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# CULTURAL MISTRUST AND RESPONSES OF BLACK CANADIANS TO SUBTLE AND OVERT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EXPERIMENTAL VIGNETTES

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**CULTURAL MISTRUST AND RESPONSES OF BLACK CANADIANS TO  
SUBTLE AND OVERT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EXPERIMENTAL  
VIGNETTES**

By

Miea Moon, M.A.

A Dissertation  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of Psychology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2017

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Cultural Mistrust and Responses of Black Canadians to Subtle and Overt Racial  
Discrimination in Experimental Vignettes

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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## ABSTRACT

The relationship between cultural mistrust and responses to racial discrimination has received little attention in the empirical research literature. In the current study, the potential moderating role of cultural mistrust on responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination cues was assessed in a sample of 136 Black Canadian adults (73% female). Participants were randomly assigned to read and respond to one of three vignettes describing a job seeking experience in which they were instructed to imagine being interviewed and subsequently rejected for a job by a White employer. The three vignettes included either overt, subtle, or absent (control) racial discrimination cues. Cultural mistrust was found to have direct positive associations with attributions to racial discrimination and other-directed emotional responses (i.e., anger). However, contrary to hypotheses, cultural mistrust did not moderate the effects of overt and subtle racial discrimination cues on attributions, state self-esteem, other-directed emotional responses, or behavioural responses. Participants reported more attributions and behavioural responses to racial discrimination cues when they were overt, but not subtle, compared to when they were absent. In contrast, participants reported lower levels of state self-esteem when racial discrimination cues were subtle, but not overt, compared to when they were absent. The lack of observed moderating effects indicates that cultural mistrust did not facilitate increased accuracy in detecting racial discrimination cues or provide a buffer against the negative effects of racial discrimination among participants in the current study. Based on these findings, it appears that cultural mistrust among Black Canadians reflects a more general versus situation-specific tendency to attribute interpersonal outcomes to racial discrimination and to experience anger toward potential perpetrators.

Given participant responses to the experimental job interview vignettes employed in this study, it seems that subtle racial discrimination may be associated with negative outcomes for Black Canadians in workplace contexts by undermining their emotional functioning. Subtle racial discrimination that occurs in a range of everyday interactions may have similar impacts. The current results could potentially be used to enhance cultural sensitivity and inform clinical interventions among clinicians who provide mental health services to Black Canadians. Such interventions may include the development of individual coping strategies that increase resilience in situations where racial discrimination is perceived or suspected.

## DEDICATION

*To those who work to connect across lines that divide.*

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

### Overview

The majority of research on racial discrimination has focused on the experiences of individuals and groups living in the U.S. (Hyman & Wray, 2013). However, despite Canada's reputation for embracing multiculturalism, racial discrimination has been a longstanding barrier to achieving social equity among diverse groups in Canada and continues to have a profound impact on the lives and wellbeing of Canadians. Over the past several decades, multiple anti-racism initiatives have been implemented by the Canadian government as part of its efforts to eliminate systemic racism in Canada (Banting & Thompson, 2016; Brazanga, 2016). In spite of these initiatives, however, researchers continue to document significant racial disparities in the physical and mental health of Canadians (Banting & Thompson, 2016; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; DuMont & Forte, 2016). For example, rates of chronic disease and declines in mental health are significantly higher among racial minorities in Canada compared to non-racial minorities (Hyman & Wray, 2013). Furthermore, racial disparities are well-documented in life outcomes that impact physical and mental health, including criminal justice, law enforcement, healthcare, education, income, and employment (Bendick & Nunes, 2012; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Nier & Gaertner, 2012; Pager & Western, 2012). For example, Black Canadians have significantly higher unemployment and poverty rates, lower income, and less stable jobs compared to White Canadians (Block & Galabuzi, 2011)

Canadian and American researchers have implicated experiences of racial discrimination in daily life as a contributing factor to the adverse physical and mental health outcomes found among racial minorities in Canada relative to non-racial

minorities (DuMont & Forte, 2016; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Experiences of discrimination are reported to occur with frequency in the context of routine daily activities and interpersonal interactions among Blacks (e.g., shopping, being served in a restaurant, applying for a job or promotion, renting an apartment; McNeilly et al., 1996; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Whereas some occurrences of everyday racial discrimination may be unambiguously overt, many contemporary forms of racial discrimination are more subtle (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Furthermore, researchers contend that subtle forms of racial discrimination may be more harmful than overt discrimination due to the increased difficulties targets experience in detecting when it occurs (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016). Increased difficulties in identifying subtle racial discrimination, in turn, makes it more challenging for its targets to make appropriate attributions to negative outcomes (i.e., to external vs. internal factors) and to select appropriate coping strategies (e.g., call attention to or protest discrimination, seek remedies, etc.).

Given the existing and potentially significant impacts that racial discrimination has on social equity and health outcomes, there has been increasing interest among researchers and mental health clinicians in identifying characteristics that may facilitate individual perceptions of racial discrimination, and promote resilience against its negative effects (Jones et al., 2016; Lewis, Cogburn, & Williams, 2015; Okazaki, 2009; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Particularly for members of historically marginalized groups, detecting occurrences of discrimination is critical to forming an accurate understanding of a situation (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). In addition, the accurate

identification of occurrences of discrimination may contribute to the development of coping responses that can reduce the impact of its consequences (Schmitt et al., 2014).

It is critical that clinicians who provide mental health services for racially diverse clients possess knowledge of factors that may protect against everyday experiences of subtle and overt racial discrimination. One potentially important but understudied individual factor that may influence responses to racial discrimination among Blacks is *cultural mistrust*. Cultural mistrust is defined as mistrust among Black individuals towards White individuals and White-dominated systems as a result of Blacks' historical and contemporary experiences of discrimination and oppression (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 2001a; 2001b; 2011). Cultural mistrust has long been identified as a highly relevant and important psychological construct in the lives of Blacks, and a critical cultural factor to consider when assessing psychological health (Whaley, 2001b). However, there is limited research on cultural mistrust and it is unclear as to how cultural mistrust is related to attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses to racial discrimination.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Although cultural mistrust has been theorized to protect Blacks from discriminatory social environments (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Thompson et al., 1990; Whaley, 2001b; 2011), no known empirical study has examined how cultural mistrust may influence responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination. Such research is necessary to better understand the nature and role of cultural mistrust, including the extent to which it may buffer, or amplify, the effects of racial discrimination.



Existing research on perceived racial discrimination has relied heavily on correlational research designs that employ self-report measures of racial discrimination. Such designs confound actual and reported experiences of racial discrimination due to perception bias, which includes the conscious or unconscious underreporting (i.e., minimization) or overreporting (i.e., vigilance) of discrimination (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Lewis et al., 2015). Experimental studies that permit the direct manipulation of subtle and overt discrimination cues may be useful in addressing questions about how individual factors may influence responses to racial discrimination that is ambiguously (i.e., subtle) and unambiguously (i.e., overt) present or absent in a given situation (Jones et al., 2016). In the current study, an experimental paradigm commonly used to study attributional ambiguity was employed to examine the role of an important but understudied cultural factor (i.e., cultural mistrust) in influencing attributions and responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination cues in a sample of Black Canadians.

### **Purpose of the Current Study**

The purpose of the current study was to examine cultural mistrust as a potential moderator of attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination cues among Black Canadians. In the current study, it is argued that cultural mistrust is adaptive and protective for Black Canadians if it is found to (a) increase recognition of occurrences of racial discrimination (i.e., increase the likelihood of making accurate attributions to racial discrimination); (b) protect against the adverse effects of racial discrimination on emotional functioning (e.g., mood and self-esteem); (c) promote adaptive emotional responses to racial discrimination (e.g., lead to expressed anger toward perpetrator) and; (d) promote behavioural responses that address the

consequences of racial discrimination (e.g., discussing experiences of racial discrimination with others).

The potential moderating role of cultural mistrust was examined through use of experimental vignettes to create subtle, overt, and absent racial discrimination conditions. The design allowed for the exploration of the effects of varying levels of racial discrimination cues (i.e., overt, subtle, and absent) on attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses. In designing the vignettes, a job interview context was selected for a few reasons. Several experimental studies on discrimination have used a job interview as the context for discrimination to occur (e.g., Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2010; Major, Kaiser, & McCoy, 2003; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Wang, Stroebe, & Dovidio, 2012), which provided an established methodological base that could be adapted to the current study. In addition, a job interview is an example of a commonplace context in which racial discrimination can have significant negative consequences for Black Canadians. Indeed, the occurrence of racial discrimination in employment processes can be particularly detrimental due to the influence of employment and income on health and quality of life (World Health Organization, 2017).

### **Clinical Implications of the Current Study**

To provide culturally-sensitive mental health interventions, clinicians must be knowledgeable about the various cultural and contextual factors that may influence the diagnosis and treatment of the clients they serve. Mental health interventions that are adapted to specific cultural groups and contexts have been found to be significantly more effective than general interventions (Griner & Smith, 2006).

Cultural mistrust has been identified as an important psychological construct to consider in the diagnosis and treatment of Black Americans, yet it has historically received inadequate attention by clinicians (Whaley, 2011). Indeed, it has been argued that White American clinicians' lack of sensitivity to the role of culture mistrust in influencing attitudes and behaviours has contributed to frequent misdiagnoses of paranoid schizophrenia among Black Americans (Ridley, 1984; Whaley, 2001a). Similarly, it is unclear how sensitive Canadian clinicians are to the role of cultural mistrust and race-related stressors in influencing responses of Black Canadians. There is evidence indicating that Black Canadians are overrepresented in emergency and forensic psychiatric care units (Annoual, Bibeau, Marshall, & Sterlin, 2007; Jarvis, Kirmayer, Jarvis, & Whiteley, 2005; Jarvis, Toniolo, Ryder, Sessa, & Cremonese, 2011) and in early intervention programs for psychosis (Archie et al., 2010) compared to Whites. These findings suggest that there may be deficits in cultural sensitivity among mental health clinicians in Canada.

Research has consistently documented associations between perceived racial discrimination and poor negative physical and psychological health outcomes. Mental health clinicians are in a unique position to provide guidance and support when clients share their experiences of both major and minor stressful life events, including perceptions of subtle and overt racial discrimination. Thus, it is imperative that clinicians possess the ability to comfortably explore and discuss race-related topics and experiences with their clients (Cardemil & Battle, 2003). Furthermore, mental health clinician should be prepared to provide key therapeutic interventions, including helping clients explore their thoughts and feelings about perceived and actual experiences with racial

discrimination; communicating a genuine and empathic understanding of clients' culturally-influenced worldviews; and helping clients identify and foster adaptive emotional and behavioural coping responses to race-related stressors.

The results of the current study are intended to enhance clinicians' knowledge and understanding of cultural mistrust, and how attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses to cultural mistrust may be impacted by the presence of subtle or overt racial discrimination. Clinicians with this knowledge are more likely to be more sensitive and competent when working with Black Canadian clients who seek to discuss and cope with race-related experiences, whether in the workplace or other important domains of their daily lives.

### **Definitions of Study Variables and Relevant Terms**

The following definitions are relevant to the current study:

**Race.** Race is a social construction based on perceptions of physical characteristics, especially skin colour, that are shared among groups of individuals, and may be used to justify dominant ideology and social hierarchy (Kuntz, Milan, & Schetagne, 2001).

**Racism.** Racism includes thoughts, feelings, and behaviours that systematically disadvantage individuals who are perceived to be members of a specific race (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2010). Racism may occur at a group or individual level, and includes three defining elements: (1) the belief that perceived members of racial groups have in common distinguishing race-based characteristics; (2) the perception that those race-based characteristics are inferior to one's own group, and; (3) the allocation of power that results in disadvantages to other racial group(s) or advantages to one's own racial group. Racism encompasses, and operates through, discrimination and prejudice and has

been described as occurring at institutional, individual, and cultural levels, as described further below (Dovidio et al., 2010; Jones, 2000).

**Institutional or systemic racism.** Institutional or systemic racism is the intentional or unintentional use of institutional practices, policies, and laws that result in differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by a racial group (Dovidio et al., 2010; Jones, 2000; 2001). Institutionalized or systemic racism is structural, and may manifest in differential access to material conditions (e.g., quality education, housing, employment, health care) and power (e.g., information, resources, voice; Jones, 2001).

**Individual or personally-mediated racism.** Individual or personally-mediated racism includes racial prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2010; Jones, 2000; 2001). It may be intentional or unintentional, and includes individual acts of both commission and omission. It may manifest as lack of respect, suspicion, devaluation, or scapegoating (Jones, 2001).

**Cultural racism.** Cultural racism involves beliefs about the superiority of the cultural heritage of one racial group over others (Dovidio et al., 2010). It occurs when members of one racial group exert power to define cultural values for society through the imposition of their preferred culture, heritage, and values on other groups. Cultural racism may result in internalized racism, which is defined as the acceptance by members of the stigmatized racial group of negative messages about the characteristics of their group (Jones, 2000; 2001).

**Racial prejudice (or racial bias).** Racial prejudice or racial bias is defined as a negative attitude toward a particular racial group and its members, which consists of

cognitive (e.g., beliefs), affective, and behavioural components (Correll, Judd, Park, & Wittenbrink, 2010). The cognitive component of prejudice is defined as a stereotype, whereas the behavioural component of prejudice is defined as discrimination, against or in favor of, a group. Prejudice is also defined by some researchers more narrowly as the negative *affective* response to a social (e.g., racial) category and its members, typically accompanied by stereotypic *beliefs*, which may give rise to discriminatory *behaviour* (Correll et al., 2010). In the current document, the terms racial prejudice and racial bias are used synonymously.

