of comment interaction ($B = -.94, t = -2.15, p < .05$). Similarly, results with the “model minority” stereotype as a predictor showed no significant results regardless of the

presence of the interaction terms. However, when making self-evaluations of assertiveness results, without the nonsignificant three-way interaction present, results showed a significant type of comment x evaluation interaction ($B = 1.20, t = 2.24, p < .05$). Upon further analysis split by type of comment, self-evaluations of assertiveness marginally predicts confronting for the rude comment ($B = -.27, t = -1.86, p < .07$) when the interaction term is removed and does not predict confronting the racist comment ($B = .22, t = 1.21, p > .10$).

Desire to Affiliate. Past research suggests that self-stereotyping would be strongest when individuals wish to affiliate with the perpetrator (Hypothesis 10).

Table 7. Means for Affiliative motive at Time 1 and 2 across race and type of comment

		Race of target	
		Black	Asian
Affiliative motive	Type of comment	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Time1	Racist	4.97 (1.02)	4.82 (.72)
	Rude	5.21 (.80)	3.98 (1.00)
Time2	Racist	2.63 (1.39)	2.77 (.83)
	Rude	4.17 (1.20)	3.98 (1.00)

I regressed confronting behavior on race, type of comment, desire to affiliate, the two-way and three-way interaction terms. I regressed twice for the two times affiliation was measured, namely before and after the online interaction. At Time 1, a marginal three-way interaction effect emerged (see Table 8) such that affiliative desire only predicted more direct confronting for Blacks in the racist condition ($B = .65, t = 3.30, p < .01$). Subsequently, at Time 2, only the main effect of type of comment ($B = 1.12, t = 2.40, p < .05$) was significant with the three-way interaction term removed from the model.

Table 8. Standardized Beta Weights for race, type of comment, and affiliative motive at Time 1 as predictors of confronting behavior.

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
Step 1	Race (A)	-.31	-2.98	**
	Comment (B)	.19	1.57	ns
	Aff time1 (C)	.09	.71	ns
Step 2	Race (A)	.28	.51	ns
	Comment (B)	1.22	1.91	m
	Aff time1 (C)	.04	.30	ns
	A x C	.02	.04	ns
	B x C	-.38	-.74	ns
	A x B	-.89	-2.10	*
Step 3	Race (A)	2.74	1.80	m
	Comment (B)	3.81	2.35	*
	Aff time1 (C)	-.03	-.22	ns
	A x C	-.38	-.76	ns
	B x C	-.97	-1.59	ns
	A x B	-4.99	-2.08	*
	A x B x C	1.52	1.73	m

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

Mediators of the group difference

Interestingly, results from Study 1 suggest that Whites believe Blacks compared to Asians are more likely to confront the more offended they are and that for Asians the link between offense and confronting depends on what type of comment is being said. However, in Study 2 so far we have found there is no race difference in being offended, as indicated by our measures of rating the perpetrator as racist or negative not supporting this expected mediation.

I also examined the alternative explanation for race differences in confronting (Hypothesis 13b), the explanation that both were offended, but Blacks were more likely to act on this offense. If this explanation was supported I would find a significant interaction between race and offense predicting confronting. I regressed confronting on race, perceptions of racism and the two-way interaction term across conditions. Main effects of race ($B = -.29$, $t = -3.04$, $p < .01$) and

perceptions of racism ($B = .54$, $t = 4.18$, $p < .001$) were significant, but subsumed by the significant two-way interaction ($B = -.37$, $t = -2.84$, $p < .01$) (see Table 9).

Table 9. Standardized Beta Weights for race and perceptions of racism as predictors of confronting behavior

	Variable	Std Beta	t	sig
Step 1	Race (A)	-.29	-2.92	**
	Perceptions of racism (B)	.29	2.94	**
Step 2	Race (A)	-.29	-3.04	**
	Perceptions of racism (B)	.54	4.18	***
	A x B	-.37	-2.84	**

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

Even when controlling for condition by entering it along with all two-way interaction terms into the model, the race x racist perceptions interaction remains significant ($B = -.46$, $t = -1.99$, $p < .05$). Nothing remains significant once the race x type of comment x perceptions of racism interaction is entered in the model. Follow up regressions split only by race on the race x perceptions interaction indicated the more Blacks perceived racism, the more likely they were to confront ($B = .58$, $t = 4.63$, $p < .001$). This result was in stark contrast to the non-significant association of perceptions of racism and confronting for Asians ($B = -.00$, $t = -.03$, $p > .10$). Therefore, the results supported Hypothesis 13b, which stated that Blacks would be more likely to act on their internal reactions to the perpetrator.

I related these analyses for evaluations of the perpetrator and results revealed similar results to those for perceptions of racism. When confronting was regressed on race and negative evaluations of the perpetrator, the main effects of race and evaluations were subsumed by the interaction once again. The main effects of race ($B = .70$, $t = 1.72$, $p < .10$) and evaluations ($B = .43$, $t = 3.70$, $p < .001$) were qualified by the interaction ($B = -1.06$, $t = -2.54$, $p < .05$). Follow up regressions across condition split by race showed the more negatively Blacks evaluated the perpetrator, the more directly they confronted ($B = .52$, $t = 4.00$, $p < .001$). Supporting the previous

finding with perceptions of racism, such a relationship between internal reactions and external behavior was not found for Asians ($B = -.09$, $t = -579$, $p > .10$).

