2009

Responding to Societal Devaluation: Effects of Perceived Personal and Group Discrimination on the Ethnic Group Identification and Personal Self-Esteem of Latino/Latina Adolescents

Brian E. Armenta
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Jennifer S. Hunt
SUNY College at Buffalo

Responding to Societal Devaluation: Effects of Perceived Personal and Group Discrimination on the Ethnic Group Identification and Personal Self-Esteem of Latino/Latina Adolescents

Brian E. Armenta, University of Nebraska–Lincoln

Jennifer S. Hunt, SUNY College at Buffalo

Corresponding author — B. E. Armenta, Department of Psychology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 238 Burnett Hall, Lincoln, NE 68588–0306, USA; email barmenta@earthlink.net

Abstract

The Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) posits that perceived discrimination may lead to increased ingroup identification, which can help maintain psychological well-being in the face of societal devaluation. To address unknown aspects of this model, we examined the effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on the group identification and personal self-esteem of Latino/Latina adolescents. Results showed that perceived group discrimination was related to higher personal self-esteem via direct and indirect routes (*i.e.* through group identification). However, perceived personal discrimination was directly and indirectly associated with lower personal self-esteem. Moreover, these two levels of discrimination showed interactive effects on both group identification and personal self-esteem. These results highlight the importance of distinguishing between levels of discrimination in the Rejection-Identification model.

Keywords: ethnic identity, Latinos, perceived discrimination, self-esteem

Prejudice towards ethnic minorities in the United States showed a steady decline in the latter half of the 20th century (Madon *et al.*, 2001; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997).

However, individuals from low-status ethnic minority groups continue to experience discrimination (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Importantly, experiencing and perceiving

discrimination can have negative psychological consequences, including higher levels of anxiety and lower levels of personal self-esteem (Clark *et al.*, 1999; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; see also Heatherton, Kleck, Hebl, & Hull, 2000; Swim & Stangor, 1998).

Despite the potential negative consequences of perceiving discrimination, ethnic minorities and members of other socially devalued groups do not passively internalize negative societal views (see Cooley, 1902); rather, they make active attempts to maintain favorable self-evaluations (Allport, 1954; Crocker & Major, 1989; Cross, 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999) posits that members of low-status social groups may maintain psychological well-being in the face of discrimination by becoming more highly identified with their socially devalued ingroup and rejecting the negative evaluations of high-status outgroup members (Cross, 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This model has been empirically supported with members of several socially devalued groups, including African Americans (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999), women (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002), elderly individuals (Garstka, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Hummert, 2004), international students in the United States (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003), and individuals with body piercings (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). However, little research on this model has considered potential differences between perceived *personal discrimination* (*i.e.* discrimination against oneself based on group membership) and *group discrimination* (*i.e.* dis-crimination against one's group as a whole). To address this issue, the current study examined the effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on the ethnic group identification and personal self-evaluations (*i.e.* personal self-esteem) of Latino/Latina adolescents in the United States.

Responses to perceived discrimination

Discrimination towards members of socially devalued groups by members of high-status social groups can be considered a form of social rejection (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999). Experiencing social rejection via discrimination may deprive individuals of their need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and/or negatively influence in-group evaluations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), both of which can have negative psychological consequences, including lower levels of personal self-esteem. However, the Rejection-Identification model (depicted in Figure 1) posits that, in the face of discrimination, individuals make active attempts to maintain feelings of belonging and personal self-esteem by becoming more highly identified with their socially devalued group (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999). By increasing ingroup identification, feelings of belonging are more dependent on acceptance from other ingroup members and less influenced by potential rejection from outgroup members. Thus, this model suggests that perceived discrimination may result in increased ingroup identification, which can help individuals maintain positive personal self-evaluations in the face of societal devaluation and rejection.
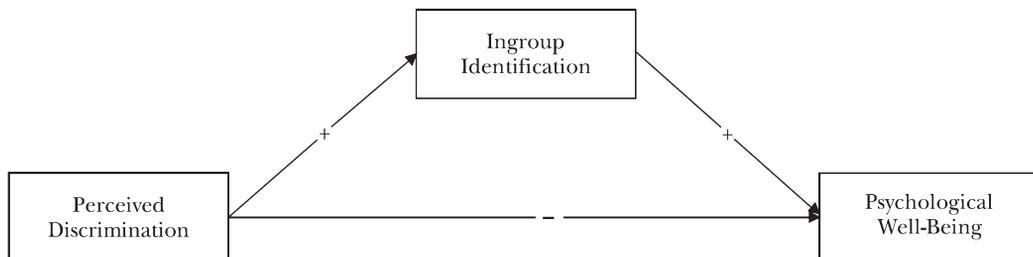

Figure 1. The Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999).

In support of the Rejection-Identification model, Branscombe *et al.* (1999) showed that perceived discrimination and a willingness to make attributions to discrimination were associated with more negative psychological wellbeing (*i.e.* lower self-esteem, negative emotions) among African Americans. However, these perceptions of discrimination were also associated with increased (racial) group identification, which was, in turn, related to higher levels of psychological wellbeing. Thus, as predicted by the model, perceived discrimination had a direct negative effect on psychological well-being, but also had an indirect positive effect by increasing group identification.

Notably, another theoretical perspective suggests that, under certain circumstances, perceiving discrimination may be positively associated with personal self-esteem. Specifically, Crocker and Major (1989) argued that members of stigmatized groups can protect their personal self-evaluations by attributing negative events to discrimination as opposed to their own qualities or behaviors. Empirical evidence suggests that this perspective can describe the psychological consequences of isolated instances of discrimination (Crocker, Cornwell, & Major, 1993; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). However, the Rejection-Identification model appears to better capture the psychological effects of more global perceptions of discrimination (*i.e.* across situations; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002) and thus is the focus of this study.