**Racial discrimination.** Racial discrimination is behaviour that is directed toward members of a specific racial group and which carries consequential or disadvantageous outcomes (Correll et al., 2010). Racial discrimination may also be defined as the behavioural component of racial prejudice. In the current study, the focus was on racial discrimination within an employment context, which is also described as employment discrimination on the basis of racial group membership. Racism can operate through racial discrimination. *Everyday discrimination* and *racial microaggressions* are defined more narrowly as intentional or unintentional brief and commonplace verbal, behavioural, and environmental forms of mistreatment toward target racial groups that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative race-based messages (e.g., members of specific racial groups being treated with less courtesy than members of other racial groups; Sue et al., 2007; Sue & Sue, 2008; Williams & Mohammed, 1997).

**Subtle racial discrimination.** Subtle racial discrimination refers to conscious or unconscious negative feelings and beliefs toward members of a specific racial group that result in disadvantages for a specific racial group (Correll et al., 2010). Perpetrators of

subtle racial discrimination may or may not be aware of the presence of their own racial bias, and may inwardly or outwardly rationalize their discriminatory behaviours on the basis of factors other than the target's race. Examples of subtle racial discrimination in an academic or employment setting include decreased expectations and opportunities for Black students or Black employees. For the purpose of the current document, *subtle* encompasses the terms *ambiguous*, *aversive*, and *implicit* when referring to racism, prejudice, or discrimination.

**Overt racial discrimination.** Overt racial discrimination refers to direct verbal or behavioural expressions of conscious negative feelings and beliefs toward members of a specific racial group that result in disadvantages for a specific racial group as a result of their racial group membership (e.g., derogatory comments about race). In the current document, *overt* encompasses the terms *blatant*, *old-fashioned*, and *explicit* when referring to racism, prejudice, or discrimination.

**Racial stereotypes.** Racial stereotypes are negative or positive generalizations or beliefs about the typical attributes of members of a specific racial category on the basis of their racial group membership (Correll et al., 2010). Racial stereotypes may be described as the cognitive component of racial prejudice (e.g., beliefs about Blacks as being criminals or good athletes).

**Cultural mistrust.** Cultural mistrust refers to mistrust among Blacks and other socially stigmatized groups toward Whites and White-dominated systems as a result of historical and/or contemporary experiences of discrimination (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 1997; 2001a; 2001b; 2011).

**Attributions to racial discrimination (or perceived racial discrimination).**

Attributions to racial discrimination (perceived racial discrimination) refers to judgements that one has been unfairly treated on the basis of one' racial group membership (Major & Sawyer, 2009). Attributions to discrimination typically refers to how specific events are explained, whereas perceived discrimination typically refers to the level or frequency of discriminatory incidents to which people perceive they have been exposed (Major & Sawyer, 2009). In the current study, both terms are used interchangeably and refer specifically to the events described in the experimental vignettes.

**State and trait self-esteem.** State self-esteem is the emotional evaluation of personal worth at a given point in time, and is theorized to change across time and situations. State self-esteem is contrasted with trait or global self-esteem, which is defined as an evaluation of personal worth that is relatively stable across time and situations.

**Other-directed emotional responses (or externalizing emotions).** Other-directed emotional responses are emotional responses that are directed externally (i.e., toward a person or institution), rather than internally (i.e., toward the self).

**Behavioural responses to racial discrimination.** Behavioural responses to racial discrimination are defined as actions taken to address or cope with perceived occurrences of racial discrimination.



## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In February 2016, the Anti-Racism Directorate was created by the Ontario Government in response to the continuing barriers caused by systemic racism. Since its formation, the Anti-Racism Directorate has held ongoing public meetings across the province of Ontario as part of its efforts toward hearing public perspectives and recommendations for combatting systemic racism in the areas of government policy, legislation, programs, and services (Government of Ontario, 2017). The presence of systemic racism in Canada is a critical social equity concern, particularly given the rapidly changing demographic composition of Canada. Indeed, by 2031, it is estimated that one-third of the nation's population will be composed of racial minorities (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Currently, Black Canadians represent the third largest racial minority group in Canada, after South Asian and Chinese Canadians (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

### **Evidence of Everyday Discrimination among Black Canadians**

In his well-known government report, Stephen Lewis shared key observations in regard to the state of race relations in Ontario. He noted that 1) anti-Black racism is the most pervasive form of racism; 2) mechanisms for reporting racial discrimination are perceived as ineffective; 3) significant fear exists in the Black community; and 4) urgent action is needed to rectify the state of race relations (Lewis, 1992). Although these observations were made more than two decades ago, recent research indicates that Black Canadians are still more likely to report both major and routine experiences of discrimination compared to Whites and other racial minority groups (Veenstra, 2009; 2012). Furthermore, attendees of the first public meeting of the Anti-Racism Directorate in July 2016 observed that racism continues to exert profound consequences for Black

Canadians (Braganza, 2016). Such consequences are said to be evident in the significant disparities observed between Black and White Canadians in important life areas and outcomes, including health, criminal justice, law enforcement, employment and income (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Hyman & Wray, 2013). In regard to health outcomes, Black Canadians experience higher rates of chronic disease compared to Whites Canadians after controlling for income, including diabetes (Chiu et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2010; Veenstra, 2012) and hypertension (Leenan et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2010; Veenstra, 2012). Racial disparities in criminal justice and law enforcement practices have been widely publicized in local Canadian news media, and include disproportionately higher numbers of Black Canadians being carded or pulled over by police without evidence of an offence compared to White Canadians, and being sentenced to prison at higher rates than White Canadians for identical drug-crime charges (Rankin, Quinn, Shephard, Simmie, & Duncanson, 2002; Saunders, 2016). Since 2010, the majority of police-reported hate crimes motivated by race have targeted Black Canadians, accounting for 35% of all racial hate crimes and 17% of all hate crimes in 2015 (Leber, 2017).

Disparities in income and employment outcomes between Black and White Canadians have also been documented. Using data from a large-scale Canada-wide survey, Hum and Simpson (2007) found that both foreign- and Canadian-born Blacks experienced significant wage disadvantages in the Canadian labour market (Hum & Simpson, 2007). Among visible minority immigrant men, Blacks showed the highest wage gap, earning 22.2% less than their White counterparts after controlling for related variables, including age, place of residence, education, official language ability, and work experience. Among Canadian-born men, Blacks showed the second highest wage gap

after Latin Americans, earning 21.9% less than their matched White counterparts (Hum & Simpson, 2007). In addition, unemployment rates among Black Canadians have been found to be more than double that of White Canadians (Hasford, 2016; Picot & Hou, 2011). Researchers implicate racial discrimination as a key contributor to the maintenance of such disparities (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Although the literature on factors associated with employment discrimination has grown substantially over the past few decades (e.g., antecedents and consequences; Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006), relatively less is known about individuals' *perceptions* of discrimination in the workplace, particularly during selection and promotion processes (Harris, Lievens, & Hoye, 2004).

### **Racial Discrimination in Contemporary Society**

With the development of anti-discrimination legislation and social norms, researchers have found that overt displays of racial discrimination among Whites has declined over the past several decades (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998; Nier & Gaertner, 2012). It is argued, however, that subtle racial discrimination has merely replaced overt racial discrimination in contemporary society (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Kunz et al., 2000). In support of this notion, researchers have documented discrepancies between levels of implicit and explicit racial prejudice among Whites that suggest that levels of implicit prejudice have remained relatively unchanged (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Explicit prejudice is typically assessed using self-report questionnaires that directly assess consciously held attitudes and beliefs about Blacks among White respondents. In contrast, implicit levels of prejudice are assessed using tests of unconscious attitudes and beliefs, such as the Implicit Associations Test (IAT;

Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), and by observing dominant group members' (e.g., Whites) non-verbal behaviours and decisions during interactions with non-dominant group members (e.g., Blacks).

The discrepancy between implicit and explicit racial prejudice indicates that many Whites remain prejudiced against Blacks at a private or unconscious level. Prejudice held at the unconscious or private level may in turn manifest in subtle forms of discrimination. Indeed, research has shown that Whites who consciously endorse egalitarian principles can unconsciously act in racist ways under certain circumstances (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Pearson, Dovidio, and Pratto (2007) suggest that while overt displays of prejudice are characterized by antipathy and hate, subtle displays of prejudice often occur without conscious awareness on the part of the perpetrator, and in contexts where actions can be attributed to non-racial factors.

According to aversive racism theory, in situations where explicitly positive attitudes are not salient, negative implicit attitudes tend to guide behaviour in a manner that may lead to discrimination (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009). This hypothesis is illustrated in a seminal study by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000). The researchers examined changes in implicit and explicit racial prejudice of White American college students' in relation to hiring decisions for Black and White job candidates over a ten-year period. The researchers showed that explicit racial prejudice, as measured by self-reported prejudice, declined from 1989 to 1999, whereas implicit racial prejudice about Blacks remained unchanged. Further, White participants did not discriminate against a Black job candidate when the candidate's qualifications for the position were clearly strong or clearly weak. However, when the

candidates' qualifications were moderate (i.e., the choice of the best candidate was more ambiguous), White participants recommended the Black candidate significantly less often than a White candidate with the same level of qualifications (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Implicit racial prejudice has also been linked to lower quality healthcare. In particular, race-discordant visits (i.e., Black patients and White physicians) have been associated with shorter visits, lower patient positive affect, and lower perceptions of patient-centered care (Cooper et al., 2003). Although these studies were conducted in the U.S., they illustrate how Whites' unconscious or privately-held racial prejudice may result in subtle racial discrimination toward Blacks in everyday life, including in workplace and healthcare settings.

### **Subtle Racial Discrimination and Stereotypes in the Workplace**

In workplace settings, subtle racism may operate during different stages of employment (e.g., hiring, promotion) and may be communicated indirectly through lowered expectations and decreased opportunities for employment, promotion, collaboration, mentorship, or feedback (Brondolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walseman, 2012; Jones et al., 2016; Kunz et al., 2000). Discrimination that occurs during the initial stages of the hiring process may be particularly difficult to detect and remedy compared to discrimination that occurs during latter stages of employment (e.g., promotion, termination) because it is more difficult to obtain or document information that could serve as evidence of unfair treatment (Pager & Western, 2012). Detecting and seeking remedies for subtle forms of racial discrimination is further complicated by the fact that most employers are either unwilling to admit, or are unaware, that racial prejudice is affecting their decision-making (Pager & Karafin, 2009).

In addition to reduced opportunities, employees who are members of racial minority groups may receive indirect messages that they are being perceived in negative and stereotypical ways (Pager & Karafin, 2009; Pager & Western, 2012). Indeed, research suggest that negative stereotypes about Blacks influence experiences of racism among Black Canadians. In a recent qualitative study by Hasford (2016), narratives shared by Black Canadian youth and young adults living in Ontario indicated that experiences of racism in the workplace were directly or indirectly the result of *dominant cultural narratives*, or negative portrayals of Black people in the mass media. Dominant cultural narratives included racial characterizations of Black workers as “underachievers”, “scary”, or otherwise defined by stereotyped roles, behaviours, intentions, and capacities (Hasford, 2016). These findings are consistent with focus group discussions conducted by the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF), a Canadian government agency responsible for fostering racial harmony and cross-cultural understanding (Kuntz et al., 2000). At least one to three participants in the seven focus groups conducted across five Canadian cities reported having experienced unequivocal racial discrimination at work or in seeking work, with Blacks being the most likely to have experienced discrimination. Focus group participants were observed to often use the word “subtle” to describe their experiences, and cited examples of being passed over for promotion, being stereotyped, being assigned unpleasant work tasks, and being excluded from the “inner circle” of their workplace (Kuntz et al., 2000).

### **Impact of Discrimination**

The adverse effects of discrimination on the physical and psychological health of members of racial minority groups are well documented in literature reviews and meta-

analytic findings (Jones et al., 2016; Hyman & Wray, 2013; Lewis et al., 2015; Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014; Triana et al., 2015). Pascoe and Richman (2009) examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and various health outcomes in a meta-analysis of 134 studies. They found that perceived discrimination had significant negative impacts on psychological health (e.g., depressive symptoms, psychiatric distress, general well-being), physical health (e.g., disease, illness, general health), stress responses (e.g., coping style), and health behaviours (e.g., alcohol use, smoking). These findings were generally confirmed in a meta-analysis conducted by Schmitt and colleagues (2014).

The majority of available meta-analyses and reviews on perceived discrimination have summarized the results of research across a number of settings. Triana and colleagues (2015) examined the impact of perceived racial discrimination specifically in workplace settings. They found that perceived racial discrimination in the workplace had a negative impact on physical health, psychological health, and multiple work-related outcomes. Work-related outcomes negatively impacted by perceived racial discrimination included job attitudes, organizational citizenship behaviour, and perceived diversity climate. In a recent meta-analysis, Jones and colleagues (2016) extended prior meta-analytic findings by examining potential differences between subtle and overt discrimination. They found that both subtle and overt discrimination were associated with a variety of adverse psychological, physical, and work-related correlates with comparable magnitude. A limitation of the aforementioned meta-analyses is that the majority of the studies included in the analyses were conducted using U.S. samples. Additional studies are needed to explicate the relationship between racial discrimination and physical health,

psychological health, and work-related outcomes among racial minorities in Canada (Hasford, 2016; Hyman & Wray, 2013).