Study 2 Discussion

Black and Asian females' actual confronting of interpersonal discrimination substantiated the predictions about group differences in behaviors established in the first study. Compared to Asian females, Black females were more likely to directly confront the offensive interaction partner, especially when the perpetrator made a racist remark. This result validates the expectations Whites' had for Black and Asian targets' contrasting behavior. Thus, it would appear that the stereotypes Whites have of minority targets may be accurate in terms of behavior.

Furthermore, confronting behavior within racial group indicated other interesting contrasts. Black women were more likely to confront the racist remark than the rude remark, whereas Asian women showed no difference in confronting across types of comments. This suggests that norms for confronting behavior may be more situation-specific for Blacks than for Asians. In other words, Asians may have a general norm for avoiding confrontation regardless of the source of conflict. However, it would be premature to conclude that norms for handling conflict generalize more globally for Asians than Blacks because the level of adherence to those norms adds variability in understanding confronting behaviors. Additionally, the norms and the stereotypes also implicate the targets' reactions to the conflict, not just their behavior.

Ethnic identity and acculturation were suggested as possible moderators of the effect of discrimination on confronting. To the extent that Blacks and Asians identified with their ethnic group and Asians were highly acculturated to Asian culture, I expected them to act in stereotype-consistent ways. Results for acculturation were not supported, whereas the results for ethnic identity showed an unforeseen main effect of more identification relating to less confronting across race and type of comment. Perhaps minorities that are more identified have more coping

resources that can minimize the distress of being a target of discrimination and their motivation to confront.

On the other hand, the results for the other group orientation subscale of ethnic identity confirmed predictions of a race x ethnic identity interaction. Analyses showed the less Black women sought the company of outgroup members, the more likely they were to confront an offensive perpetrator. Conversely, the less Asian women sought the company of outgroups, the less likely they were to confront the offensive perpetrator. This aspect of ethnic identity predicted targets' stereotype-consistent behavior. Thus, being more identified, namely the more the targets associate with ingroup members, may mean these group members maintain and reinforce the norms of their group. Altogether, these results show ethnic identity certainly does play a role in how cultural norms may affect targets' confronting behavior.

Predictions of group differences in norms were confirmed for participants' views on what they thought the *ingroup would* do, what the ingroup thought they *should* do, and what they thought they *would* do. In all three types of norms, Blacks reported higher expectations to confront than Asians. The mean for Black prescriptive norms hovered between the scale points for "asking a question" and "directly say it [the remark] was offensive", whereas the mean for Asian prescriptive norms was in between the scale points for "say something indirect" or "ask a question". Thus, on some level the prescriptive norms suggest the stereotypes measured in Study 1 are not entirely inaccurate. After assessing group differences, only personal descriptive norms for confronting a racist perpetrator predicted confronting the racist interaction partner. Upon further analysis, however, what Black females reported they would do predicted what they actually did, whereas what Asian females reported they would do did not predict their behavior. Thus, the results for Black females' self-reported intentions did support hypotheses regarding confronting behavior, but hypotheses regarding the power of ingroup descriptive and prescriptive norms to affect targets' confronting behavior was not supported.

Such a finding may seem odd since it seems perfectly plausible that what targets believed they *should* do or what targets believed other ingroup members *would* do should have some effect on their behavior, especially given that all participants could have been subject to ethnicity priming effects just by filling out a survey measuring their ethnic identity. But what this work suggests is that perhaps these norms do affect targets' behavior at a more implicit level since Black and Asian females more or less behaved in stereotype-consistent ways. It could have also been that the salience of having reported what one would do in a situation that is now actually occurring is more likely to elicit behavior in line with what the target predicted they would do. At least that helps explain the behavior of the Black female targets, but the Asian female targets' intentions did not relate to how they actually behaved. A number of possible explanations for this warrant future study, namely to test whether Asian females were forecasting their behavior in line with what would be valued in an American mainstream context because of motivations relating to self-presentation. Perhaps, Asian women may have been imagining situational factors that could give them the resolve to confront, but once faced with the actual situation, which may have been lacking in those factors, they may have adapted their behavior according to the unexpected features of the situation.

The analyses of self-stereotyping as a predictor of confronting was of an exploratory nature given that it is not completely clear whether the self-stereotyping mechanisms in the literature necessarily apply in the situation of confronting an offensive perpetrator. Presumably, the more Black women identified as a "strong Black woman" or assertive, the more likely they would be to confront. Conversely, the more Asian women identified as a "model minority", the less likely they would be to confront. However, inspection of the means showed the two groups did not differ in their endorsement of those stereotypes, but differed on self-evaluations of assertiveness. Once submitted to a regression analysis, self-stereotyping did not emerge as a predictor of confronting behavior. Additionally, self-stereotyping is theorized to occur most likely

when the person being stereotyped has a high affiliative desire with an interaction partner.

Testing affiliative desire before the online interaction as a moderator did marginally predict more confronting from Black women the more they wanted to get along with the partner before the interaction. However, at Time 2, affiliative desire exerted no effects on confronting.

