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National Origin Identity Neglect and Recognition: The Effect of Identity Treatment on Well-Being and Intergroup Relations

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National Origin Identity Neglect and Recognition: The Effect of Identity Treatment on

Well-Being and Intergroup Relations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Psychology

by

Natalia Maria Flores

2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

National Origin Identity Neglect and Recognition: The Effect of Identity Treatment on

Well-Being and Intergroup Relations

By

Natalia Maria Flores

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Yuen J. Huo, Chair

Three studies examine unique experiences Asians and Latinos in the United States have with regard to their ethnic group identification. Previous research suggests that Asians and Latinos identify more strongly with their national origin group (i.e., China or Mexico) than with their pan-ethnic group (i.e., Asian or Latino). However, national origin groups are often not acknowledged in a manner that is consistent with an individual's self-view. In some cases, the individual's national origin group is seen as part of a homogeneous group (e.g., Latinos) and thus, interchangeable with another national origin group (e.g., Mexican is the same as Puerto Rican because all Latinos are the same). In other cases, one is mistakenly categorized into a national origin group in which one is not a member (e.g., thinking a Puerto Rican individual is Mexican). Three studies offer a novel social psychological perspective on understudied experiences that Asians and Latinos have in the U.S. with their national origin identities. By

examining real-life experiences with how national origin identities are treated by others as well as examining the experimental effects of national origin identity treatment, the three studies provide evidence that national origin identities are significant, self-relevant identities to Asians and Latinos and that those identities need to be treated in a way that is consistent with individuals' self-views. The lack thereof can have negative effects on self-reported psychological well-being, outgroup evaluations, and other psychological consequences. More importantly, acknowledging the national origin identity in a manner that is consistent with self-view can have positive downstream effects on self-reported psychological well-being. It is important that these understudied experiences continue to be examined as they become increasingly important in two of the fastest growing ethnic minority groups in the U.S.

The dissertation of Natalia Maria Flores is approved.

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Lee, R., Jacobsen, K., Marchangelo, M., Flores, N., & Cocarro, E (in prep). Heritability of self-reported childhood trauma in twins. – Manuscript in preparation.

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CHAPTER I: Increasing Ethnic Diversity of the United States: Implications for Asians and Latinos

Introduction

Since the 1980s, there has been a substantial increase in Asian and Latino populations in the United States. The 2010 Census estimates that roughly 4.8% of the current American population is Asian (~14,700,000) and 16% is Latino (~50,500,000), which is almost three times larger than 30 years ago when Asians made up 1.5% of the population and Latinos were 6.4%. Their population growth will continue such that Asians will comprise 6.4% (~22,833,000) of the U.S. population and Latinos will be 22% (78,655,000) in the next 30 years, while other ethnic groups will either decrease (i.e., Whites) or remain constant (i.e., Blacks) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b). However, it is important to note that the categories of Asian and Latino represent pan-ethnic categories which consist of a myriad of national origin groups (e.g., for Asian such as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean; for Latino such as Mexican, Cuban, and Salvadorian). As the overall populations of Asians and Latinos increase, so does the diversity of the national origin groups that comprise the respective pan-ethnic categories (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a, 2010b). Moreover, it becomes increasingly important to acknowledge and understand the experiences of individuals within Asian and Latino pan-ethnic categories as their representation in the U.S. and their constituent subgroups continue to grow.

Conceptualizing groups at the pan-ethnic level can give the perception of a homogeneous population. However, among those within the same pan-ethnic category, many important and fundamental differences exist. Such differences include national language and dominant religion. Additionally, pan-ethnic categorization overlooks other distinguishing factors such as different social statuses among national origin groups within the same pan-ethnic category (Casas & Ryan, 2010; Comas-Diaz, 2001). Moreover, each national origin group has a unique history and

dynamic with other national origin groups, which can add a layer of tension for those grouped into the same pan-ethnic category. For example, there is a notable divide among Latinos who consider themselves of Hispanic origin versus those who are of indigenous descent (Casas & Ryan, 2010; Comas-Diaz, 2001). This divide occurs because of the association between being Hispanic and the colonization of Latin America by the Spanish, which resulted in many deaths of the indigenous population. This historical factor has continued to breed intergroup tension to the present day among Latinos. For example, many of indigenous descent resist being categorized as Hispanic and continue searching for more appropriate categorizations (Casas & Ryan, 2010; Comas-Diaz, 2001). Another important difference is that some groups of immigrants came to the United States to seek refuge while other groups arrived with financial resources. These examples are merely some of the differences among national origin groups within the same pan-ethnic category. Importantly, while these differences are significant and meaningful, they are often overlooked by laypeople and scholars who rely instead on pan-ethnic categorizations.

To address these often overlooked differences, the current research examines both national origin group identities as meaningful social identities and the consequences of those identities not being acknowledged as such. Specifically, this research is concerned with how others' treatment, either by recognizing or overlooking distinctions, of national origin identities affects psychological well-being and intergroup relations. The first section of this dissertation reviews extant research with four primary goals. The first is to explain why the predominant intergroup research model is inappropriate for understanding the experiences of all ethnic minority groups. Second, related identity research on Asians and Latinos is reviewed to identify the factors that distinguish them in the U.S. Third, existing research on others' treatment of self-relevant social identities is reviewed to help build the foundation for examining similar

experiences with national origin identities. Lastly, building on previous social identity research, the importance of national origin identities and the consequences of overlooking or recognizing national origin identities are reviewed.

The Black-White Framework

Social psychological research has relied on the Black-White relationship as a model for understanding the relationship between Whites and non-Whites (Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Ditlmann, & Lagunes, 2010). Largely in part due to historical factors in the U.S., intergroup relationship research has built a foundation for understanding relationships between Whites and non-Whites based on the relationship between Whites and Blacks. The findings from studies of Black-White relations are then extended to other ethnic groups (e.g., Asians and Latinos) and assumed to have similar outcomes (Dovidio et al., 2010). However, while ethnic minorities have commonalities, such as being viewed as disadvantaged (either economically or socially), and having higher levels of ethnic identification as compared to Whites (Huo & Molina, 2006; Phinney, 1996; Sears & Savalei, 2006; Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000), there are notable differences between Blacks and other pan-ethnic minority groups. For example, some argue that historical factors such as involuntary immigration and targeted laws that prevent the advancement and integration of Blacks will prevent Blacks from fully assimilating into the U.S. (Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003; Sears & Savalei, 2006). Asian and Latino immigrants, however, will likely be better able to assimilate over time and improve their social and economic standing (Citrin, Lerman, Murakami & Pearson, 2007; Sears et al., 2003; Sears & Savalei, 2006).

There are additional factors that distinguish Blacks from other ethnic minority groups in the U.S. For example, research has shown that Blacks report more discrimination directed toward them than non-Black minorities (Sears & Savalei, 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). One

explanation for this difference may lie in the groups' histories. For instance, the history of Blacks in the United States is one of turmoil and violence that predates the country's inception and tensions between Blacks and Whites have continued to the present. It does not seem reasonable to group the experiences of Blacks with that of Asians and Latinos who have a very different history in the U.S. and whose migration has been largely voluntary. While it is important to continue to study the relationship between Blacks and Whites, historical factors make the Black-White relationship a particularly unique one and should thus not be used as the only lens into the relationships between Whites and ethnic minority groups. Though recent research has begun to examine the experiences of Asians and Latinos, studies that focus specifically on these groups are still scarce (Dovidio et al., 2010).

Why the Black-White Framework Does not Apply to Asians and Latinos

Beyond historical differences in their experiences in the United States, Asians and Latinos encounter stressors and threats to their ethnic identity that are different from Blacks and from each other. For example, Asians are regarded as the "model minority" and have positive stereotypes associated with them such as excelling in academics, being self-disciplined, and being financially successful (Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008; Sue & Okazaki, 2009). However, Asians are also seen as selfish, shy, nerdy, and lacking social skills and warmth (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Ho & Jackson, 2001). Despite their success and reputation as the "model minority," many Asians continue to feel discriminated against (Yoo & Lee, 2009) and encounter barriers to upward mobility (Sue & Okazaki, 2009).

Latinos, on the other hand, are viewed as unskilled, unwanted (Jimeno-Ingrum, Berdahl & Lucero-Wagoner, 2009), and academically underperforming (French & Chavez, 2010). Additionally, high levels of Latino immigration to the U.S. has turned Latinos into the country's

largest ethnic minority group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010b). With the increase of Latino immigration and political debates over illegal immigration, the perceived association between Latinos and illegality may lead them to be perceived as criminals and an economic burden to U.S. society (Deaux, 2006; Dovidio et al., 2010; French & Chavez, 2010).

While Asians and Latinos may be viewed differently by others, they share some commonalities. For example, Asians and Latinos are perceived as less American than Whites (Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Heng, 2009) and Asians are perceived as less American than Blacks (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Additionally, Asians and Latinos are also both assumed to be poor or non-native English speakers (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; French & Chavez, 2010; Maddux et al., 2008). Asians, despite some negative perceptions, are viewed as having higher social status than Latinos and Blacks in the United States (Sidanius et al., 2000). While Latinos are perceived as having a similar social status as Blacks (Sidanius et al., 2000), differences emerge when it comes to economic standing. Latinos and Asians have higher median household incomes than Blacks; however, Asians have the highest income of the three minority groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

Although Asians and Latinos may be more advantaged than Blacks in some respects (e.g., social status and median income), Asians and Latinos are similarly at risk for negative health outcomes. For example, both Asians and Latinos born in the U.S. are at risk for increased negative psychological well-being compared to their foreign-born counterparts (Alegria Mulvaney-Day, Torres, Polo, Cao, & Canino, 2007; Perez, Fortuna & Alegria, 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2009). This is of particular concern for later generations of Asians and Latinos in the U.S. as these groups exhibit the greatest increases in rates of depression (Alegria et al., 2007; Perez et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2009). Researchers believe that experiences with discrimination are a

contributing factor to the rising rates of depression among Asians and Latinos (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). Perceptions of discrimination have been found to negatively impact psychological and physical well-being (see Pascoe & Richman, 2009 for review). Additionally, the more frequently Asians and Latinos experience discrimination, the more deleterious the effects to their psychological well-being (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Gee, Delva & Takeuchi, 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2009). Likewise, recent research suggests that even subtle forms of discrimination and commonplace slights based on an individual's ethnic group can have a negative impact on psychological well-being (Huynh, 2013). Since Asians and Latinos born in the U.S. perceive more discrimination than their foreign-born counter-parts, understanding the effects on psychological and physical health become more urgent as their populations continue to grow (Perez et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2009).

When taking into account the different societal views of Asians, Latinos, and Blacks, treating all pan-ethnic minority groups as though they were the same seems inappropriate. However, because of historical factors, phenotypic similarities within pan-ethnic groups, and immigration status, Asians and Latinos seem to share much in common when it comes to ethnic group identification and how they are viewed by others (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003; Sears et al., 2003). While it is possible that Asians and Latinos experience discrimination in different ways and those experiences have different outcomes, they also share the similar experience of having significant within-group variability which may contribute to their experiences with discrimination. In fact, research suggests that for Asians and Latinos, attachment to national origin and cultural groups is stronger than their attachment to pan-ethnic categories (Schildkraut, 2011; Sears et al., 2003). This is particularly true of individuals in the stage between adolescence and adulthood; pan-ethnic identification only becomes more

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prominent in adulthood (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). The cause for this shift is unclear. However, it is possible that the constant reinforcement of demographic check boxes and interpersonal curiosity (e.g., an individual being asked what he or she "is") causes minority individuals to report the group that they believe is expected of them by others: the pan-ethnic group (Chun, 2007). Taken together, these findings show that national origin identities are important to Asians and Latinos, potentially more so than the pan-ethnic identity. However, national origin identities are not extensively studied as meaningful identities in the relevant literature (see Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994; Nagata & Takeshita, 2003 for exceptions). By addressing the psychological consequences of neglecting this within-group heterogeneity, researchers may be able to gain traction on understanding the identity experiences particular to Asians and Latinos.

Neglecting Social Identities: A Form of Identity Threat

Although little research has focused on how national origin group identities are treated by others (either recognizing or overlooking distinctions), there is a substantial body of work on the treatment of important social identities such as pan-ethnic identities. As postulated in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987), individuals are motivated to see themselves as positive and unique. Unintended consequences can occur when an individual feels that a self-relevant social identity has not been acknowledged in a manner that is consistent with the individual's self-view (Barretto & Ellemers, 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). When one's identity is neglected (i.e., not acknowledged by others as an important, self-relevant identity), this can create an identity threat to one's social identity and a perception of devaluation of that identity (i.e., others do not value the individual's identity as important). Threats to one's identity can be elicited in different ways: being denied access to a group (e.g.,

an Asian individual being treated as Asian instead of American; Cheryan & Monin, 2005), having one's valued identity unacknowledged (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), or being categorized as a member of a group with which one does not identify (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002). By examining the known consequences of threatening and neglecting other important social identities, this research provides insight into how Asians and Latinos deal with others' neglect of their national origin identities.

One source of identity threat is when an individual is categorized by outgroup members in a way that is inconsistent with the individual's self-view (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Ellemers & Barreto, 2006). This can occur when an individual is labeled with an identity that he or she does not feel is important or is not relevant for the context. For example, a Latino person who is born in the U.S. may value both his/her Latino identity and American identity. However, this person may be seen by others as Latino instead of American on Independence Day in the U.S., a time when his or her American identity is more salient. When this person is categorized as Latino in that particular context, it may lead the individual to distance him or herself from the Latino identity by expressing stronger identification with the American identity. In turn, this person may behave in ways that are more prototypically "American" as a means of asserting the individual's "Americanness" to others (Barretto & Ellemers, 2002; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Individuals often hold and value multiple social identities and the relevance of any identity can vary with the particular context, thus it is important to acknowledge identities in a way that is consistent with their contextually salient self-views.

Additional consequences can occur when others impose a non-contextually relevant identity upon an individual. Having a salient social identity neglected (not acknowledged) by others can result in greater ingroup bias, such that the individual will exhibit a greater preference

for members that share the neglected ingroup identity (e.g., pan-ethnic group) over members of outgroups (e.g., other Americans) (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006). Higher levels of ingroup bias can exacerbate intergroup conflict (Huo & Molina, 2006). This is particularly likely when the relevant identities are important to individuals (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo, Molina, Sawahata, & Deang, 2005). In contrast, interactions that acknowledge the importance of self-relevant social identities can reduce bias towards outgroup members (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo et al., 2005). For example, when members of an pan-ethnic minority group feel their ingroup (e.g., pan-ethnic group) is respected by Americans, they evaluate Americans more positively, have lower levels of distrust of the political system, and express lower levels of bias toward ethnic outgroup members (Huo & Molina, 2006). Thus, acknowledging and respecting an individual's important, self-relevant social identities allows the individual to maintain a positive and unique self-view (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006).

National Origin Identity Neglect

By and large, the literature on identity threat and neglect has focused on the negative consequences for pan-ethnic identities and intergroup relations. However, this existing literature provides a framework for understanding the negative consequences of neglecting national origin identities, as well as insight into the potential positive effects of national origin identity recognition (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001). In line with existing research on identity neglect, others can treat national origin identities in a manner that is either consistent or inconsistent with an individual's self-view (Flores & Huo, 2013). Further, how one's national origin identity is treated can have similar and predictable consequences that mirror the effect of neglecting other important social identities, such as increased negative views of the outgroup. Conversely, having

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one's national origin identity recognized can result in more positive views of the outgroup (Flores & Huo, 2013).

National origin identity recognition occurs when others show an appreciation or recognition of the uniqueness of an individual's national origin identity in such a manner that is consistent with the individual's self-view (Flores & Huo, 2013). This manner of experiencing national origin identity recognition is referred to as *appreciation.* Identity appreciation occurs when an individual's national origin identity is treated by another in a manner that displays a level of awareness that not all national origin identities are the same and acknowledges the uniqueness of the individual's particular national origin identity. There may be additional ways in which one's national origin identity may be recognized, not all of which are necessarily positive experiences. For example, one may be correctly categorized into their national origin group but it may create a feeling of being stereotyped or viewed as the token member. However, we want to examine the positive aspects of identity recognition which is why this work examines experiencing appreciation of the national origin identity.

National origin identities may be neglected when someone fails to acknowledge the differences of one national origin group from another within a pan-ethnic category. This often happens when different labels for national or cultural groups are used interchangeably (e.g. Chinese=Japanese, all Asians are the same), thus viewing the pan-ethnic group as homogeneous. National origin identity neglect can also occur when one is accidentally miscategorized into a national origin group in which the individual is not a member (e.g., mistakenly thinking a Salvadorian is Mexican; Flores & Huo, 2013). The existing work on national origin identity neglect has examined identity neglect experiences as a whole and has not distinguished between the two sources of neglect: 1) benignly miscategorizing an individual with a national origin

group in which the individual is not a member (referred to as *miscategorization*), and 2) failing to acknowledge known distinctions within the pan-ethnic group, thus viewing the pan-ethnic group as homogenous (referred to as *homogeneity*) *(see Figure 1 for breakdown of ethnic treatment and sources of identity neglect and recognition).* The two forms of identity neglect could elicit different threats to the national origin identity and subsequently affect individuals in different ways. We expect that miscategorization is seen as a more accidental experience, whereas we expect that homogeneity is seen as a more intentional experience. Previous research has shown that if an action is perceived as intentional, one's reaction to that action can be negatively affected (Lowe & Goldstein, 1970). As a result of those differences in perceived intention, we expect that the two forms of identity neglect could result in different reactions. In sum, the existing work on national origin identity neglect has not yet tackled the two ways in which one can experience national origin identity neglect and their respective consequences.

Figure 1. Taxonomy of identity treatment.
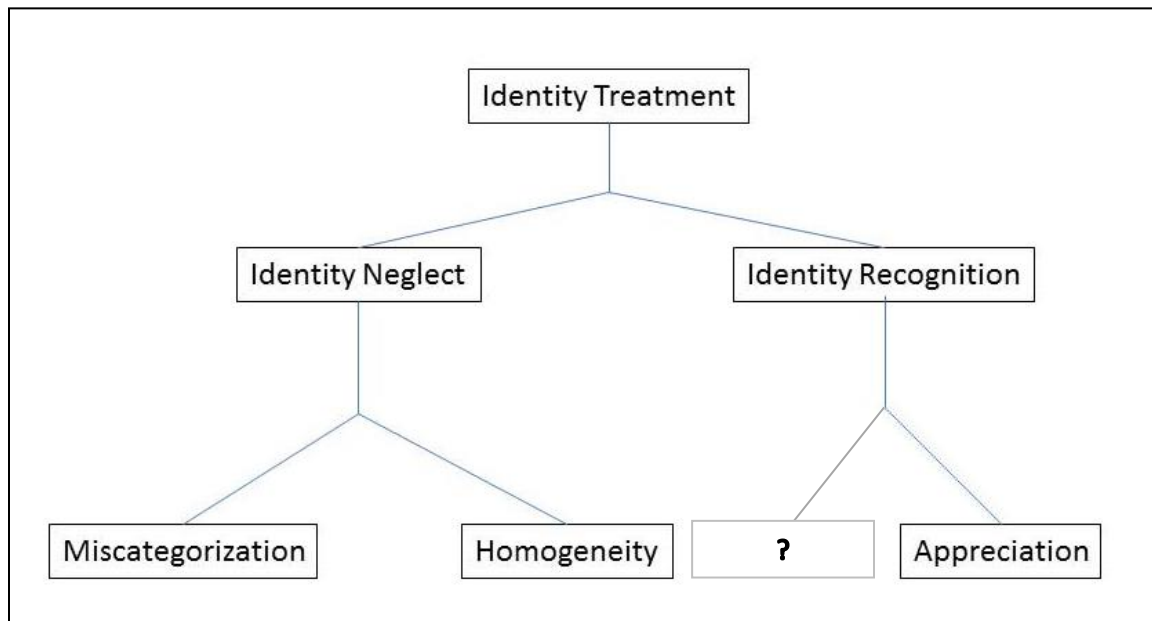
Summary and Limitations of Extant Research

Research on intergroup relations and ethnic identity has conceptualized ethnic identity primarily at the pan-ethnic level (e.g., Asian and Latino), despite variability within pan-ethnic groups. Further, the traditional conceptualization of pan-ethnic identities may be inappropriate for recent immigrant groups because their national and cultural identities may be more important to them than their Americanized pan-ethnic label (Schildkraut, 2011; Sears et al., 2003). As a result, it is important for future research to move beyond examining primarily pan-ethnic identities and to consider the intra-ethnic diversity of pan-ethnic groups. Examining this diversity is particularly important given that previous research often applies findings from research on Black-White relations to non-Black minority groups, assuming that the relationships and consequences should be the same (Dovidio, et al., 2010) or has grouped varied national origin members into a single pan-ethnic category (e.g., Asians) (Sears & Savalei, 2006).