In Canada, researchers have examined mechanisms through which subtle racial discrimination may exert negative impacts on psychological functioning among racial minorities. In their cross-sectional study, Noh, Kaspar, and Wickrama (2007) looked at the differential effects of subtle and overt forms of racial discrimination on the mental health of Korean immigrants in Canada. The researchers found that although overt racial discrimination was associated with lowered levels of positive affect, only subtle racial discrimination was associated with depressive symptoms. Further, the effects of subtle racial discrimination were mediated by cognitive appraisals of the situation. Noh and colleagues suggest that subtle forms of discrimination require a more cognitively taxing appraisal process because targets experience greater uncertainty about the cause of unfair outcomes. Furthermore, target must decide whether unfair outcomes are due to their own personal characteristics or to the prejudices of the perpetrator.

### **Limitations of Correlational Research on Discrimination**

The majority of research on the effects of perceived racial discrimination have involved correlational studies using participants' self-reports of past experiences of racial discrimination (Okazaki, 2009; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014). Correlational studies confound perceptions of discrimination with actual discrimination, making it difficult to disentangle the separate effects of perceived discrimination, actual discrimination, and non-discrimination-based negative treatment (Schmitt et al., 2014). In addition, correlational research on perceived racial discrimination is subject to two forms of perception bias: 1) minimization, which involves the underreporting of discrimination,



and 2) vigilance, which involves the overreporting of discrimination (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Lewis et al., 2015). Perception bias may be due to various conscious or unconscious factors. Such factors may include a lack of awareness or certainty that racial discrimination has occurred, and an unwillingness to report or acknowledge it due to social or emotional consequences (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Lewis et al., 2015). Since participants can report only about experiences that they have perceived and are motivated and willing to report as instances of racial discrimination, less is known about the impact of experiences where individuals may be unaware or uncertain as to whether they have been the targets of racial discriminatory (Lewis et al., 2015). In their meta-analysis of the correlates of subtle and overt racial discrimination, Jones and colleagues (2016) acknowledge the need for more experimental research that directly manipulate subtle and overt racial discrimination.

### **Experimental Research on Attributional Ambiguity**

Experimental studies on racial discrimination have been limited compared to cross-sectional studies, likely due to the challenges of manipulating experiences of discrimination (Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014). However, experimental research studies on attributional ambiguity theory have contributed to the knowledge and understanding of the differential impacts of ambiguous (i.e., subtle) versus unambiguous (i.e., overt) prejudice and discrimination.

Attributional ambiguity in a discrimination context may be described as uncertainty about whether interpersonal outcomes are due to discrimination or to factors unrelated to discrimination, such as personal deservingness (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker et al., 1991; Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003). Attributional ambiguity theory

suggests that attributions to discrimination may be self-protective because it externalizes blame and discounts personal deservingness as an explanation for negative outcomes (Crocker & Major, 1989; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Schmitt et al., 2014). For example, Crocker and colleagues (1991) found that attributions to prejudice protected the self-esteem of Black American students who received negative feedback from a White peer, but decreased the self-esteem of Black American students who received positive feedback from a White peer. In contrast, when Black American students did not make attributions to prejudice, their self-esteem decreased after receiving negative feedback and increased after receiving positive feedback. The researchers suggest that attributions to prejudice caused Black American students to discount the feedback that was given to them by their White peers. It is important to note that the majority of research on attributional ambiguity has focused on U.S. samples. Canadian research is needed to explore the impact of ambiguous racial discrimination on self-esteem among Blacks and other racial minority groups in Canada.

### **Situational and Individual Factors that Influence Discrimination Attributions and Responses**

Research findings supporting the attributional ambiguity perspective have been mixed, and meta-analytic research has not found strong evidence to support the view that attributions to discrimination are more or less harmful relative to attributions to personal deservingness (Schmitt et al., 2014). Generally, research on attributional ambiguity has shifted from making predictions about the main effects of attributions to examining potential situational and individual factors that may moderate the impact of discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2014).

**Manipulation of situational cues.** A common paradigm used in attributional ambiguity research involves the experimental manipulation of situational cues for discrimination (e.g., Crocker et al, 1991; Major et al., 2003; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Wang et al., 2012). The impact of varying situational cues for discrimination has been examined by altering the described behaviours of a socially-dominant group member (White or male) during an interaction with a member of a stigmatized group. Situational cues are typically manipulated to reflect either 1) ambiguous prejudice or discrimination, 2) blatant prejudice or discrimination, or 2) no prejudice or discrimination (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2010; Major et al., 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Wang et al., 2012). In these studies, the perpetrator of prejudice or discrimination is typically in a position of authority, such as a professor (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), job interviewer (e.g., Wang et al., 2012), or peer (e.g., Crocker et al., 1991). In addition, the perpetrator typically provides negative feedback to the member of the stigmatized group (e.g., academic, employment, or peer rejection). Generally, the more obvious the situational cues to discrimination, the higher the likelihood that a target will perceive or make attributions to discrimination.

The deleterious effects of ambiguous racial discrimination on the physical and psychological functioning of Black Americans have been demonstrated in experimental studies (Merrit, Bennett, Williams, Edwards, & Sollers, 2006; Murphy, Richeson, Shelton, Rheinschmidt, & Bergsieker, 2013; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Richeson & Shelton, 2003; 2007). For example, Merrit and colleagues (2006) had participants listen to an audiotaped interracial encounter in a shopping context that was manipulated to

depict either blatant or ambiguous racial discrimination (i.e., unfair treatment of customer with or without blatantly racist statements). Participants in the ambiguous condition showed higher increases in blood pressure than those in the blatant condition. Among those in the ambiguous condition, participants who perceived higher levels of racial discrimination had higher increases in blood pressure than those who perceived lower levels of racial discrimination. This study provides evidence that ambiguous racial discrimination may have more harmful effects on physical functioning than blatant racial discrimination.

The differential impact of subtle and overt racial discrimination has also been examined in relation to workplace processes. In a laboratory experiment, Black American participants were asked to review fictional hiring recommendations made by an evaluator who was either blatantly or ambiguously prejudiced against Black job candidates, or not prejudiced (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). Black participants showed the greatest impairment on a cognitive task (Stroop color-naming task) after exposure to ambiguous racial prejudice. The researchers suggest that impairment in cognitive functioning was greater when racial prejudice was ambiguous because the process of wrestling with attributional or causal uncertainty depleted participants' available cognitive resources (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). Similar results were found in an experimental study examining the differential effects of subtle and overt racial bias on cognitive functioning among Black Americans during brief interracial interactions (Murphy et al., 2013). Murphy and colleagues suggest that, relative to blatant or no bias, subtle bias requires more cognitive resources to discern the intent underlying the behaviours of White interaction partners. An extension of this research would be to examine how subtle and

overt racial discrimination influences emotional and behavioural functioning, including self-esteem and behavioural coping responses.

**Interaction of situational and individual factors.** Individual difference factors that impact perceptions of discrimination include stigma consciousness (Wang et al., 2013), group identification (Major et al., 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003), optimism (Kaiser, Major, & McCoy, 2004) and self-esteem (Cihangir et al., 2010). Individual difference factors have been found to play a more prominent role in situations where cues to prejudice or discrimination are more ambiguous. For example, Major and colleagues (2003) examined the interactive effects of individual and situational factors on perceptions of gender discrimination. They found that women who endorsed high levels of identification with their gender group made more attributions to discrimination than women who endorsed low levels of identification with their gender group when prejudice cues were ambiguous, but not when they were absent or overt.

Research indicates that individual difference factors can moderate the impact of ambiguous and nonambiguous discrimination on the emotional and behavioural responses of stigmatized group members. Cihangir and colleagues (2010) found that female participants with low self-esteem experienced more negative self-directed emotions when they were exposed to ambiguous gender discrimination by a male job interviewer, but not when they were exposed to unambiguous gender discrimination. In addition, when faced with ambiguous discrimination, participants with low self-esteem reported more negative self-directed emotions, more self-concern, and inferior task performance compared to participants with high self-esteem. Further, Wang and colleagues (2012) found that female participants who showed higher levels of stigma

consciousness were more likely to attribute job rejection by a male interviewer to gender discrimination when the situation was ambiguous. In addition, stigma consciousness was associated with adaptive emotional and behavioural effects, such that females with higher levels of stigma consciousness were more likely to be angry and to engage in active coping strategies in response to ambiguous discrimination. In their meta-analytic review, Schmitt and colleagues (2014) note that a limitation in existing experimental research on perceived discrimination is the predominant focus on gender discrimination. However, the methodological paradigm employed in these studies is adaptable to studying racial discrimination.

The interaction of situational and individual factors among Black targets of racial discrimination has not been examined in many studies. However, existing research suggests that race-relevant individual variables may influence the relationship between racial discrimination and cognitive functioning. Bair and Steele (2010) examined the role of racial centrality (i.e., centrality of racial identity to self-concept) on cognitive functioning among Blacks following exposure to attitudes that were either blatantly racist or race-neutral. The researchers found that race centrality moderated the impact of blatantly racist attitudes of White interaction partners on Blacks' cognitive functioning. That is, Blacks whose racial identity was central to their self-concept showed greater cognitive impairment when interacting with White partners who expressed blatant racist versus race neutral attitudes. It is unclear from this research, however, how racial centrality (or other race-relevant individual characteristics) may influence cognitive functioning among Blacks exposed to more subtle forms of racism. Furthermore, on the basis of reviewed research, it is reasonable to expect that cultural mistrust would

moderate (i.e., buffer or amplify) the relationship between different forms of racial discrimination and responses to racial discrimination.

### **Conceptions of Cultural Mistrust**

The cultural mistrust construct emerged and developed in the clinical psychology, counselling psychology, and psychiatric literatures. It is defined as mistrust of Whites and White-dominated systems among Blacks due to their direct and vicarious, past and present experiences with oppression and racism (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Sue & Sue, 2008; Whaley, 1997; 2001a; 2001b; 2011). The construct was originally termed *healthy cultural paranoia*, and was described as being characterized by apprehension, mistrust, and suspicion (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Ridley, 1984; Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Furthermore, it was theorized to function as a survival mechanism to protect Black Americans from ongoing discriminatory and oppressive environments.

The shift in terminology to cultural mistrust reflects efforts by scholars to differentiate the phenomenon as a healthy adaptation to a threatening social environment, rather than as a symptom of clinical paranoia or unwarranted suspiciousness (Ashby, 1986; Bronstein, 1986; Thompson et al., 1990; Whaley 2001b). Researchers suggest that paranoia falls along a continuum of severity, with cultural mistrust encompassing experiences that fall on the mild or nonclinical end of the spectrum and reflect reality-based sensitivities (Combs et al., 2006; Fenigstein & Venable, 1992; Whaley 1997; 1999; 2001a; 2001b; Zigler & Glick, 1988). In support of the view that cultural mistrust reflects an adaptation to a threatening social environment rather than pathology, Whaley (2001a; 2001b) found that high levels of cultural mistrust were positively correlated with scores on the *Distrust* scale of the Psychiatric Epidemiological Research Interview, which

reflects mild paranoid symptoms, but not with scores on the *Perceived Hostility of Others* or *False Beliefs and Perceptions* scales, which reflect moderate and severe paranoid symptoms, respectively. Paranoia at the mild end of the severity continuum is more likely to reflect interactions between individuals and threatening social environments (Whaley, 2001a; 2001b).

### **Cultural Mistrust as a Risk or Protective Factor**

White clinicians' misinterpretation of cultural mistrust as a form of clinical paranoia has been attributed to their failure to distinguish between clinical symptoms and cultural factors (i.e., historical and contemporary experiences of racial discrimination) that contribute to paranoid-like behaviours among Blacks (Ridley, 1984; Whaley, 2011). Indeed, it has been argued that pathologizing behaviours and attitudes that reflect cultural mistrust has contributed to the overdiagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia among Blacks (Whaley, 1997; 1998; 2001a; 2001b; 2011). Generally, scholars agree that the presence of cultural mistrust among members of racial and ethnic minority groups is non-pathological. Some have argued that, given the pervasiveness of racism in our society, the absence of cultural mistrust may be a better indicator of psychopathology than its presence (Sue & Sue, 2008).

The majority of empirical studies on cultural mistrust have examined relationships between cultural mistrust and outcomes and processes related to mental health services. Results of these studies indicate that greater cultural mistrust among Blacks is positively correlated with more negative attitudes and behaviours related to mental health services (Whaley, 2001b), including more negative attitudes toward seeking mental health services (Duncan, 2003), more negative expectations and beliefs about White clinicians



(Watkins & Terrell, 1988; Watkins, Terrell, Miller, & Terrell, 1989), a greater preference for Black clinicians (Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009), decreased self-disclosure with White counselors (Thompson, Worthington, & Atkinson, 1994), higher concealment of personal information from others (Joseph, 2010), and premature or early termination from therapy (Terrell & Terrell, 1984).

In a meta-analysis by Whaley (2001a), correlations between Black Americans' cultural mistrust and variables related to mental health services were compared with those between cultural mistrust and variables related to other psychosocial domains (Whaley, 2001a). It was found that Black Americans responded to interracial interactions in a mental health context (e.g., therapy or counselling) in a similar manner to interracial interactions in other contexts. Given these findings, Whaley (2001a; 2002) suggested that cultural mistrust represents a global cultural response style that manifests consistently across diverse settings. In particular, Terrell and Terrell (1981) suggested that cultural mistrust may be most relevant in the domains of education and training, business and work, politics and law, and interpersonal relations.