Although the Rejection-Identification model has been empirically supported, the majority of this research has examined perceived personal discrimination. Further, theoretical statements have not distinguished between perceived personal and group discrimination (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999); thus it is both theoretically and empirically unclear whether perceived personal and group discrimination function similarly within this model. There is, however, reason to believe that these two levels of perceived discrimination may have differential effects. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986;

Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) posits that the self-concept is composed of a personal identity (*i.e.* beliefs about oneself as an individual) and a social identity (*i.e.* beliefs about oneself as a member of a group), and that individuals are motivated to maintain positive evaluations of both of these identities (*i.e.* personal and collective self-esteem, respectively; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Although the motivations to maintain positive personal and group evaluations both may stem from self-enhancement needs (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Turner (1999) argues that they are conceptually distinct and should be differentially related to social-environmental threats (see, however, Brown, 2000). Specifically, threats to an individual's personal identity—which may result from the belief that one is personally devalued (*e.g.* personal discrimination)—should lower personal self-esteem, but should not necessarily affect collective self-esteem. Likewise, threats to an individual's social identity—which may result from the belief that one's group is devalued (*e.g.* group discrimination)—should lower collective self-esteem but should not directly affect personal self-esteem.

Supporting this argument, Verkuyten (1998) showed that perceived personal discrimination was associated with lower levels of personal self-esteem but was not related to collective self-esteem among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. In addition, perceived group discrimination was associated with lower levels of collective self-esteem, but was not directly related to personal self-esteem (see also Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). Similarly, a meta-analysis showed that higher levels of personal relative deprivation (*i.e.* the belief that one is deprived compared to others) were associated with less positive psychological well-being (Smith & Ortiz, 2002). However, perceptions of group relative deprivation (*i.e.* belief that one's group is deprived compared to other groups) did not show this relationship (see also Walker, 1999; Walker & Mann, 1987). Thus, it appears that personal discrimination —but not group discrimination—should be directly related to lower levels of personal self-esteem.

In contrast, a recent set of studies showed that perceived group discrimination is associated with *higher* levels of personal self-esteem among women and African immigrants in Belgium (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006). Bourguignon *et al.* (2006) suggested that perceiving group discrimination may lead individuals to feel a sense of a common fate, which may help to maintain personal self-esteem by allowing them to feel that they are not alone in their struggle. Given these conflicting findings and theoretical explanations, we did not make an a priori hypothesis regarding the relationship between perceived group discrimination and personal self-esteem.

Hypotheses

> **Hypothesis 1:** Perceived personal discrimination will be associated with lower levels of personal self-esteem.

In contrast to personal self-esteem, ingroup identification may increase as a result of either feeling personally rejected by high status group members (*e.g.* perceiving personal discrimination) or feeling that one's positive ingroup evaluations are being threatened (*e.g.* perceiving group discrimination). If an individual feels rejected due to personal discrimination, he/ she may seek to maintain feelings of belonging by becoming more highly identified with his/her socially devalued group (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Cross, 1995; Phinney, 1993). Previous empirical tests of the Rejection-Identification model provide ample evidence for this suggestion (*e.g.* Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002, 2003). Similarly, threats to a positive in-group identity via group discrimination may result in actions to regain favorable ingroup evaluations (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), such as increased ingroup identification and the formation of positive ingroup attachments (Cross, 1995; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, perceived personal and group discrimination are likely to be similarly related to higher levels of ingroup identification, but for different reasons (*i.e.* maintaining

feelings of belonging versus regaining favorable ingroup evaluations).

> **Hypotheses 2–3:** Perceived personal and group discrimination both will be associated with higher levels of ethnic group identification.

Ingroup identification is consistently associated with more favorable personal self-esteem (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Phinney, 1989; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). As a result, perceived personal and group discrimination both should have positive indirect influences on personal self-esteem through increased levels of ingroup identification. Several studies have shown this relationship using measures of perceived personal discrimination (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002, 2003; Spencer-Rodgers & Collins, 2006), although a recent set of studies did not find a significant relationship between perceived group discrimination and ingroup identification among women and African immigrants in Belgium (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006). Despite these contrary findings, there are strong theoretical and empirical reasons to believe that perceived group discrimination will be associated with higher levels of ingroup identification (Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tropp & Wright, 1999; Turner, 1999; Turner *et al.*, 1987).

> **Hypothesis 4:** Ethnic group identification will be associated with higher levels of personal self-esteem.
>
> **Hypotheses 5–6:** Perceived personal and group discrimination both will be indirectly associated with higher levels of personal self-esteem by increasing ethnic group identification.

Beyond the potential independent effects of perceived personal and group discrimination, these two levels of perceived discrimination may have interactive effects on ingroup identification and personal self-esteem. As already noted, feelings of personal relative deprivation are associated with more negative psychological well-being (Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Walker, 1999; Walker & Mann, 1987). Thus, believing that one personally experiences a high level of

discrimination relative to other ingroup members (*i.e.* perceiving high personal but low group discrimination) may result in especially low levels of personal self-esteem (*e.g.* "There must be something wrong with me because I am doing worse than other members of my group"). Conversely, believing that one personally experiences less deprivation than one's group (*i.e.* perceiving low personal but high group discrimination) may result in higher levels of personal self-esteem (*e.g.* "I am doing well because I am doing better than other members of my group"). The relative absence of perceived personal and group discrimination (*i.e.* perceiving low personal and low group discrimination) should be related to especially high levels of personal self-esteem, as these perceptions eliminate two potential self-evaluation threats (*i.e.* to personal and collective self-esteem).

The consequences of perceiving both high personal and group discrimination are less clear. It is possible that these individuals will show the lowest levels of personal self-esteem as a result of threats to both personal and group identities. However, it is also possible that perceiving group discrimination will buffer the negative consequences of perceiving personal discrimination due to increased feelings of a common struggle (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006). Because of these equally plausible possibilities, we hypothesize an interaction between perceived personal and group discrimination, but do not specify the full pattern of this interaction.

> **Hypothesis 7:** Perceptions of personal and group discrimination will interact in predicting personal self-esteem such that individuals who perceive high personal discrimination and low group discrimination will have the lowest personal self-esteem and individuals who perceive low personal and group discrimination will have the highest personal self-esteem. Individuals who perceive low personal but high group discrimination also will show high personal self-esteem.