Recent research has shown that national origin identities are important to Asians and Latinos (Schildkraut, 2011; Sears et al., 2003). As demonstrated by previous research, having important social identities, such as the national origin identity, recognized, can have welcomed effects such as positive evaluations of outgroups which can promote intergroup harmony (Flores & Huo, 2013; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006). Conversely, neglecting this identity can result in less welcomed consequences such as negative views of the outgroup (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Flores & Huo; 2013; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001). It is important to continue to explore the negative effects of national origin identity neglect and, specifically, to further examine the two distinct ways (homogeneity vs. miscategorization) one can experience identity neglect. Additionally, it is also important to explore the positive effects of identity recognition.

Miscategorization vs. Homogeneity: Distinguishing between Two Key Forms of National Origin Identity Neglect

Previous research has examined the consequences of national origin identity recognition versus the effect of national origin identity neglect (Flores & Huo, 2013). Thus far, identity recognition has been examined in a very straightforward manner in that it conveys knowledge or appreciation of an individual's national origin group identity. This is why it is referred to as *appreciation.* However, the experience of national origin identity neglect has not been as straightforward. National origin identity neglect can happen in two distinct ways: *miscategorization (*miscategorizing an individual with a national origin group in which the individual is not a member) and *homogeneity (*failing to acknowledge distinctions within the pan-ethnic group, thus viewing the pan-ethnic group as homogenous). To understand this distinction and related psychological consequences, we look to work on social identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). This body of work has considered the adverse, unexpected consequences that occur when individuals feel that important social identities have not been acknowledged in a manner consistent with their self-view (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Barreto, Ellemers, Scholten, & Smith, 2010; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Additionally, this research examines more nuanced forms of identity threat that can help build the foundation for examining the two facets of national origin identity neglect.

Specifically, we can draw parallels between two different existing social identity threats (categorization threat and distinctiveness threat; Branscombe et al., 1999) and our hypothesized identity neglect experiences (*miscategorization* and *homogeneity*, respectively). Categorization threat occurs as a result of being categorized in a manner that is inconsistent with one's self-view (Branscombe at al., 1999). This occurs most often as a result of being categorized with an

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identity that is context-inappropriate (e.g., a Latino-American being categorized as Latino when the American identity is contextually salient). Experiencing this threat is contingent on how highly one identifies with the miscategorized group- Latino. The American-identified individual is categorized by others as Latino but does not highly identify with his or her Latino identity. According to categorization threat, this person will emphasize the variability within Latinos (i.e., ingroup heterogeneity) and will react by further disidentifying with their Latino identity (Branscombe, et al., 1999). Those who highly identify with their Latino identity will be less affected by categorization threat. They value their Latino identity and do not feel threatened by being categorized as such. This form of threat maps closely to our conceptualization of *miscategorization*. However, it is important to note that the predictions only hold true for miscategorization into a group in which one holds membership. What is novel about national origin identity neglect's miscategorization is that it does not rely on identity salience. Miscategorization occurs when someone is categorized into a national origin group that one does not hold membership to, regardless of context (e.g., a Mexican person being categorized as Salvadorian). The existing categorization threat work has not examined categorizing someone into an irrelevant social identity. Thus, national origin identity neglect extends categorization threat research by examining a new experience in which individuals are categorized exclusively into an inaccurate social group. So it is possible that although some similar predictions will apply to those exposed to miscategorization as to those who experience categorization threat, different outcomes may emerge.

While the categorization threat research lends some support for investigating miscategorization, distinctiveness threat (Branscombe et al., 1999) more closely parallels our conceptualization of *homogeneity*. Distinctiveness threat occurs when the uniqueness of one's

group identity is undermined (e.g., not distinguishing among pan-ethnic minority groups; Branscombe at al., 1999). Homogeneity occurs as a result of a similar experience when the differences among national origin identities are ignored and individuals from different national origin groups within the pan-ethnic groups are viewed as interchangeable (e.g., Mexican=Salvadorian because all Latinos are the same). There are several hypothesized intergroup and individual consequences when one faces distinctiveness threat (Branscombe et al., 1999). For example, when encountering distinctiveness threat, individuals who highly identify with the threatened identity will be more likely to derogate outgroups. Additionally, distinctiveness threat affects how one perceives and identifies with the threatened group identity. For example, individuals will perceive the threatened group as more homogeneous reflecting that they believe the group members to be similar to one another (*ingroup homogeneity*). Additionally, individuals will increase how closely they feel they resemble a member of that group in that they closely align themselves with the threatened group (*self-stereotyping)*. We extend this work by examining the threat of the national origin identity. As a result of the conceptual similarities between distinctiveness threat and homogeneity, it is reasonable to expect similar outcomes. For example, a Mexican person encounters homogeneity as result of interacting with someone who is treating him or her as though all Latinos are the same. Homogeneity threatens the distinctiveness of the national origin group, so that person will view him or herself as a more stereotypic Mexican and view Mexicans as more like each other.

Previous research has shown that national origin identity neglect may have predictable negative effects similar to that of neglecting other social identities (Flores & Huo, 2013). However, this work does not distinguish between the two sources of identity neglect: miscategorization and homogeneity. With support from existing literature (Branscombe et al.,

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1999), the two facets of identity neglect may have different effects on psychological outcomes, particularly for those who highly identify with the threatened identity. Additionally, further research is needed to examine how different threats experienced within identity neglect can affect outcomes such as perceived ingroup homogeneity and self-stereotyping.

Overview of Studies

The present studies investigate: (a) the negative psychological consequences of identity neglect, while disentangling identity neglect experiences by examining miscategorization and homogeneity separately and (b) the positive psychological consequences of identity recognition (i.e., appreciation). Three studies examine the national origin identity and the consequences, both negative and positive, of how others treat that self-relevant social identity.

Because there is little psychological research on the national origin identity as a meaningful identity, the purpose of Study 1 is to examine the experiences that Asians and Latinos have with how others treat their national origin group identities as well as how they personally feel about those identities. We expect that, when prompted to consider experiences related to their national origin identity, participants will recall experiences that reflect identity neglect and recognition. Additionally, we expect that participants will identify their national origin identities as a meaningful and self-relevant identity.

In Study 2, participants completed a survey asking about how frequently they experience identity neglect (miscategorization and homogeneity) and recognition (appreciation). Study 2 has three goals. The main goal is to investigate how the frequency of experiencing identity neglect and recognition can affect self-reported well-being as well as intergroup attitudes. We expect that repeated experiences with identity neglect predict negative psychological outcomes and repeated experiences with identity recognition will be associated with positive psychological outcomes.

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The second goal is to examine how the two forms of identity neglect (miscategorization and homogeneity) differ in their relationships to psychological and social outcomes. We expect that homogeneity and miscategorization will have particularly different effects on group evaluations such that homogeneity will be more strongly related to negative outgroup evaluations. The third goal is to examine additional factors that may affect reactions to miscategorization such as status of the miscategorized group.

Study 3 aims to expand on previous research and Study 2 by investigating the two forms of identity neglect (miscategorization and homogeneity) and identity recognition in an experimental setting. The first goal of Study 3 is to investigate how exposure to miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation affects not only emotional reaction and intergroup attitudes but also additional psychological outcomes as delineated by identity threat literature - self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity (Branscombe et al., 1999). We expect that identity treatment, particularly homogeneity and appreciation, will affect how participants self-stereotype and perceive ingroup homogeneity. The second goal is to examine how miscategorization and homogeneity differ in an experimental setting. We expect that the differential effects of miscategorization and homogeneity will be evident in Asians and Latinos' perceptions of the intentionality behind how others treat their national origin group.

CHAPTER II: Everyday Identity Treatment Experiences of Asians and Latinos: Study 1

Study 1 Introduction

The goal of Study 1 is to investigate Asians and Latinos' everyday experiences with their national origin identities. Given the limited amount of research on national origin identity, it is important to interview Asians and Latinos to ensure that subsequent research accurately reflects their actual experiences with their national origin identities. Study 1 lays the foundation for later studies on national origin identity by contributing to the development of materials to examine national origin identity treatment more accurately. Study 1 asks participants to answer open-ended questions about their everyday experiences with their national origin group as well as how important they feel their national origin identity is. We expect that when participants are prompted with questions about everyday experiences with their national origin identities, they will recall experiences reflective of national origin identity neglect as well as national origin identity recognition. Additionally, the open-ended nature of this study allows us to examine the different ways in which national origin identity neglect can be experienced (miscategorization and homogeneity). If participants recall experiences that combine the forms of identity neglect (e.g., recall them as occurring simultaneously), then this would provide evidence that they do not distinguish between the forms of identity neglect. However, we expect that identity neglect can be experienced in two ways: *miscategorization* (when someone miscategorizes you with an incorrect national origin identity) and *homogeneity* (when someone fails to acknowledge the differences within the pan-ethnic group). If participants recall miscategorization and homogeneity separately, then it provides evidence that the two forms of identity neglect occur as separate experiences. Study 1 also investigates how important Asians and Latinos feel their national origin identity group is to them. Previous work has shown that national origin identities

are important to Asians and Latinos, and they identify more with national origin groups than with pan-ethnic groups (Flores & Huo, 2013; Schildkraut, 2011; Sears et al, 2003). Additionally, we believe that when participants are given the option to self-identify their ethnic identity, participants will more often report their national origin groups than the pan-ethnic groups.

Study 1 Methods

Participants

Participants (*N* = 38) completed an online survey through Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk (see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011, for full description of Mechanical Turk sampling). The sample consisted of Asian (55%) and Latino (45%) participants of which 79% were born in the United States. Quota sampling was employed to ensure approximately equal representation from both groups. The majority (66%) had at least one parent born outside of the United States. Age of participants ranged from 18 to 59 with the large majority (89%) of the sample in the 20 to 40 age range. Twenty-one percent were female and 79% were male. The large majority of the sample (89%) had some college education or more and political orientation was distributed as: conservative (10.5%), moderate (21%) and liberal (68.5%). They were paid $0.50 for their participation. While the amount may seem nominal, it was above the standard rate for a survey of similar length on the hosting website. Additionally, previous research has shown that the seemingly nominal amounts offered to participants do not affect quality of data (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

Procedures

Participants were recruited into a study on ethnic identity and instructed that they would be asked questions pertaining to their experiences as an Asian (or Latino). While this approach may attract those highly identified with their pan-ethnic group, it should not negatively impact

the results of the study. We were looking for participants who hold those identities and who could answer honestly about their experiences, which was more easily done with a sample that identified with those groups. After they read the informed consent, they were asked to fill out eligibility questions which included: age, gender, pan-ethnic identity (White, Asian, Latino, African American, or other), national origin identity (any national origin outside the U.S.), and their current zip code. Those who selected pan-ethnic options other than Asian or Latino were informed that they were ineligible and were exited from the survey. Those who were eligible continued onto the survey which consisted of open-ended questions about their national origin identity including: "Is being (a member of your national origin group) [1] important to you? Why or why not?" and "Can you think of a time in which you being (a member of your national origin group) came up in a social situation (e.g. casual conversation, phone call, email exchange, etc.)?" (see Appendix A for full set of questions). Afterwards, they answered demographic questions (e.g., political ideology and parents' nationality). Finally, they were asked to respond to an open-ended question about what they would consider to be their ethnic identity (see Appendix A for item). After completing the survey, they were redirected to a payment form and exited the survey.

Study 1 Results

Due to the qualitative nature of the study, responses were coded and organized into categories. For self-reported ethnic identity and national origin identity importance, only one coder was used because of the straight-forward nature of the responses. For the everyday national origin identity recall experience, three coders were used to ensure reliable and accurate

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[1] Each individual received their national origin group "piped" into each of the questions. For example, a Mexican participant received: "Is being Mexican important to you? Why or why not?"

categorization. Reliability was calculated for the three coder responses and was shown to be highly reliable, $\alpha = .85$.

Self-Reported Ethnic Identity. Participants were asked to report what they considered as their ethnic/racial identity. They were told that people can identify their ethnic/racial group in multiple ways such as broader categories (e.g. Asian or Latino) or more specific categories (e.g. Chinese or Mexican). Their open-ended responses were coded and placed into the following categories: American, national origin, hyphenation of their national origin and American,[2] and pan-ethnic. Examples of participants' responses for each of the categories are given in the parentheses: **American** (*American),* **National Origin** (*Mexican, Japanese, Korean),* **National Origin-American** (*Mexican-American, Korean-American),* **Pan-Ethnic** (*Asian, Latino, Hispanic).* Five percent of participants reported "American" as their ethnic identity, 53% participants reported their national origin group, 10.5% reported their national origin-American, and 31.5% reported their pan-ethnic group.

National Origin Identity Importance. Participants were asked if their national origin group was important to them. The open-ended responses were coded and placed into three categories: important, somewhat important and not important. Examples of responses that fell into each of the categories are: **very important** (*Being Mexican is important, as there is a rich heritage behind my background),* **somewhat important** (*It is and it is not. The family structure is a lot different from Chinese to American. My family values are very different from American's. But other than that, I am very well integrated into US. I will probably marry someone from my country though),* and **not at all important** (*I admire Cambodian culture, but being Cambodian is not important to me. I cannot be proud of something I'm actually not a part of. I was born in*

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[2] All participants who self-identified their ethnic identity as a combination of their national origin identity and American identity were born in the U.S.

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the U.S. I would consider my nationality American). Sixty-three percent of the participants indicated their national origin identity was important to them, 16% indicated it was somewhat important to them and 21% indicated it was not important.

    Everyday Experiences with National Origin Identities. Most importantly, participants were asked to recall an important time in which their national origin identity was brought up in a social situation. They were then asked to describe what was said during that interaction and how their national origin identity was brought up. Their open-ended responses were coded into categories depicting similar experiences with their national origin identity. Some of the experiences recalled were categorized into traditional forms of discrimination and experiences with stereotyping, other experiences were categorized into identity neglect and recognition. While participants were asked to recall a time in which their national origin identity was brought up in a social situation, some participants recalled a time in which their pan-ethnic group was brought up. The following categories represent experiences recalled by participants: pan-ethnic discrimination, national origin discrimination, national origin stereotyping, national origin identity denial, miscategorization, homogeneity, appreciation, general inquiry, and general/cannot be categorized. Examples of participants' responses that fell into each of the categories include: **pan-ethnic discrimination** (*I was riding on the school bus when I was a child and some of the other children were making fun of me because my skin is too white looking for me to be considered Hispanic in their eyes. My mother is very white compared to my father and that's why my skin tone is so light. I felt bad because I didn't feel like I belonged with people from my cultural group even though I hadn't done anything wrong),* **national origin discrimination** *(One time I said I was talking with a coworker and I was telling here who I was and I mentioned I was Mexican and she looked at me like I said a bad word. She said her uncles*

and father used Mexican as a slur but I let her know it's just a word and it doesn't mean anything negative), **national origin stereotyping** (A *lot of times Mexicans are brought up in a derogatory way and that is very hurtful to me. I would then tell my friends that I am Mexican and they would quickly stop making fun of the stereotypical Mexican*), **identity denial** (*Often times, people ask me about my nationality. My initial instinct is to say that I'm an American, but I know that people actually mean my ethnicity. Even though I was born in America, people tend to identify me by my physical/ethnic appearance. I remember a random guy at a party asked me about my background. He asked me where I was from, and I instinctively replied, "America." He gave me a funny look, and I realized my mistake. I told him that I was Chinese, and his response was, "Cool."),* **miscategorization** (*Almost everyone I meet assumes I am Chinese. For instance, even my girlfriend thought I was Chinese when I first met her. Actually, this is pretty common for me. Usually, when I first meet someone, they ask where I'm from and I'll say, "Korea.", they will be surprised),* **homogeneity** (*People ask me all the time "what brand of Asian are you?" It happened last week in my college class),* **appreciation** (*It was part of an online conversation, and the other person asked about my ethnic identity after learning my name. He was curious and asked how I ended up in the US, as well as what it was like to be Chinese),* **general inquiry** (*Generally when I meet new people they ask where I am from because my speaking accent is not perfect and I look like a minority),* **general/cannot be categorized** (B*eing Mexican once came up when I was applying for colleges. Being Latino is a major factor in applications).* Of those who reported experiences (*N* = 36), 3% recalled pan-ethnic discrimination, 11% recalled national origin discrimination, 14% recalled national origin stereotyping, 8% recalled identity denial, 14% recalled miscategorization, 11% recalled homogeneity, 11% recalled appreciation, 11% recalled general inquiry and 17% recalled a general situation (*see Figure 2).*

Figure 2. Number of participants' recalled experiences in which their national origin identity was mentioned, categorized by type of experience (*note: PE = pan-ethnic group, NO = national origin group).*
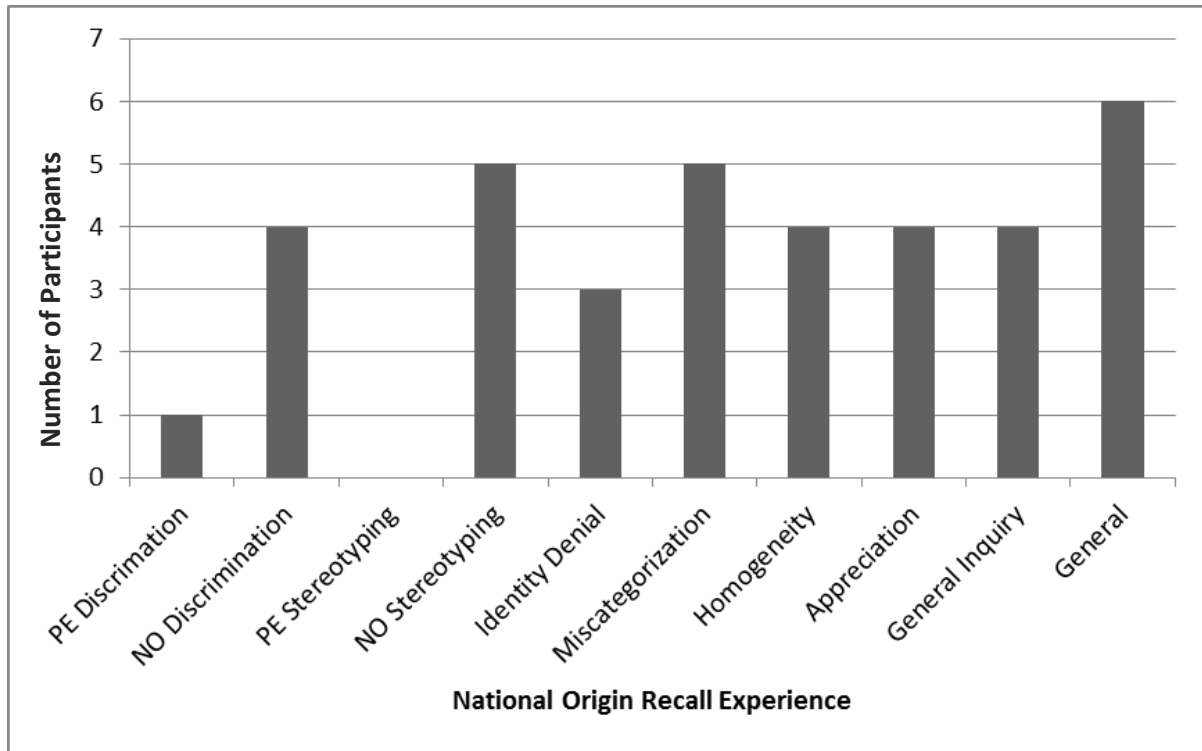
Study 1 Discussion

The findings from Study 1 shed light on the diverse experiences that Asians and Latinos have in the U.S. when it comes to ethnic identification. The majority of the sample self-identified their ethnic group as their national origin identity or a hyphenation of their national origin identity and American. They also reported that they considered their national origin identity as important. These findings provide support that these identities are still important to Asians and Latinos even though they are continually asked to identify at the pan-ethnic level. Equally important were the findings from the recall task. While several of the participants recalled experiences that nicely fit into existing forms of identity threat, such as discrimination, when they were asked about experiences with their national origin identity, the hypothesized experiences of identity neglect and recognition emerged: miscategorization, homogeneity, and

appreciation. These findings are important because they show that these understudied experiences are occurring to Asians and Latinos in the U.S. as often as other more frequently studied forms of identity threat. When participants were asked to recall experiences, they spontaneously generated identity neglect and recognition experiences, which lend support to the importance of studying those forms of identity treatment. Additionally, the findings also show that there are two distinct ways to experience identity neglect: miscategorization (when someone miscategorizes you with an incorrect national origin identity) and homogeneity (when someone fails to acknowledge the differences within the pan-ethnic group). While previous research has looked at identity neglect more generally (Flores & Huo, 2013), it is possible that these two distinct forms of identity neglect may have differential psychological consequences. It is important to examine this distinction as the experiences recalled provided support that they are being experienced as separate ways of having one's national origin identity neglected.