Cultural mistrust has been found to have negative associations with variables related to academic, occupational, and interpersonal functioning among Blacks of varying age groups. Terrell and colleagues (1981) examined the impact of examiner race and cultural mistrust levels on performance on intelligence tests among Black male college students. They found that among Blacks with high levels of cultural mistrust, those tested by a Black examiner obtained significantly higher intelligence scores than those tested by a White examiner. Among Black students tested by a White examiner, those with a low level of cultural mistrust obtained significantly higher scores than those with a high level

of cultural mistrust. Cultural mistrust has also been found to be associated with both increased negative expectations for achieving favourable educational outcomes and decreased values for achieving favourable educational outcomes among Black high school students (Irving & Hudley, 2005). Similarly, cultural mistrust has been found to be associated with more negative occupational expectations (i.e., expectations for low prestige and low pay jobs; Terrell, Terrell, & Miller, 1993) and higher levels of deviant behaviour among Black adolescents (Biafora et al., 1993).

In empirical studies that have employed cultural mistrust as a main research variable, cultural mistrust has been associated with a variety of negative psychosocial outcomes that seem inconsistent with scholars' conceptions of cultural mistrust as an adaptive or healthy psychological resource (Whaley, 2001b). However, Whaley (2001b) cautions that others factors may underlie the association between cultural mistrust and the psychosocial variables selected in research. Further, such factors may have a rational, deliberate, and adaptive basis. For example, it may be adaptive or self-protective to place a lower value on occupational or academic outcomes that are more difficult to achieve due to racial discrimination (Irving & Hudley, 2005). In addition, researchers have found that behaving in ways counter to stereotypes associated with one's group membership may result in negative social outcomes or "backlash" (Nelson, 2009; Whaley, 2001b). Consistent with the idea that low academic performance may represent an adaptive strategy in certain situations, Whaley and Smyer (1998) found that high levels of cultural mistrust among Black high school drop-outs were positively correlated with global self-worth.

Conceptualizing cultural mistrust as a mild and non-clinical form of paranoia suggests mechanisms through which cultural mistrust may exert protective effects on psychological functioning among Blacks (Whaley, 2001b). In non-clinical populations, paranoia has been found to be associated with heightened self-consciousness, suspicion, and mistrust (Bodner & Mikulincer, 1998; Fenigstein, 1997; Fenigstein & Vanable, 1992; Kramer, 1994). Whaley (2001b) argued that situations involving individuals of unequal social status as well as a threat of sustaining some form of harm (e.g., racial discrimination) may produce paranoid-like responses by heightening self-consciousness. In this way, Blacks may experience a heightened sense of public self-consciousness (i.e., perception of the self as a social object) due to their unequal social status in a White-dominated society, leading to paranoid-like responses (Kramer, 1998; Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; Whaley, 2001a).

In both clinical and non-clinical populations, paranoid thinking has been found to protect individuals against the negative emotional consequences associated with personal failures (i.e., anxiety, depression, low self-esteem) by attributing blame to external factors (i.e., racially-biased others), rather than to dispositional factors (Bodner & Mikulincer, 1998; Fenigstein & Vanable, 1992; Kramer, 1994; Whaley, 2001a). Indeed, Bodner and Mikulincer (1998) found that greater self-focused attention following a personal failure resulted in depressive-like responses, whereas greater other-focused attention after personal failure led to paranoid-like responses (Bodner & Mikulincer, 1998). Consistent with attributional ambiguity theory, Whaley argues that Black Americans may maintain high self-esteem via similar mechanisms by attributing low personal efficacy to external causes rather than to causes residing within themselves (Whaley, 2001a). Mild levels of

paranoia may serve a self-protective function against threats to Blacks' self-esteem by preventing them from internalizing negative outcomes caused by racial discrimination (Fenigstein and Vanable, 1992; Thompson et al., 1994; Whaley, 1997; 2001a). Terrell and Terrell (1981) suggested that Blacks' trust in Whites might be adaptive or facilitative in some instances, but be counterproductive in other instances. Consistent with this idea, Bell and Tracey (2006) found a curvilinear relationship between cultural mistrust and a measure of psychological wellbeing among a sample of Black American students. Their findings suggest that a moderate level of trust of Whites, in contrast to high or low levels of trust, is associated with greater psychological well-being.

### **Cultural Mistrust among Diverse Populations**

Empirical research on cultural mistrust has primarily focused on Black Americans. However, a small number of research studies has examined cultural mistrust among other racial and ethnic groups. Biafora and colleagues (1993) compared levels of cultural mistrust among Blacks adolescent boys of varying ethnicity. They found that Blacks from Haiti expressed more cultural mistrust than Blacks from America and other Caribbean islands. David (2010) found that a higher level of cultural mistrust was related to a lower likelihood of seeking mental health services among Filipino Americans. Ahluwalia (1990/1991) compared the relationship between cultural mistrust and dissatisfaction with and unwillingness to seek mental health services for one's children among Black Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans. The results indicated a strong positive correlation for both Black and Native Americans, but not for Hispanic and Asian Americans. These differential findings are likely the result of different groups' unique cultural experiences with racism and oppression (Whaley

2001b). These findings point to the need for more research on cultural mistrust among diverse populations, as well as Blacks residing in different settings within and across different countries (e.g., Black Canadians).

Only one known study examined the construct of cultural mistrust among Black Canadians. Using path analysis, Joseph (2010) found that cultural mistrust predicted both self-concealment (i.e., tendency to withhold personal information from others) and psychological distress among Black Canadians. Furthermore, self-concealment was found to mediate the relationship between cultural mistrust and psychological distress. These findings suggest that high levels of cultural mistrust may have a negative impact on the wellbeing of Black Canadians. Joseph and Kuo (2009) recommend that further research examine the influence of cultural mistrust on the appraisal of race-related stressors and coping resources among individuals of African descent. However, such research has not been conducted to date, providing further rationale for the current research.

### **Cultural Mistrust and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination**

The relationship between cultural mistrust and perceptions of racial discrimination has been examined in a small number of cross-sectional studies. Terrell and Terrell (1981) found that Black American male college students' levels of cultural mistrust were significantly correlated with scores on the Racial Discrimination Index (RDI), a measure assessing self-reported frequency of a number of specific incidents of racial discrimination. Similarly, Combs and colleagues (2006) found that Black American college students' scores on the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS), a measure assessing the self-reported frequency of exposure to racism, were significantly correlated with both cultural mistrust and nonclinical paranoia. Since the findings of these studies are

correlational, the causal relationship between cultural mistrust and perceptions of racial discrimination is unclear. Similarly, in self-report measures, reported perceptions of racial discrimination are confounded with actual experiences of racial discrimination.

The nature of the relationship between cultural mistrust, perceived racial discrimination, and the impact of racial discrimination, may be better understood by examining the findings of studies that employ structural equation modeling (SEM). Using SEM analysis, Benkert and colleagues (2006) examined the effects of perceived racism and cultural mistrust on levels of healthcare provider trust and satisfaction with healthcare among Black American adults. They found a moderately high correlation (.58) between scores on the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1981) and a self-report measure that assessed respondents' perceptions and experiences of past racism, suggesting that cultural mistrust and perceived racism are related, but not redundant constructs (Benkert et al., 2006). In addition, results from their SEM analysis indicated that the impact of perceived racism on trust in healthcare provider was mediated by cultural mistrust.

### **Cultural Mistrust and Related Constructs**

A number of constructs conceptually related to cultural mistrust (e.g., stereotype threat, stereotype vulnerability) have been the focus of study in the subfields of social and personality psychology. Research studies on variables that are conceptually similar to cultural mistrust may provide information about the possible nature of the relationship between cultural mistrust, perceptions or attributions to racial discrimination, and emotional and behavioural responses to racial discrimination.

**Stigma consciousness.** Wang and colleagues (2012) provide evidence for the notion that expectations of bias during interpersonal interactions may be adaptive. Stigma consciousness is defined as the extent to which one expects to be stereotyped by others (Pinel, 1999). The researchers examined the relationship between perceived discrimination, prejudice ambiguity, and stigma consciousness using a hypothetical vignette in which female participants were asked to imagine applying for a job with a male interviewer who was either blatantly or ambiguously prejudiced. They found that females with higher levels of stigma consciousness were more likely to attribute their failure to obtain a desired job from a male interviewer to prejudice, especially when the situation was ambiguous. Higher levels of stigma consciousness were also associated with higher levels of anger and willingness to engage in collective actions to combat gender discrimination. In addition, perceived discrimination was found to mediate the impact of stigma consciousness on these emotional and behavioural outcomes (Wang et al., 2012). Given that cultural mistrust and stigma consciousness are conceptually similar, it is reasonable to expect that cultural mistrust would also be associated with increased attributions to prejudice or discrimination, anger, and adaptive coping responses.

**Stigma vulnerability.** Another construct related to cultural mistrust is stigma vulnerability. Gilbert (1998) described stigma vulnerability as the extent to which negative interpersonal outcomes are attributed to prejudice in ambiguous situations. Levels of stigma vulnerability among Black American students were assessed by asking them to indicate the extent to which they perceived prejudice as the cause of negative outcomes in five ambiguous situations, as described in vignettes. Gilbert administered two subscales of the CMI (education/training and interpersonal relations) to provide

evidence for the convergent validity of stigma vulnerability. Stigma vulnerability was correlated with the summed score of the two CMI subscales (.38), suggesting that the two constructs are conceptually similar but distinct from one another. In addition, Gilbert found that cultural mistrust was associated with perceptions of prejudice in ambiguous situations, suggesting that cultural mistrust may facilitate attributions to prejudice in ambiguous situations. However, it remains unclear as to whether stigma vulnerability or cultural mistrust have differential impacts depending on whether racial discrimination is ambiguously present (i.e., subtle racial discrimination), unambiguously present (i.e., overt racial discrimination), or absent (i.e., no racial discrimination).

**Stereotype threat.** Cultural mistrust is related to the concept of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat is described as feelings of threat or apprehension experienced by individuals when performing in stereotype-relevant domains due to fears of confirming negative stereotypes about one's group (Aronson & Inzlicht, 2004; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Research has shown that increasing the salience of stereotypes among targets of stereotypes impacts performance in relevant domains (e.g., standardized test or athletic performance). In such studies, stereotype threat is purported to mediate the relationship between stereotype salience/activation and performance. The salience of stereotypes may be increased with situational cues that activate social identity (Aronson & Inzlicht, 2004). Despite the large body of research on stereotype threat, as well as its conceptual similarity to cultural mistrust, the relationships between cultural mistrust and stereotype threat has not been explicated in the existing literature. Each variable seems to reflect a general tendency to expect negative or differential treatment by dominant group members on the basis of one's membership in a social category. In the current study,



situational cues were manipulated to increase the salience of racial stereotypes about Blacks in both a subtle and overt manner. Research is needed to explore whether cultural mistrust operates similarly to stereotype threat, such that individuals with higher levels of cultural mistrust are more sensitive to the presence of racial stereotypes.

**Willingness to use prejudice as an explanation for negative outcomes and minority group identification.** To the extent that cultural mistrust is conceptually similar to one's 1) willingness to use prejudice as an explanation for negative outcomes and 2) minority group identification, it may have both negative and positive effects on psychological wellbeing. Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) examined the impact of willingness to use prejudice as an explanation for negative outcomes (in past and future hypothetical situations) and minority group identification on wellbeing among African Americans. Minority group identification was assessed by fourteen items from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). Using SEM, the researchers found that stable attributions to prejudice had both direct negative and indirect positive effects on psychological wellbeing, as well direct effects on hostility. Furthermore, the indirect positive effects were mediated by minority group identification. The researchers suggest that attributions to prejudice increase minority group identification by making group membership more salient, and that minority group identification protects individuals against encounters with prejudice.

**Racial centrality and racial identity.** Bair and Steele (2010) found that Blacks whose racial identity was central to their self-concept showed greater cognitive impairment following exposure to blatant racist attitudes versus neutral attitudes. Research that includes a subtle or ambiguous racism condition, however, may provide a

more nuanced understanding of how racial identity, or other individual difference factors, influences the relationship between racial bias and cognitive functioning. Davis, Aronson, and Salinas (2006) examined potential moderating effects of individual differences in racial identity attitudes on performance on verbal tests among African American students who were randomly assigned to low, medium, and high stereotype threat conditions. They found that racial identity moderated stereotype threat among African American students. That is, students who more strongly endorsed attitudes indicating a secure sense of belonging and connectedness to their racial group performed more strongly on verbal tests than students who did not endorse these attitudes as strongly. However, this relationship was found only in low versus high stereotype threat conditions (race primed vs. not primed). That is, the effect of individual differences and attitudes were weaker when situational demands were strong. To the extent that cultural mistrust is conceptually similar to racial identity, it may buffer the harmful impact of negative stereotypes in low stereotype threat conditions.