It is uncertain if and how perceptions of personal and group discrimination will interact in predicting ingroup identification. Individuals who believe they are the targets of discrimination and believe that they are doing worse than other ingroup members (*i.e.* perceive high personal but low group discrimination) may come to believe that becoming more involved and attached to their ingroup will not benefit them (*e.g.* "I am being treated worse than other members of my group so I must be doing something wrong"). Thus, they may attempt to psychologically distance themselves from that group (*i.e.* reduce identification; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It is also possible, however, that individuals who believe they are discriminated against more than other ingroup members will come to believe that discrimination based on group membership is inevitable and that the only viable option for maintaining positive self-evaluations is to align oneself with other ingroup members (*e.g.* "I am not going to be accepted by the outgroup so I better stick with my own group"). Thus, we did not make any predictions regarding the interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ingroup identification.

Current study

The Rejection-Identification model posits that perceived discrimination has a direct negative effect on personal self-esteem, but can also have an indirect positive effect by increasing in-group identification (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999). However, existing research has not made clear whether perceived personal and group discrimination have similar effects. To address this issue, we examined the independent and interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on the ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem of Latino/Latina adolescents in the United States. In this study, we operationalized perceptions of personal discrimination as an individual's belief that he/she experiences discrimination because of his/her ethnicity and perceptions of group discrimination as an individual's belief that Latinos, as a whole, experience discrimination. Figure 2 illustrates the hypotheses tested in this study.
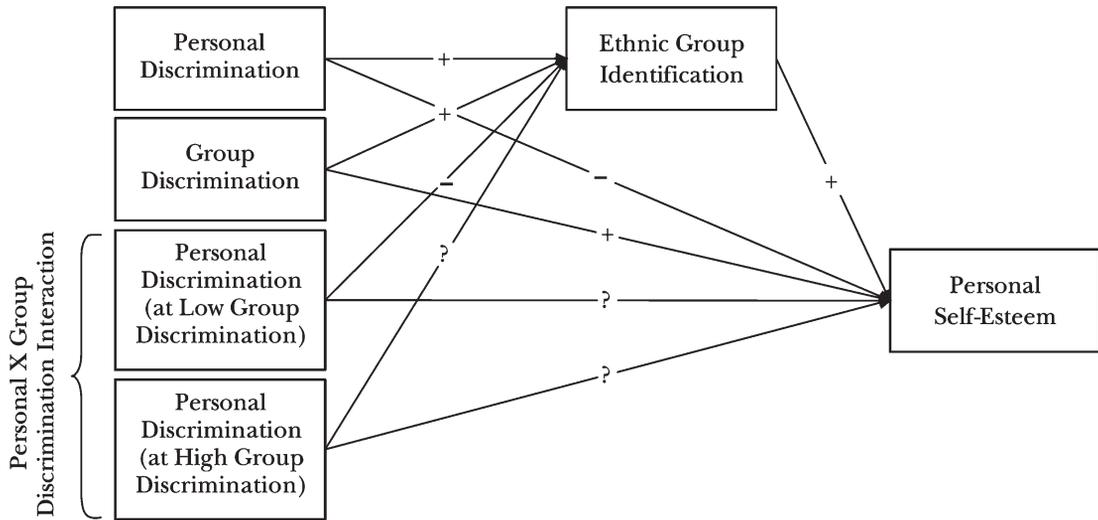
Figure 2. Proposed model with hypothesized relationships. Question marks represent paths with no *a priori* hypotheses.

Although several studies have examined the Rejection-Identification model with adults (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002, 2003), only one study has examined this model among adolescents (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Consistent with the Rejection-Identification model, this study showed that, among Latino/Latina high school students, perceived personal discrimination was associated with lower levels of personal self-esteem and ethnic group identification was associated with higher levels of personal self-esteem. However, inconsistent with the model, perceived personal discrimination was associated with lower levels of ethnic group identification. Thus, for Latino/Latina adolescents, perceived personal discrimination was both directly and indirectly related to lower levels of personal self-esteem.[1] It is possible that these contradictory findings resulted from the specific measurement of ingroup identification used by Romero and Roberts (*i.e.* feelings of affirmation, belonging, and commitment; Phinney, 1992; Roberts *et al.*, 1999). However, it also is possible that there are developmental differences in how individuals perceive and respond to discrimination.

Thus, the current study provides two important contributions to the current understanding of the impact of perceived discrimination on group identification and personal self-esteem. First, this study distinguishes between two levels of discrimination by examining the independent and interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ingroup identification and personal self-esteem. Second, this study provides an important replication of Romero and Roberts' (2003) examination of the Rejection-Identification model with adolescents, using a slightly different operationalization of group identification (*i.e.* group centrality, or the importance of one's group to one's self-concept; see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

Method

Participants and procedures

Participants were 80 Latino/Latina adolescents who took part in a summer educational program at a public university in Southern California.[2] The program was designed to increase college entrance and success among children whose parents earned low incomes and/or

had not received college degrees. Students who were eligible for the program were identified by their high schools and selected through an application and interview process.

Our sample included 40 males and 40 females, with ages ranging from 14–18 years (M = 15.5, SD = 1.0). It was comprised of 85% of the Latino/Latina students in the summer program; the remaining 15% did not receive the measures due to limitations on the number of items given to each participant. These participants completed measures of ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem, items to assess perceived personal and group experiences with discrimination, and a demographic questionnaire. These materials were completed at the beginning of the summer program in a group setting.

Measures

Perceptions of personal and group discrimination were assessed with two items. For personal discrimination, participants responded to the statement "I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity." For group discrimination, participants responded to the statement "Other people of my ethnicity experience discrimination because of their ethnicity." Participants responded to these items on a 6-point scale, anchored by *strongly disagree* (1) and *strongly agree* (6). These items were moderately correlated ($r = .41$, $p < .001$); however, this correlation was not so high to suggest that these items represented a single construct.

Personal self-esteem was assessed with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (Rosenberg, 1965). Participants responded to 10 items, such as "I feel that I have a number of good qualities," on a 5-point scale, anchored by strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5). These items showed strong reliability ($\alpha = .88$).

Ethnic group identification was assessed with two items from the identity subscale of the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), which taps into the centrality of one's group to one's self-concept. These items included "The ethnic group that I belong to is an important reflection of who I am" and "In general, belonging to my ethnic group is an important part of my self-image." Participants responded to these items on a 6-point scale, anchored by *strongly disagree* (1) and *strongly agree* (6). These items showed good reliability ($\alpha = .84$).