CHAPTER III: The Relationship of Identity Treatment with Self-Reported Well-being and Intergroup Relations: Study 2

Study 2 Introduction

The main objective of Study 2 is to examine how experiencing identity neglect and identity recognition in everyday life is related to self-reported psychological well-being and intergroup attitudes. While previous research has examined the effects of identity neglect and recognition on psychological well-being and intergroup attitudes (Flores & Huo, 2013), how frequent experiences with identity treatment can be related to these outcomes has not been examined. It is important to understand how frequently these experiences are happening in everyday life and the consequences these experiences can have on psychological outcomes. An additional novel contribution of Study 2 is that it distinguishes the two ways one can experience identity neglect.

Study 2 has three goals. The first goal is to investigate whether how often (i.e., how frequently) one experiences identity neglect and recognition can be related to psychological outcomes. Previous research has established that frequent experiences with discrimination can have deleterious effects on psychological well-being (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Gee, Delva & Takeuchi, 2005; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Yoo & Lee, 2009). Additionally, even subtle forms of discrimination and unintentional ethnic slights can act as stressors that negatively impact psychological well-being and health, especially when they are experienced on a regular basis (Huynh, 2012; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Study 1 showed that identity neglect experiences were recalled alongside traditionally studied forms of discrimination and identity threat; thus, it is possible that experiencing identity neglect may act as a stressor similar to a discriminatory experience or an ethnic slight and elicit similar negative effects to well-being. Furthermore, previous research has found that experiencing identity neglect can result in negative evaluations

of outgroups, outgroup derogation, and ingroup bias (Flores & Huo, 2013; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006). Conversely, identity recognition can result in positive evaluations of outgroups and less ingroup bias.

The second goal is to unpack the different experiences of identity neglect and examine if the two experiences (miscategorization and homogeneity) have different relationships with each of the above outcome variables and compare these relationships to those of appreciation. Even though miscategorization and homogeneity are both ways of experiencing national origin identity neglect, the nature of the neglect is different. For miscategorization, one is mistakenly placed into the wrong national origin group. In contrast, for homogeneity, one's national origin group is not correctly acknowledged due to perceiving the pan-ethnic group as homogeneous and national origin groups within it as interchangeable. Thus, miscategorization may be viewed as more innocuous and as an innocent mistake, whereas homogeneity may be viewed as intentional disregard for group differences.

As a result of the ways in which identity neglect can be experienced, the psychological effects may differ immensely. Drawing from the literature on perceived prejudice and discrimination, miscategorization could be perceived as an ambiguous situation versus homogeneity, which is more blatant. Individuals may have better coping strategies for dealing with blatant experiences of discrimination than with more ambiguous experiences (Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007; Townsend, Major, Sawyer, & Mendes, 2010). Because blatant experiences are more easily detected and expected, the expectation can provide a buffer against the negative effects to psychological well-being. Additionally, one may expect to be viewed as part of their pan-ethnic group but may not as readily expect to be categorized into an incorrect national origin group. For example, individuals may perceive the actor engaging in identity

neglect via homogeneity as blatantly or intentionally discounting their national identity. This may be a similar psychological experience as being blatantly discriminated against, which is a familiar experience for many minorities and one for which they have coping strategies. As such, the individual may view the actor of homogeneity as inconsiderate, but the negative effects will not extend to well-being. On the other hand, experiencing miscategorization may be viewed as accidental and unintentional; thus, the experience is more ambiguous and difficult to categorize as biased. The ambiguous situations like miscategorization, where intent is unclear, may be psychologically harmful due to a lack of available and practiced coping skills. Therefore, miscategorization may be more strongly related to psychological well-being than homogeneity and homogeneity may be more strongly related to evaluations of others and outgroups than miscategorization.

The final goal is to more thoroughly examine the experience of miscategorization and investigate the additional factors that can influence one's reaction to being miscategorized, such as status of the national origin group one was miscategorized with. Since previous threat work has focused on categorization of self-relevant, but not salient identities, it is important to investigate how factors may be related to miscategorization into a non-self-relevant group. Previous research has suggested that individuals may have a stronger reaction to being miscategorized into an ethnic group of lower status than one of higher status (Deaux, 2006). Thus, we would expect that individuals miscategorized into a national origin group of lower status would have a stronger negative reaction than those miscategorized into a national origin group of higher status.

Study 2 Hypotheses

Hypotheses about Frequency of Identity Treatment and Self-Reported Well-Being. We expect that how often participants are exposed to identity neglect (either miscategorization or homogeneity) in daily life will be negatively correlated with their self-reported well-being; as frequency with identity neglect increases, self-reported well-being will decrease. We expect this relationship to be stronger with frequent miscategorization experiences. Frequent exposure to identity recognition (appreciation) will be positively correlated with self-reported well-being; as frequency with identity recognition increases, self-reported well-being will increase.

Hypotheses about the Frequency of Identity Treatment and Intergroup Attitudes. We hypothesize that frequently experiencing identity neglect (either miscategorization or homogeneity) will be negatively correlated with evaluations of outgroups (i.e., Whites and Americans) and positively correlated with ingroup bias. This relationship is expected to be stronger for those who experience frequent homogeneity than for those who experience frequent miscategorization, since miscategorization appears more accidental. Additionally, frequent exposure to identity recognition will be positively correlated with evaluations of outgroups and negatively correlated with ingroup bias.

Hypotheses about Group Status. There is no a priori hypothesis regarding how frequently individuals get miscategorized with national origin groups of lower or higher status. However, we expect there to be a difference in emotional reactions to miscategorization with groups of lower or higher statuses. Participants will feel worse being miscategorized with a national origin group of lower status than their national origin group; those who are miscategorized with a national origin group of higher status than their national origin group will feel better than being miscategorized with a national origin group of similar or lower status.

Study 2 Method

Participants

Participants (*N* = 186) completed an online survey through Amazon.com Mechanical Turk. Quota sampling was employed to gather approximately equal amounts of information for both Asians and Latinos. The sample consisted of Asian (50.5%) and Latino (49.5%) participants who were mostly (76.8%) born in the United States. Age ranged from 18 to 55 with the majority (75%) of the sample in the 20 to 40 age range. Fifty and a half percent were female and 49.5% were male. The majority of the sample (83%) had some college education or more and political orientation had the following distribution: conservative (12.5%), moderate (33%) and liberal (54.5%). They were paid $0.50 for their participation.

Procedure

Like Study 1, participants were recruited into a study on ethnic identity. They were told that researchers wanted to gather information on experiences Asians (or Latinos) may have in living in a diverse country. They were informed of an eligibility screening and that they may not qualify for the study. After reading the informed consent, participants were taken to the eligibility questionnaire in which they completed demographic questions: gender, age, ethnicity, national origin and current zip code. As in Study 1, those who selected options other than Asian and Latino were informed that they were not eligible. Those who continued in the survey were first asked to complete measures on their well-being. They were then told that they would be asked about everyday experiences living in the U.S. and would be asked to answer how particular experiences made them feel and how frequently they occur. They then proceeded to respond to a number of items aimed at gauging identity neglect and identity recognition experiences. Items were aimed at tapping into experiences with each type of identity neglect (i.e.,

miscategorization and homogeneity) and with measuring identity recognition (i.e., appreciation). Afterwards, they were asked how they felt about different ethnic groups in the U.S. Next, they were asked how often they experienced miscategorization with national origin groups of lower status, similar status, and higher status and how it made them feel. Lastly, they completed demographic questions and were debriefed and thanked.

Measures

 Frequency of Experiences with Miscategorization. The first predictor we examined was one of the facets of identity neglect: miscategorization (i.e., being mistakenly categorized into the wrong national origin group). For all frequency of experiences items, participants were asked how often each of the situations happens to them. Three items were used to gauge how people may experience miscategorization ($\alpha = .91$): "When people think I belong to a national origin group that I don't belong to," "When others mistakenly treat me as someone from a national origin group that I do not belong to," and "When others confuse me with being a member of a different national origin group." Participants viewed each of the experiences and were asked "It happens to me…"on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *all the time.*

 Frequency of Experiences with Homogeneity. The second predictor we examine was the second facet of identity neglect: homogeneity (i.e., not acknowledging national origin group differences within the pan-ethnic category). Three items were used to gauge how people may experience homogeneity ($\alpha = .82$): "When others don't seem to care that (Latino) people, like me, come from different backgrounds," "When people don't recognize what a diverse group (Latino) people, like me, are," and "When others treat me and other (Mexican) people as though we are the same or interchangeable as another (Latino) person of a different national origin

group." Participants reported how frequently they experienced each of the situations on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *all the time.*

Frequency of Experiences with Appreciation. The final predictor we examined was one facet of identity recognition: appreciation. Three items were used to gauge how people may experience appreciation (α = .82). These items were: "When people I interact with show they know a lot about my (Mexican) background," "When others show genuine interest about (Mexican) culture," and "When others care enough to learn how (Mexican) culture is different from other (Latino) cultures." Participants reported how frequently they experienced each of those situations using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *all the time.*

Global Self-Esteem. To measure well-being, we used four indicators. The first indicator was global self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale, which included ten items such as: "I am satisfied with myself, " " I think I am no good at all, " "I feel that I have a number of good qualities, " and "I am able to do things as well as most other people." Items were measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* and were combined to create a composite measure of self-esteem (α = .93).

Self-Reported Psychological Well-being. The second indicator for well-being is psychological well-being. Five items representing the general mental health subscale of the Medical Outcomes Study (Ware & Sherbourne, 1992) were included to indicate psychological well-being (α = .82). Participants were asked how often each of the following states of being applied to them over the course of the current year: "Been a very nervous person" (reverse coded), "Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up" (reverse coded), "Felt calm and peaceful," "Felt downhearted and blue" (reverse coded), and "Been a happy person."

Questions were rated on a 7-point scale ranging 1 = *Never* to 7 = *Always*. These items have been shown to be sensitive to identity threat (Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2010).

Self-Reported General Health and Comparative Health. As our final indicators of well-being, participants were asked about general health and health compared to a year ago (Huo et al., 2010). For general health, participants were asked: "In general, would you say your health is:" which is rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *very poor* to 5 = *very good*. Our final well-being indicator was self-reported comparative health. Participants were asked: "Compared to a year ago, how would you rate your current health?" which is rated on a 5-point scale, 1 = *much worse now than a year ago*, 5 = *much better now than a year ago*.

Group Evaluations and Ingroup Bias. Additionally, we were interested in how frequency of identity treatment was related to group evaluations and ingroup bias. Participants were asked to rate various groups in the U.S. They did so by rating how warmly they felt about different groups: Asians, Latinos, Whites, Blacks, Americans, and their national origin group). Ratings were from 0 = *not at all warm* to 10 = *extremely warm*. Ingroup bias was calculated by averaging ratings of pan-ethnic outgroups and subtracting that from the rating of the participant's pan-ethnic group (i.e., for an Asian person: ingroup bias = Asian − (average of Whites, Latinos, Blacks)) (see Huo & Molina, 2006 and Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin & Pratto, 1997 for a similar approach).

Status of Miscategorized National Origin Group. Lastly, we were interested in additional factors that could affect reactions to miscategorization. Two items were used to assess whether status mattered when an individual is miscategorized with a different national origin group. For each of the two items, they were asked to respond to a national origin group that was of: "lower status," "similar status," and "higher status." The first item asked participants how they would

feel being mistaken for a member of national origin group that was lower, similar and higher status on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *very bad* to 7 = *very good*. The second item asked how often participants were mistaken as a member of a different national origin group measured on a 1-5 Likert scale ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *all the time*.

Study 2 Results

First, we conducted a factor analyses to support our hypotheses that the identity treatments represent distinct experiences, particularly that miscategorization and homogeneity are different forms of identity neglect. Next, we examined the relationship between identity treatment and the outcome variables. Data were analyzed using multiple regression analyses, repeated measures Analyses of Variance (ANOVA), and t-tests (for zero-order correlations between the predictors and outcome variables *see Appendix B;* for zero-order correlations by ethnicity, *see Appendix C).* Data that were analyzed using hierarchical regression analyses were analyzed using two models: (1) either miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation was entered as the sole predictor to see their individual effects on outcome variables and (2) all three identity treatment experiences were entered as predictors to see which one was the strongest predictor of the outcome variables. Positive regression coefficients mean that as frequency of identity treatment increases, the outcome variable increases. Negative regression coefficients mean that as frequency increases, the outcome variable decreases. Age, ethnicity, gender, immigration status, and political ideology were controlled for in all analyses (for zero-order correlations between the predictors and the covariates, *see Appendix D).*

Are Identity Treatments Different Experiences?

First, we conducted a factor analyses to provide support that the different forms of national origin identity treatment are experienced differently. This was particularly important for

examining the distinction of the identity neglect experiences: miscategorization and homogeneity. The correlation of the composite measures of miscategorization and homogeneity indicate a positive correlation between the two measures, $r(185) = .49$, $p < .01$. As a result of the significant correlation, it was important to examine the factor analysis to ensure they are unique experiences. The results of the factor analysis support the hypothesis that miscategorization and homogeneity are two distinct forms of identity neglect (*see Table 1*). All factor loadings are shown, with the loading factors used in the construct scales in bold. The results support the division of the identity neglect experiences as well as providing additional support that appreciation is distinct from the identity neglect experiences as well.

Table 1. Factor analysis of frequency of identity treatments.

	Factor		
When others…	1	2	3
Think I belong to a national origin group that I do not belong to	**.89**	-.01	-.07
Confuse me with being a member of a different national origin group	**.87**	.05	-.00
Mistakenly treat me as someone from a national origin group that I do not belong to	**.85**	-.00	.07
Don't recognize what a diverse group (Latino) people, like me, are	-.05	**.93**	.00
Don't seem to care that (Latino) people, like me, come from different backgrounds	-.00	**.73**	-.11
Treat me and other (Mexican) people as though we are the same or interchangeable as another (Latino) person of a different national origin group	.11	**.66**	.10
Show genuine interest about (Mexican) culture	.01	.03	**.89**
I interact with know a lot about my (Mexican) background	-.05	.00	**.75**
Care enough to learn how (Mexican) culture is different from other (Latino) cultures	.04	-.04	**.72**

Note: The findings shown are the results of principle axis factor analysis using promax rotation. The number of factors was not constrained. Bolded numbers indicate the items included in the scale reflecting each factor.

Self-Reported Well-being

Global Self-Esteem. As our first indicator of well-being, we examined the effects of frequency of identity treatment on global self-esteem. We expected that identity neglect would have a negative relationship with global self-esteem and that appreciation would have a positive relationship with global self-esteem. Contrary to hypotheses, frequency of miscategorization was not related to self-esteem ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .31$). Likewise, frequency of homogeneity was not a significant predictor of self-esteem ($\beta = -.06$, $p = .39$). As expected, appreciation was positively related to self-esteem ($\beta = .25$, $p < .01$). The relationships remained the same when all three predictors were entered into the equation with appreciation ($\beta = .25$, $p < .01$) being the strongest predictor relative to miscategorization ($\beta = -.01$, $p = .92$) and homogeneity ($\beta = -.04$, $p = .68$) (*see Table 2a*).

Table 2a. The relationship of identity treatment with global self-esteem.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.08	---	---	-.01
Homogeneity	---	-.06	---	-.04
Appreciation	---	---	.25**	.25**
R^2	.01	.00	.06**	.06**

$^{+}p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Self-Reported Psychological Well-Being. Next, we examined the effects of frequency of identity treatment on self-reported psychological well-being. We expected that identity neglect would be negatively related to self-reported psychological well-being with miscategorization having a stronger relationship than homogeneity. Additionally, we expected appreciation to have a positive relationship with self-reported psychological well-being. As expected, frequency of

miscategorization was found to be a significant predictor of psychological well-being ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .04$). Additionally, frequency of homogeneity marginally predicted psychological well-being ($\beta = -.13$, $p = .08$). Likewise, appreciation was also found to be a significant predictor of psychological well-being ($\beta = .23$, $p < .01$). Providing some support for the hypotheses, when all three predictors were entered into the equation, appreciation ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$) emerged as the strongest predictor over miscategorization ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .38$) and homogeneity ($\beta = -.07$, $p = .42$) (*see Table 2b*).

Table 2b. The relationship of identity treatment with self-reported psychological well-being.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.15*	---	---	-.08
Homogeneity	---	-.13$^+$	---	-.07
Appreciation	---	---	.23**	.21**
R^2	.02*	.02$^+$	.05**	.06**

$^+p < .10$. $* p < .05$. $** p < .01$.

Self-Reported General Health. As another indicator of well-being, we were interested in the effects of frequency of identity treatment on self-reported general health. We expected that frequency of identity neglect would be negatively related to self-reported general health with miscategorization having a stronger relationship than homogeneity. Additionally, we expected appreciation to have a positive effect on psychological well-being. As expected, frequency of miscategorization was negatively related to self-reported general health ($\beta = -.17$, $p = .03$). Additionally, frequency of homogeneity was negatively related to self-reported general health ($\beta = -.17$, $p = .03$). In line with hypotheses, appreciation was a positively related to self-reported general health ($\beta = .19$, $p = .01$). Providing partial support for the hypotheses, when all three

predictors were entered into the equation, appreciation ($\beta = .17$, $p = .04$) emerged as the strongest

predictor over miscategorization ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .41$) and homogeneity ($\beta = -.11$, $p = .21$) (*see*

Table 2c).

Table 2c. The relationship of identity treatment with self-reported general health.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.17*	---	---	-.08
Homogeneity	---	-.17*	---	-.11
Appreciation	---	---	.19*	.17*
R^2	.03*	.03*	.03*	.06*

$^+p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Self-Reported Comparative Health. As our final well-being indicator, we expected that

identity neglect would be negatively related to self-reported comparative health with

miscategorization having a stronger relationship than homogeneity. Additionally, we expected

that appreciation would be positively related to self-reported comparative health. As

hypothesized, frequency of miscategorization was negatively related to comparative health ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .05$). Contrary to hypotheses, frequency of homogeneity was not a significant predictor

of comparative health ($\beta = -.11$, $p = .14$). However, as predicted, appreciation was positively

related to comparative health ($\beta = .21$, $p<.01$). As with the previous indicators of well-being,

when all three predictors were entered into the equation, appreciation ($\beta = .19$, $p = .01$) emerged

as the strongest predictor over miscategorization ($\beta = -.09$, $p = .32$) and homogeneity ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .59$) (*see Table 2d*).

Table 2d. The relationship of identity treatment with self-reported comparative health.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.15*	---	---	-.09
Homogeneity	---	-.11	---	-.05
Appreciation	---	---	.21**	.19*
R^2	.02*	.01	.04**	.05*

$^+ p < .10.$ $* p < .05.$ $** p < .01.$

Evaluations of Ethnic Groups and Ingroup Bias

Evaluations of Whites. After examining well-being outcomes, we wanted to investigate how frequency of identity treatment would be related to evaluations of ethnic groups. We start off by examining the effects of frequency on evaluations of Whites. We expected that experiences with homogeneity would have the strongest negative relationship with evaluations of Whites. Additionally, we expected that miscategorization would be negatively associated with outgroup evaluations and appreciation would be positively associated with evaluations of Whites. Contrary to hypotheses, miscategorization was not a significant predictor (β = -.01, p = .91) of evaluations of Whites. However, as expected, frequency of homogeneity was negatively related to evaluations of Whites (β = -.18, p = .02). Additionally contrary to hypotheses, frequency of appreciation was not a significant predictor of evaluations of Whites (β = .04, p = .60). Providing partial support for the hypotheses, when all three predictors were entered in the equation, frequency of homogeneity (β = -.24, p < .01) remained the strongest predictor of evaluations of Whites over frequency of miscategorization (β = .13, p = .16) and appreciation (β = .04, p = .60) (*see Table 3a).*

Table 3a. The relationship of identity treatment with evaluations of Whites.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.01	---	---	.13
Homogeneity	---	-.18*	---	-.24**
Appreciation	---	---	.04	.04
R^2	.00	.03*	.00	.04**

$^+p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Evaluations of Americans. Additionally, we examined the effects of frequency on evaluations of Americans. Similarly to Whites, we expected that experiences with homogeneity followed by miscategorization would have the strongest negative relationship with evaluations of Americans. Additionally, we expected appreciation would be positively associated with evaluations of Americans. Contrary to hypotheses, we did not find frequency of miscategorization ($\beta = .05$, $p = .56$), frequency of homogeneity ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .27$), nor frequency of appreciation ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .52$), to be significant predictors of evaluations of Americans when they were entered separately. However, when all three predictors were entered into the equation simultaneously, homogeneity ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .10$) emerged as a marginally significant predictor over miscategorization ($\beta = .11$, $p = .21$) and appreciation ($\beta = -.04$, $p = .59$) (*see Table 3b*).