Lastly, the lack of effect of race of participant on offensiveness indicated that it would not be a mediator between race of participant and confronting. Rather, the results indicated that Blacks were more likely to act on perceived offensiveness than Asians. Moderation analyses showed that race did moderate the link of perceptions of the perpetrator and confronting across types of perpetrator's comments. For both perceptions of racism and negative evaluations, race moderated its effect on confronting such that the perceptions did predict confronting for Blacks, but not Asians. The more Blacks were offended, the more directly they confronted; Asians, on the other hand, did not allow their reactions of offense, namely their perceptions of the perpetrator, steer their confronting behavior.

Chapter 3

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research demonstrated that Black and Asian women show divergent patterns with regards to confronting discrimination. Study 1 endeavored to first establish that White people, as representatives of the currently dominant racial group in the U.S., hold stereotypes of Black women's likely confronting and Asian women's unlikely confronting responses to interpersonal discrimination. Results supported hypotheses that Whites imagine Black women would be more offended, more confrontational, angrier, and more expressive of their feelings than Asian women. Next, this study also showed that people perceive incidents involving discrimination as distinct from situations involving any rude, but non-discriminatory offense. These results are important for placing the results of Study 2 into perspective. Study 2 went on to confirm hypotheses that Asian and Black women's confronting responses differed in reaction to an offensive perpetrator. Yet additional analyses also helped shed light on where targets' behaviors do not fit the stereotypes.

Study 1 demonstrated the White college students' perspective that Black women would be more offended and more expressive than Asian women. Additionally, though Whites believed the more offended targets felt, the more directly they would confront, they believed this link to be stronger for Blacks than for Asians. The results from the second study, however, suggest that both Black and Asian women were actually equally likely to be offended regardless of the comment. Furthermore, the analyses suggested that the difference between Black and Asian females does not lie in to what extent their perceptions of the perpetrator guide their confronting, but whether the perceptions play a role at all. The more Black women perceived the perpetrator as racist and rated him negatively, the more directly they actually confronted. However, such a relationship

between Asian women's perceptions and confronting behavior was not significant at all, contrary to Whites' expectations in Study 1. Therefore, Whites' stereotypes of minority targets' confronting are not the most rigorous descriptions of the experience for a target of discrimination, but at best, accurately approximate targets' likely confronting behaviors.

That race moderated the link between perceptions of the perpetrator and confronting behavior is striking evidence of ethnic group contrasts. Blacks were expected to and actually do allow their perceptions of the perpetrator guide the directness of their confronting of the perpetrator. Asians, on the other hand, seem to be holding back behavioral expressions of their internal reactions more so than was predicted by the stereotypes measured in Study 1. However, cultural norms would suggest that the behavior of Black and Asian women is supported by their respective ingroups. Though on an instinctual level, it may seem like the pattern of Asian women's behavior is maladaptive, according to their cultural norms, this is not the case. Nevertheless, because of Asian American women's daily exposure to the norms and values of American mainstream norms, namely Whites' norms, Asian women may be mired in a tough negotiation between conflicting cultural norms that Black women may not be as subject to.

Indeed, the results from Study 1 imply subtle value judgments Whites make of the perceived behaviors of Asians in situations of conflict. Whites believed perspectives of the perpetrator would direct Asian's confronting, but that this link was stronger in rude than racist situations. Study 2 suggests Asians' perceptions and its effect on confronting did not depend on the comment. But it is telling that this is what Whites perceive of Asians. They may believe Asians are more likely to hold back their behavioral reactions in a racist situation possibly out of fear of confronting or possibly due to not being very offended. But Whites had also predicted that more direct confronting would occur in a racist than a rude situation, presumably because such a situation is more offensive. The evaluation Whites have of Asian women is in and of itself a value

judgment that paints Asian women as non-complaining when they should be complaining. The expectation of politeness simply then perpetuates the typical Asian stereotype.

What may actually be occurring--that Whites have somewhat picked up on and is suggested in Study 2-- is that there may be racial differences in the threshold required for direct confronting to occur. Though stereotypes paint Asian women as submissive and polite, they are no less capable of directly confronting a perpetrator as a Black woman can, given the right circumstances. Kowalski (1996) presents a theory of complaining that outlines the factors that affect one's threshold to complain. Self-presentational concerns can raise a threshold if someone is particularly concerned with being viewed negatively for having complained. Asians, traditionally of a collectivistic culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), would be expected to encourage group members to be sensitive to the impressions others have of them and their group. This may be enough to raise the threshold for confronting if Asians construe confronting as resulting in more negative consequences than good. However, Blacks may believe the negative interpersonal costs that come with confronting do not trump the need to express their dissatisfaction or the costs of not confronting. Indeed, Black culture educates about the prominent leaders who have publicly confronted discrimination, often at great cost to themselves. Especially if interpersonal costs are less of a concern than intrapersonal costs, confronting can serve the purpose of catharsis (Kowalski, 1996) as confronting can offer an outlet solely for venting frustration regardless of whether an instrumental outcome is possible with more tactful confronting.