Results

Descriptive statistics and preliminary analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the variables are shown in Table 1. Overall, the

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations

	Gender	Age	Group discrim- ination	Personal discrim- ination	Ethnic group identif- ication	Personal self- esteem
Gender	—					
Age	–.07					
Personal discrimination	.14	–.04				
Group discrimination	.09	.09	.41**			
Ethnic group identification	.14	.12	.33**	–.12		
Personal self-esteem	–.06	–.20†	.27**	–.14	.43**	
Mean	—	15.53	4.35	3.46	5.01	3.90
Standard deviation	—	1.03	1.42	1.53	1.21	.76

** $p = .01$; * $p = .05$; † $p = .10$
Gender is coded 0 (men) and 1 (women).

participants positively identified with their ethnic group (M = 5.01) and had generally favorable personal self-esteem (M = 3.90), both of which are common among adolescent Latino samples (*e.g.* Eccleston & Major, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). In addition, participants perceived a moderate degree of personal discrimination (M = 3.46) and greater amount of group discrimination (M = 4.35). A one-way within-subject analysis of variance showed this to be a significant difference, $F(1, 79) = 24.65$, $p < .001$. This pattern is consistent with the general finding that individuals tend to perceive more discrimination against their group than against themselves (*i.e.* personal–group discrimination discrepancy; see Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994).

Perceived discrimination, ethnic identification, and self-esteem may vary as a function of gender and age (Cross, 1995; Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1993). However, with this sample, neither gender nor age were significantly associated with the other variables, including perceived personal discrimination (r = .09 and .09, respectively, $p > .10$), perceived group discrimination (r = –.07 and .14, respectively, $p > .10$), ethnic group identification (r = .12 and .14, respectively, $p > .10$), and personal self-esteem (r = –.20 and –.06, respectively, $p > .05$). Moreover, including gender and age as additional factors in the primary analyses did not reveal any significant gender or age interactions. Thus, gender and age were not considered further.

Primary analyses

Multiple regression analyses were used to examine the independent and interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem. Path analyses were used to test the significance of the indirect effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem, functioning through ethnic group identification.

Independent effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem To test Hypothesis 1—that perceived personal discrimination would be negatively related to personal self-esteem—and to examine the relationship between perceived group discrimination and personal self-esteem, personal self-esteem was regressed simultaneously on perceived personal and group discrimination. This model was significant, $R^2 = .15$, $F(2, 77) = 6.92$, $p < .01$. As predicted, there was a significant negative relationship between personal discrimination and personal self-esteem, $\beta = –.31$, $p < .01$. In addition, there was a significant positive relationship between perceived group discrimination and personal self-esteem, $\beta = .31$, $p < .01$.

To test Hypotheses 2 and 3—that both personal and group discrimination would be positively related to ethnic group identification—ethnic group identification was regressed simultaneously on perceived personal and group discrimination. This model also was significant, $R^2 = .19$, $F(2, 77) = 9.14$, $p < .01$. Consistent with our hypothesis, perceived group discrimination was positively related to ethnic group identification, $\beta = .46$, $p < .01$. However, contrary to our prediction, and the Rejection-Identification model, perceived personal discrimination was negatively related to ethnic group identification, $\beta = –.31$, $p < .01$.

We tested the indirect effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem (Hypotheses 5–6), functioning through ethnic group identification, by testing a path model that included direct paths from perceived personal and group discrimination to ethnic group identification and a direct path from ethnic group identification to personal self-esteem. We used maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors to test the overall fit of this model. Model fit was assessed using the Satorra-Bentler χ^2 test (S-B.2; Satorra & Bentler, 1994), comparative fit index (CFI), and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Adequate fit would be indicated by a non-significant S-B χ^2, CFI > .90, and SRMR < .08. In addition, we used Shrout and Bolger's (2002) bootstrapping approach to test the significance of the indirect effects.[3]

The overall fit of this model was acceptable, S-B $\chi^2(2) = 3.98$, $p = .13$, CFI = .91, SRMR = .04.

As with the multiple regression analysis, both perceived personal and group discrimination were significantly related to ethnic group identification (β = –.31 and .46, respectively, $p < .05$). Importantly, consistent with Hypothesis 4, ethnic group identification was positively related to personal self-esteem (β =.43, $p < .05$). To test the indirect effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem, 500 bootstrap samples were used to estimate the distribution around these effects, and 95% confidence intervals were computed. This analysis showed that the indirect effect of perceived group discrimination was significant and in the positive direction predicted by Hypothesis 5 (β = .11, 95% CIs = .07, .37). The indirect effect of perceived personal discrimination was also significant, but was not in the positive direction predicted by Hypothesis 6 (β = –.07, 95% CIs = –.29, –.02). Thus, perceived personal discrimination was negatively related to personal self-esteem both directly and indirectly (via ethnic group identification), whereas perceived group discrimination had direct and indirect positive associations with personal self-esteem.

Interactive effect of personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem — To test Hypothesis 7—that perceived personal and group discrimination would have an interactive effect on personal self-esteem—we used Aiken and West's (1991) recommendations for testing interactions with continuous variables. Thus, perceived personal and group discrimination were centered around their means and multiplied together to create an interaction term. Personal self-esteem was then regressed on perceived personal discrimination, perceived group discrimination, and their interaction. The inclusion of the interaction resulted in a significant increase in R^2 beyond the independent effects of perceived personal and group discrimination, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $F(1, 76) = 5.20$, $p < .05$. As expected, the interaction term was significant, β = .24, $p < .05$. To examine the pattern of this interaction, we plotted it at one standard deviation above and below the means of perceived personal and group discrimination (see Figure 3a). As predicted, individuals who were high in perceived personal discrimination but low in perceived group discrimination reported the lowest levels of personal self-esteem. However, the other groups did not differ significantly in personal self-esteem.