Table 3b. The relationship of identity treatment with evaluations of Americans.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	.05	---	---	.11
Homogeneity	---	-.08	---	-.15$^+$
Appreciation	---	---	-.05	-.04
R^2	.00	.01	.00	.02

$^+p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Evaluations of National Origin Ingroup. Next, we examined the effects of frequency on evaluations of the participant's national origin group. We did not expect identity treatment to impact evaluations of the national origin ingroup. As expected, we did not find frequency of miscategorization ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .55$), frequency of homogeneity ($\beta = .01$, $p = .89$), nor frequency of appreciation ($\beta = .07$, $p = .36$), to be significant predictors of evaluations of the national origin when they were entered separately nor together ($\beta = .07$, $p = .44$; $\beta = -.02$, $p = .85$; $\beta = .08$, $p = .29$, respectively) (*see Table 3c*).

Table 3c. The relationship of identity treatment with evaluations of participant's national origin.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.05	---	---	.07
Homogeneity	---	.01	---	-.02
Appreciation	---	---	.07	.08
R^2	.00	.00	.01	.01

$^+p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Ingroup Bias. Lastly, we examined the effects of frequency on ingroup bias. As with other outgroup evaluations, we expected that experiences with homogeneity would have the strongest relationship with ingroup bias. Additionally, we expected that miscategorization would be positively associated with ingroup bias and appreciation would be negatively associated with ingroup bias. Contrary to hypotheses, we did not find frequency of miscategorization ($\beta = -.03$, $p = .69$), frequency of homogeneity ($\beta = .11$, $p = .16$), nor frequency of appreciation ($\beta = .06$, $p = .46$) to be significant predictors of ingroup bias when they were entered separately. However, when all three predictors were entered into the equation simultaneously, homogeneity ($\beta = .17$, $p = .06$) emerged as a marginally significant predictor over miscategorization ($\beta = -.11$, $p = .24$) and appreciation ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .50$) (*see Table 3d*).

Table 3d. The relationship of identity treatment with ingroup bias.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c	Model 2
Miscategorization	-.03	---	---	-.11
Homogeneity	---	.11	---	.17$^+$
Appreciation	---	---	.06	-.05
R^2	.00	.01	.00	.02

$^+ p < .10. * p < .05. ** p < .01.$

Does Status of Miscategorized Group Matter?

Emotional Reaction. Next, participants were asked about their emotional reaction to being miscategorized with a different national origin group of lower status, similar status, and higher status, as well as how frequently those miscategorizations occur. We expected participants to feel worse when miscategorized with a group lower status and feel better when miscategorized with a group of higher status. As expected, repeated measures ANOVA revealed significant differences among being miscategorized with a national origin group of lower ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.09$), similar ($M = 4.11$, $SD = .86$) and higher status ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.14$), $F(2, 370) = 67.83$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .27$. Paired samples t-tests were conducted to see how the means differed. In line with hypotheses, participants reported feeling worse when miscategorized with a group of lower status versus one of similar status, $t(185) = -9.17$, $p < .01$. In contrast, as expected, participants reported feeling better when miscategorized with a group of higher status versus one of similar status, $t(185) = 3.15$, $p < .01$. Consequently, those who were miscategorized with a higher status group felt significantly better than those who were miscategorized with a lower status group, $t(185) = 8.90$, $p < .01$ *(see Figure 3).*

Figure 3. Mean differences for participant's reactions to being miscategorized with an incorrect group of lower, similar, or higher status.

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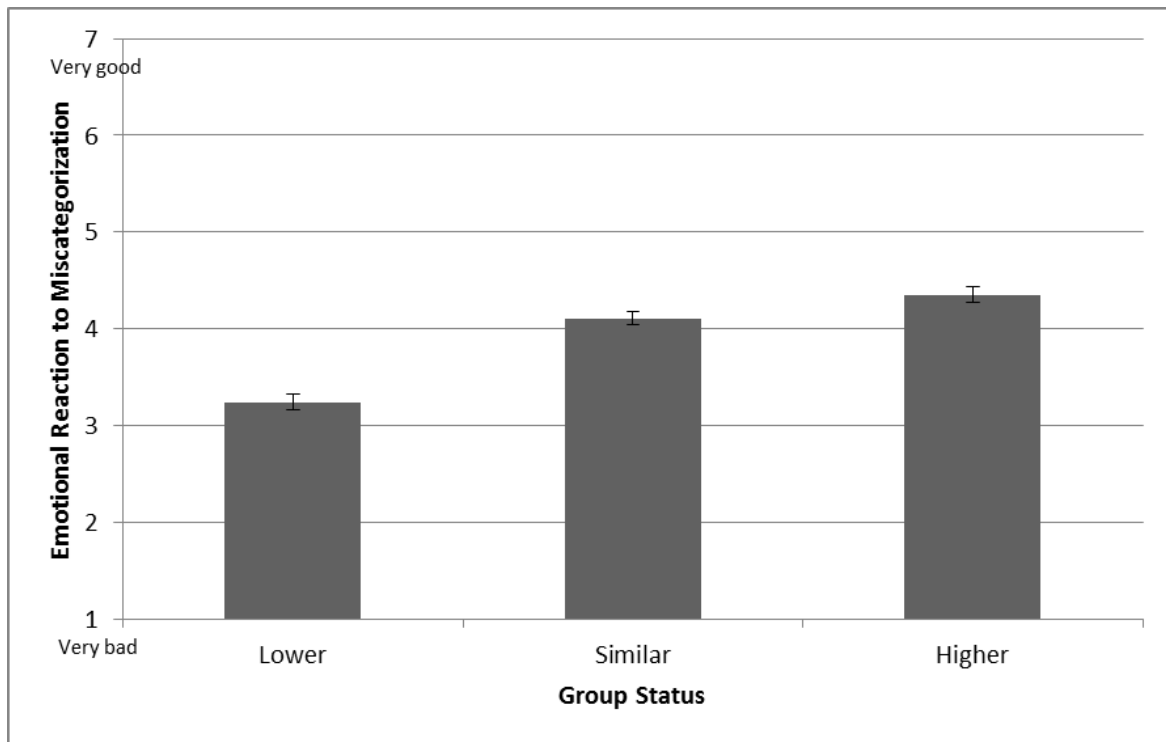
Frequency of Miscategorization. Lastly, participants were asked how frequently they were miscategorized with a group of lower, similar and higher status. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed significant differences among the frequency with which participants were miscategorized with a group of lower (*M* = 2.43, *SD* = .96*)*, similar (*M* = 2.99, *SD* = .87*),* and higher status (*M* = 2.35, *SD* = .99*), F(2, 370) = 34.10, p < .01, η^2* = .16. Since there was no a priori hypothesis for how frequently participants experienced miscategorization with lower, similar or higher status groups, using a more stringent p-value is appropriate for post-hoc comparisons. As such, paired samples t-tests were conducted to see how the comparisons differed using a Bonferroni correction to maintain *α* = .05. Participants reported being miscategorized with a group of lower status less frequently than with one of similar status, *t*(185) = -6.74, *p* < .01. Conversely, participants reported being miscategorized with a group of higher

status less frequently than with one of similar status, $t(185) = -7.81$, $p < .01$. There was no significant difference in frequency of being miscategorized with a group of lower status versus one of higher status, $t(185) = .91$, $p = .37$ *(see Figure 4)*.

Figure 4. Mean differences for participant's frequency of being miscategorized with an incorrect group of lower, similar, and higher status.
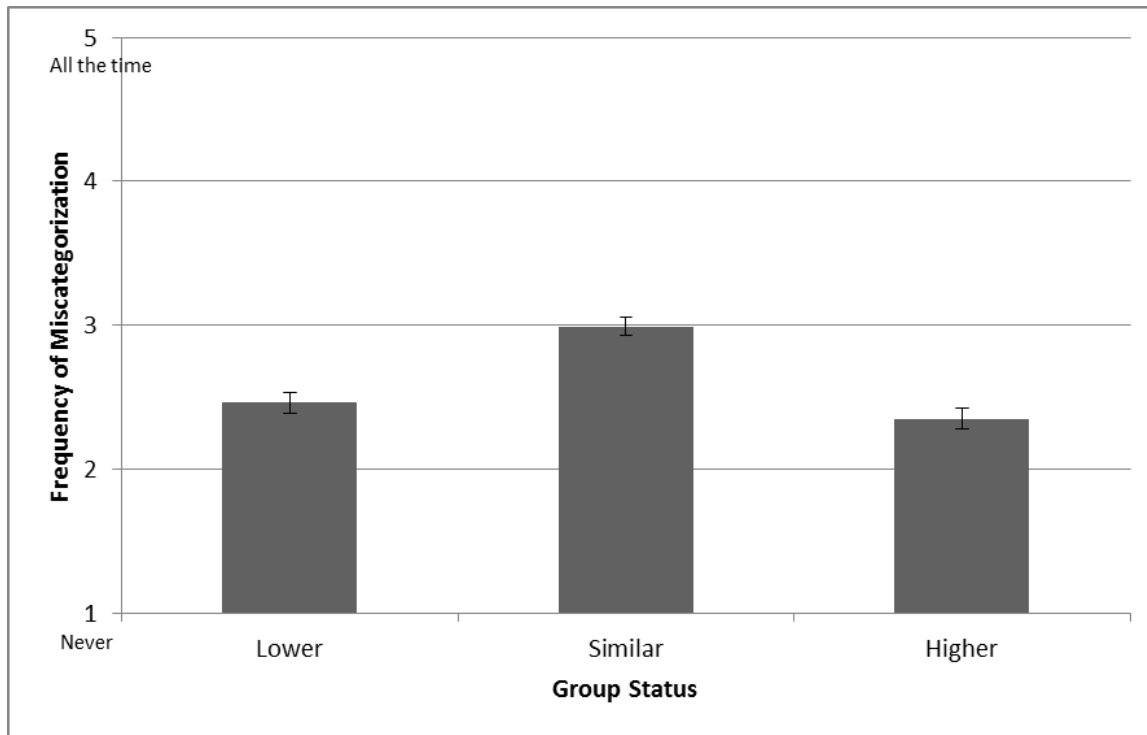
Study 2 Discussion

The findings from Study 2 show that frequency of experiences with specific forms of identity treatments significantly predicted well-being and intergroup attitudes. Appreciation was the strongest predictor relative to miscategorization and homogeneity for global self-esteem, self-reported psychological well-being, self-reported general health, and self-reported comparative health. The more frequently participants experienced appreciation, the more psychologically and generally "healthy" they reported feeling. While miscategorization was not the strongest predictor of the well-being indicators relative to appreciation and homogeneity, it was a significant predictor on its own. These findings demonstrate that the more one reported

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experiencing miscategorization, the lower they reported their self-reported psychological well-being, self-reported general health and self-reported comparative health. In line with previous research on consequences of discrimination, more frequent experiences with discrimination predict more negative health outcomes (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Gee, Delva & Takeuchi, 2005; Huynh, 2012; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Yoo & Lee, 2009). Likewise, the more frequently one experienced miscategorization, the more "unhealthy" they reported their well-being providing support that even benign interactions can be negatively related to psychological outcomes. Homogeneity also had a partial predictive relationship with self-reported well-being. Frequency of homogeneity was marginally related to lower self-reported psychological well-being and significantly related to lower self-reported general health. By comparing the individual effects of miscategorization and homogeneity, it appears that miscategorization had a more consistent negative relationship with self-reported well-being than did homogeneity, providing support that, although both are identity neglect experiences, they can differentially shape outcomes.

The differences between miscategorization and homogeneity on the self-reported well-being outcomes, could be due to different coping strategies with the different kinds of identity neglect. Miscategorization could be seen as more subtle and unintentional on the part of the person enacting the miscategorization. There is evidence to suggest that people encountering more ambiguous and subtle forms of prejudice, do not develop appropriate coping strategies which could explain why people facing frequent miscategorization would have worse health (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Hoyt, 1997; Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007; Townsend, Major, Sawyer, & Mendes, 2010). Homogeneity, on the other hand, is a more obvious disregard for group differences and could be seen as more intentional on the part of the

person enacting homogeneity. Therefore, the prejudice may be more expected and activate some coping strategy. However, as stated earlier, when the relationships of all three experiences were examined concurrently, appreciation was the strongest predictor of the well-being outcome variables. Therefore, experiencing identity recognition, as measured by appreciation, is a strong indicator of reporting being more psychologically and generally healthy.

With evaluations of Whites and Americans and ingroup bias, miscategorization and appreciation were not significant predictors regardless of whether they were sole predictors or entered in the equation simultaneously with homogeneity. Interestingly, for evaluations of Whites, evaluations of Americans, and ingroup bias, frequency of homogeneity showed some predictive power. The more participants experienced homogeneity, the significantly lower they evaluated Whites and the more they exhibited ingroup bias. Homogeneity also was related to the evaluations of Americans such that they were evaluating Americans more negatively as their experiences with homogeneity increased; however, this relationship was marginally significant. These findings are consistent with previous research (Flores & Huo, 2013; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Huo & Molina, 2006) in that experiencing identity neglect can lead to ingroup bias and outgroup derogation. However, in this case it was homogeneity that led to these outcomes, which were further exacerbated by how frequently one experienced homogeneity. Previous research has shown that experiences with identity neglect can affect perceptions of others and their corresponding outgroups (Flores & Huo, 2013). However, these findings suggest this may only be the case for homogeneity. It is possible that because miscategorization is viewed as more accidental, individuals are less likely to view the actors of miscategorization and their corresponding outgroups as negatively. On the other hand, homogeneity may elicit a negative

reaction to others and their corresponding outgroups due to the action being perceived as more intentional.

Lastly, we examined status of the group with which participants were miscategorized as belonging to as another national origin group that might affect how participants react to miscategorization. We found that participants felt worse when they were miscategorized with a group of lower status versus one of similar status. We also found that those who were miscategorized with a group of higher status felt better than when they were miscategorized with a group of similar or lower status. Additionally, participants reported being more frequently miscategorized with a group of similar status than one with lower or higher status. While the reactions to miscategorization with a lower status group are not surprising, there are important downstream implications. If one feels worse with being miscategorized with a group of lower status and is miscategorized often with a group of lower status, the negative effects to psychological well-being may be exacerbated. On the other hand, if one is often miscategorized with a group of higher status and encounters that miscategorization often, it may buffer the negative effects of miscategorization.

Study 2 findings show that frequency of identity neglect and recognition experiences can be related to self-reported well-being. However, the two ways in which one can experience identity neglect were not related to psychological and social outcomes in the same manner. Frequency of homogeneity was related to evaluations of Whites and higher ingroup bias, which can have detrimental effects on intergroup relations (Huo & Molina, 2006). Miscategorization, on the other hand, was not related to outgroup evaluations and was more related to self-reported well-being. There can also be factors that affect reactions to miscategorization such as group status of the miscategorized group. The findings also show just how important the experience of

having others appreciate one's national origin identity can be for self-reported psychological well-being. Importantly, the findings of Study 2 demonstrate that the two facets of identity neglect (miscategorization vs. homogeneity) have differential relationships with self-reported psychological outcomes, thus reaffirming the necessity of examining them as two distinct experiences. Study 2 shows the importance of frequency of identity treatment on psychological well-being and intergroup relations; however, those relationships were correlational. While the findings provide us with insight into how identity treatment may be related to psychological and social outcomes, it is important to examine if similar outcomes occur as a direct result of identity treatment.

CHAPTER IV: Experimental Effects of Identity Treatment on Psychological Well-Being, Interpersonal Evaluations, Ingroup and Outgroup Evaluations: Study 3.

Study 3 Introduction

The main objective of Study 3 is to examine the psychological effects of experiencing miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation in an experiment. Conducting an experiment allows us to infer causal relationships between identity treatment and the relevant outcomes. Previous research examined the experimental effects of identity neglect (combining miscategorization and homogeneity) versus recognition (appreciation) on emotions and evaluations (Flores & Huo, 2013). However, a novel contribution of Study 3 is that it compares miscategorization to homogeneity and examines how the effects differ. Since Study 2 provided support that miscategorization and homogeneity can have different relationships with psychological and social outcomes, it is important to examine how they are causally related to outcomes as well.

Study 3 also examines the attributions people make for how others treat their national origin identity. There are three hypotheses regarding attributions for identity treatment: miscategorization is seen as unintentional, homogeneity is seen as negatively intentional (i.e., intent to hurt), and appreciation is seen as positively intentional (i.e., intent to show care). Previous research has shown that evaluations of others and emotional reactions can be affected by whether or not one's behavior is perceived as intentional (Lowe & Goldstein, 1970). Researchers predict that if an action is seen as negatively intentional, the individual will experience a stronger negative emotional reaction. Conversely, if an action is seen as positively intentional, the individual will experience a stronger positive emotional reaction. Study 3 examines the veracity of those intentionality hypotheses and how the perceived intentionality of the identity treatment affects the outcomes.

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Additionally, Study 3 expands on previous research by looking at how treatment of the national origin identity not only affects perceptions of one's own national origin group but also affects the perceptions of the pan-ethnic group. Previous research has shown that pan-ethnic identities and national origin identities are important to Asians and Latinos, often with the national origin identity being more valued than the pan-ethnic identity (Flores & Huo, 2013; Fuligni, Witkow & Garcia, 2005; Schildkraut, 2011; Sears et al., 2003). Since the national and pan-ethnic identities are interconnected due to the nature of the national origin groups housed within the pan-ethnic category, it could be expected that treatment of the national origin identity would influence feelings of the pan-ethnic identity. While the identity treatment targets the national origin group, it is part of the pan-ethnic group and the effects of identity treatment cannot be expected to only affect perceptions of the national origin group. This could particularly be the case when exposed to homogeneity. Since homogeneity conveys the idea that all members of the pan-ethnic group are the same and interchangeable, the feelings about the pan-ethnic group may be most affected by experiencing homogeneity compared to miscategorization. Miscategorization does not imply a devaluation of the pan-ethnic group but more so an unawareness of how national origin groups are different. Therefore, the pan-ethnic group is not an integral part of the miscategorization experience. Appreciation may equally affect both the national origin group and the pan-ethnic group as the appreciation may extend upward; by conveying appreciation of the national origin group, appreciation of the pan-ethnic group may be implied.

To examine which perceptions of the pan-ethnic group and the national origin group may be affected by identity treatment, we turn to previous identity threat research. This work has postulated that additional psychological consequences may occur as a result of experiences like

miscategorization and homogeneity (Branscombe et al., 1999). For example, two psychological consequences of identity threat for those high in group identification are: 1) perceiving one's ingroup as more homogeneous (ingroup homogeneity) and 2) increasing how closely one feels he or she resembles a member of his or her ingroup (self-stereotyping) (Branscombe et al., 1999). For example, a Latino who is miscategorized as Latino instead of American on the 4th of July will stress how Latinos can be different from one another (ingroup heterogeneity) in terms of cultural integration and identification. However, as previously stated, that line of work has not looked at miscategorization at the national origin level, focusing mostly on the relationship between pan-ethnic identities and American identity. Thus, miscategorization of national origin groups is not about being miscategorized as Latino when the Mexican identity is salient; rather, it is being miscategorized as Salvadorian, which is not a self-relevant identity. Therefore, stressing how different one's national origin group is when being miscategorized as an incorrect national origin group would not make sense. However, it would make sense to stress how the members of the pan-ethnic group are different from one another. Thus, stressing the heterogeneity of the pan-ethnic group would be reasonable when encountering miscategorization.