An inaccurate assumption Whites may have of targets confronting is that the directness of the confronting behavior is indicative of how offended the target is. This is suggested by Whites' expectations that racist perpetrators would cause more offense and more direct confronting than a rude perpetrator. Past research on confronting (Swim & Hyers, 1999), however, has shown targets can still be upset and not make the perpetrator aware of it. Furthermore, directness in a

targets' response could be driven by goals or emotions not related to feeling offended (Swim & Thomas, 2006). Targets may take a direct approach in order to educate the perpetrator, or to better understand the perpetrator's point of view, or perhaps to help the perpetrator realize he did something upsetting. The implication for Black women then is that even though Black women may be stereotyped as assertive and their cultural norms support confronting, their confronting behavior may be more easily misconstrued as argumentative and overly expressive. Conversely, the implication for Asian women is that even though they are seen as passive and their cultural norms discourage confronting, their behavior also may not accurately convey their perceptions of and feelings toward the perpetrator. Observers influenced by an assumption of a close link between attitudes and behavior may have a superficial understanding of a target's experience and thus make erroneous attributions for the target's behavior.

From targets' perspectives, an incident of interpersonal discrimination can be fraught with multiple decisions, but ethnic cultural norms may offer a script to help guide their response. Black and Asian women's confronting behavior was predicted to be stereotype-consistent the more ethnically identified she was. Although most of the components of ethnic identity and level of acculturation did not moderate the effect of discrimination on confronting, the other group orientation subscale did support predictions of women's behaviors. The less Black women sought out interactions with members of outgroups, namely the more identified they were, the more likely they were to confront the perpetrator. Conversely, the more identified Asian women were with Asians, the less likely they were to confront the offensive interaction partner. Additionally, it is important to note that Asian and Black women were similarly unlikely to confront the more identified they were on the overall measure. This finding supports an encouraging trend that higher ethnic identity buffers targets from discrimination (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). This protection from the harm of discrimination may attenuate the need to confront a perpetrator.

Cultural norms can also assist target's decisions by helping them weigh what they think other women in their *ingroup* would do, what their ingroup thinks they *should* do, and what they think they *would* do. Generally, both Black and Asian women agreed that across all types of the three norms, it would be more appropriate to confront in the racist than the rude condition. Additionally, both samples also agreed Black women would be more likely to confront than Asian women, reflecting the stereotypes of their groups. Interestingly, what Black women thought they would do was the only predictor of their confronting behavior. It is telling that although stereotypes of Black and Asian women's behavior may be based on levels of personal reactions such as being offended, in reality, these women may be letting implicit cultural influences ultimately guide their behavior.

While Black and Asian women's reports of their ingroup's norms showed some evidence of being related to their confronting behavior, self-stereotyping did not. Identification with the stereotypes of the "strong Black woman" or the "model minority" or as assertive did not reliably predict confronting. Additionally, affiliative desire did not moderate the link between self-stereotyping and confronting. It was assumed women would more highly identify with the ethnic stereotype that traditionally applies to them, but results showed both Asian and Black women equally saw themselves as "strong Black women" and "model minorities". It is probable the samples would likely believe characteristics such as independence and academic competence would apply to them, given they are college students. Blacks did see themselves as more assertive than Asians, but again this did not affect confronting.

Lastly, the mediational model was not supported given Black and Asian females were equally offended by the racist perpetrator. It was originally hypothesized that offensiveness may mediate the relationship between racial differences and their confronting behavior, just as in Study 1, offensiveness was a partial mediator of this relationship. Instead an alternative model was conducted twice using perceptions of racism and negative evaluations of the perpetrator as

the proxy measures of offensiveness predicting confronting. Both measures were shown to be moderated by race such that Black women who were highly offended were more likely to act upon these reactions, whereas Asian women's internal reactions showed no effect on their overt confronting behavior. These results are in line with expectations held by Whites' that Blacks would be more likely to directly confront than Asians, but not with Whites' expectations for group differences in internal reactions to the perpetrator. Asian women's actual behavior suggests that they were suppressing their offended reactions and not expressing them to the perpetrator. Such behavior is also quite in line with their cultural norms.

Limitations

No research is without flaws and this work has some concerns that warrant future investigation. Study 1 participants certainly could have been swayed by order effects in terms of how the scenarios were presented. It is possible that in judging characteristics of Black versus Asian females, participants' perceptions of group differences were amplified, which suggests that in daily life, Whites' perceptions of group differences may not be as large as reported. Nevertheless, such consequences affect the magnitude of the effects and do not necessarily alter the conclusions regarding the content of Whites' stereotypes.

The method for the Study 2 was not without its unexpected issues. Participants showed ambivalence in their ratings of the confederate as prejudiced and whether his behavior was prejudiced, even though the offensive comments were intended to be blatant. The blatant nature of the comments was intended in order to reduce variability in participant's assessments of whether the remark was prejudiced or not. The variability of interest lies with the reactions targets express once they have decided someone has said a prejudiced remark. Unfortunately, the nature of the comment also contributed to methodological problems. Possibly because blatant remarks are not considered a typical form of interpersonal discrimination (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), participants may have just become confused. Participants

may not know what socially acceptable scripts they should follow after such an uncommon and offensive expectancy violation has occurred. One participant had mentioned during her debriefing that she was at a loss because, “people don’t say things like that anymore”. Additionally, this unexpected behavior could have cued some participants to suspect the study’s use of deception though most participants did not express suspicion during the debriefing and the few that did were dropped from the analyses. Lastly, the proxy measures of offensiveness used in Study 2 could be problematic if someone rates the perpetrator as racist or negative, but is not actually offended by the discriminatory comment. It is assumed that labeling the perpetrator as racist or negative indicates the target’s level of offense, but one’s perceptions of others do not necessarily have to be tied to one’s emotional reaction to the person or the person’s behavior.