To examine the interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification, ethnic group identification was regressed on perceived personal
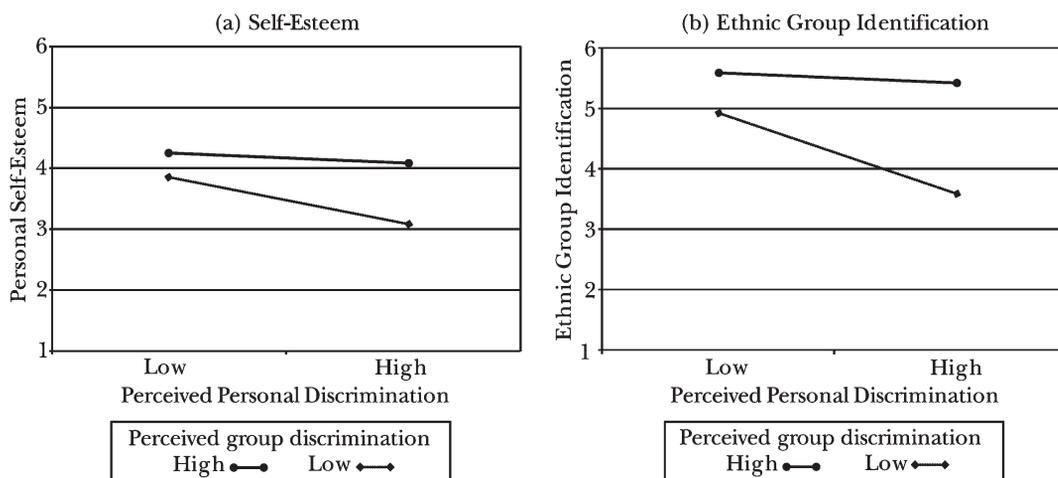

Figure 3. Interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on (a) personal self-esteem and (b) ethnic group identification.

discrimination, perceived group discrimination, and their interaction. Again, the inclusion of the interaction term resulted in a significant increase in R^2, ΔR^2 = .08, $F(1, 76)$ = 7.81, $p < .01$. The interaction term also was significant, β = .28, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 3b, individuals who were high in perceived personal discrimination but low in perceived group discrimination reported the lowest levels of ethnic group identification. As with personal self-esteem, the other groups did not differ significantly in ethnic group identification.

Finally, we examined the indirect effect of the interaction between perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem functioning through ethnic group identification. To this end, a path model was tested that included direct paths from perceived personal discrimination, perceived group discrimination and their interaction to ethnic group identification and a direct path from ethnic group identification to personal self-esteem. This model demonstrated acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(3)$ = 4.38, p = .22, CFI = .93, SRMR = .04. Consistent with the multiple regression analysis, the interaction between perceived personal and group discrimination was significantly related to ethnic group identification (β = .28, $p < .05$). In addition, as in the previous path model, ethnic group identifi-

cation was positively related to personal self-esteem (β = .43, $p < .05$). To test the indirect effects of the interaction between perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem, 500 bootstrap samples were used to estimate the distribution around this effect, and 95% confidence intervals were computed. The analysis showed a marginally significant indirect effect of this interaction (β = .04, 95% CIs = −.01, .29). This result suggests that the interactive effect of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem may be mediated by ethnic group identification. Follow-up regression analyses showed that the interactive effect of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem became non-significant once ethnic group identification was entered into the equation, suggesting that the interaction was fully explained by its relationship to ethnic group identification (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Figure 4 shows the final model with the pattern of the results.

Discussion

The Rejection-Identification model posits that individuals can maintain positive self-evaluations in the face of discrimination by aligning with their socially devalued group (Brans-
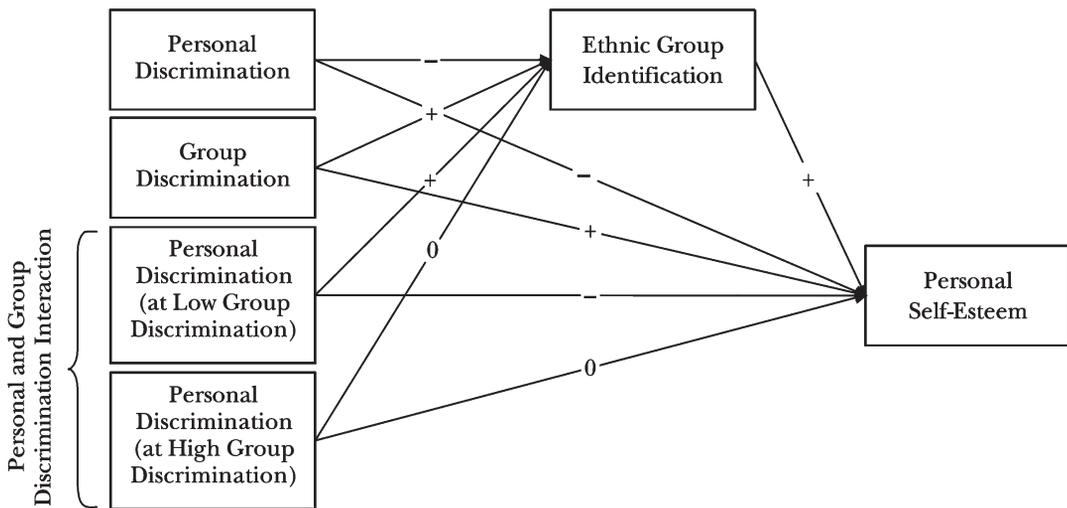

Figure 4. Pattern of results for the final model.

combe *et al.*, 1999). Specifically, this model predicts that perceptions of discrimination may lead individuals to identify more highly with their targeted ingroup, which in turn can have positive effects on personal self-esteem. The current study addressed two gaps in our understanding of these relationships: whether perceived personal and group discrimination function similarly within this model, and whether the ingroup identification and personal self-esteem of adolescents are affected by perceived discrimination in a manner similar to adults. To accomplish these aims, the current study examined the impact of perceived personal and group discrimination on the ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem of Latino/Latina adolescents.

Independent effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem

As predicted (Hypothesis 1), and consistent with several previous studies (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002, 2003), this study showed that perceived personal discrimination was related to lower levels of personal self-esteem. In contrast, perceived group discrimination was related to higher levels of personal self-esteem. This finding is consistent with existing empirical evidence (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006); however, it is inconsistent with Turner's (1999) contention that perceived group threats (*e.g.* perceived group discrimination) should affect collective but not necessarily personal self-esteem. It is possible that perceiving group discrimination may help to preserve personal self-esteem by providing individuals with a sense of common fate and the knowledge that others share in their experiences (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006). Additional research is needed to test this hypothesis and to more clearly understand the psychological processes underlying the relationship between perceived group discrimination and personal self-esteem.