Not acknowledging group distinctions (i.e., homogeneity) might have different effects on the previously examined outcome variables, such as perceiving the threatened group as more homogeneous (ingroup homogeneity) and increase how closely individuals feel they resemble a member of that group (self-stereotyping) (Branscombe et al., 1999). However, because national origin groups comprise the pan-ethnic group, homogeneity would affect perceptions of national origin group differently than perceptions of the pan-ethnic group. For example, an individual's Mexican identity is disregarded because all Latinos are the same. The predictions of perceiving more ingroup homogeneity and how closely the individual feel he or she resembles a member of

that group (i.e., Mexican) would make sense only for the Mexican identity. Thus, that individual would feel that Mexicans are very similar to one another and he or she closely resembles other Mexicans. The opposite might occur for Latino identity. If the Mexican identity is undermined, the individual would stress how heterogeneous Latinos are and that he or she does not as closely resemble other Latinos. Therefore, homogeneity would most likely lead individuals to more strongly align themselves with the national origin group and stress heterogeneity of the pan-ethnic group.

Identity threat research has not examined how appreciation could affect self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity. It is possible that individuals experiencing appreciation may engage in higher levels of self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity but not as a response to feeling that their identity is threatened. However, their response may be due to feeling that since their national origin identities have been appropriately acknowledged, they are viewed as unique and self-relevant. Therefore, the individuals feel that group identity is appreciated by others and would want to view themselves as a more stereotypical member. The lack of threat in appreciation could allow the participants to feel that it is acceptable to be a more stereotypical member.

Additionally, it is important to examine how experiencing identity neglect and recognition affects how concerned individuals are with being stereotyped due to their group memberships: national origin group and pan-ethnic group. Previous research has shown that being concerned with being stereotyped can negatively affect psychological well-being (French & Chavez, 2010) as well as performance in academic domains (Steele, 1997). However, little research has been done on how concerned individuals are with stereotypes about their national origin groups. It is important to investigate if experiencing identity neglect or identity

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recognition activates that concern. If identity treatment affects concerns with being stereotyped, it could have similar negative downstream effects. However, if identity treatment does not activate that concern, then it is possible that there could be some protective function of identifying with the national origin group versus identifying with the pan-ethnic group.

Study 3 has four main goals. The first goal is to examine the attributions made to the identity treatment. Due to the nature of the identity treatments, unintentional and malevolence attributions will be examined to evaluate whether miscategorization is seen as unintentional, homogeneity is seen as intentional and meant to hurt the individual, and appreciation is seen as intentional and without intent to hurt the individual. Perceived intentionality of identity treatment is also explored as a mediator between identity treatment and emotions and evaluations of the interaction partner. The second goal is to investigate how exposure to miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation separately affects four outcome variables: affect, evaluations of the person enacting identity treatment, participant's perception of their national origin group and pan-ethnic group, and outgroup evaluations. The third goal is to continue to further examine how miscategorization and homogeneity affect the mentioned outcome variables differently. The final goal is to examine how levels of group identification with the national origin group can moderate the effect of identity treatment on the outcome variables.

Study 3 Hypotheses

Hypotheses about Perceived Intentionality of Attributions. We expect that participants will perceive miscategorization as more unintentional than homogeneity and appreciation, with appreciation being viewed as the most intentional. Further, we predict that the attributions made to appreciation will indicate that appreciation is seen as the least intent to hurt (e.g., someone intending to show support and to care) and homogeneity is seen as the most intentional to hurt

(e.g., someone intending to show offense and to hurt). We also expect that the perceived intentionality of the identity treatment will mediate the effects of identity treatment on emotions and evaluations. Those who perceive the actions as more intentional to hurt will report lower positive emotions and evaluations and higher negative emotions and evaluations. Those who perceive the actions are the least intentional to hurt will report higher positive emotions and evaluations and lower negative emotions and evaluations.

Hypotheses about Emotional Reaction and Evaluations of the Interaction Partner.

Emotional Reaction. We do not expect there to be a difference in emotional reaction when exposed to miscategorization versus homogeneity because they are both identity neglect experiences. However, we expect that participants exposed to homogeneity will report higher negative emotions and lower positive emotions than those exposed to appreciation.

Evaluations of Interaction Partner. As we expect miscategorization will be seen as accidental, we expect there will be a difference between homogeneity and miscategorization for evaluations of the interaction partner. Thus, participants exposed to miscategorization or appreciation will make more positive evaluations and less negative evaluations of the interaction partner than those exposed to homogeneity. Likewise, those exposed to appreciation will make more positive evaluations and less negative evaluations than those exposed to homogeneity.

Hypotheses about the Individuals' Perceptions of their <u>National Origin Group</u>.

Self-stereotyping. For self-stereotyping with the national origin group, those exposed to homogeneity will engage in higher levels of self-stereotyping than those exposed to miscategorization. However, there may be a reverse effect for those exposed to appreciation in that they may engage in more self-stereotyping with the national origin group than those exposed to homogeneity.

Ingroup homogeneity. For ingroup homogeneity of the national origin group, it is expected that those exposed to homogeneity will exhibit higher levels of ingroup homogeneity than those exposed to miscategorization or those exposed to appreciation.

Concerns with being Stereotyped. We expect those exposed to miscategorization will have higher concerns with stereotyping of the national origin group than those exposed to homogeneity. Likewise, as a result of feeling targeted, it is expected that those exposed to appreciation would have higher levels of concern with being stereotyped as a result of the national origin group compared to those exposed to homogeneity.

Hypotheses about the Individuals' Perceptions of their <u>*Pan-ethnic Group*</u>.

Self-stereotyping. For self-stereotyping with the pan-ethnic group, we expect those exposed to homogeneity will self-stereotype significantly less than those exposed to miscategorization. Additionally, it is expected that those exposed to appreciation will engage in more self-stereotyping than those exposed to homogeneity.

Ingroup homogeneity. For ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group, those exposed to the homogeneity condition will perceive lower levels of ingroup homogeneity than those exposed to appreciation or those exposed to miscategorization.

Concerns with being Stereotyped. For concerns with being stereotyped due to membership with the pan-ethnic group, we expect that those exposed to homogeneity will be more concerned with being stereotyped than those exposed to miscategorization. It was also expected that those exposed to appreciation will be more concerned with being stereotyped than those exposed to homogeneity.

Hypotheses about Outgroup Evaluations and Ingroup Bias. Based on the findings from Study 2, we expect that those exposed to homogeneity (compared to both miscategorization and appreciation) will rate Americans and Whites less warmly and exhibit higher ingroup bias.

Hypotheses about Levels of Group Identification. Lastly, we expect levels of group identification with the national origin group to moderate the relationship between identity treatment and the outcome variables such that those high in national origin group identification will react stronger than those lower in group identification. We expect this to particularly be the case with homogeneity versus appreciation.

Study 3 Method

Participants.

Participants ($N = 298$)[3] completed an online study through Amazon.com Mechanical Turk. Quota sampling was employed to ensure representation of both ethnic groups. The sample consisted of Asian (50.5%) and Latino (49.5%) participants of which 72.2% were born in the United States. Age ranged from 18 to 63 with the majority (78%) of the sample in the 20 to 40 age range. Forty-five percent were female and 55% were male. The majority of the sample (88%) had some college education or more and political orientation was distributed: conservative (15.5%), moderate (35%) and liberal (49.5%). Participants were paid $0.75 for their participation.

Procedure.

Participants were recruited into a study on ethnic identity. As with Studies 1 and 2, participants were told to the study's purpose is to gather information about experiences Asians (or Latinos) may have living in a diverse country. They completed an eligibility screening and were told that they may not qualify for the study. After reading the informed consent,

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[3] Five participants were removed from analyses: two participants identified their national origin group as German or Scottish, one participant identified as bi-racial, and two participants were excluded for not appearing to be paying attention.

participants were taken to the eligibility questionnaire in which they completed a few demographic questions: gender, age, ethnicity, national origin and current zip code. Those who selected options apart from Asian and Latino were informed that they were not eligible. Those who continued on in the survey were first asked to complete measures of their level of identification with the national origin group and the pan-ethnic group. Participants were then randomly assigned to an identity treatment condition[4] in which they read about a vignette asking them to imagine one of the following identity treatments had occurred: miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation. They were given examples of the situation they were asked to envision and then asked to vividly imagine what a situation like that would feel like and then to describe what they were imagining (or if something had happened like that, to recall the details of that specific experience). The scenario presented was the only content that differed between the conditions. Afterwards, they were asked what their emotional reactions would be and what evaluations they would make of the person who enacted that identity treatment. In addition, they were asked to make attributions for *why* the person treated them that way. We then asked them questions about how they perceived their pan-ethnic group and their national origin group. Finally, they were asked to complete group ratings of their national origin group and outgroups. The survey concluded with demographic questions and participants were debriefed, compensated, and thanked.

Experimental Manipulation Miscategorization, Homogeneity, or Appreciation. For the experimental manipulation, participants were exposed to a hypothetical scenario describing miscategorization, homogeneity or appreciation of their national origin group and they were

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[4] Participants were randomly assigned to condition such that each condition was equally represented. However, there was minor variability for the distributions of Asian and Latinos to condition. For Asians: miscategorization- 34%, homogeneity-31%, and appreciation- 35%. For Latinos: miscategorization- 31%, homogeneity- 38%, and appreciation- 31%.

asked to imagine something similar. Following the scenarios, they were asked to recall (and write down) a situation in which their national origin identity was treated in that manner.

The hypothetical scenarios asked the participants to imagine being in a situation in which they experienced miscategorization, homogeneity, or appreciation of their national origin identity. They were then given examples of how their national origin identity could be treated in a given identity treatment condition. Specifically, participants were presented one of the following three scenarios:

<u>Miscategorization</u>

We would like you to imagine a situation in which someone thinks you belong to a national origin group that you don't belong to or a situation in which someone did not correctly acknowledge your national origin identity.

For example:

Someone mistakenly treats you as someone from a national origin group that you don't belong to:

An acquaintance is asking about your plans to celebrate Cinco de Mayo, which is a Mexican holiday, when you are actually from El Salvador.

Someone assuming you like ceviche, which is traditionally a Peruvian dish, when you are Colombian.

Someone confuses you with being a member of a different national origin group:

You tell someone you are from Guatemala and they say they thought you were from Puerto Rico.

Someone hears you speaking Spanish and ask you if you are from Cuba when you are Dominican.

<u>Homogeneity</u>

We would like you to imagine a situation in which someone treats you and other (Latino) people as though you are all the same.

For example:

Someone does not seem to care that (Latino) people, like you, come from different cultural backgrounds:

An acquaintance is asking about your plans to celebrate the Cinco de Mayo, knowing that your family is El Salvador.

Someone assuming you like tacos, which are traditionally a Mexican dish, knowing you are from Puerto Rico.

Someone treats you and other (Peruvian) people as though you are interchangeable as another Latino person from a different national origin group:

You tell someone your family is from Mexico and they say they know someone from Costa Rica.

Someone sees you and asks if you are Cuban when you are Guatemalan.

Appreciation

We would like you to imagine a situation in which someone correctly identifies your national origin group or a situation in which someone shows they know about your background.

For example:

Someone shows they know about your national origin group and its culture (regarding practices, traditions, etc.) or they do not make assumptions about your background:

You tell an acquaintance your family is from Mexico, and they ask you if your family celebrates The Day of the Dead.

Someone overhears you say you have family in Guatemala and asks you if your family is Guatemalan.

Someone is genuinely interested to learn about how your national origin group is different from other national origin groups:

You tell someone your family is from Puerto Rico, and they ask you about the culture.

An acquaintance knows your family is from El Salvador and asks you about the traditions and practices and if your family partakes.

After viewing the scenario, participants were asked to think about how encountering such a situation would make them feel if it had occurred to them. They were also asked to take some time to imagine what emotions they would feel as well as what kinds of evaluations they would make to the person they would be interacting with.

Measures

  Group Identification. Participants were first asked their levels of group identification with their national origin group and their pan-ethnic group separately on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, indicating agreement with the items: ''I am proud of being [a member of my national origin group]'' and ''Being [a member of my national origin group] is an important part of my self-image, '' (national origin: $\alpha = .79$; pan-ethnic: $\alpha = .80$). Overall the participants were highly identified with their national origin groups (*M = 5.40, SD = 1.28)* and their pan-ethnic groups (*M = 5.27, SD = 1.24).* [5] Group identification items were adapted from previous national origin identity neglect work (Flores & Huo, 2013).

  Attributions. After participants "*vividly*" envisioned the scenario and wrote briefly about what they felt and who they interacted with, they were asked to make attributions for *why* the interaction partner would have (or did) treat them in that manner. Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *very unlikely* to 7 = *to very likely* indicating the likelihood for why someone acted in such a manner. The attributions were separated into two categories: unintentional and intent to hurt. Unintentional included: didn't know better, confused by people like me, and made an innocent mistake ($\alpha = .75$). Intent to hurt included: to hurt me, to offend me, don't care about others, wanted to be supported (reverse coded), care about others (reverse coded), and knew my national origin mattered to me (reverse coded) ($\alpha = .81$).

  Emotional Reactions. Additionally, after the scenario, participants were asked what emotions they would feel (or felt) if something like that happened. Emotions items were adapted from previous national origin identity neglect research (Flores & Huo, 2013). Emotions were rated on 5-point scales ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. Positive emotions and

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[5] Paired-samples t-test revealed that participants identified more with their national origin group (M = 5.40, SD = 1.28) than with their pan-ethnic group (M = 5.27, SD = 1.24), t(295) = 2.69, p<.01.

negative emotions are measured separately for two reasons. The first reason is that previous research suggests that positive emotions and negative emotions can affect outcomes differently (Fredrickson, 2001). The second reason is that negative emotions often have restricted variance or a floor effect and measuring them separately allows us to examine emotions without as much variance restriction. Positive emotions included: happy, respected, proud, good, and inspired ($\alpha = .92$). Negative emotions included: sad, uncomfortable, insulted, upset, annoyed, angry, irritated, and disrespected ($\alpha = .96$).

Evaluations of Interaction Partner. Participants were also asked to make evaluations of the interaction partner on a 5-point scale for different characteristics ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. The same evaluations were used as previous national origin identity neglect research (Flores & Huo, 2013). We apply the same logic of emotion valence to evaluations, and we examine positive and negative separately. Positive evaluations included: likable, engaging, intelligent, open-minded and friendly ($\alpha = .93$). Negative evaluations included: prejudiced, arrogant, annoying, insensitive, ignorant, uneducated, elitist and naïve ($\alpha = .93$).

Self-Stereotyping. Questions about self-stereotyping were adapted from Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennekamp, Doosje, & Spears (2008). These items included: "I am similar to the average (national origin group)[6] person" and "I have a lot in common with the average (national origin group) person." Items were rated on a 7-point scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* (national origin: $\alpha = .88$; pan-ethnic: $\alpha = .90$).

Ingroup Homogeneity. Participants were also asked about the perceptions of ingroup homogeneity for their national origin group and the pan-ethnic group. Questions were adapted from Leach et al (2008). These items included: "(national origin group) people have a lot in

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[6] Parentheticals around "national origin group" in the measures indicate that for each participant, their national origin group was piped into the item. For example, "Mexican people have a lot in common with each other." For questions about the pan-ethnic group, the participant's pan-ethnic group was piped in.

common with each other" and "(national origin group) people are very similar to each other."

Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*

(national origin: $\alpha = .86$; pan-ethnic: $\alpha = .85$).

Concerns with being Stereotyped. Additional items were added to gauge concerns with

being stereotyped adapted from a stereotype threat scale (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008) and

included items: "I worry that others may stereotype me because I am (my national origin group)"

and "I worry that others evaluations of me might be affected because I am (my national origin

group)." Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly*

agree (national origin: $\alpha = .85$; pan-ethnic: $\alpha = .87$).

Outgroup Evaluations and Ingroup Bias. Lastly, participants were asked to evaluate other

groups in the U.S. They did so by completing a thermometer rating and were asked how warmly

they felt about different groups: Asians, Latinos, Whites, Blacks, Americans, and (their national

origin group), group ratings were from 0 = *not at all warm* to 10 = *extremely warm*. Ingroup bias

was calculated by compiling an average of pan-ethnic outgroups and subtracting that from the

rating of the participant's pan-ethnic group (i.e., for an Asian person: ingroup bias = Asian −

(average of Whites, Latinos, Blacks)) (Huo & Molina, 2006).

Study 3 Results

Data were analyzed using one-way Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) and multiple

regression analyses. Results presented are organized by outcome variable. To test the main

predictions, between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted separately for each dependent variable

to examine differences among the conditions. However, the three identity treatments include two

different ways to experience identity neglect (miscategorization or homogeneity) and one way of

experiencing recognition (appreciation). Therefore, pairwise comparisons were conducted for the ANOVAs to examine the differences between the identity treatment groups.

The first set of results focus on the attributions made to the interaction partner for identity treatment as well as emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner. We examined the attributions made to provide support for making the identity treatment comparisons (i.e., homogeneity vs. miscategorization and homogeneity vs. appreciation). We compare within identity neglect (miscategorization vs. homogeneity) to see if the different facets of the experience have different effects thereby controlling for the valence of the identity treatment. The other comparison is controlling for the intentionality of the treatment in that homogeneity and appreciation are more willful interactions (miscategorization is a more accidental experience). Next, we present the main effects for the emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner for the identity treatment. After, we use hierarchical regression analyses to examine how national origin group identification moderates the effect of identity treatment on emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner. Lastly, we present the results of identity treatment on emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner mediated by perceived intentionality of the interaction partner.

The second set of analyses examine the effect of identity treatment on perceptions of the participants' national origin groups and pan-ethnic groups. Using ANOVAs, we first present the main effects of identity treatment on national origin and pan-ethnic group self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity and concerns with being stereotyped. Next, using hierarchical regression analyses, we examine the interaction between national origin group identification and identity treatment on self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity and concerns with being stereotyped for the national origin group. Subsequently, we examine the interaction between national origin group

identification and identity treatment on self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity and concerns with being stereotyped for the pan-ethnic group.

In the last set of analyses, we examine the effects of identity treatment on group evaluations and ingroup bias. First, using ANOVAs we present the main effects of identity treatment on evaluations of Whites, Americans, the participants' national origin group, and ingroup bias. Finally, we examine the interaction between national origin group identification and identity treatment on group evaluations and ingroup bias. In all analyses age, ethnicity, gender, immigration status, and political ideology were controlled for.[7]

Effect of Identity Treatment on Attributions

First, we examined the attributions made to the interaction partner for the identity treatment. Attributions were combined into two composite variables: unintentional and intent to hurt. Unintentional examines how accidental the identity treatment was (i.e., less accidental or more accidental). Intent to hurt examines the valence of the intent (i.e., intending to hurt or show care). We present all three comparisons of the attributions to provide evidence for differences in perceived intent of the experiences.

Unintentional. We examined how accidental participants viewed the identity treatment. We expected that miscategorization would be seen as the most accidental over homogeneity and appreciation. Higher means indicate that the experience was seen as more accidental; lower numbers indicate it was seen as less accidental. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.08$), homogeneity ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.48$), and appreciation conditions ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.51$), $F(2, 288) = 40.03$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .22$. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed that all comparisons were significant, $p < .01$.

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[7] Additionally, we examined the interaction between ethnicity and identity treatment. We did not find any consistent pattern of interactions for Asians and Latinos. Thus, we included ethnicity as a control variable.

Miscategorization was seen as the most accidental compared to homogeneity and appreciation. Additionally, homogeneity was seen as more accidental than appreciation (*see Table 4).*

Intent to Hurt. Next we examined the intent to hurt attributions participants made for the identity treatment. Higher means indicate that the identity treatment was seen as more negatively intentional (e.g., the action was seen as a result of the interaction partner wanting to hurt or offend the participant); lower numbers indicate it was seen as more positively intentional (e.g., the action was seen as a result of the interaction partner caring about the participant). We expected that homogeneity would be seen as more negatively intentional (more intent to hurt) than miscategorization and appreciation. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization (M = 3.30, SD = 1.06), homogeneity (M = 3.75, SD = 1.31), and appreciation conditions (M = 2.55, SD = 1.04), $F(2, 288)$ = 25.40, $p < .01$, η^2 = .15. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed that all comparisons were significant, $p < .01$. Homogeneity was perceived as the most intentional to hurt compared to miscategorization with appreciation perceived as the least intentional to hurt (*see Table 4).*

Table 4. Mean scores and standard deviations for attributions made to the hypothetical interaction partner.