Future Directions

First, the predictions of ethnic identity’s effect on confronting were that the more identified Black women were, the more they would confront and the more Asian women were identified, the less they would confront. This hypothesis was supported by one of the subscales for ethnic identity suggesting future studies should delineate what aspects of ethnic identity predict behavior in response to discrimination. Furthermore, studies sampling specific populations suggest that the interaction of specific aspects of ethnic identity with the ethnic group warrants careful unpacking (Lee, 2003; Noh et al., 1999). However, in certain situations, highly identified Asian women may be just as likely to confront as Black women because they may feel more strongly about defending their group against discrimination. Though this possibility was not supported by our results, future studies with larger Asian samples that can meaningfully compare different Asian ethnic groups, especially South Asians versus East Asians, may help clarify the effect ethnic identity has on confronting discrimination.

Intriguingly, the racist, sexist, and rude remarks were not perceived as they were intended to be in Study 2. The comment was designed to be the same across conditions with the only

alteration being who the target of the insult was. Unfortunately, this methodological inflexibility contributed to the sexist and the rude comments being perceived as equally offensive resulting in collapsing the two conditions. One possible explanation is that sexism is prototypically expressed in such subtle ways that its occurrence can be easily overlooked. But even with the sexist comment designed to be blatant, participants were hesitant to label it as more sexist than the rude comment. Unfortunately, sexism may be perceived as so pervasive that sexist perpetrators are not consistently sanctioned for their behavior whereas racist perpetrators making blatant remarks may be more subject to punishment. Additionally, from the target's perspective, although confronting sexism can result in similar negative interpersonal consequences as when confronting racism, there is evidence that being labeled a "feminist" could be especially undesirable (Rudman & Fairchild, 2007).

Conclusion

Whereas Black and Asian women's behavior in Study 2 appeared to corroborate the accuracy of the stereotypes assessed in Study 1, further discussion of the studies' results exposed what aspects of these stereotypes may be grossly inaccurate. Black women did confront more directly than Asian women, suggesting that on a general level, these women may conduct themselves in stereotype-consistent ways. The contrasting Black and Asian cultural views on managing conflicts seem to set the stage for the accuracy of the corresponding stereotypes. Whereas Black women's heritage celebrates the past accomplishments of other Black confronters of discrimination, Asian women's heritage advises finding expedient resolutions in the name of peaceful relations. Whereas stereotypes of Black women depict them as assertive and resilient, stereotypes of Asian women portray them as polite and docile. Stereotypes, however, can lead to false conclusions about why these targets act the way they do.

This research compared dominant group members' perceptions of minorities to minorities' actual behavior to assist us in comprehending how misunderstandings can occur.

Though the assumptions derived from stereotypes may seem plausible and sound, diverse groups naturally possess different cultural norms that help explain and guide their behavior. Whites believed Blacks and Asians differ in their personal reactions to the offensive perpetrator; however these women's actual self-reports showed they were equally offended by their interaction partner. Thus, the results point to a possible cultural difference in the threshold for when to engage in confronting behavior since the women did not differ in their levels of offense. The myriad factors at the individual, situational, and cultural level that influence confronting surely are not captured in the stereotypes. When the assumptions drawn from a stereotype of a group member do not take into account the nuances of a person's cultural norms, erroneous attributions are a possible and unfortunate outcome. Such misconceptions can lead to further stereotyping or distance between groups by focusing on the qualities that seem to make groups so dissimilar. But by taking an empathic position of seeking common ground with members of outgroups and attempting to better understand targets' experiences from the targets' perspective, we may realize that stereotypes can be a disservice and cultural norms are only a starting point.

Footnotes

1. The two populations of interest in this research are Asian American and African American women. Throughout, they are also referred to as Asian and Black women. The terms that specify ethnicity are used interchangeably with the terms that specify their corresponding race.
2. The repeated measures ANOVA, 2 (potential confronter: Black, Asian) x 2 (type of comment: racist to ingroup, rude) was also conducted with participant gender as a between-subjects factor. There was no significant interaction of gender with either variable.
3. As mentioned before, the survey instrument in Study 1 included sexist scenarios and measures of Whites' perceptions of White women's responses in each scenario. Analyses of expected responses to sexism were similar to those for responding to racism. In all scenarios, White women were perceived to confront at a level in between that of Black and Asian women, except for the anti-Asian scenario, where no groups differed from each other.
4. After rating their affiliative desire at Time 2, participants also rated on 4 items their perceptions of their contribution to the conversation. However, these items were not analyzed since the reliability was so low (Cohen's alpha = .51) and no specific hypotheses were made about these ratings.
5. Neither the type of comment nor the participant's race predicted in Study 2 the participants' ratings of their interaction partner as heterosexist or ageist.
6. Cursory analyses examining how ingroup descriptive, personal prescriptive, and personal descriptive norms for handling rude perpetrators did not show any significant effects for predicting confronting behavior.