Also consistent with our predictions, perceived group discrimination was related to

higher levels of ethnic group identification (Hypothesis 3), and ethnic group identification was associated with higher levels of personal self-esteem (Hypothesis 4). Moreover, perceived group discrimination had a positive indirect relationship with personal self-esteem through increased ethnic group identification (Hypothesis 5). Social identity theory posits that threats to positive ingroup evaluations, which may result from the perception that one's ingroup is discriminated against, can lead individuals to identify more highly with their socially devalued group (Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Spencer-Rodgers & Collins, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tropp & Wright, 1999; Turner, 1999; Turner *et al.*, 1987). Ingroup identification, in turn, may help preserve personal self-esteem by allowing individuals to maintain a sense of belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999) and/or favorable ingroup evaluations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Contrary to our predictions, however, perceived personal discrimination was associated with lower levels of ethnic group identification (Hypothesis 2). Moreover, perceived personal discrimination had an indirect negative association with personal self-esteem via a reduction in ethnic group identification (Hypothesis 4). These findings are inconsistent with the Rejection-Identification model and several empirical studies that have examined this model with adults (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Schmitt *et al.*, 2002, 2003). However, they are consistent with the only other study that examined the Rejection-Identification model with adolescents (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Thus, the current study provides converging evidence that perceived personal discrimination may result in decreased ingroup identification during adolescence (see, however, limitations section). Importantly, the current study used a slightly different operationalization of ingroup identification (*i.e.* group centrality) than Romero and Roberts used (*i.e.* feelings of affirmation and belonging). Thus, it is unlikely that this finding is the result of idiosyncratic factors related to the conceptualization and operationalization of group identification. Rather, these findings sug-

gest that there may be important developmental differences in response to perceived discrimination. This possibility is discussed further in the following section.

Interactive effects of perceived personal and group discrimination on ethnic group identification and personal self-esteem

This study provides important evidence that perceived personal and group discrimination interact in predicting personal self-esteem among adolescents. As predicted, individuals who were high in perceived personal discrimination but low in perceived group discrimination reported the lowest personal self-esteem (Hypothesis 7). This finding is consistent with research on personal relative deprivation, which has shown that it is not the absolute level of perceived personal deprivation that results in negative psychological consequences, but rather the level of perceived personal deprivation relative to other individuals (Pettigrew, 1967). Based on this perspective, it is possible that lower levels of personal self-esteem resulted from unfavorable social comparison outcomes (*i.e.*, "I'm doing worse than other members of my group"). Interestingly, our results suggest that it is more beneficial for adolescents to perceive themselves as equal to or better off than other members of their ingroup than to perceive no discrimination at all. As shown in Figure 3a, individuals who perceived low personal and group discrimination did not differ significantly in personal self-esteem from individuals who perceived high personal and group discrimination or individuals who perceived low personal but high group discrimination. Thus, it appears that personal self-esteem may be preserved if an individual feels a sense of common fate (*e.g.* feeling that one's self and one's group is equally targeted), perceives him/herself as better off than other ingroup members (*e.g.* perceiving low personal but high group discrimination), or perceives little discrimination towards one's self and one's group. Interestingly, the interaction between perceived personal and group discrimination in predicting ethnic group identification mirrored the interaction for personal self-esteem (see Figure 3b).

Individuals who perceived high personal discrimination but low group discrimination were lowest in ethnic group identification, whereas individuals with other combinations of those variables did not differ significantly. Follow-up analyses suggest that ethnic group identification fully explained (*i.e.* mediated) the interactive effect of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem. This finding complements the personal relative deprivation and social comparison explanation for the interactive effect of perceived personal and group discrimination on personal self-esteem. Specifically, individuals who feel that they are worse off than other ingroup members may attempt to psychologically disassociate with their ingroup as a means of maintaining feelings of self-worth. The results from this study suggest, however, that psychologically disengaging from one's ingroup may not actually buffer the negative consequences of perceiving personal discrimination. Although individuals may attempt to psychologically disassociate with their ethnic group, the fact remains that ethnic group designations are largely determined by a socially shared system of meaning (Verkuyten, 2006). Thus, despite attempts to psychologically disassociate with one's ethnic group, contextual reminders regarding membership in a designated ethnic group will remain and will likely be made salient in a number of situations (Cross, 1995). Thus, it is unlikely that attempting to disassociate with one's ethnic group will be a successful strategy for protecting one's overall social identity.

Implications for the Rejection-Identification model

The current study provides two important contributions to the literature on the consequences of perceived discrimination and the Rejection-Identification model. First, this study demonstrates an important difference in how perceived discrimination affects ingroup identification and psychological well-being based on the level at which discrimination is assessed. Specifically, perceived personal discrimination is negatively associated whereas per-

ceived group discrimination is positively associated with ingroup identification and personal self-esteem. Moreover, these two levels of perceived discrimination have interactive effects, which suggest that individuals who perceive that they experience greater discrimination relative to other ingroup members showed the lowest levels of ingroup identification and personal self-esteem. Unfortunately, little attention has been given to the potential differences of perceived personal and group discrimination in the Rejection-Identification model. Thus, it appears that the Rejection-Identification model is in need of further specification if it is to more accurately explain the consequences of perceived discrimination on ingroup identification and personal self-esteem.

Second, this study provides converging evidence that perceived personal discrimination is associated with lower levels of ingroup identification among adolescents (Romero & Roberts, 2003). This finding suggests that there may be developmental differences in how individuals respond to perceived discrimination. Developmental research demonstrates that adolescents experience fluctuations in self-conceptions (Harter, 1999), which may be due to a number of factors. Cognitive developments allow adolescents to make greater use of social comparisons and reflected appraisal information in the development of self-conceptions (Harter, 2006). In addition, social-contextual factors, such as increased contact with peers, may facilitate the exploration of different identity options (Erikson, 1968). The combination of these developments, along with the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and/or maintain positive self-evaluations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), may lead adolescents to "try on" a number of identities in their attempts to develop a coherent self-concept (Erikson, 1968) that brings about approval and acceptance from others (Cooley, 1902; Rosenberg, 1986).