Attributions	Miscategorization	Homogeneity	Appreciation	One-way ANOVA
Unintentional	5.28 (1.08)[a]	4.70 (1.48)[b]	3.54 (1.51)[c]	F(2, 288)=40.03**
Intent to Hurt	3.30 (1.06)[a]	3.75 (1.31)[b]	2.55 (1.04)[c]	F(2, 288)=25.40**

Note: For unintentional, higher numbers indicate the treatment was viewed as more accidental; lower numbers indicate the treatment was seen as less accidental. For intent to hurt, higher numbers indicate the action was seen as intending to offend or to hurt; lower numbers indicate the action was seen as intending to show care or support. The *F* values represent the results of a one-way ANOVA to test for differences between the conditions ([+]$p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$). Means within rows not having a common superscript differ at p<.05.

Effect of Identity Treatment on Emotional Reaction and Evaluations of Interaction Partner

Emotional Reaction. Next, we focused on the effect of national origin identity treatment on emotional reactions. The attribution analyses above provided support that miscategorization is seen as more accidental than homogeneity and appreciation. Additionally, homogeneity and appreciation are seen as more extreme when it comes to intentionality, with homogeneity rated as the most negatively intentional and appreciation being rated the most positively intentional. We did not expect positive and negative emotions to differ between homogeneity vs. miscategorization. However, we expected that those who were exposed to homogeneity would report more negative emotions and less positive emotions than those exposed to appreciation.

Positive Emotions. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization (M = 1.71, SD = 0.87), the homogeneity (M = 1.57, SD = 0.84), and the appreciation conditions (M = 2.92, SD = 1.01), F(2, 288) = 66.60, $p < .01$, η^2 = .32 for positive emotions. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed there was no significant difference between miscategorization and homogeneity for positive emotions. Additionally, those exposed to appreciation reported more positive emotions than those exposed to homogeneity, $p < .01$ *(see Table 5).*

Negative Emotions. Additionally, there were significant differences among the miscategorization (M = 2.14, SD = 1.10), homogeneity (M = 2.31, SD = 1.11), and appreciation conditions (M = 1.44, SD = 0.75), F(2, 288) = 19.91, $p < .01$, η^2 = .12 for negative emotions. As expected, pairwise comparisons revealed there was no significant difference between miscategorization and homogeneity. Additionally, as hypothesized, those exposed to homogeneity reported more negative emotions than those exposed to appreciation, $p < .01$ *(see Table 5).*

Evaluations of Interaction Partner*. We also examined the effects of identity treatment on evaluations of the interaction partner. Because of miscategorization is viewed as accidental, we expected that those exposed to miscategorization would make more positive evaluations and less negative evaluations of the interaction partner than those exposed to homogeneity. Additionally, we expected that those who were exposed to homogeneity would report more negative evaluations and less positive evaluations than those exposed to appreciation.

Positive Evaluations. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization (M = 2.10, SD = 0.92), homogeneity (M = 1.84, SD = 0.88), and appreciation conditions (M = 3.18, SD = 0.92), $F(2, 288)$ = 62.23, $p < .01$, η^2 = .30 for positive evaluations. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed all comparisons were significant. Those exposed to miscategorization reported more positive evaluations than those who were exposed to homogeneity, p = .03. Additionally, those exposed to appreciation reported more positive evaluations than those exposed to homogeneity, $p < .01$ *(see Table 5).*

Negative Evaluations. Next we examined the effect of identity treatment on negative evaluations. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization (M = 2.50, SD = 1.08), homogeneity (M = 2.65, SD = 0.97), and appreciation conditions (M = 1.60, SD = 0.83), $F(2, 288)$ = 32.51, $p < .01$, η^2 = .18. Contrary to hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed no significant difference between miscategorization and homogeneity. However, as expected, those exposed to homogeneity reported more negative evaluations than those exposed to appreciation, $p < .01$ *(see Table 5).*

Table 5. Mean scores and standard deviations for emotional reactions and evaluations.

Outcome	Miscategorization	Homogeneity	Appreciation	One-way ANOVA
Positive Emotions	1.71 (0.87)[a]	1.57 (0.84)[a]	2.92 (1.01)[b]	$F(2, 288)=66.60$**
Negative Emotions	2.14 (1.10)[a]	2.31 (1.11)[a]	1.44 (0.75)[b]	$F(2, 288)=19.91$**
Positive Evaluations	2.10 (0.92)[a]	1.84 (0.88)[b]	3.18 (0.92)[c]	$F(2, 288)=62.23$**
Negative Evaluations	2.50 (1.08)[a]	2.65 (0.97)[a]	1.60 (0.83)[b]	$F(2, 288)=32.51$**

Note: The *F* values represent the results of a one-way ANOVA to test for differences between the conditions ([+]$p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$). Means within rows not having a common superscript differ at $p<.05$.

Effect of Group Identification as a Moderator for Emotional Reaction and Evaluations of the Interaction Partner

Next, identification with the national origin group was examined as a moderator for the effect of identity treatment on emotions and evaluations of the interaction partner using hierarchical regression. While we recognize the importance of group identification with both the national origin group and the pan-ethnic group, for the purposes of this study, we focus on the level of identification with the national origin group since we are examining reactions to identity treatment of the national origin group.[8] For each regression, three steps were conducted to determine the effects of the interaction: (step 1) identity treatment as a predictor, (step 2) identification with the national origin group as the moderator, and (step 3) interaction between identity treatment and group identification with the national origin group. Below, we report the standardized regression coefficients for the interaction between identity treatment and national origin group identification (step 3). In all analyses age, ethnicity, gender, immigration status, and political ideology were controlled for. For all analyses, we expected that those high in national

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[8] Regressions were additionally conducted with pan-ethnic identity as the moderator; however, the findings remained fairly consistent with the moderation effects of the national origin group. The only differences were that for two of the moderation effects that were not significant (albeit, approaching) with the national origin group, became marginally significant with the pan-ethnic group as the moderator for positive emotions (for homogeneity vs. miscategorization) and for stereotyping (for homogeneity vs. appreciation). The other significant (or marginally) interactions were consistent with the findings of national origin group as a moderator following outcome variables: subgroup respect for the national origin group (homogeneity vs. miscategorization), positive emotions, and positive evaluations (for homogeneity vs. appreciation).

origin group identification would be more affected by identity treatment. Particularly, due to the valence difference of identity treatment, we expect to see significant moderation of group identification on the relationship between homogeneity vs. appreciation and the outcome variables.

Emotional Reaction and Evaluations of the Interaction Partner

Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization

All interactions testing national origin group identification as a moderator of miscategorization vs. homogeneity on emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner were non-significant, *p > .10 (see Table 6 for regression coefficients).*

Table 6. The interaction of miscategorization vs. homogeneity and national origin group identification in predicting emotional and evaluation outcome variables.

Miscategorization vs. Homogeneity	
Positive Emotions	-.46
Negative Emotions	-.22
Positive Evaluations	.04
Negative evaluations	-.14
.	

Unless otherwise noted, numerical entries represent standardized regression coefficients of the interaction term. Background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, ideology, immigration status) were entered as control variables in all models.
$^+p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01$

Homogeneity vs. Appreciation

Emotional Reaction. Next, we examined the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification on emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner. In line with hypotheses, multiple regression analyses revealed the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification was significant in predicting positive emotions ($\beta = 1.04, p < .01$). As expected, the effect of identity treatment was stronger for high

identifiers ($\beta = .84$, $p < .01$) than for low identifiers ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$). However, regression analyses did not reveal a significant interaction for negative emotions ($\beta = .02$, $p = .95$).

Evaluations of Interaction Partner. As expected, the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification was significant in predicting positive evaluations of the interaction partner ($\beta = .63$, $p = .01$). In line with hypotheses, the effect of identity treatment was stronger for high identifiers ($\beta = .77$, $p < .01$) than for low identifiers ($\beta = .49$, $p < .01$). However, contrary to hypotheses, the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification was not significant in predicting negative evaluations ($\beta = .15$, $p = .60$).

Effect of Perceived Intentionality as a Mediator for Emotional Reaction and Evaluations

Next, we examined whether the attributions made to the interaction partner affected the responses to identity treatment. We investigated how perceived intentionality (intent to hurt) mediated the relationship between identity treatment and emotional reaction as well as the relationship between identity treatment and evaluations of the interaction partner. Using the Baron and Kenny steps for mediation (1986), we first ran a regression with the identity treatment predicting the outcome, next we ran a regression with identity treatment predicting perceived intentionality, and lastly we ran a regression with perceived intentionality predicting the outcome with identity treatment entered in the equation. For ease of presentation, we will first present mediation for homogeneity vs. miscategorization for the outcome variable followed by mediation for homogeneity vs. appreciation for the outcome variables. We expected that those who perceive the identity treatment as more intentional to hurt will report more negative emotions and negative evaluations. Those who viewed identity treatment as less intentional to hurt will report more positive emotions and evaluations.

Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization

Positive Evaluations. For homogeneity vs. miscategorization, we only examined mediation of perceived intentionality on the relationship between identity neglect and positive evaluations because the relationship with negative evaluations was not significant, nor was there a difference for emotional reaction. As expected, perceived intentionality was a significant mediator for positive evaluations *(see Table 7a for regression coefficients; see Figure 5a for pattern).*

Table 7a. Effect of homogeneity vs. miscategorization on positive evaluations, mediated by perceived intent to hurt.

Outcome Variables	a path	b path	c path	c' path	Sobel z
Positive Evaluations	-.18**	-.54**	.16*	.07	-2.94**

Note. Except otherwise noted, numerical entries represent standardized regression coefficients. Background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, ideology, immigration status) were entered as control variables in all models. Identity treatment was coded such that 0=Homogeneity and 1= Miscategorization thus an increasing regression coefficient means that the outcome variable was experienced more in the miscategorization condition.
$^+p < .10. * p < .05. ** p < .01.$

Homogeneity vs. Appreciation

For homogeneity vs. appreciation, we examined mediation of perceived intent to hurt for positive emotions (*see Figure 5a)*, negative emotions *(see Figure 5b)*, positive evaluations, and negative evaluations. As expected, perceived intentionality was a significant mediator for all four outcome variables, all *ps < .01 (see Table 7b for regression confidents).*

Table 7b. Effect of homogeneity vs. appreciation on emotions and evaluations mediated by perceived intent to hurt.

Outcome Variables	a path	b path	c path	c' path	Sobel z
Positive Emotions	-.44**	-.19**	.61**	.53**	2.86**
Negative Emotions	-.44**	.60**	-.42**	-.15*	-5.69**
Positive Evaluations	-.44**	-.39**	.62**	.45**	4.53**
Negative Evaluations	-.44**	.58**	-.50**	-.24**	-5.79**

Note. Unless otherwise noted, numerical entries represent standardized regression coefficients. Background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, ideology, immigration status) were entered as control variables in all models. Identity treatment was coded such that 0=Homogeneity and 1= Appreciation thus an increasing regression coefficient means that the outcome variable was experienced more in the appreciation condition.
$^+p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Figure 5a. Effect of homogeneity vs. appreciation effect on positive emotions significantly mediated by perceived intent to hurt.

Note: Identity treatment was coded such that 0 = Homogeneity and 1 = Appreciation. High intentionality was coded such that lower numbers indicate a caring intent and higher numbers indicate intent to hurt. Therefore, a decreasing regression coefficient from the predictor to the mediator means that there was less intent to hurt perceived in appreciation. Likewise, a decreasing regression coefficient from the mediator to the outcome variable means that less intent to hurt, the higher the participant reported positive emotions.

Figure 5b. Homogeneity vs. appreciation effects on negative emotions significantly mediated by perceived intent to hurt of the hypothetical interaction partner.

Note: Identity treatment was coded such that 0 = Homogeneity and 1 = Appreciation. Intent to hurt was coded such that lower numbers indicate a caring intent and higher numbers indicate intent to hurt. Therefore, a decreasing regression coefficient from the predictor to the mediator means that there was less intent to hurt perceived in appreciation. An increasing regression coefficient from the mediator to the outcome variable means that as the treatment was viewed as a result of more intent to hurt, the higher the participant reported negative emotions.

Effect of Identity Treatment on Perceptions of Participants' National Origin Groups and Pan-Ethnic Groups

Next, we examined how identity treatment affected perceptions of participants' national origin groups and pan-ethnic groups. Using ANOVAs, we examined self-stereotyping (how closely individuals feel they resemble a member of their ingroup), perceived ingroup homogeneity (how homogeneous individuals perceives their ingroup), and how concerned individuals were with being stereotyped as a group member. These outcomes capture how treatment affected the participants' perceptions of their national origin groups and pan-ethnic groups. Results for the national origin group are presented first, followed by the results for the pan-ethnic group.

National Origin Group

For self-stereotyping of the national origin group, we expected that those exposed to homogeneity would feel their national origin identity was threatened and would report more

levels of self-stereotyping than those exposed to miscategorization. Additionally, we expected those exposed to appreciation would self-stereotype more than those exposed to homogeneity. Because their national origin identity was appreciated, they would be more motivated to view themselves as a more stereotypical member. Contrary to hypotheses, there were no significant differences among the miscategorization ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.58$), homogeneity ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.51$), and appreciation conditions ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 1.48$), $F(2, 287) = 0.40$, $p = .67$, $\eta^2 = .00$. Likewise, pairwise comparisons did not reveal any significant differences (*see Table 8).*

As with self-stereotyping, we expected that those exposed to homogeneity would feel threatened and report more ingroup homogeneity of the national origin group than those exposed to miscategorization. Additionally, we expected those exposed to homogeneity would perceive more ingroup homogeneity than those exposed to appreciation. Contrary to hypotheses, there were no significant differences among miscategorization ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 1.33$), homogeneity ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.27$), and appreciation conditions ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.41$), $F(2, 285) = .20$, $p = .82$, $\eta^2 = .00$. Pairwise comparisons did not reveal any significant differences (*see Table 8).*

Because homogeneity disregards group differences, we expected those exposed to miscategorization or appreciation to be more concerned with being stereotyped than those exposed to homogeneity. As expected, there were significant differences among the miscategorization ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.73$), homogeneity ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.64$), and appreciation conditions ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.53$), $F(2, 288) = 3.46$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed that those exposed to appreciation were more concerned with being stereotyped than those exposed to homogeneity, $p = .01$. Contrary to hypotheses, there was no significant difference between miscategorization and homogeneity (*see Table 8).*

Pan-ethnic Group

As a result of not participants feeling the pan-ethnic identity was threatened, it was expected that those exposed to miscategorization or appreciation would report more self-stereotyping with the pan-ethnic group than those exposed to homogeneity. There were no significant differences among the miscategorization (*M* = 4.31, *SD* = 1.50), homogeneity (*M* = 4.02, *SD* = 1.33), and appreciation conditions (*M* = 4.42, *SD* = 1.41), F(2,288) = 1.94, p = .15, η^2 = .01. In line with hypotheses, pairwise comparisons revealed that those exposed to appreciation marginally self-stereotyped more than those exposed to homogeneity, p = .06. However, there was no significant difference between miscategorization and homogeneity (*see Table 8).*

For ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group, we expected that those exposed to homogeneity would react against feeling as though their group was perceived as one and report lower levels of ingroup homogeneity compared to miscategorization and appreciation. Even though there were no significant differences among the miscategorization (*M* = 4.32, *SD* = 1.34), homogeneity (*M* = 4.20, *SD* = 1.31), and appreciation conditions (*M* = 4.54, *SD* = 1.40), F(2,287) = 1.88, p = .16, η^2 = .01, as expected, pairwise comparisons revealed that those exposed to appreciation reported marginally more levels of ingroup homogeneity than those exposed to homogeneity, p =.06. Contrary to hypotheses, there was no difference between miscategorization and homogeneity (*see Table 8).*

Last, we examined concerns with being stereotyped as a pan-ethnic group member. As a result of participants being viewed at the pan-ethnic level, it was expected that those exposed to homogeneity would report more concerns with being stereotyped than those exposed to miscategorization. Additionally, we expected those exposed to appreciation would feel targeted

because of their group membership and would report more concerns with being stereotyped than those exposed to homogeneity. There were no significant differences among miscategorization ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.69$), homogeneity ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.64$), and appreciation conditions ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.60$), F(2,288) = 2.23, p = .11, $\eta^2 = .02$. However, as expected, pairwise comparisons revealed that those exposed to appreciation rated higher concerns with being stereotyped than those exposed to homogeneity, p = .05 (*see Table 8*).

Table 8. Mean scores and standard deviations for self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, and concerns with stereotyping.

Variable	Miscategorization	Homogeneity	Appreciation	One-way ANOVA
Self-Stereotyping (NO)	4.22 (1.58)[a]	4.22 (1.52)[a]	4.38 (1.48)[a]	F(2, 287)=0.40
Ingroup Homogeneity (NO)	4.64 (1.33)[a]	4.69 (1.27)[a]	4.63 (1.41)[a]	F(2, 285)=0.20
Stereotyping (NO)	3.96 (1.73)[ab]	3.61 (1.64)[a]	4.21 (1.53)[b]	F(2, 288)=3.46*
Self-Stereotyping (PE)	4.31 (1.50)[a]	4.02 (1.33)[a]	4.42 (1.41)[a]	F(2, 288)=1.94
Ingroup Homogeneity (PE)	4.32 (1.34)[a]	4.20 (1.31)[a]	4.54 (1.40)[a]	F(2, 287)=1.88
Stereotyping (PE)	4.07 (1.69)[ab]	3.75 (1.64)[a]	4.19 (1.60)[b]	F(2, 288)=2.23

Note: NO represents a measure about the national origin group; PE represents a measure about the pan-ethnic group. The *F* values represent the results of a one-way ANOVA to test for differences between the conditions ([+]$p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$). Means within rows not having a common superscript differ at p<.05.

Effect of Group Identification as a Moderator for Self-Stereotyping, Ingroup Homogeneity and Concerns with being Stereotyped for the National Origin Group

Next, we examined whether national origin group identification moderated the effect of identity treatment on the perceptions of the national origin group. We tested the moderation hypotheses by conducting hierarchical regression and present the standardized regression coefficients for each interaction term (step 3). While we expected that group identification would moderate the effect of homogeneity vs. miscategorization on the outcome variables, since they

are both forms of identity neglect, the effects might have been too small to detect. However, we expected that the moderation of group identification would be clearer for homogeneity vs. appreciation due to the valence differences of the two experiences.

Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization

First we examined whether group identification moderated the relationship between identity neglect (miscategorization vs. homogeneity) and perceptions of the national origin group. For self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity, the interaction between identity neglect (homogeneity vs. miscategorization) was not significant. However, the interaction between identity neglect (homogeneity vs. miscategorization) and group identification was significant in predicting concerns with stereotyping of the national origin group ($\beta = -.65$, $p = .04$). Contrary to hypotheses, the effect of identity treatment was stronger among low identifiers than for high identifiers (*see Table 9 for regression coefficients; see Figure 6*).