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Appendix A: Measures

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

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

The following items are rated on a 4 point scale from Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, to Strongly Disagree.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as their history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. (dropped) I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.
8. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
9. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
12. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.
13. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
14. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
15. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.
16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
17. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.
18. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
19. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.
20. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

African American Acculturation Scale

Instructions: Below are some beliefs and attitudes about religion, families, racism, Black people, White people, and health. Please tell us how much you personally agree or disagree with

these beliefs and attitudes by clicking on the button for your answer. There is no right or wrong answers; we simply want to know your views and your beliefs.

The following items are rated on a 7 point scale from “I Totally Disagree/Not true at all” to midpoint “Sort of agree/Sort of true” to “I strongly agree/Absolutely true”.

1. I believe in the Holy Ghost.
2. I like gospel music.
3. I believe in heaven and hell.
4. The church is the heart of the Black community.
5. I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues.
6. I am currently a member of a Black church.
7. When I was young, I was a member of a Black church.
8. Prayer can cure disease.
9. What goes around comes around.
10. I used to sing in the church choir.
11. Most of the music I listen to is by Black artists.
12. I like Black music more than White music.
13. I listen to Black radio stations.
14. I try to watch all the Black shows on TV.
15. The person I admire the most is Black.
16. I feel more comfortable around Blacks than around Whites.
17. When I pass a Black person (a stranger) on the street, I always say hello or nod at them.
18. Most of my friends are Black.
19. I read (or used to read) *Essence* or *Ebony* magazine.
20. I don't trust most White people.
21. IQ tests were set up purposefully to discriminate against Black people.
22. Most Whites are afraid of Blacks.
23. Deep in their hearts, most White people are racists.
24. Whites don't understand Blacks.
25. Most tests (like the SATs and tests to get a job) are set up to makes sure that Blacks don't get high scores on them.
26. Some members of my family hate or distrust White people.
27. When I was young, I shared a bed at night with my sister, brother, or some other relative.
28. When I was young, my parent(s) sent me to stay with a relative (aunt, uncle, grandmother) for a few days or weeks, and then I went back home again.
29. When I was young, my cousin, aunt, grandmother, or other relative lived with me and my family for awhile.
30. When I was young, I took a bath with my sister, brother, or some other relative.
31. Some people in my family use Epsom salts.
32. Illnesses can be classified as natural types and unnatural types.
33. Some old Black women/ladies know how to cure diseases.
34. Some older Black women know a lot about pregnancy and childbirth.
35. I was taught that you shouldn't take a bath and then go outside.
36. I avoid splitting a pole.
37. When the palm of your hand itches, you'll receive some money.
38. There's some truth to many old superstitions.
39. I eat black-eyed peas on New Year's Eve.

40. I grew up in a mostly Black neighborhood.
41. I went to a mostly Black high school.
42. I went to a mostly Black elementary school.
43. I currently live in a mostly Black neighborhood.
44. It's better to try to move your whole family ahead in this world than it is to be out for only yourself.
45. Old people are wise.
46. I often lend money or give other types of support to member of my family.
47. A child should not be allowed to call a grown woman by her first name, "Alice." The child should be taught to call her "Miss Alice."

Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)

Instructions: The questions which follow are for the purpose of collecting information about your historical background as well as more recent behaviors which may be related to your cultural identity. Choose the one answer which best describes you.

1. What language can you speak?

1. Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
2. Mostly Asian, some English
3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some Asian
5. Only English

2. What language do you prefer?

1. Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
2. Mostly Asian, some English
3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some Asian
5. Only English

3. How do you identify yourself?

1. Oriental
2. Asian
3. Asian-American
4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
5. American

4. Which identification does (did) your mother use?

1. Oriental
2. Asian
3. Asian-American
4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
5. American

5. Which identification does (did) your father use?
 1. Oriental
 2. Asian
 3. Asian-American
 4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
 5. American

6. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?
 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

7. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had as a child from 6 to 18?
 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

8. Whom do you now associate with in the community?
 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

9. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?
 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
 3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

10. What is your music preference?
 1. Only Asian music (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
 2. Mostly Asian
 3. Equally Asian and English
 4. Mostly English
 5. English Only

11. What is your movie preference?
 1. Asian-language movies only
 2. Asian-language movies mostly
 3. Equally Asian/English English-language movies
 4. Mostly English-language movies only
 5. English-language movies only

12. What generation are you? (Circle the generation that best applies to you)

1. 1st generation = I was born in Asia or country other than U.S.
2. 2nd generation = I was born in U.S., either parent was born in Asian or country other than U.S
3. 3rd generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S. and all grandparents born in Asia or country other than U.S.
4. 4th generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S. and at least one grandparent born in Asia or country other than U.S. and one grandparent born in U.S.
5. 5th generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and all grandparents also born in U.S.
6. Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information.

13. Where were you raised?

1. In Asia only
2. Mostly in Asia, some in U.S.
3. Equally in Asia and U.S.
4. Mostly in U.S., some in Asia
5. In U.S. only

14. What contact have you had with Asia?

1. Raised one year or more in Asia
2. Lived for less than one year in Asia
3. Occasional visits to Asia
4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Asia
5. No exposure or communications with people in Asia

15. What is your food preference at home?

1. Exclusively Asian food
2. Mostly Asian food, some American
3. About equally Asian and American
4. Mostly American food
5. Exclusively American food

16. What is your food preference in restaurants?

1. Exclusively Asian food
2. Mostly Asian food, some American
3. About equally Asian and American
4. Mostly American food
5. Exclusively American food

17. Do you

1. Read only an Asian language?
2. Read an Asian language better than English?
3. Read both Asian and English equally well?
4. Read English better than an Asian language?
5. Read only English?