**Chronic suspicion of White motives.** Another construct conceptually similar to cultural mistrust has emerged more recently in the literature. Major, Sawyer, and Kunstman (2013) developed the Suspicion of Motives Index (SOMI) to measure individual differences in minority group members' chronic beliefs about Whites' motives for responding without prejudice. Individuals who score high on the SOMI ("high-SOMI") are more likely to believe that Whites are more motivated by external (i.e. superficial efforts to appear non-prejudiced) than internal (i.e. personal commitments to egalitarianism) factors compared to individuals who score low on the SOMI ("low-SOMI"). Initial research found that high-SOMI minorities are more accurate in

identifying disingenuousness from Whites than low-SOMI minorities. Specifically, Major and colleagues (2013) found that only high-SOMI Latino/a participants were able to accurately identify a White evaluator's excessive and disingenuous praise for academic work. Similarly, Kunstman and colleagues (2016) found that, compared with low-SOMI minorities, high-SOMI minorities were better able to discern between inauthentic and authentic smiles on White faces.

Noting that disingenuous positive affect may not necessarily signal externally-motivated or superficial efforts to appear non-prejudiced, LaCosse and colleagues (2015) provided an important extension of previous research. The researchers directly examined the association between scores on the SOMI and detection of Whites' external motivation to respond without prejudice. They found that, when observing videos of interracial interactions, high-SOMI minority participants were more accurate than low-SOMI minority participants at detecting Whites' actual levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice. The researchers suggested that the ability to accurately detect external motivation to respond without prejudice has functional utility because it allows minorities to anticipate and avoid racial discrimination from individuals most likely to conceal racial bias (LaCosse et al., 2015). While chronic suspicion of Whites' motives appears to carry functional utility, further research suggests that it is also associated with negative outcomes. Specifically, Major and colleagues (2016) found that compared to Latina Americans scoring low on the SOMI, those scoring high on the SOMI experienced increased feelings of stress, heightened uncertainty, and reduced self-esteem in response to attributionally ambiguous praise. The current research will clarify whether cultural

mistrust may carry functional utility in a manner similar to that of chronic suspicion of White motives.

### **Rationale for the Current Study**

Over the past several decades, clinicians and scholars have described cultural mistrust among Blacks as a healthy and adaptive response to discriminatory social environments (e.g., Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Ridley, 1984; Sue & Sue, 2008; Whaley, 1998; 2001a; 2001b; 2011). However, available empirical research on cultural mistrust is mixed, with cultural mistrust showing associations with both negative and positive psychosocial outcomes. It remains unclear as to whether cultural mistrust facilitates recognition of occurrences of racial discrimination. Similarly, it remains unclear as to whether cultural mistrust moderates emotional and behavioural responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination. Research on constructs conceptually similar to cultural mistrust suggest that individual differences in cultural mistrust may moderate experiences of racial discrimination. In addition, attributional ambiguity theory and research suggest that the impact of racial discrimination depends on whether it is subtle or overt. The current research will clarify if, and how, cultural mistrust amplifies or buffers attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses to subtle and overt racial discrimination among Black Canadians.

**Rationale for focus on Black Canadians.** Black Canadians were chosen as the focus of the current study for important reasons. There is significantly less empirical research on cultural mistrust and racial discrimination among Black Canadians relative to Black Americans. Racial discrimination among Black Canadians has been identified by Canadian scholars as an important and underresearched area (Hasford, 2016; Hyman &

Wray, 2013). In addition, available evidence suggests that anti-Black racism is the most pervasive form of racism in Canada (Lewis, 1992), with Black populations representing the most targeted group for racially-motivated hate crimes in Canada (Leber, 2017).

Further, there are striking and well-documented disparities between Black and White Canadians in health and other important life outcomes in Canada, indicating significant consequences of racial discrimination for Blacks Canadians (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Hyman & Wray, 2013) and the need to address a profound source of social inequity in Canada.

**Rationale for focus on cultural mistrust construct.** Cultural mistrust was identified as an important cultural factor for Black individuals nearly half a century ago (Grier & Cobbs, 1968), and as an important psychological factor in the treatment and diagnosis of Black clients (Whaley, 2001b). However, its study has remained relatively circumscribed within the mental health literature (i.e., clinical and counseling psychology, psychiatry) and has relied predominantly on correlational designs and self-reports. Thus far, research on cultural mistrust has drawn little from the relatively more rapid methodological developments in social psychology. As emphasized by Okazaki (2009), intellectual and methodological integration between subfields of psychology could advance our understanding of the impact of racial discrimination on the mental health of racial minority groups. In particular, the use of experimental methods commonly used in social psychology research could allow us to better understand how individual differences in cultural mistrust may interact with varying levels of racial discrimination cues to protect the mental health of Black Canadians. In doing so, it adds to our knowledge and understanding of both cultural mistrust and impacts of racial

discrimination among a large but significantly underresearched segment of the Canadian population.

### **Research Hypotheses**

The research question that the current study was designed to address was: Do individual differences in cultural mistrust influence attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses by Black Canadians to subtle and overt racial discrimination cues? Cultural mistrust was expected to moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition (overt, subtle, absent) and 1) attributions to racial discrimination, 2) state self-esteem, 3) other-directed emotional responses, and 4) behavioural responses.

Specifically, the following exploratory hypotheses were tested in the current study:

**Hypothesis 1.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and attributions to racial discrimination.

**Hypothesis 2.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and state self-esteem.

**Hypothesis 3.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and other-directed emotional responses.

**Hypothesis 4.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and behavioural responses.

## CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

### A Priori Power Analysis

An a priori power analysis was conducted using Gpower (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) to estimate the minimum number of participants needed to detect a small to medium effect ( $R^2 = .07$ ) with an alpha of .05 and a power of 80% (Cohen, 1992). Effect size selection was supported by a meta-analysis on the role of cultural mistrust in various domains of psychosocial functioning among African Americans, the results of which demonstrated a mean effect size of  $r = .303$  (i.e., medium effect) across 22 studies, including 14 that used multivariate statistical analyses (Whaley, 2001a). On the basis of these parameters, a minimum of 124 participants were needed for the current study.

### Participants

Data were collected from 140 individuals from multiple recruitment sources, including the University of Windsor's Department of Psychology Participant Pool, campus fliers, email invitations sent to students from academic departments at the University of Windsor, and social media and online classified advertisements. One individual failed to complete the manipulation (i.e., did not provide responses to interview questions), and three individuals appeared to not complete the study in good faith (i.e., study completion time was less than 10 minutes in length and the middle response was selected for more than 80% of Likert responses). These four participants were excluded from the final sample. Therefore, the final sample included 136 participants (72.8% female) who self-identified as Black Canadian, African Canadian, or Afro-Caribbean Canadian and were between the ages of 18-65.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 55 ( $M = 22.01$ ,  $SD = 6.15$ ). Among participants born outside Canada, length of residence in Canada ranged from three years to 40 years ( $M = 12.39$ ,  $SD = 7.09$ ). Table 1 provides a summary of sociodemographic information, including frequencies for gender, generational status, education level, marital status, annual income, employment status, ethnic origin subgroup, and recruitment source, by racial discrimination condition and for the total sample. When reporting employment status, participants were asked to indicate multiple responses if applicable.

### **Procedure**

Data collection commenced upon approval of the study protocol by the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board (REB).

**Pre-test study.** Pre-testing of the study vignettes with an independent sample occurred prior to initiation of the main study. The purpose of pre-testing was to assess 1) the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation and 2) the appropriateness of the measures selected to assess behavioural and emotional responses to racial discrimination, which in turn informed refinements to the measures used in the main study.

A total of ten participants (90% female) who met the main study inclusion criteria (i.e., Black Canadians between the ages of 18-65) were recruited from the University of Windsor participant pool.



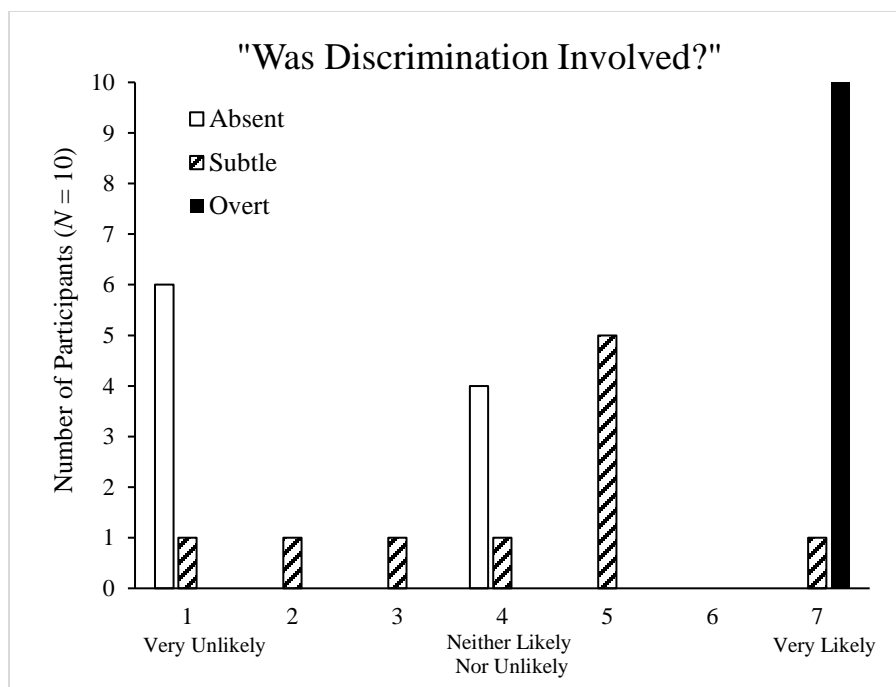
Table 1

*Sociodemographic Information by Racial Discrimination Condition and Total Sample*

Sociodemographic Variable	Absent ( <i>n</i> = 46)	Subtle ( <i>n</i> = 46)	Overt ( <i>n</i> = 44)	Total Sample ( <i>N</i> = 136)
Gender, <i>n</i> (% female)	34 (73.9)	29 (63.0)	36 (81.8)	99 (72.8)
Mean Age (SD)	22.57 (7.69)	21.59 (5.23)	21.88 (5.24)	22.01 (6.15)
Generational Status				
First generation <i>n</i> (%)	16 (34.8)	10 (21.7)	18 (40.9)	44 (32.4)
Second generation, <i>n</i> (%)	25 (54.3)	33 (71.7)	18 (40.9)	76 (55.9)
Third generation, <i>n</i> (%)	5 (10.9)	3 (6.5)	8 (18.2)	16 (11.8)
Mean Years in Canada (SD)	13.73 (5.96)	14.33 (9.71)	9.82 (5.25)	12.39 (7.09)
Highest Level of Education				
Grade School, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	-	-	1 (0.7)
High School or Equivalent, <i>n</i> (%)	8 (17.4)	9 (19.6)	9 (20.5)	26 (19.1)
Partial College, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	1 (2.2)	-	2 (1.5)
College, <i>n</i> (%)	4 (8.7)	3 (6.5)	3 (6.8)	10 (7.4)
Partial University, <i>n</i> (%)	27 (58.7)	29 (63.0)	28 (63.6)	84 (61.8)
University, <i>n</i> (%)	4 (8.7)	3 (6.5)	1 (2.3)	8 (5.9)
Partial Graduate/Professional, <i>n</i> (%)	-	1 (2.2)	-	1 (0.7)
Graduate/Professional, <i>n</i> (%)	-	-	2 (4.5)	2 (1.5)
Marital Status				
Never Married, <i>n</i> (%)	44 (95.7)	44 (95.7)	43 (97.7)	131 (96.3)
Married, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	2 (4.3)	1 (2.3)	4 (2.9)
Divorced, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	-	-	1 (0.7)
Annual Income				
< 20,000, <i>n</i> (%)	26 (56.5)	36 (78.3)	29 (65.9)	91 (66.9)
20,000-30,000, <i>n</i> (%)	2 (4.3)	1 (2.2)	5 (11.4)	8 (5.9)
30,000-40,000, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	2 (4.3)	1 (2.3)	4 (2.9)
40,000-50,000, <i>n</i> (%)	-	2 (4.3)	-	2 (1.5)
50,000-75,000, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	-	1 (2.3)	2 (1.5)
75,000-100,000, <i>n</i> (%)	2 (4.3)	-	-	2 (1.5)
100,000-150,000, <i>n</i> (%)	-	1 (2.2)	-	1 (0.7)
Not Disclosed, <i>n</i> (%)	14 (30.4)	4 (8.7)	8 (18.2)	26 (19.1)
Ethnic Origin				
Caribbean, <i>n</i> (%)	23 (50.0)	17 (37.0)	16 (36.4)	56 (41.2)
African, <i>n</i> (%)	18 (39.1)	19 (41.3)	20 (45.5)	57 (41.9)
Mixed African and Caribbean, <i>n</i> (%)	-	1 (2.2)	2 (4.5)	3 (2.2)
Mixed African and Other, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	4 (8.7)	3 (6.8)	8 (5.9)
Mixed Caribbean and Other, <i>n</i> (%)	-	2 (4.3)	1 (2.3)	3 (2.2)
Mixed African, Caribbean, and Other, <i>n</i> (%)	-	1 (2.2)	-	1 (0.7)
Not Disclosed, <i>n</i> (%)	4 (8.7)	2 (4.3)	2 (4.5)	8 (5.9)
Recruitment Source				
Psychology participant pool, <i>n</i> (%)	36 (78.3)	35 (76.1)	34 (77.3)	105 (77.2)
Campus flier or e-mail invitation, <i>n</i> (%)	9 (19.6)	8 (17.4)	7 (15.9)	24 (17.6)
Online advertisement, <i>n</i> (%)	1 (2.2)	3 (6.5)	3 (6.8)	7 (5.1)

Participants ranged in age from 18-52 ( $M = 23.9$ ,  $SD = 10.04$ ). Each participant met with the primary investigator for approximately 45-60 minutes. After providing written and verbal informed consent (see Appendix A), participants were asked to review and answer questions about each of the three vignettes in self-report format. See pages 130-132 for a description of the vignettes. Vignettes were arranged in counterbalanced order and the resulting sets were randomly assigned to participants. Participants were asked to rate the likelihood that racial discrimination was involved in each of the three vignettes on a 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*).