Figure 6. Statistically significant interaction between homogeneity vs. miscategorization and group identification on concerns with being stereotyped because of the national origin group.
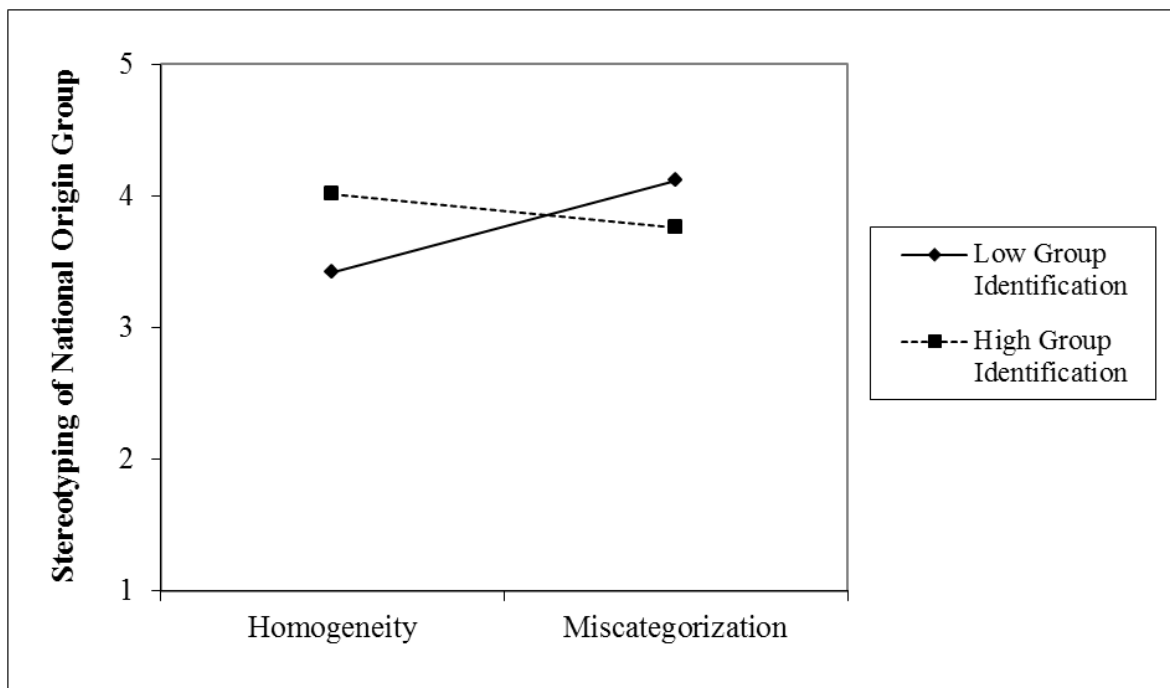
Homogeneity vs. Appreciation

Next we examined whether group identification moderated the relationship between homogeneity vs. appreciation and perceptions of the national origin group. Contrary to hypotheses, the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification was not significant in predicting self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, and concerns with being stereotyped for the national origin group (*see Table 9 for regression coefficients*).

Effect of Group Identification as a Moderator for Self-Stereotyping, Ingroup Homogeneity and Concerns with being Stereotyped for the Pan-Ethnic Group.

Next, we examined how levels of group identification with the national origin group moderated the effect of identity treatment on the perceptions of the pan-ethnic group. Again, we examined the moderation by conducting hierarchical regression.

Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization

Contrary to our hypotheses, the interaction between homogeneity vs. miscategorization and group identification was not significant in predicting either self-stereotyping or concerns with being stereotyped as part of the pan-ethnic group. However, the interaction between homogeneity vs. miscategorization and national origin group identification was significant in predicting ingroup homogeneity for the pan-ethnic group (β = -.70, p = .03). Contrary to our hypotheses, the effect was stronger among low identifiers than high identifiers (*see Table 9 for regression coefficients; see Figure 7*).

Figure 7. Statistically significant interaction between homogeneity vs. miscategorization and group identification on ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group.
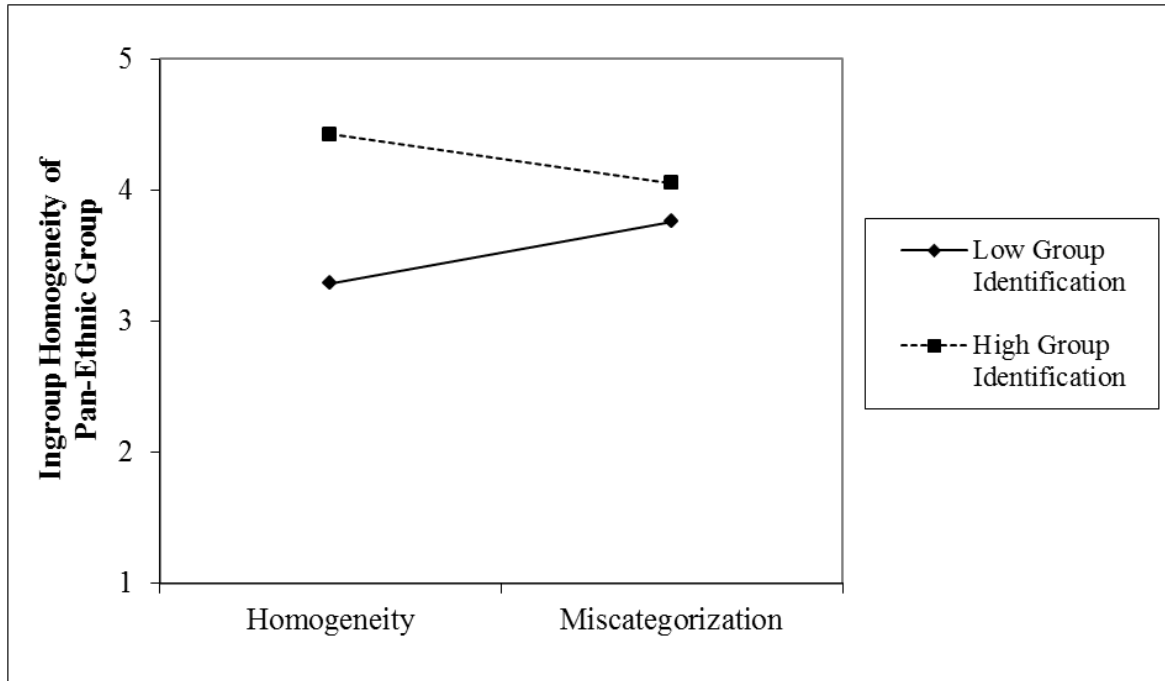
Homogeneity vs. Appreciation

Additionally, we examined the interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and group identification in predicting self-stereotyping, in group homogeneity, and concerns with being stereotyped as part of the pan-ethnic group. As expected, group identification marginally moderated the relationship between homogeneity vs. appreciation for self-stereotyping ($\beta = .54$, $p = .07$) and significantly moderated the relationship for ingroup homogeneity ($\beta = .64$, $p = .04$) and concerns with being stereotyped ($\beta = .69$, $p = .03$) *(see Figure 8 for pattern of the interaction)*. As expected, the effect was stronger for those high in group identification than those low in group identification *(see Table 9 for regression coefficients)*.

Table 9. The interaction of identity treatment and national origin group identification in predicting outcome variables.

	Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization			Homogeneity vs. Appreciation		
	Interaction	Low ID	High ID	Interaction	Low ID	High ID
National Origin group						
Self-Stereotyping	-.24	--	--	.14	--	--
Ingroup Homogeneity	-.22	--	--	.11	--	--
Concerns with Stereotyping	-.65*	.20*	-.05	.10	--	--
Pan-Ethnic group						
Self-Stereotyping	-.18	--	--	.54$^+$	-.03	.21*
Ingroup Homogeneity	-.70**	-.17$^+$	-.14	.64*	-.02	.26**
Concerns with Stereotyping	-.48	--	--	.69*	-.03	.27**

Note: Unless otherwise noted, numerical entries represent standardized regression coefficients. For interaction, the standardized regression coefficient of the interaction term is presented. Low ID & High ID are the simple effect standardized regression coefficients of those low in group identification (-1SD) and those high in group identification (+1SD). Background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, ideology, immigration status) were entered as control variables in all models.

$^+p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01$

Figure 8. Marginally significant interaction between homogeneity vs. appreciation and levels of group identification on self-stereotyping of the pan-ethnic group (*similar pattern for ingroup homogeneity and concerns with stereotyping).*
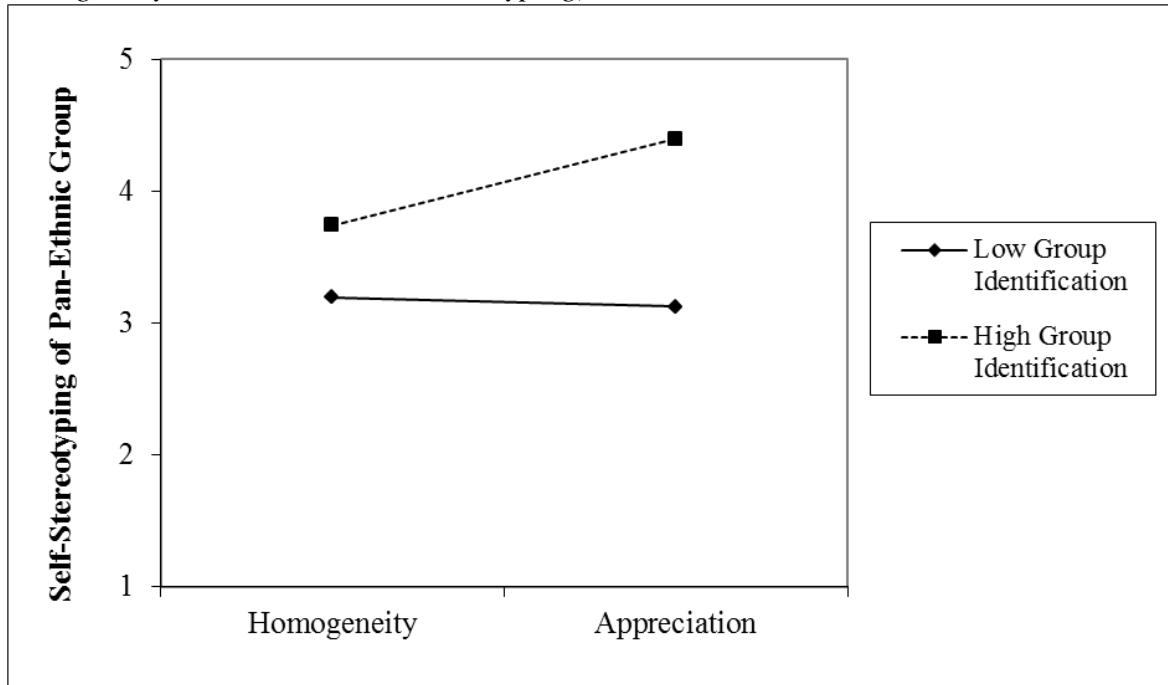
Effect of Identity Treatment on Group Evaluations and Ingroup Bias

In our last set of results, we examined how identity treatment affected group evaluations and ingroup bias. We expected that those exposed to homogeneity would report higher levels of ingroup bias and more negative evaluations of outgroups compared to miscategorization and appreciation. Contrary to hypotheses, there were no significant differences across conditions (*see Table 10 for means, standard deviations and F-values).*

Table 10. Mean scores and standard deviations for group evaluations and ingroup bias.

Variable	Miscategorization	Homogeneity	Appreciation	One-way ANOVA
Evaluations of Whites	6.52 (2.39)	6.38 (2.39)	6.82 (2.26)	$F(2, 288)=0.81$
Evaluations of NO	7.96 (2.03)	7.61 (2.28)	7.76 (2.09)	$F(2, 275)=0.58$
Evaluations of Americans	7.27 (2.08)	6.93 (2.25)	6.93 (2.38)	$F(2, 288)=0.82$
Ingroup Bias	1.53 (2.25)	1.40 (2.17)	1.20 (1.86)	$F(2, 288)=0.46$

Note: The *F* values represent the results of a one-way ANOVA to test for differences between the conditions. No group comparisons were significant.

Effect of Group Identification as a Moderator for Group Evaluations and Ingroup Bias.

Furthermore, we examined group identification as a moderator of identity treatment and group evaluations and ingroup bias. We expected the effect to be stronger for those high in group identification, particularly for homogeneity vs. appreciation. Contrary to our hypotheses, we did not find any significant interactions for homogeneity vs. miscategorization and group identification for group evaluations and ingroup bias. Additionally, we did not find significant interaction of group identification and homogeneity vs. appreciation for group evaluations and ingroup bias *(see Table 11 for regression coefficients).*

Table 11. The interaction of identity treatment and group identification with the national origin group in predicting group evaluations and ingroup bias.

	Homogeneity vs. Miscategorization	*Homogeneity vs. Appreciation*
Evaluations of Whites	.01	-.25
Evaluations of Americans	-.12	-.01
Evaluations of National Origin	-.41	-.21
Ingroup bias	.20	.14

Note: Unless otherwise noted, numerical entries represent standardized regression coefficients of the interaction term. Background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, ideology, immigration status) were entered as control variables in all models.
$^{+}p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01$

Ethnic Self-Identification

The final outcome of interest was how participants identified their "ethnic/racial" identity. This question was important for two reasons. The first was to examine how Asians and Latinos express their "ethnicity" when given an open-ended option.[9] The second was to examine if the group they chose changed depending on identity treatment. Participants were asked to

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[9] Asians and Latinos differed in their ethnic self-identification. For Asians: American (5%), national origin (38%), national origin-American (9%), pan-ethnic (38%), pan-ethnic-American (9%), and white (1%). For Latinos: American (5.5%), national origin (40%), national origin-American (6%), pan-ethnic (46%), pan-ethnic-American (1%), and white (1.5%). The percentage of participants' self-identification did differ by ethnicity, $\chi2(5, N = 297) = 11.62, p = .04$.

report what group they considered as their ethnic identity and the responses fell into six categories: American (5.4%), national origin (39.1%), national origin-American (7.4%),[10] pan-ethnic (42.1%), pan-ethnic American (4.7%) and White (1.3%) (*see Figure 9*). We conducted a chi-square test to see if participants' self-reported ethnic identity differed depending on what condition they were exposed to. The percentage of participants' self-identification did not differ by condition, $\chi^2(10, N = 297) = 4.56$, $p = .92$.

Figure 9. Percentage of participant responses when asked to identify their ethnic group, categorized by "ethnic" category.
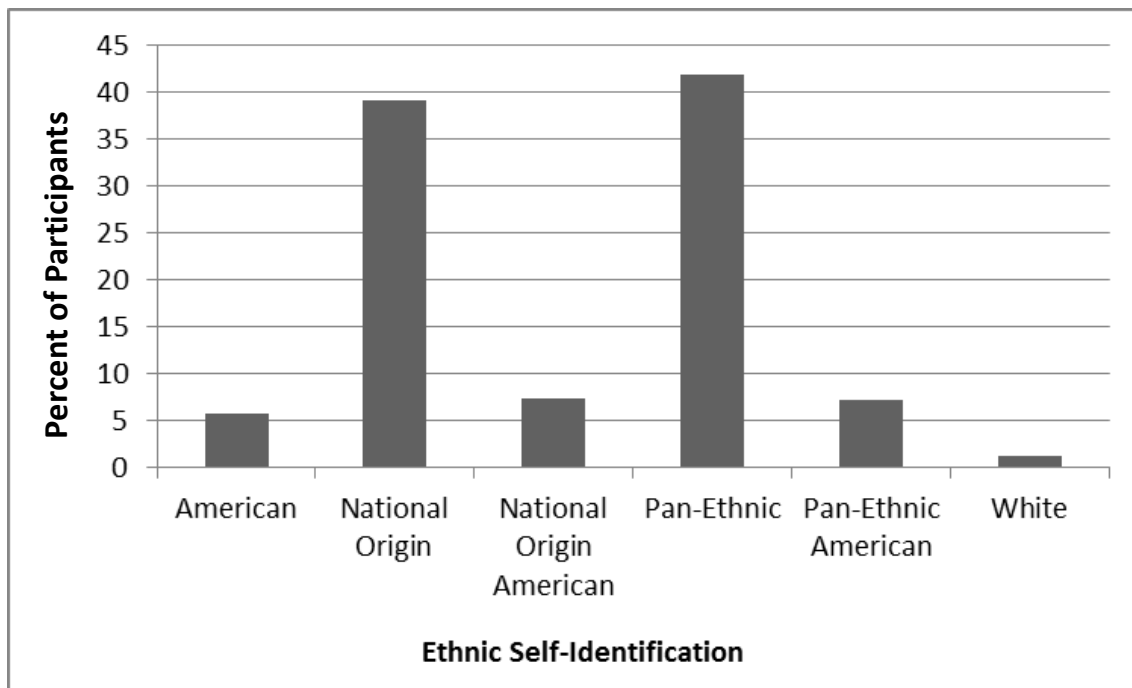
Study 3 Discussion

The findings from Study 3 show that there can be distinguishable effects among miscategorization, homogeneity and appreciation in an experimental setting. The results replicated previous experimented findings on identity neglect (Flores & Huo, 2013). Those exposed to appreciation reported more positive emotions and positive evaluations and less negative emotions and negative evaluations than those exposed to homogeneity. There was also

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[10] The majority of participants (77%) who self-identified their ethnic identity as national origin-American were born in the U.S.

replication of interaction findings such that those higher in group identification were more strongly affected by homogeneity vs. appreciation's effects on reports of positive emotions and positive evaluations. A novel finding was that those exposed to miscategorization made more positive evaluations of the interaction partner than did those exposed to homogeneity. This finding is consistent with the notion that miscategorization is viewed as more accidental on the part of the interaction partner.

Additionally, we examined how attributions made would differ based on identity treatment. First, we found that those exposed to miscategorization viewed the experience as more accidental and more benign than those exposed to homogeneity and appreciation was viewed as the least accidental of the three conditions. Furthermore, those who were exposed to homogeneity viewed the action as the most intentional to hurt with appreciation viewed as the least intent to hurt. We found that perceived intent to hurt mediated the effect between homogeneity vs. appreciation on positive and negative emotions as well as positive and negative evaluations for homogeneity vs. appreciation. We also found perceived intent to mediate the relationship between homogeneity vs. miscategorization for positive evaluations. These findings indicated that the more individuals perceived the identity treatment as intended to hurt, the more they reported negative emotions and negative evaluations of the interaction partner. The less the individuals perceived the action as intended to hurt, the more they reported positive emotions and positive evaluations of the interaction partner. These results provide support that how intentional the action is perceived can affect one's reactions to identity treatment.

We further examined theoretical consequences (Branscombe et al., 1999) of identity treatment and investigated if there are be similar, predictable effects of identity threat on self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, and concerns with being stereotyped. When comparing

homogeneity to miscategorization, we found that there was no difference in self-stereotyping for either the national origin group or the pan-ethnic group. However, when comparing homogeneity to appreciation, there was an effect. Those exposed to appreciation self-stereotyped more with the pan-ethnic group than those exposed to homogeneity and that relationship was moderated by levels of group identification. It is possible that by feeling that one's national origin group is appreciated, one felt less threatened and is thus able to perceive themselves as a more stereotypical member of the pan-ethnic group. This indicates that treatment of the national origin group can also affect perceptions of the pan-ethnic group.

For perceived ingroup homogeneity of national origin group or pan-ethnic group, there was no significant difference when comparing homogeneity to miscategorization. However, this relationship was moderated by group identification for ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group. For homogeneity vs. appreciation, those who were exposed to appreciation reported more ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group than those exposed to homogeneity. That relationship was also moderated by levels of group identification. Like with self-stereotyping, it is possible that those who were exposed to appreciation of the national origin identity felt less threat and more comfortable perceiving their pan-ethnic group as more homogeneous than those who were exposed to homogeneity. These findings provide further support that having one's national origin identity appreciated can affect perceptions of the pan-ethnic group. National origin identity treatment can lead to stronger alignment and perceived cohesiveness of the pan-ethnic group.

Finally, we examined concerns with being stereotyped. For homogeneity vs. miscategorization, we found that those exposed to miscategorization reported more concerns with being stereotyped as part of the national origin group than those exposed to homogeneity

and that relationship was moderated by national origin identification. This could be because those exposed to homogeneity would not have concerns with being stereotyped as part of the national origin group since the distinctions of the national origin groups are diminished in homogeneity. For homogeneity vs. appreciation, we found that those exposed to appreciation expressed greater concerns with being stereotyped as a part of the national origin group and the pan-ethnic group. Those exposed to appreciation may feel targeted because their national origin identities were acknowledged. This acknowledgement may heighten their concern of being stereotyped as a result of their national origin identity and their pan-ethnic identity. Furthermore, group identification moderated the relationship of concerns with being stereotyped as part of the pan-ethnic group.

Lastly, we examined the effects of identity treatment on group evaluations and ingroup bias. Contrary to our hypotheses, we did not find any significant differences of identity treatment on group evaluations and ingroup bias. This suggests that although these effects emerge as a function of repeated experiences as shown in Study 2, they may not be as easily affected in the short-term or after only one experience. Additionally, we did not find any differences in how participants identified their "ethnic" group in response to identity treatment.

The findings from Study 3 provide valuable information about how treatment of the national origin group can have predictable consequences. In addition to replicating previous work on identity neglect (Flores & Huo, 2013), Study 3 examined effects on perceptions of ingroups, while further disentangling the effects of miscategorization and homogeneity as shown by their differences in positive evaluations. Even though we did not find all the main effects that we expected to find, an interesting pattern emerged in that the treatment of the national origin group, particularly homogeneity vs. appreciation, affected perceptions of the pan-ethnic group.