18. Do you

1. Write only an Asian language?
2. Write an Asian language better than English?
3. Write both Asian and English equally well?
4. Write English better than an Asian language?
5. Write only English?

19. If you consider yourself a member of the Asian group (Oriental, Asian, Asian-American, Chinese-American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have in this group?

1. Extremely proud
2. Moderately proud
3. Little pride
4. No pride but do not feel negative toward group
5. No pride but do feel negative toward group

20. How would you rate yourself?

1. Very Asian
2. Mostly Asian
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly Westernized
5. Very Westernized

21. Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?

1. Nearly all
2. Most of them
3. Some of them
4. A few of them
5. None at all

22. Rate yourself on how much you believe in Asian values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work):

1	2	3	4	5
(do not believe in Asian values)				(strongly believe in Asian values)

23. Rate yourself on how much do you believe in American (Western) values:

1	2	3	4	5
(do not believe in American values)				(strongly believe in American values)

24. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Asians of the same ethnicity.

1	2	3	4	5
(do not fit)				(fit very well)

22. People think that I don't have feelings.
23. I maintain my composure.
24. It pleases me when others give me feedback that they see me as strong.
25. It is hard to say, "No," when people make requests of me.
26. I become anxious if relationships become emotionally intimate.
27. I do not like to be perceived as needy.
28. I do not let most people know the "real" me.

Internalization of the Model Minority Stereotype Scale (IMMSS)

Social Expectations/Experiences

In the following pages, you will find groups of statements. Your task is to read them carefully and mark down the degree to which each statement best describes your school experience. This section of the questionnaire is asking you about your experiences of academic **expectations from others**. "Others" could be characterized by your family, friends, teachers, media, etc. Please pick the option which describes the degree of your experiences.

The following items are rated on a 5 point scale from "rarely or none of the time", "a little", "some of the time", "good part of the time", to "most of the time".

1. To what extent you have been expected to be good in math and/or science?
2. To what extent have you been expected to pursue a career in math and/or science related fields?
3. To what extent have you been expected to get good grades?
4. To what extent have you been expected to get the highest scores or the maximum possible academic performance?
5. To what extent have you experienced others perceiving you having **NO** academic difficulties?
6. To what extent have you been expected NOT to complain about your academic difficulties?
7. To what extent have you been expected to put lots of time and efforts in studying?
8. Among the strengths you have, to what extent have you been expected to be intelligent or smart?
9. To what extent has the importance of education been emphasized to you?
10. To what extent have you been expected to further your education after college?
11. To what extent have you been expected to have good education for your future careers?
12. To what extent do your parents believe in making sacrifices for your education?
13. To what extent have you been expected to achieve more than students from other racial groups?
14. To what extent do you feel that others demand more from you than your actual abilities?
15. To what extent do your parents influence you in your choice of major?
16. To what extent do your parents push you academically?

Belief

In the following pages, you will find groups of statements. Your task is to read them carefully and mark down the degree to which each of the statements best describes you. Unlike the previous section, this portion of the questionnaire is asking **your own beliefs about schooling, not necessarily what others expect of you.** For some of the statements, what others expect of you may or may not be the same as what you expect of yourself. Your job is not to decide how expectations from others compare to your own expectations. Please pick the option which describes the degrees of **your beliefs** about your schooling.

17. To what extent do you want to pursue a career in math and/or science related fields?
18. To what extent do you want to get good grades?
19. To what extent do you want to get the highest scores or the maximum possible academic performance?
20. To what extent would you want others to perceive you having NO academic difficulties?
21. To what extent do you believe in NOT complaining about your academic difficulties?
22. To what extent do you believe in putting lots of time and efforts in studying?
23. Among the strengths you have, to what extent is being intelligent important to you?
24. To what extent do you want to further your education after college?
25. To what extent do you see your education preparing you for your future career?
26. To what extent do you see your academic performance as one way to please and honor your parents?
27. To what extent do you want to achieve better than students from other racial groups?
28. To what extent do you believe in pushing yourself academically?
29. How much do you actually pressure yourself to achieve academically?

Performance Congruence

The following section will ask you about your self-perceptions and feelings about **your actual academic performance**, not just others' expectations or your own beliefs. Please be as honest as you can about your answers, your answers will be anonymous. Please circle the number that best describes your behavior.

The following items are rated on a 5 point scale from "not at all", "a little", "somewhat", "very much so", to "absolutely".

30. How much do you perceive yourself being smart?
31. How much do you perceive yourself being a hard-working person?
32. How satisfied are you about your overall academic performance?
33. To what extent are your parents satisfied with your academic performance?

Self-Evaluations of Assertiveness

Please indicate how much the following personality traits describe you.