Overall, pre-test study participants gave the highest ratings to the vignette developed to depict overt racial discrimination ( $M = 7.00$ ,  $SD = 0$ ), the second highest ratings to the situation developed to depict subtle racial discrimination ( $M = 4.20$ ,  $SD = 1.75$ ), and the lowest ratings to the situation developed to depict absent racial discrimination ( $M = 2.20$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ). For the absent racial discrimination condition, six of the 10 participants indicated that racial discrimination was very unlikely and the remaining four selected the middle-point value neither likely nor unlikely. It was expected that, in the general population, some individuals would perceive some racial discrimination even in situations where it is absent. No changes were made to the vignettes on the basis of the frequency distribution and means ratings for racial discrimination. Figure 1 illustrates the frequency distribution of ratings as a function of the racial discrimination vignette.



*Figure 1.* Frequency distribution of rating scores as a function of racial discrimination vignette.

Pre-test study participants were also asked to indicate their likely emotional and behavioural responses to each situation using an open-ended question format. After responding to the questions, participants were provided with verbal and written information about the purpose of the pre-test study (see Appendix B). Participants were then asked to provide verbal feedback about the vignettes, including any difficulties they experienced when reading or imagining themselves in the vignettes, and any suggestions in regard to improving the vignettes (e.g., changing content or wording). Participants did not express any difficulties reading or imagining themselves in the vignettes and indicated that the interview vignettes, with the exception of the final question in the overt racial discrimination vignette, were realistic in contemporary society. As such, no changes were made to the vignettes following the pre-test study. Information provided by participants in the pre-test study was used to inform the selection of a measure of self-

directed emotional responses, and to develop a measure of behavioural responses to racial discrimination. Specifically, the state self-esteem measure (McFarland & Ross, 1982) employed in the main study was selected as a measure of self-directed emotional responses to racial discrimination because it encompassed a significant number of emotional responses expressed by participants in the pre-test study. As a result of the behavioural responses indicated by participants in the pre-test study, items 6-12 were added to the behavioral responses to racial discrimination measure used in the main study: take legal action against the HR manager/company; confront the HR manager about the questions that were asked during the interview; inquire about the interview procedure with the supervisor/superior of the HR manager; talk to family and/or friends about your experiences; use the internet or social media (e.g., blog, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, etc.) to share your experiences with others; refuse to answer some of the questions that were asked during the interview; look for another job.

**Main study.** Participants for the main study were recruited using the University of Windsor's Department of Psychology Participant Pool, campus fliers, and advertisements placed on social media and classified advertisement websites (i.e., Facebook, Kijiji). In addition, administrators of major departments at the University of Windsor (i.e., Faculty of Education, Odette School of Business, Faculty of Nursing, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences) and Black student and community associations and organizations located in Windsor and Toronto (i.e., York United Black Students' Alliance, Black Students' Association University of Toronto, University of Windsor Caribbean African Organization of Students) were contacted to request their assistance in promoting the study by forwarding a recruitment e-mail to their

students or members.

Individuals who self-identified as “Black Canadian, African Canadian, or Afro-Caribbean Canadian between the ages of 18-65” were invited to participate in the study. The research project was described as a study examining responses to challenging employment experiences among Black Canadians. The study was described in this manner to provide a general description of the purpose of the study to facilitate recruitment while minimizing sensitization to the specific hypotheses (e.g., increased attention to cues for racial discrimination).

Participants completed the study electronically by accessing an online survey website, FluidSurveys (<http://fluidsurveys.com/>). Online data collection was chosen to facilitate recruitment and participation. The survey site was chosen for its user-friendliness, flexibility of features, and ease with which data could be exported to statistical programs for analyses (e.g., SPSS).

Prior to administration of the study, prospective participants were asked to confirm that they self-identified as Black Canadian, African Canadian, or Afro-Caribbean Canadian and were between the ages of 18-65. Eligible participants then viewed an informed consent page that outlined the terms of the study (see Appendix C). Participants were asked to indicate their consent to participate in the study, and were given the option of saving or printing a copy of the completed consent form for their records.

After providing consent, participants were given access to complete the study. The study took approximately 30-35 minutes to complete. All participants began the study by reading the following vignette:

Imagine that you have just applied for a job that you are very qualified for and find highly desirable. The job pays a generous starting salary and has many

opportunities for advancement in your field of interest. As part of the job selection process, you are invited to the head office of the company to complete a face-to-face interview with the Human Resources manager, who is responsible for making final hiring decisions. On the day of your interview, an administrative assistant guides you to the interview room where you are introduced to the HR manager, who is the same gender as you, White, middle-aged, average height, and dressed in professional attire.

The HR manager was described as belonging to the same gender group as the participant in an attempt to minimize perceptions of gender discrimination that might occur among female participants, a group that has been the focus of several experimental studies on gender-based employment discrimination perpetrated by male interviewers (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2010; Wang et al., 2012). In addition to race, several basic characteristics of the HR manager's appearance (i.e., gender, height, age, and style of attire) were described to minimize participants' focus on race while also strengthening participants' imaginal experience of the interpersonal interaction.

After reading the above paragraph, participants were asked to read and provide brief written responses to a series of interview questions:

During the job interview, the HR manager asks you the following questions:  
For each question, provide a brief written response to the HR manager.

Interview questions were selected to reflect no cues (absent) of racial discrimination (ARD), subtle cues of racial discrimination (SRD), and overt cues of racial discrimination (ORD; see Appendix D). Participants in the ARD and SRD conditions were asked to respond to a total of eight questions whereas participants in the ORD condition were asked to respond to a total of nine questions. In the ARD (control) condition, participants were asked eight common interview questions, none of which contained any reference to Black racial stereotypes:

(1) What are your strengths?

- (2) What are your weaknesses?
- (3) Where do you see yourself five years from now?
- (4) What interests you about this position?
- (5) Tell me about your educational background.
- (6) Tell me about a time when you made a mistake.
- (7) Tell me about a time when you disagreed with someone at work.
- (8) Tell me about your work ethic.

These questions are among those described as the most common interview questions by popular business news, employment, and career websites (e.g., Forbes.com, Monster.com, Glassdoor.com).

In both the SRD and ORD conditions, the first four interview questions were identical to those asked in the absent racial discrimination condition. However, the other four interview questions in the SRD and ORD conditions made indirect references to common negative Black racial stereotypes and were presented along with the first four questions listed above:

- (5) Did you struggle to get good grades when in school?
- (6) Do you have a criminal record?
- (7) Have you ever become violent with someone at work?
- (8) Has a supervisor ever complained about your work ethic?

The development of interview questions that reference Black racial stereotypes was guided by the results of large-scale U.S. national surveys that assessed the views of average white respondents in the U.S., and on the findings of several smaller-scale research studies (e.g., Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Pager & Western, 2012; Taylor, 1998). Together, these studies demonstrate that the average White respondent endorses relatively unfavorable views about Blacks, as compared to Whites, on several dimensions, including intelligence (e.g., unintelligent), work orientation (e.g., lazy), and proneness to violence (e.g. violent; Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Taylor, 1998), and that negative stereotypes about crime among Blacks as well as the physical spaces they

occupy are pervasive (Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016; Nadal et al., 2012; Stewart et al., 2010; Sue & Sue, 2008; Welch, 2007).

In the ORD condition only, participants read an additional comment and question that clearly indicated racial bias on the part of the HR manager:

(9) I have a few Black employees in my department who often come in to work late and don't work as hard as my other employees. Will this be an issue if I hire you?

Following presentation of the interview questions, participants in all three conditions read:

A few days after you complete the interview, the HR manager contacts you to inform you: "I have completed evaluating all job applicants. I regret to inform you that you have not been selected for the position. I've selected another applicant who is a better fit for the position."

After reading the vignette, participants completed a brief manipulation check to assess whether they perceived variations between the three sets of manipulated interview questions as intended (Kazdin, 1998; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; see Appendix E).

The manipulation of racial discrimination cues was modeled after a methodological paradigm used in several studies that have examined the role of ambiguity in attributions to gender discrimination or prejudice (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2010; Major et al., 2003; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Wang et al., 2012). In particular, the experimental procedure is similar to that used by Cihangir et al. (2010), in which female participants in both the ambiguous and unambiguous gender discrimination conditions were asked interview questions that reflected indirect references to common female stereotypes during a simulated online job interview with a male interviewer. For the current study, the procedure was adapted to examine racial discrimination and included a control condition in which no discrimination occurs. The lack of a control condition and



the predominant focus on gender discrimination have both been identified as limitations in previous experimental studies assessing ambiguous versus unambiguous discrimination (Cihangir et al., 2010; Schmitt et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2012).

Finally, all participants completed a series of measures to assess attributions to racial discrimination, state self-esteem, trait self-esteem, other-directed emotional responses, behavioural responses, cultural mistrust, experiences of racial discrimination, and sociodemographic information (see Appendix F-M). Following the procedure of Wang and colleagues (2012), the Cultural Mistrust Inventory was administered after all other measures (other than the sociodemographic and EOD items) to avoid sensitizing participants to racial discrimination. Wang and colleagues (2012) found no difference between experimental conditions in mean levels of stigma consciousness, an individual difference variable theoretically similar to cultural mistrust. Similarly, as the construct of cultural mistrust is theorized to reflect a relatively stable attitudinal response style, cultural mistrust scores were not expected to differ across conditions as a result of the manipulations.

Once participants completed the sociodemographic questionnaire, they reviewed a post-study information form that outlined the nature and purpose of the study (see Appendix N). Participants were given the option of printing or saving the form or requesting a hard copy from the researcher. Participants were invited to ask questions or offer comments about the study, either anonymously or by contacting the researcher directly. Five participants contacted the primary researcher via email to provide brief feedback about the study: one participant offered suggestions to improve the study; three

participants expressed their enjoyment in participation and/or interest in the research topic; and one participant reported that the topic was personally relatable.

Participants who were recruited from the University of Windsor’s participant pool were compensated with bonus credits that could be applied to their final grades in eligible psychology courses. Participants recruited from sources outside of the participant pool were offered the option of being entered into a gift card draw for one of ten \$50 gift cards (Amazon.ca, Chapters Indigo, and Cineplex Odeon Theatres). Gift card contact information was submitted separately from survey data. Gift card winners were randomly selected, notified, and compensated following completion of data collection.

## Measures

**Manipulation check.** To ensure that participants in each condition had received the manipulation (i.e., viewed interview questions), participants were asked to provide a brief written response to each question (see Appendix E). Participants were also asked to provide a written response to the open-ended question (“Briefly explain why you did not get the job”) and to rate the perceived presence of racial discrimination on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

**Attributions to racial discrimination.** Attributions to racial discrimination were assessed by adapting items similar to those used in previous studies that have examined attributions to gender discrimination in the context of attributional ambiguity (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Wang et al., 2012). Specifically, participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements: “The HR manager’s decision to not hire me was due to my race” and “The HR manager evaluates Black job candidates unfairly”. All items were rated on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*

*much*). Item scores were summed to compute an average score, with higher scores reflecting higher levels of attributions to racial discrimination. Cronbach's alpha for this measure in the current study was .86 (see Appendix F).

**State self-esteem.** State self-esteem, or self-esteem at a given point in time, was assessed using 11 items found to be related to self-esteem in a factor analysis of self-relevant mood items (McFarland & Ross, 1982). These items have been shown to successfully measure changes attributable to self-esteem (Baumgardner et al., 1989). Items were rated using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Negative items include: *inadequate, stupid, worthless, and ashamed*. Positive items include: *proud, competent, smart, resourceful, effective, efficient, and confident*. After reverse scoring the negative items, items scores were summed to compute an average score, with higher scores indicating higher levels of state self-esteem. Cronbach's alpha for this measure in the current sample was .84 (see Appendix G).

**Other-directed emotional responses.** Participants were asked to indicate the intensity with which they experienced negative other-directed emotions. Several related studies have assessed other-directed or externalizing emotional responses to discrimination (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2010; Major et al., 2003; Wang et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2012) using various emotion words, but there is currently no widely-accepted measure available in the literature. For purposes of the current study, four items were used: *angry, frustrated, hostile, and irritated*. These items are similar to those used by Wang and colleagues' (2011) in their study on the emotional impact of racial microaggressions. More generally, these emotions have been found to be relevant in the experience of racial discrimination (Benjamins, 2013; McNeilly et al., 1996; Sue et al.,

2007; Wang et al., 2011; William et al., 2012) and gender discrimination (Crocker et al., 1991; Major et al., 2003; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Wang et al., 2012). For each item on the scale, participants were asked to rate, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), the intensity in which they would feel the specified emotions in response to the situation described in the vignette. Item scores were summed to compute an average score, with higher scores reflecting higher intensity of emotional experiencing. Cronbach's alpha for other-directed emotional responses in the current sample was .77 (see Appendix G).