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That relationship was also moderated by group identification with the national origin group for homogeneity vs. appreciation. This could suggest that the treatment to the national origin group may more strongly affect perceptions of the pan-ethnic group than perceptions of the national origin group. Together, these findings, while mixed, provide further evidence that there are differences between the different identity treatment experiences. Some findings may be predictable and consistent with previous research, such as emotions and evaluations of the interaction partner. However, new consequences emerge to experiencing identity neglect or recognition, such as perceptions of the pan-ethnic group, especially for those high in national origin identification.

CHAPTER V: Summary and Conclusions

The studies presented here highlight the importance of understudied but common experiences that Asians and Latinos in the United States have about how their national origin identities are treated by others. In the current research, the effects of national origin identity neglect and recognition were examined in everyday life and experimentally. Together these findings highlight how experiences with how others treat one's national origin identity can be related to negative effects on psychological well-being and perceptions of outgroups. This final section will summarize each component of the dissertation and then discuss their joint contributions and implications for the study of national origin identities.

Study 1: Everyday Identity Treatment Experiences of Asians and Latinos

Study 1 provided evidence about everyday life. It showed that identity neglect and recognition are experiences that occur frequently, together with more recognized forms of identity threat. When given the option to identify their ethnicity, most participants chose an "ethnic identification" that was related to their national origin group (e.g. Mexican or Mexican-American). Despite the fact that the majority of the sample was born in the U.S., participants identified their national origin group as their preferred ethnic identity. Additionally, when asked in an open-ended manner, participants reported experiences with identity neglect (miscategorization and homogeneity) and identity recognition (appreciation) along with reports of more commonly studied experiences such as discrimination and stereotyping. The spontaneous reflection of identity neglect experiences reaffirmed the value of studying these everyday experiences. Lastly, participants reported miscategorization experiences and homogeneity experiences separately, which provided support for our hypothesis that the two forms of identity neglect are distinct.

Study 2: The Relationship of Identity Treatment with Self-Reported Well-being and Intergroup Relations

Study 2 provided support for the view that experiences with homogeneity, miscategorization, and appreciation can each have unique effects on psychological well-being and outgroup evaluations. Results suggest that having one's national origin identity treated as homogeneous can be negatively related to evaluations of Whites and Americans. In addition, the more individuals experience having their national origin identity treated as homogeneous, the more they exhibit ingroup bias. Homogeneity and miscategorization can also be negatively related to self-reported well-being, with miscategorization having a stronger predictive relationship than homogeneity. These findings are consistent with previous research demonstrating that actions viewed as benign can have insidious downstream effects on the targets and their relationship with outgroup members (Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009).

Furthermore, providing additional support for previous findings (Deaux, 2006), the social status of the group with which one is miscategorized into can also affect reactions such that Asians and Latinos feel worse when miscategorized into a group of lower status and feel better when miscategorized into a group of higher status. This can have additional implications for how miscategorization can affect well-being. It is possible that if one repeatedly is miscategorized into a group of lower status, it could further exacerbate the negative effects of miscategorization. While miscategorization can be negatively related to self-reported psychological well-being, appreciation was the strongest predictor of self-reported well-being.

Study 3: Experimental Effects of Identity Treatment on Psychological Well-Being, Interpersonal Evaluations, Ingroup and Outgroup Evaluations.

A novel contribution of Study 3 is the comparison of miscategorization and homogeneity in an experimental setting. Specifically, those exposed to miscategorization reported more

positive evaluations of the interaction partner than those exposed to homogeneity. This suggests a more benign nature of miscategorization compared to homogeneity. The differences among identity treatments were further supported by examining the attributions made to the person enacting the identity treatment. Study 3 provided evidence that miscategorization was seen as less intentional and more benign, homogeneity was seen as the most negatively intentional (more intent to hurt) and less accidental, and appreciation was seen as positive intentional (more intent to show care) and the least accidental. Perceived intentionality was a significant mediator between identity treatment and emotional reactions and evaluations of the interaction partner. Lastly, the findings from Study 3 replicated effects from previous research (Flores & Huo, 2013) demonstrating that those exposed to identity neglect (homogeneity and miscategorization) reported higher negative emotions and negative evaluations than those exposed to identity recognition (appreciation). Likewise, participants exposed to identity recognition reported higher positive emotions and positive evaluations than those exposed to identity neglect.

Additionally, participants' perceptions of ingroups (national origin and pan-ethnic) were examined. There were no significant differences between homogeneity vs. miscategorization on self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, or concerns with stereotyping. However, there were significant effects of homogeneity vs. appreciation on self-stereotyping with the pan-ethnic group, ingroup homogeneity of the pan-ethnic group, concerns with stereotyping of the national origin group and concerns with stereotyping of the pan-ethnic group, such that those exposed to appreciation experienced those outcomes more than those exposed to homogeneity. It is possible that identity recognition heightened the sense of being stereotyped. Thus, there is an increase in concern about stereotyping. However, it also allowed individuals to view themselves more as members of their ingroup. The findings also show the role of national origin group identification.

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When comparing homogeneity to appreciation, those high in group identification were more affected by identity treatment for perceptions of the pan-ethnic group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2002). Additionally, there were no significant effects of identity treatment on evaluations of outgroups and ingroup bias.

Limitations and Future Directions

We approached this line of research to understand national origin identity neglect and recognition using both real-world and experimental data. Using both options allowed us to examine the effects from multiple angles and to investigate outcomes that we would not be able to access with only one method. Sampling online, allowed us to have a variety of national origin groups represented to maximize the ecological validity of the studies. The majority of our samples were born in the U.S. Therefore, we were unable to examine if the effect was stronger among immigrants or U.S. born Asians and Latinos. There are mixed findings in the literature as to whether immigrants or children of immigrants born in the U.S. are more sensitive to identity treatment. However, it could be reasonable to assume that immigrants have higher attachment to their countries of origin, thereby being more sensitive to national origin identity neglect. On the other hand, immigrants may expect Americans to not know about their culture so they may be more protected from identity neglect. It may have a stronger effect on the U.S. born population who are not expecting to encounter neglect from their American ingroup members. It is important that further research examine this distinction and how identity treatment affects U.S. born populations compared to the immigrant population.

A limitation from Study 2 is that the data are correlational. While we consider the correlational data as a strength in that it allows us to examine experiences in the real-world, we cannot form causal conclusions between identity treatment and the outcome variables. However,

the pattern of results that emerge from identity treatment and the outcome variables suggest that there is a significant relationship between identity treatment and self-reported well-being and evaluations of outgroups that would warrant further exploration. As the data are correlational, we cannot conclude that experiencing national origin identity neglect leads to worse well-being. However, there is widely documented evidence of health disparities among ethnic groups in the U.S. (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2003; Sue & Dhindsa, 2006). Evidence suggests that Asians and Latinos are psychologically worse off as their time in the U.S. progresses (Alegria Mulvaney-Day, Torres, Polo, Cao, & Canino, 2007; Perez, Fortuna & Alegria, 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2009). This research suggests that experiences with discrimination, even seemingly benign ethnic slights, may play a key role in the deleterious effects to Asians and Latino's well-being (Huynh, 2012). It is possible that the experiences unique to these groups, such as national origin identity treatment, may be contributing to some of the health-related disparities. It is also possible that if Asians and Latinos feel that healthcare providers will not treat them (or respective identities) appropriately, they will be less likely to seek out care and less trusting of medical advice they receive. It is important that research continue to examine experiences unique to these populations that may help lessen the health disparity gap and create environments in which Asians and Latinos feel respected and safe to seek out care.

Since the data are correlational, there may be alternative explanations for why those relationships exist. It is possible that those who perceive more experiences with national origin identity neglect also perceive more experiences of discrimination which could contribute to the negative relationship with self-reported well-being. However, it could also be that those who perceive more national origin identity neglect are more likely to perceive more discrimination. Because of the nature of the data, we are unable to examine those relationships. There may be

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additional variables that could explain the effects to why appreciation was strongly, consistent positive relationship of appreciation and self-reported well-being. Perhaps people who are higher in education or socio-economic status (SES) are around others who are more educated about cultures and different national origin groups. Being around those who are more "worldly" could foster and environment in which appreciation could more readily occur. In terms of health disparities, those who are higher in SES may also have more resources to seek out medical care and treatment for health-related issues. It is important to continue to examine neglect and recognition experiences to see how they are related to well-being outcomes.

A possible limitation for Study 3 could be they hypothetical nature of the experimental manipulation. However, Study 1 showed that the experiences of identity neglect and recognition are very common and we feel confident that using a hypothetical scenario as a manipulation had the desired effect as it has been used successfully in the past (Flores & Huo, 2013). Additionally, in Study 3, the distinction between neglect and recognition was quite clear. However, it is possible that the distinction between miscategorization and homogeneity was too subtle to detect some of the differences in the experimental study (e.g., no differences in outgroup evaluations). Or, it may be possible that homogeneity does not affect outgroup evaluations immediately but does over time with repeated experiences. Further exploration needs to be conducted for additional ways to experimentally tap into the differences of identity neglect. Furthermore, the moderating effect of group identification was inconsistent and needs to be further explored. The sample in Study 3 was highly identified with their national origin group. Therefore, those lower in identification were still above the midpoint and not "low" identifiers. It is possible that the moderation effects would be significant with a larger variance of group identification so that those low in group identification would have more accurate representation in the sample.

Lastly, identity recognition, like identity neglect, can be further teased apart in future research. We chose to examine identity recognition in the form of appreciation. However, there may be other ways to recognize valued identities such as expressing curiosity vs. knowing factual differences. Those ways of recognition may affect outcomes differently. As evidenced by the increase in concerns with being stereotyped, the effects of appreciation are not necessarily all positive. In the manner that identity recognition was examined in this research, it may have made individuals feel like the token member of their national origin group. By conveying recognition in a different manner, it could be possible to negate the concerns with being stereotyped. Conversely, there may be additional forms of recognition that could result in additional negative outcomes such as evaluating others negatively. If one is simply pointed out as a member of their national origin group, even it is correct, they may evaluate others racist and experience more negative emotions because they feel targeted. There are subtle differences in which the delivery and intent may affect the reactions to identity treatment. For example, an individual's reaction may be affected differently depending on who enacted the identity treatment (e.g., a stranger vs. a mother-in-law). The tone in which one's identity is treated could also affect the reaction to it. For example the phrase "Latinos are different from one another" said sarcastically would certainly not convey recognition but possibly homogeneity. It is important that these subtle differences are examined to see the ways in which recognition could be harmful and the ways in which recognition could have the best effects to psychological and social outcomes. However, as we measured it, appreciation showed that it is positively related to self-reported well-being in addition to resulting in positive emotions and evaluations of others. The importance of experiencing appreciation emphasizes the need to educate people about cultural differences. Educating others about the unique national origin differences within pan-ethnic groups could

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increase the likelihood of appreciation, thereby countering the negative effects of homogeneity and miscategorization.

The consistent effects of appreciation suggest that appreciation positively influences well-being and intergroup relations. Perhaps the positive effects could extend further into different domains such as buffering the negative effects of being a member of a pan-ethnic group associated with negative stereotypes. Previous research has found that identifying with the pan-ethnic group served as a protective mechanism for Latino's psychological well-being (French & Chavez, 2010). However, having high identification with the pan-ethnic group was protective of well-being only when individuals were not concerned with confirming stereotypes of the pan-ethnic group. This suggests that having a high level of group identification with the pan-ethnic group does not protect well-being when one is concerned with confirming negative stereotypes. Because stereotypes at the pan-ethnic level are pervasive, it is important to examine if there is a way to protect against the negative effects of stereotypes even when the devalued group membership is salient. Perhaps identifying with a less commonly stigmatized identity, such as the national origin identity, could provide a buffer to the negative effects associated with fear of confirming stereotypes.

Reconceptualizing ethnic identity as the national origin group might help bypass some of the negative effects of the stereotypes associated with pan-ethnic groups. That is, individuals who identify with their national origin group more than their pan-ethnic group may be able to avoid concerns about confirming pan-ethnic stereotypes. Increasing the salience of the national origin identity may provide a buffer against the negative effects to well-being. However, it is important that the identification with the national origin group does not heighten concern for being stereotyped. Since people strive for a unique and positive identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986),

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national identities would presumably prime a more positive identity than an external pan-ethnic category which might have stronger negative stereotypes associated with it. The benefits associated with frequent appreciation of the national origin group already are shown to be positively associated with well-being. It is possible that these positive relationships can be extended to other behavioral and health outcomes.

Conclusion

The current findings, in conjunction with previous research on the importance of national origin identity (Flores & Huo, 2013; Schildkraut, 2011), suggest that the national origin identity is a significant, self-relevant identity to Asians and Latinos and that the neglect and recognition of these identities can have consistent and predictable effects not only for individuals but for intergroup relations as well. It is important that research take into account the political context when investigating issues pertaining to ethnic minority groups, such as increasing representation from Asians and Latinos. The increased diversification of the country's demographics challenges scholars to adjust the way research on minority groups is pursued. Research has shown how important one's national origin identity is and that neglect to that identity can negatively impact how social groups interact with one another. Equally importantly, recognizing and appreciating that same identity can have predictable positive effects on well-being. Future research on Asians and Latinos needs to acknowledge the social identities that are most important to those groups. For example, recently arrived immigrant groups (e.g., Asians and Latinos) have different identity concerns than native minority groups in the United States. As such, research needs to investigate these groups' unique identity concerns. The pan-ethnic categories that individuals are grouped into in the United States encompass an extremely heterogeneous population, yet it perpetuates the belief that all group members are "one and the same."

By shifting the way in which certain identities are conceptualized, correctly recognizing the identities that are important to individuals and allowing them to identify with the groups they feel attached to could have positive downstream effects on well-being and intergroup relations. If acknowledging that all members within the pan-ethnic groups are not, in fact, the same and by respecting the differences among these group members, then the same threats to identity and to relationships between social groups might be lessened. Because national origin identity is more important to Asians and Latinos than the pan-ethnic identity, acknowledging these differences would only further improve the health and well-being of minority groups in the United States. Research needs to continue to expand and explore the relationship between the pan-ethnic identity and the national origin identity. Invaluable

Appendix A

1.   Is being (a member of your National origin group) important to you? Why or why not?

2.   What does being (a member of your National origin group) mean to you?

3.   Can you think of a time in which you being (a member of your National origin group) came up in a social situation (e.g. causal conversation, phone call, email exchange, etc.). If you can think of more than one example, please tell us about the experience that sticks out the most in your mind.

    a. Can you please tell us about that experience and how it happened?

    b. How did you being (a member of your National origin group) come up?

4.   Was the experience a positive or negative one? Why?

5.   Are there any additional experiences or comments you would like to share with us about (a member of your National origin group) in the U.S.?

Ethnic self-identification item:

1. Some people prefer to describe themselves with broad racial/ethnic categories (such as White, Asian, or Latino). Others prefer to describe themselves more specifically (such as Mexican, Cambodian, or Irish American). There is no right or wrong way to describe your racial or ethnic group.

    a. For the question below, consider how you usually define the racial/ethnic group that you most highly identify with.

    b. The racial/ethnic group I most highly identify with is... (for example, Asian, Korean, African American, Nigerian, Latino, Mexican).

Appendix B. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations between measures of (a) frequency of experience, (b) mental health, (c) physical health and (d) group ratings variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Miscategorization Frequency	---										
2. Homogeneity Frequency	.49**	---									
3. Appreciation Frequency	-.19**	-.10	---								
4. State Self-Esteem	.09	-.02	.20**	---							
5. Reported Psych. Well-being	-.18**	-.09	.17*	.67**	---						
6. Reported General Health	-.14*	-.15*	.17*	.44**	.38**	---					
7. Reported Comparative Health	-.09	-.09	.15*	.35**	.27**	.34**	---				
8. Evaluations of Whites	-.01	-.19**	.03	.26**	.22**	.27**	.13*	---			
9. Evaluations of National Origin	.03	.04	.05	.35**	.29**	.23**	-.05	.19**	---		
10. Evaluations of Americans	.05	-.09	-.02	.29**	.24**	.24**	.01	.70**	.41**	---	
11. Ingroup Bias	-.05	.09$^+$	.10$^+$	.02	.04	-.14*	-.08	-.43**	.30**	-.18**	---
Mean	2.94	2.99	2.70	5.25	3.54	3.89	3.35	6.53	7.83	6.88	1.57
SD	0.90	0.79	0.68	1.14	0.68	0.76	0.78	2.19	2.12	2.35	2.09

$^+ p \leq .10$; $^* p \leq .05$; $^{**} p \leq .01$

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Appendix C. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations between measures of (a) frequency, (b) mental health (c) physical, and (d) group ratings variables by ethnicity (ASN= Asian Participants, LAT=Latino Participants).

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Miscategorization	ASN	---										
Frequency	LAT	---										
2. Homogeneity	ASN	.61**	---									
Frequency	LAT	.37**	---									
3. Appreciation	ASN	-.25**	-.08	---								
Frequency	LAT	-.14$^+$	-.13	---								
4. State Self-	ASN	-.10	-.06	.26**	---							
Esteem	LAT	-.11	.00	.12	---							
5. Reported Psych.	ASN	-.17$^+$	.20*	.21*	.72**	---						
Well-being	LAT	-.21*	.02	.11	.66**	---						
6. Reported	ASN	-.06	-.13	.03	.54**	.44**	---					
General Health	LAT	-.23*	-.19*	.33**	.29**	.30**	---					
7. Reported	ASN	-.16$^+$	-.19*	.24*	.48**	.37**	.48**	---				
Comparative Health	LAT	-.02	.02	.03	.14	.16$^+$	.14$^+$	---				
8. Evaluations of	ASN	-.07	-.22*	.07	.32**	.40**	.28**	.08	---			
Whites	LAT	.05	-.15$^+$	-.01	.19*	.01	.26**	-.19*	---			
9. Evaluations of	ASN	.03	-.04	-.10	.29**	.24**	.26**	.04	.28**	---		
National Origin	LAT	.03	.11	.20*	.41**	.32**	.19*	-.15$^+$	.10	---		
10. Evaluations of	ASN	.02	-.17$^+$	-.02	.27**	.28**	.24**	-.02	.75**	.35**	---	
Americans	LAT	.07	-.03	-.02	.31**	.20*	.24*	.05	.67**	.46**	---	
11. Ingroup Bias	ASN	.04	.11	.00	-.07	-.11	-.26**	-.18*	-.40**	.22*	-.25**	---
	LAT	-.13	.09	.20*	.15$^+$	.26**	-.01	.05	-.48**	.38**	-.13	---
Mean	ASN	2.89	2.90	2.68	5.12	3.46	3.84	3.30	6.60	7.68	6.84	1.73
SD		0.84	0.82	0.70	1.24	0.72	0.80	0.84	2.21	2.01	2.14	2.09
Mean	LAT	3.01	3.09	2.72	5.38	3.62	3.93	3.40	6.46	7.98	6.92	1.41
SD		0.95	0.74	0.66	1.02	0.65	0.71	0.71	2.17	2.22	2.55	2.09

$^+ p \leq .10$; $^* p \leq .05$; $^{**} p \leq .01$

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Appendix D. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations between measures of (a) frequency of experience, and the following covariates: (b) gender (female-male), (c) ethnicity (Latino-Asian), (d) age, (e) political ideology (conservative-liberal), and (immigration status (Not US born-US born).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Miscategorization Frequency	---									
2. Homogeneity Frequency	.49**	---								
3. Appreciation Frequency	-.19**	-.10	---							
4. Gender	-.09	-.02	-.18*	---						
5. Ethnicity	-.06	-.12	-.03	.03	---					
6. Age	-.14$^+$	.11	.13$^+$	-.18*	-.12$^+$	---				
7. Ideology	-.01	.10	-.17*	-.11	.00	-.01	---			
8. Participants' Citizenship	.20**	.09	-.07	.09	-.22**	-.17*	.14*	---		
9. Father's Citizenship	.19*	.04	-.11	-.07	-.15*	.00	-.05	.28**	---	
10. Mother's Citizenship	.14$^+$	.10	-.01	-.09	-.31**	.03	-.10	.31**	.58**	---
Mean	2.94	2.99	2.70	0.51	0.51	28.72	3.56	0.77	0.38	0.41
SD	0.90	0.79	0.68	0.50	0.50	08.84	0.97	0.42	0.52	0.53

$^+p \leq .10$; $^*p \leq .05$; $^{**}p \leq .01$

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