These findings suggest that ethnic minority adolescents may attempt to distance themselves from their socially devalued group, perhaps placing greater focus on other identities, as a way to maintain positive self-evaluations and feelings of belonging. Late adolescents and adults may not use this strategy because of additional cognitive developments (*e.g.* the ability to integrate inconsistencies in identities; Elbogen, Carlo, & Spaulding, 2001; Harter & Monsour, 1992) and greater exposure to a shared system of understanding that uses ethnicity as a means of social categorization. Such developmental processes need to be further explored in examinations of the impact of perceived discrimination on ingroup identification and personal self-esteem among adolescents.

Limitations and future directions

There are three limitations to this study that should be noted. First, this study used a non-experimental design; thus, although the Rejection-Identification model makes causal predictions, we are unable to infer causality from the current study. In fact, it is likely that perceived discrimination, ingroup identification, and personal self-esteem are reciprocally related (McCoy & Major, 2003; Turner *et al.*, 1987). Future research should utilize experimental and longitudinal research designs in order to examine these reciprocal causal relationships. A second limitation is that, due to restrictions on the number of questions we could ask participants, this study utilized single item measures of perceived personal and group discrimination. As a result, we could not assess the reliability of these measures. Further, in terms of content validity, it is important to acknowledge that these items tapped into a particular aspect of perceived discrimination (*i.e.* general beliefs about the degree to which an individual, and his or her group, experience discrimination). Thus, it is possible that different operationalizations of perceived discrimination, assessed with multi-item measures, will show different results. Importantly, however, Romero and Roberts (2003) used a multi-item measure of perceived personal discrimination and showed similar results as the present study. Nonetheless, future studies will need to consider differences based on how perceptions of personal and group discrimination are operationalized.

A final limitation is that our sample included only one socially devalued group (*i.e.* Latinos/Latinas) in one ethnically diverse US city. Im-

portantly, the only other study that examined the Rejection-Identification model among adolescents (Romero & Roberts, 2003), and similarly showed a negative association between perceived personal discrimination and group identification, was also based on a sample of Latinos/Latina adolescents from Southern California. Thus, it is possible that the pattern reflects something unique about the social status and/or experiences of Latinos/Latinas, perhaps especially those living in diverse regions of the United States. For example, the fact that many Latinos/Latinas in the United States are relatively recent immigrants may increase the attractiveness of using alternative social identities (*e.g.,* "American") in the face of discrimination. It also could be the case that Latino/Latinas perceive less discrimination than do members of other ethnic groups (*e.g.,* Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006), in turn affecting their strategies for coping with it. However, given the number of consistent demonstrations of the Rejection-Identification model among diverse groups of adults (*e.g.,* Branscombe *et al.,* 1999; Garstka *et al.,* 2004; Jetten *et al.,* 2001; Schmitt *et al.,* 2002, 2003), it seems more parsimonious and theoretically consistent to attribute the difference to age than to ethnicity. Future research should examine the Rejection-Identification model among adolescents from other socially devalued groups, as well as adult Latino/Latinas, to provide further clarity on this issue.

Conclusion

Despite the common belief that targets of discrimination passively internalize negative societal views (Cooley, 1902), research has clearly demonstrated that ethnic minorities and members of other socially devalued groups make active attempts to maintain positive self-evaluations. The Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe *et al.,* 1999) exemplifies this perspective by positing that individuals often respond to perceptions of discrimination by becoming more highly identified with their targeted ingroup, which can help to preserve psychological well-being in the face of societal devaluation. The current study demonstrates two

important extensions of this model. First, perceived personal and group discrimination have unique and interactive relationships with both (ethnic) group identification and personal self-esteem (see also Bourguignon *et al.,* 2006). Second, there may be developmental differences in how ethnic minorities respond to societal devaluation (see also Romero & Roberts, 2003), such that adults become more highly identified with their targeted ingroup in the face of personal discrimination, whereas adolescents appear to psychologically dissociate with their devalued ingroup. These findings highlight the need to further develop and refine the Rejection-Identification model in order to enhance its applicability across different levels of discrimination and age groups. Further development of this model will serve the important goal of increasing our understanding of how ethnic minorities are affected by, and cope with, societal devaluation.

Notes

1. Romero and Roberts (2003) assessed two separate dimensions of ethnic group identification, including ethnic group evaluations and feelings of belonging, and ethnic identity search (*i.e.,* the degree to which an individual has thought about their ethnicity). However, ethnic identity search is not relevant for the current study and is thus not discussed.

2. The program included a total of 182 adolescents from several ethnic groups (see Vaughn & Roesch, 2003); however, only the Latino/Latina sample was large enough for meaningful analyses. The remainder of the sample consisted of African Americans (*n* = 24), Asian Americans (*n* = 20), Native Americans (*n* = 9), Middle Easterners (*n* = 5), and individuals who self-identified as bi-racial (*n* = 15).

3. We selected this approach because it takes into account the distributional properties of indirect effects. Specifically, distributions around indirect effects tend to be negatively skewed, which leads to higher rates of Type II errors when using approaches that assume that these effects are normally distributed (*e.g.,* Sobel test), especially with small samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Bootstrapping avoids this problem by estimating a (skewed) distribution around the indirect effects, based on the sample data.

Acknowledgments

References

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. Psychological Bulletin, 130, 80–114.

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51, 1173–1182.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological Bulletin, 117, 497–529.

Bourguignon, D., Seron, E., Yzerbyt, V., & Herman, G. (2006). Perceived group and personal discrimination: Differential effects on personal self-esteem. European Journal of Social Psychology, 36, 773–789.

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77, 135–149.

Branscombe, N. R., & Wann, D. L. (1994). Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued social identity is on trial. European Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 641–657.

Brown, R. (2000). Social Identity Theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. European Journal of Social Psychology, 30, 745–778.

Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. American Psychologist, 54, 805–816.

Cooley, C. H. (1902). Human nature and social order. New York: Free Press.

Crocker, J., Cornwell, B., & Major, B. (1993). The stigma of overweight: Affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, 60–70.

Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. Psychological Review, 96, 608–630.

Crocker, J., Voelkl, K., Testa, M., & Major, B. (1991). Social stigma: The affective consequences of attributional ambiguity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 218–228.