**Trait self-esteem.** Trait self-esteem was assessed using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale is a widely used self-report measure for evaluating global or trait self-esteem that includes 10 items (e.g., "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself", "I feel I do not have much to be proud of.") Items were rated using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After reverse scoring the negatively phrased items, items scores were summed to compute an average score, with higher scores indicating higher levels of trait self-esteem. In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha for trait self-esteem was .88 (see Appendix I).

**Behavioural responses to racial discrimination.** Given the limited availability of comprehensive measures to assess coping and behavioural responses to racial discrimination, participants were assessed on their likelihood of engaging in situation-specific actions to challenge racial discrimination (see Brondolo et al., 2009 for a critique of the literature on racism coping). Specifically, participants were asked to rate the likelihood that they would engage in 12 specific actions as a result of the situation presented in the vignettes (see Appendix J). All items were rated on a 7-point scale

ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*). Items were developed following a review of the literature on coping with racial discrimination as well as a review of the open-ended responses given by pre-test participants during pre-testing, where participants were asked to report their possible behavioural responses to the ARD, SRD, and ORD situations. All responses given by pre-test participants are encompassed in the final 12 item measure. The items reflect both individual and collective actions that can be used to challenge racial discrimination in the workplace and in society (Schmitt et al., 2014). The items are also consistent with the *trying to change things* and *speaking up* factors identified in the Perceived Racism Scale, one of the only measures available to assess coping responses to racism (PRS; McNeilly et al., 1996). Scores for the 12 items were summed to obtain an average score reflecting racism-specific behavioural responses, with higher scores reflecting greater likelihood of engaging in behavioural responses to challenge racial discrimination. Cronbach's alpha for this 12-item scale in the current sample was .88.

**Cultural mistrust.** To assess levels of cultural mistrust, participants completed the 48-item Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1981). The Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) is the most widely-accepted measure of cultural mistrust, and has been employed in the majority of empirical studies that have examined cultural mistrust as a major research variable (Whaley, 2001b). Terrell and Terrell (1981) developed the CMI to assess Blacks' level of cultural mistrust in four domains: Interpersonal Relations (e.g., "There are some Whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends"), Education/Training (e.g., "If a Black student tries, he will get the grade he deserves from a White teacher"), Business/Work (e.g., "Whites who establish

businesses in Black communities do so only so that they can take advantage of Whites”), and Politics/Law (e.g., “Blacks have often been deceived by White politicians”; Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Items were rated using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After reverse scoring the positively phrased items, items scores were summed to compute an average score, with higher scores indicating higher levels of cultural mistrust.

Terrell and Terrell (1981) administered the CMI to an initial validation sample composed of 172 Black male college students. They reported that the CMI demonstrated adequate item-total correlations (ranging from  $r = .34$  to  $.47$ ) and good test-retest reliability within a two-week period ( $r = .86$ ) using a separate sample of 69 Black male college students, providing evidence for the temporal stability of the CMI. Although Terrell and Terrell did not provide internal consistency reliability estimates for their validation sample, subsequent studies have demonstrated that the CMI has good internal consistency reliability, as well as concurrent and predictive validity (Bell & Tracey, 2006; Combs et al., 2006; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Terrell & Terrell, 1984, Thompson et al., 1990; Whaley, 2002). A Cronbach’s alpha of .95 was found for a study employing the full scale CMI among Black Canadian adults residing in Windsor, Ontario (Joseph, 2010). The CMI has also demonstrated good convergent validity with measures of nonclinical paranoia and racial discrimination, as well as discriminant validity with measures of self-esteem and social desirability (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Terrell et al., 1981; Whaley, 2002).

As the CMI had been originally developed using an all-male college student sample, Whaley (2001a) assessed the external validity of the CMI in his meta-analysis of

22 primary studies on cultural mistrust, including 10 college student populations and 12 non-college student populations (six used male-only samples, two used female-only samples, and the remaining 14 used mixed male and female samples). He found that the effect sizes for the CMI in studies using college or male-only samples were similar to studies using other samples, providing evidence for the generalizability of the CMI as a measure of cultural mistrust for the general Black population (Whaley, 2001a). Whaley also compared effect sizes for studies that have utilized the total CMI scale compared to studies utilizing select CMI subscales, and found that that higher effect sizes were correlated with use of the total CMI scale scores versus CMI subscales scores. In a subsequent analysis of the psychometric properties of the CMI, Whaley found higher internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the total scale (.85) than for subscales (.43-.71), as well as factor analytic evidence indicating that a single global factor underlies cultural mistrust (Whaley, 2002). The results from these studies indicate that use of the entire cultural mistrust scale, as opposed to select subscales, may yield more accurate assessments of cultural mistrust. Cronbach's alpha for the full scale CMI was .93 in the current sample (see Appendix K).

**Experiences of racial discrimination.** Self-reported experiences of racial discrimination was assessed using the frequency version of the 9-item Experiences of Discrimination measure (EOD; Krieger et al., 2005). Following Krieger and colleagues (2005), this measure was scored by assigning a value of 0 to *never*, 1 to *once*, 2.5 to *2-3 times*, and 5 to *4 or more times* and summing across items to provide a total measure of occurrences of racial discrimination. In their validation study, Krieger and colleagues provided evidence for the validity and reliability of the EOD as a self-report measure of

racial discrimination, reporting a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .86 among Black American respondents. A confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the EOD items comprised a unidimensional measure of experiences of racial discrimination (Krieger et al., 2005). Cronbach's alpha for the EOD in the current sample was .80 (see Appendix L).

**Sociodemographic information.** The following sociodemographic information was collected from participants: age, gender, race, ethnicity, country of residence, country of birth, generational status, length of residence in Canada, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, and family household income (see Appendix M).



## CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

### Preliminary Analyses

**Missing data.** The amount and pattern of missing data were examined using Little's (1988) MCAR test. The amount of missing data ranged from 0-2.2% percent and results of Little's MCAR test indicated that data were missing completely at random,  $\chi^2(6060) = 2021.09, p > .99$ . Single imputation using the expectation maximization (EM) algorithm was used to replace missing data. EM is one of several maximum likelihood (ML) approaches to missing data management, and have demonstrated superiority over deletion, nonstochastic imputation, and stochastic regression imputation methods for multivariate normal distributions (Schlomer, Bauman, & Card, 2010). When data are missing completely at random and only a small percentage of data is missing (i.e., less than 5%), EM provides unbiased parameter estimates and improves power (Enders, 2001).

**Assumptions for multiple regression.** Data were analyzed to evaluate assumptions for multiple regression (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Normality was assessed by examination of skewness and kurtosis z-score values, visual inspection of histograms and Normal Q-Q Plots, and the results of Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality. With the exception of two covariates—experiences of racial discrimination and trait self-esteem—all study variables had skewness and kurtosis values less than +/- 1.5 and non-significant Shapiro-Wilk values ( $p > .05$ ). Scores on the experiences of racial discrimination measure had significant Shapiro-Wilk values for the ARD and ORD groups ( $p = .002$  and  $p = .001$ , respectively). Scores on the trait self-esteem measure had significant Shapiro-Wilk values for the ARD, SRD, and ORD groups ( $p = .029, p < .001$ ,

and  $p = .002$ , respectively). Square root transformations were applied to scores on experiences of racial discrimination and trait self-esteem, which were moderately positively skewed and moderately negatively skewed, respectively.

There were no univariate outliers, as assessed by the absence of standardized residuals in excess of  $\pm 3.29$  (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Homoscedasticity and linearity between independent and dependent variables was established by visual inspection of pairwise scatterplots. There was no evidence of multicollinearity, as evidenced by tolerance values less than .993. Mahalanobis distances were examined to detect the presence of multivariate outliers. Based on chi-square critical values with  $p < 0.001$ , one multivariate outlier was found. Results were not significantly different with or without inclusion of the multivariate outlier, and as such, the case was retained for the main analyses.

**Descriptive statistics and correlations among covariates, moderator, and dependent variables.** Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) and intercorrelations among covariates, moderator, and dependent variables for each experimental condition are presented in Tables 2 and 3. EOD scores were significantly correlated with attributions to racial discrimination, such that individuals who reported more occurrences of past racial discrimination also reported more attributions to racial discrimination ( $r = .19, p = .025$ ). Higher trait self-esteem was associated with higher state self-esteem ( $r = .46, p < .001$ ). Consequently, EOD and trait self-esteem were included as covariates in the regression analyses predicting attributions to racial discrimination and state self-esteem, respectively. In the total sample, cultural mistrust was significantly correlated with EOD, trait self-esteem, attributions to racial

discrimination, other-directed emotional responses, and behavioural responses to racial discrimination.

Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics for Moderating, Covariate, And Dependent Measures as a Function of Racial Discrimination Condition (N = 136)*

Variable	Overt (n = 44)		Subtle (n = 46)		Absent (n = 46)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Cultural mistrust	3.47	0.81	3.30	0.71	3.59	0.73
Attributions to RD	4.85	1.82	3.27	1.37	3.54	1.43
Other-directed	4.70	1.35	4.24	1.16	4.42	1.48
Emotional responses						
State self-esteem	4.02	1.10	3.75	0.90	4.08	1.13
Behavioural responses to RD	4.51	1.37	3.86	1.19	3.93	1.17
Trait self-esteem	5.64	1.11	5.63	1.11	5.38	1.23
EOD	10.33	9.22	9.79	6.65	11.10	9.37

*Note.* RD = racial discrimination; EOD = Experiences (total occurrences) of racial discrimination; Higher scores reflect higher cultural mistrust, attributions to racism discrimination, state self-esteem, behavioural responses to racial discrimination, trait self-esteem, and experiences (occurrences) of racial discrimination; Values ranged from 1 to 7 for all variables except for occurrences of racism discrimination, which ranged from 0 to 45.

**Group equivalence on sociodemographic variables.** One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), chi-square, and Fisher's Exact tests were conducted to assess whether random assignment was effective in approximating group equivalence on the basis of sociodemographic variables. Both chi-square and Fisher's Exact tests were used to assess for the presence of significant differences in categorical sociodemographic variables across experimental conditions. McDonald (2009) recommends the use of Fisher's test over chi-square or G-test of independence when expected values are small. Fisher's exact tests were used for contingency tables (i.e., cross tabulations) containing cells with expected counts less than 5, and chi-square tests were used for contingency tables containing cells with expected counts greater than 5. The ANOVA revealed no

significant differences between experimental condition on the basis of the continuous sociodemographic variables: age,  $F(2, 132) = .302, p = .740$ , and mean years in Canada if both outside Canada,  $F(2, 41) = 1.913, p = .161$ . Chi-square tests revealed no significant differences between experimental condition on the basis of categorical sociodemographic variables, sex,  $\chi^2(2) = 4.047, p = .132$ , and generation status,  $\chi^2(4) = 9.182, p = .057$ . Fisher's Exact tests showed no significant differences between experimental condition and marital status,  $\chi^2(4) = 2.438, p > .99$ , education level,  $\chi^2(14) = 9.681, p = .867$ , recruitment source,  $\chi^2(4) = 1.385, p = .870$ , and ethnic origin subgroups (all  $p \geq .319$ ). There was a significant overall difference between experimental conditions on the basis of annual income categories,  $\chi^2(14) = 19.061, p = .039$ . To determine sources of significant omnibus results, cells with adjusted standardized residuals (ASRs) greater or less than  $\pm 2$  were identified. Examination of ASRs revealed that there were significantly greater and lower proportions of individuals who reported that they preferred not to disclose their income in the ARD and SRD conditions, respectively, compared to the overall sample. The main analyses were conducted controlling for this income variable. Since the regression coefficient was not significant in the four regression models and did not change the significance/non-significance of the results, the variable was excluded in the reported final models.

Given the high proportion of females relative to males in the overall sample, additional analyses were conducted to assess the relationship between gender and the moderator, covariates, and dependent variables. The results of one-way ANOVA indicated that there were no significant differences between genders in scores on cultural mistrust, EOD, trait self-esteem, attributions to racial discrimination, state self-esteem,

other-directed emotional responses, and behavioural responses to racial discrimination (all  $p \geq .144$ ). Since gender did not have a differential impact on the moderator, covariates, and dependent variables, it was not included as a control variable (i.e., covariate) in the main analyses.

**Group equivalence on covariate and moderator variables.** One-way ANOVA was conducted to assess for the presence of between-group differences in the covariates and moderator. There were no significant differences in cultural mistrust,  $F(2, 133) = 1.745, p = .179$ ; EOD,  $F(2, 133) = 0.275, p = .760$ ; and trait self-esteem,  $F(2, 133) = 0.696, p = .501$ , across the three experimental conditions. Since these are stable variables that would not be expected to change from pre- to post-manipulation, these findings suggest that the random assignment of participants to the three experimental conditions was effective in approximating group equivalence on the variables associated with the dependent variables.

**Manipulation check.** A one-way ANOVA was conducted to assess whether the independent variable, type of racial discrimination, was adequately manipulated. There was a significant difference between experimental conditions on participant ratings of how likely racial discrimination was involved in the situation presented in the vignette,  $F(2, 132) = 6.584, p = .002$ . Tukey post hoc tests revealed that ratings of the likelihood of racial discrimination involvement was significantly higher in the ORD condition ( $M = 4.77, SD = 2.12$ ) than in the ARD ( $M = 3.67, SD = 1.81, p = .015$ ) and SRD conditions ( $M = 3.44, SD = 1.58, p = .003$ ). However, there was no significant difference in ratings of racial discrimination involvement between the ARD and SRD conditions ( $p = .824$ ).