	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
1. Very assertive		Moderately assertive	Slightly assertive	Neutral/Undecided	Slightly unassertive	Moderately unassertive	Strongly unassertive
2. Very extroverted		Usually extroverted	Sometimes extroverted	Neutral/Undecided	Sometimes introverted	Usually introverted	Very introverted
3. Very indirect		Moderately indirect	Slightly indirect	Neutral/Undecided	Slightly direct	Moderately direct	Strongly direct
4. Very calm		Usually calm	Sometimes calm	Neutral/Undecided	Sometimes excitable	Usually excitable	Very excitable
5. Very reserved		Moderately reserved	Slightly reserved	Neutral/Undecided	Slightly forward	Moderately forward	Strongly forward
6. Always confront conflict		Usually confront conflict	Sometimes confront conflict	Neutral/Undecided	Sometimes avoid conflict	Usually avoid conflict	Always avoid conflict
7. Always speak my mind		Usually speak my mind	Sometimes speak my mind	Neutral/Undecided	Sometimes bite my tongue	Usually bite my tongue	Always bite my tongue

Scenario Survey

Instructions: You will be asked to consider different kinds of difficult situations and predict how likely certain people would react to and communicate in the situation.

You will answer some questions about yourself. Also you will predict how people in certain groups would respond. Please *do not* answer according to how you think people in these groups *should* respond. But answer according to how you think certain people *would* likely respond in each scenario.

Scenario 1: Imagine a White male has said something clearly sexist directed at a particular target such as, "Men are better than women".

Scenario 2: Imagine a White male has said something clearly racist directed at a particular target such as, "Whites are better than your racial group".

Scenario 3: Imagine a White male has said something clearly rude directed at a particular target such as, "I'm better than you".

The following questions will be repeated after each scenario is presented:

1) First, we would like you to think about yourself.

Using the options 1 through 5, indicate the way you think you would respond if you were the target. Then indicate the way you think people in some other groups would respond.

Your selections for one group can be the same or different from the response you give for the other groups.

- 1) not say anything at all.
- 2) change the subject to avoid talking about it.
- 3) say something indirect such as, "Everyone is entitled to their opinions."
- 4) ask a question like, "Why do you say that?"
- 5) directly say that it was sexist/racist/rude.

I would most likely ____
 Asian women would most likely ____
 Black women would most likely ____
 White women would most likely ____

2) Now, we would like you to think about others' expectations about how others would respond when a White male says something (clearly sexist such as men are better than women/ clearly racist such as Whites are better than your racial group/ clearly rude such as I am better than you.)

Your selections for one group can be the same or different from the response you give for the other groups.

- 1) not say anything at all.
- 2) change the subject to avoid talking about it.
- 3) say something indirect such as "Everyone is entitled to their opinions."
- 4) ask a question like, "Why do you say that?"
- 5) directly say that it was sexist/racist/rude.

White people would expect Asian women would most likely _____
White people would expect Black women would most likely _____
White people would expect White women would most likely _____
My racial/ethnic group would expect Asian women would most likely _____
My racial/ethnic group would expect Black women would most likely _____
My racial/ethnic group would expect White women would most likely _____
My racial/ethnic group thinks that women from my racial/ethnic group SHOULD _____

Appendix B. Correlations of all variables in Study 2 split by participant race.

	Asn Accult	Blk Accult	SBW	IMMS	MEIM	MEIM -Aff	MEIM -Ach	MEIM -Beh	MEIM -Oth	Racist	Neg eval	Aff Time1	Aff Time2	Conf
Asn accult	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blk accult	-	1	ns	.31*	.46*	ns	.48*	.45*	ns	-0.28 m	ns	ns	ns	ns
SBW	ns	-	1	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
IMMS	ns	-	33*	1	.56**	.66***	.47*	0.39 m	ns	ns	ns	.36*	ns	ns
MEIM	ns	-	ns	ns	1	.90***	.96***	.84***	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
MEIM-Aff	ns	-	ns	ns	.87***	1	.79***	.68***	-0.38 m	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
MEIM-Ach	ns	-	ns	ns	.94***	.72***	1	.74***	ns	ns	ns	0.4 m	ns	ns
MEIM-Beh	-.52*	-	ns	ns	.80***	.60**	.68**	1	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
MEIM-Other	ns	-	ns	0.4 m	ns	ns	ns	ns	1	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Racist	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	1	.74***	-0.29 m	-0.63***	.58***
Neg eval	-.34*	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	.55***	1	-.32*	-.78***	.52***
Aff1	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	-.35*	1	.48***	-.34*
Aff2	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	.55*	ns	ns	-.54***	-.79***	.35*	1	-.36*
Conf	ns	-	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	1

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; m p<.1

The top diagonal corresponds to Black females and the bottom diagonal corresponds to Asian females.

Asn Accult – Asian acculturation, Blk accult – Black acculturation, SBW – Strong Black Woman Scale, IMMS – Internalization of the Model Minority Scale, MEIM – Multiethnic Identity Measure, MEIM-Aff – Affirmation and Belonging Subscale, MEIM-Ach – Identity Achievement Subscale, MEIM-Beh – Ethnic Behavior Subscale, MEIM-Oth – Other Group Orientation Subscale, Racist – perceptions of the perpetrator and his behavior as racist, Neg eval – Negative evaluation of the perpetrator, Aff Time 1 – Affiliative Motive before interaction, Aff Time2 – Affiliative Motive after interaction, Conf – Confronting behavior.