Cross, W. E. (1995). The psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), Handbook of multicultural counseling (pp. 93–122). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Eccleston, C. P., & Major, B. N. (2006). Attributions to discrimination and self-esteem: The role of group identification and appraisals. Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 9, 147–162.

Elbogen, E. B., Carlo, G. C., & Spaulding, W. (2001). Hierarchical classification and the integration of self-structure in late adolescence. Journal of Adolescence, 24, 657–670.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: Norton.

Garstka, T. A., Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Hummert, M. L. (2004). How young and older adults differ in their responses to perceived age discrimination. Psychology and Aging, 19, 326–335.

Greene, M. L., Way, N., & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents: Patterns and psychological correlates. Developmental Psychology, 42, 218–238.

Harter, S. (1999). The construction of the self. New York: Guilford.

Harter, S. (2006). The Self. In N. Eisenberg, W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), Handbook of child psychology: Social, emotional, and personality development (6th ed., pp. 505–570). New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Harter, S., & Monsour, A. (1992). Developmental analysis of conflict caused by opposing attributes in the adolescent self-portrait. Developmental Psychology, 28, 251–260.

Heatherton, T. F., Kleck, R. E., Hebl, M. R., & Hull, J. G. (2000). The social psychology of stigma. New York: Guilford.

Jetten, J., Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Spears, R. (2001). Rebels with a cause: Group identifica-

tion as a response to perceived discrimination from the mainstream. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27, 1204–1213.

Klonoff, E. A., Landrine, H., & Ullman, J. B. (1999). Racial discrimination and psychiatric symptoms among Blacks. Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 5, 329–339.

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18, 302–318.

Madon, S., Guyll, M., Aboufadel, K., Montiel, E., Smith, A., Palumbo, P., *et al.* (2001). Ethnic and national stereotypes: The Princeton trilogy revisited and revised. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27, 996–1010.

McCoy, S. K., & Major, B. (2003). Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29, 1005–1017.

Pettigrew, T. (1967). Social evaluations theory: Convergences and applications. In D. Levine (Ed.), Nebraska symposium on motivation (15th ed., pp. 241–311). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 9, 34–49.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. Psychological Bulletin, 108, 499–514.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. Journal of Adolescent Research, 7, 156–176.

Phinney, J. S. (1993). A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence. In M. E. Bernal & G. P. Knight (Eds.), Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities (pp. 61–79). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. Journal of Early Adolescence, 19, 301–322.

Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 33, 2288–2305.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). Society and adolescent self-image. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosenberg, M. (1986). Self-concept from middle childhood through adolescence. In J. Suls & A. G. Greenwald (Eds.), Psychological perspectives on the self (Vol. 3, pp. 107–135). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Satorra, A., & Bentler, P. M. (1994). Corrections to test statistics and standard errors in covariance structure analysis. In A. von Eye & C. C. Clogg (Eds.), Latent variables analysis: Applications for developmental research (pp. 399–419). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). The internal and external causal loci of attributions to prejudice. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28, 620–628.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., & Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving discrimination against one's gender group has different implications for well-being in women and men. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28, 197–210.

Schmitt, M. T., Spears, R., & Branscombe, N. R. (2003). Constructing a minority group identity out of shared rejection: The case of international students. European Journal of Social Psychology, 33, 1–12.

Schuman, H., Steeh, C., Bobo, L., & Krysan, M. (1997). Racial attitudes in America: Trends and interpretations. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shrout, P. E., & Bolger, N. (2002). Mediation in experimental and nonexperimental studies: New procedures and recommendations. Psychological Methods, 7, 422–445.

Smith, H. J., & Ortiz, D. J. (2002). Is it just me?: The different consequences of personal and group relative deprivation. In I. Walker & H. J. Smith (Eds.), Relative deprivation: Specification, development, and integration (pp. 91–115). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Spencer-Rodgers, J., & Collins, N. L. (2006). Risk and resilience: Dual effects of perceptions of group disadvantage among Latinos. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42, 729–737.

Swim, J. K., & Stangor, C. (1998). Prejudice: The target's perspective. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & A. Austin (Eds.), Psychology of intergroup relations (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Taylor, D. M., Wright, S. C., & Porter, L. E. (1994). Dimensions of perceived discrimination: The personal/group discrimination discrepancy. In M. P. Zanna, & J. M. Olson (Eds.), The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium (Vol. 7, pp. 233–255). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Tropp, L. R., & Wright, S. C. (1999). Ingroup identification and relative deprivation: An examination

across multiple social comparisons. European Journal of Social Psychology, 29, 707–724.

Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), Social identity: Context, commitment, content (pp. 6–34). Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). Re-discovering the social group: A self-categorization theory. Oxford: Blackwell.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Diversi, M., & Fine, M. A. (2002). Ethnic identity and self-esteem of Latino adolescents: Distinctions among the Latino populations. Journal of Adolescent Research, 17, 303–327.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Updegraff, K. A. (2007). Latino adolescents' mental health: Exploring the interrelations among discrimination, ethnic identity, cultural orientation, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms. Journal of Adolescence, 30, 549–567.

Vaughn, A. A., & Roesch, S. C. (2003). Psychological and physical health correlates of coping in minority adolescents. Journal of Health Psychology, 8, 671–683.

Verkuyten, M. (1998). Perceived discrimination and self-esteem among ethnic minority adolescents. Journal of Social Psychology, 138, 479–493.

Verkuyten, M. (2006). The social psychology of ethnic identity. New York: Psychology Press.

Verkuyten, M., & Thijs, J. (2001). Peer victimization and self-esteem of ethnic minority group children. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 11, 227–234.

Walker, I. (1999). Effects of personal and group relative deprivation on personal and collective self-esteem. Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 2, 365–380.

Walker, I., & Mann, L. (1987). Unemployment, relative deprivation, and social protest. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 13, 275–283.

❑   ❑   ❑   ❑   ❑

Brian E. Armenta is a doctoral student at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. His research focuses on ethnic identity, coping with discrimination, and the dynamic relationships between intergroup contact, perceived group threat, and prejudice.

Jennifer S. Hunt is an associate professor of psychology at SUNY College at Buffalo. She earned her PhD in social psychology with a minor in law at the University of Minnesota. Her research examines dynamic processes in stereotype activation and use, as well as race and cultural influences on legally-relevant behaviors such as eyewitness testimony and juror decision making.