Table 3

*Correlation Matrix for Total Sample and Racial Discrimination Condition (N = 136)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
<u>Total Sample</u>							
1. Cultural mistrust	-	.398***	.022	.341***	.287**	-.169*	.386***
2. Attributions to RD		-	.087	.549***	.586***	-.005	.192*
3. State self-esteem			-	-.076	.141	.462***	.125
4. Other-directed emotional responses				-	.475***	-.087	.126
5. Behavioural responses					-	.047	.011
6. Trait self-esteem						-	.029
7. EOD							-
<u>Overt Condition</u>							
1. Cultural mistrust	-	.377*	.000	.433**	.317*	-.226	.384*
2. Attributions to RD		-	-.043	.722**	.709	-.046	.183
3. State self-esteem			-	-.021	.169	.357*	.137
4. Other-directed emotional responses				-	.679***	-.073	-.020
5. Behavioural responses					-	.062	.099
6. Trait self-esteem						-	-.094
7. EOD							-
<u>Subtle Condition</u>							
1. Cultural mistrust	-	.454**	.051	.137	.382**	.019	.351*
2. Attributions to RD		-	.258	.306*	.666***	-.070	.282
3. State self-esteem			-	.353*	.272	.427**	.091
4. Other-directed emotional responses				-	.409**	-.056	.115
5. Behavioural responses					-	.020	.014
6. Trait self-esteem						-	.220
7. EOD							-
<u>Absent Condition</u>							
1. Cultural mistrust	-	.464**	-.039	.403**	.169	-.253	.408**
2. Attributions to RD		-	.050	.546***	.232	.040	.196
3. State self-esteem			-	.011	-.019	.620***	.117
4. Other-directed emotional responses				-	.290	-.128	.255
5. Behavioural responses					-	.032	-.087
6. Trait self-esteem						-	.027
7. EOD							-

Note. \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; RD = Racial discrimination; EOD = Experiences of Racial Discrimination.

## Main Analyses

Four hierarchical regression analyses (i.e., moderated multiple regression) were conducted to examine whether cultural mistrust moderated the relationship between racial discrimination condition (ARD, SRD, ORD) and 1) attributions to racial discrimination; 2) state self-esteem; 3) other-directed emotional responses to racial discrimination; and 4) behavioural responses to racial discrimination. Past experiences of racial discrimination (EOD) and trait self-esteem were included as covariates in the first step of the regression models predicting attributions to racial discrimination and state self-esteem, respectively (Hypotheses 1 and 2). Consistent with the assumption of homogeneity of regression, preliminary analyses confirmed that the covariates did not significantly interact with the other predictors and were thus suitable for inclusion as covariates. As recommended by Frazier, Tix, and Barron (2004), the following steps were included, in sequence, to test for moderator effects: 1) representation of categorical variables with code variables; 2) centering of continuous variables; 3) creation of interaction terms (using centered continuous variables); and 4) structuring of the regression equation. Each step is described in detail in subsequent sections.

**Representation of categorical variable with dummy code variables.** Two dummy code variables were created to represent the three racial discrimination conditions: ARD, SRD, and ORD. The number of code variables needed to represent a categorical predictor or moderator variable equals the number of levels of the categorical variable (groups) minus one (Aiken & West, 1991; West, Aiken, & Krull, 1996). A dummy coding system was chosen over other coding systems (i.e., contrast, effect) due to the inclusion of a control group in the research design, which served as a natural

comparison group (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier et al., 2004; West et al., 1996). Aiken and West (1991) note that when interactions involve a categorical variable and a continuous variable, dummy coding generates contrasts with the comparison group that are immediate interpretable, as compared with effect coding. Since the ARD (control) condition did not contain racial discrimination, it was selected as the comparison group and assigned a value of 0. In this way, the effects of subtle and overt racial discrimination on the dependent variables could each be directly compared with that the effects of no racial discrimination. The first dummy variable compared the mean of the SRD condition with the mean of the ARD condition ( $C_1$ ) and the second dummy variable compared the mean of the ORD condition with the mean of the ARD condition ( $C_2$ ). The two dummy code variables were included in the regression equation simultaneously to represent the overall effect of the three experimental conditions (see Appendix O for the dummy coding system used).

**Mean-centering of continuous variables.** The continuous moderator variable, cultural mistrust, was mean-centered to improve the interpretation of the regression coefficients and reduce problems related to multicollinearity among variables in the regression equation (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier et al., 2004; West et al., 1996). Mean-centering converts continuous variables to deviation score form by subtracting sample means, which makes the mean of the variable 0 (Aiken & West, 1991; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007; West et al., 1996). The interpretation of first-order effects (i.e., main effects) of variables contained in interactions are identical in ANOVA and regression if mean-centering is used (West et al., 1996). The effects of individual predictors in regression equations containing interactions are referred to as first-order effects rather than main



effects, as suggested by West et al. (1996). The continuous covariates, EOD and trait self-esteem, were also centered for consistency (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Frazier et al., 2004).

**Creation of interaction terms.** Two interaction terms were created to represent the interaction between each dummy variable and the centered moderator. As recommended by Frazier and colleagues (2004), the interaction terms were created by multiplying the two newly coded categorical variables with the newly centered continuous variable (cultural mistrust). Frazier and colleagues (2004) note that interaction terms need not be centered or standardized.

**Structuring of the regression equation.** The two interaction terms were entered into the regression equation after the two dummy code variables and centered moderator were entered (Frazier et al., 2004). Frazier and colleagues (2004) note that if a categorical variable has more than two levels, all product terms should be included in the same step. Controlling for the predictor and moderator variables prevents confounding of the moderator effects with the effects of the predictor and moderator variables (Frazier et al., 2004; Aiken & West, 1991). For regression models containing covariates (Hypothesis 1 and 2), covariates were entered in as the first step and interactions between the covariate and all other terms were entered in as the final step (Cohen et al., 2003; Frazier et al., 2004; see Appendices P and Q for the structure of the regression equation and derivations of simple regressions equations for each experimental condition). Table 4-7 exhibits the sequence of steps in which variables were entered into the final regression models.

**Hypothesis 1.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and attributions to racial discrimination.

To test Hypothesis 1, past experiences of racial discrimination, as measured by mean scores on the EOD scale (mean-centered), was entered in the first step of the regression equation as a covariate (see Table 4). In step two, the two dummy variables representing the three racial discrimination conditions and cultural mistrust were entered. To test for the potential moderating effect of cultural mistrust, the two interaction terms were entered in step three.

Table 4

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Discrimination Condition and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Attributions to Racial Discrimination*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Covariate)</i>						
Total Occurrences of Racial Discrimination	.039	.039*	.070	.079	.090	-.10/.26
<i>Step 2 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>						
Cultural Mistrust			.378	.842**	.302	.25/1.44
Dummy Variable 1 (SRD)			-.004	-.015	.302	-.61/.58
Dummy Variable 2 (ORD)			.399	1.432***	.302	.83/2.03
<i>Step 3 (Interaction)</i>						
SRD x Cultural Mistrust	.321	.000	-.006	-.025	.416	-.85/.80
ORD x Cultural Mistrust			-.016	-.060	.395	-.84/.72

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

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

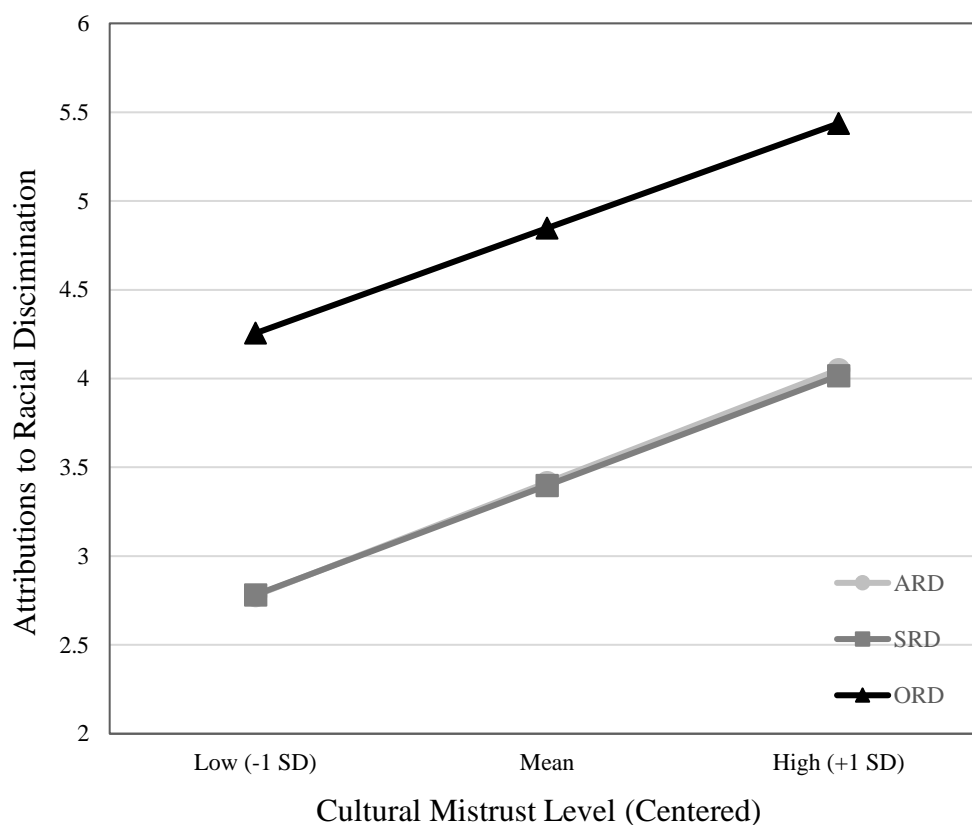
**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .321$ ,  $F(6, 129) = 10.174$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .29 indicates that 29% of the variability in attributions to racial discrimination is predicted by past experiences of racial discrimination (covariate), level of cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition, and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition.

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** Hypothesis 1 was not supported. The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the two interaction terms into the model was not

significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .001$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 129) = .012$ ,  $p = .988$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction terms (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and attributions to racial discrimination does not vary across racial discrimination condition). When interaction terms are not significant, Aiken and West (1991) recommend keeping interaction terms in the model if they have strong theoretical importance, and to conduct follow-up analyses using simple regression lines (i.e., simple slopes) to clarify the relationships between variables. Since cultural mistrust was hypothesized to moderate the relationship between racial discrimination and the dependent variables on the basis of a review of the theoretical literature, the results for the regression model with interaction terms are reported. It is noted that when interaction terms are retained in a model, all lower-order coefficients (for all terms except the highest order interaction) change from first-order effects (i.e., main effects) to conditional effects that are interpreted at a value of 0 for variables not involved in the term (Hayes, 2005; Frazier et al., 2004; West et al, 1996).

***Conditional effects of CM and RDC.*** The regression coefficient estimating attributions to racial discrimination from cultural mistrust was significantly different from zero for participants in the ARD condition,  $b = .842$   $t(129) = 2.790$ ,  $p = .006$ . That is, a one unit increase in cultural mistrust contributes a .842 unit increase in attributions to racial discrimination (i.e., individuals who differ by one measurement unit in cultural mistrust differ by .842 units in their attributions to racial discrimination, with higher levels of cultural mistrust associated with higher levels of attributions). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated attributions to racial discrimination between the SRD and ARD conditions was not significant (i.e., no significant differences in

attributions to racial discrimination between individuals in the SRD versus ARD conditions). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated attributions to racial discrimination between the ORD and ARD conditions was significant,  $b = 1.432$ ,  $t(129) = 4.742$ ,  $p < .001$ . That is, individuals in the ORD condition reported significantly more attributions to racial discrimination than individuals in the ARD condition by 1.432 units. Figure 2 depicts the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of racial discrimination attributions at specified values of cultural mistrust. Appendix 8 shows the derivation of the simple regression equations for each condition.



*Figure 2.* Simple regression lines depicting the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of racial discrimination attributions at specified values of cultural mistrust.

**Hypothesis 2.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and state self-esteem.

To test Hypothesis 2, trait self-esteem, as measured by mean scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, was entered in the first step of the regression equation as a covariate (see Table 5). The two dummy variables and cultural mistrust were entered in step two and the two interaction terms were entered in step three.

Table 5

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Discrimination Condition and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting State Self-Esteem*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Covariate)</i>						
Trait Self-Esteem	.216	.216***	-.493	-1.466***	.233	-1.93/-1.01
<i>Step 2 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>						
Cultural Mistrust			.099	.138	.193	-.24/.52
Dummy Variable 1 (SRD)			-.184	-.407*	.198	-.80/.02
Dummy Variable 2 (ORD)			-.070	-.156	.198	-.55/.24
<i>Step 3 (Interaction)</i>						
SRD x Cultural Mistrust	.251	.001	-.039	-.099	.274	-.64/.44
ORD x Cultural Mistrust			-.003	.007	.259	-.51/.52

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

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

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .251$ ,  $F(6, 129) = 7.217$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .216 indicates that 22% of the variability in state self-esteem is predicted by levels of trait self-esteem (covariate), cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition, and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** Hypothesis 2 was not supported. The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the two interaction terms into the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .001$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 129) = .095$ ,  $p = .909$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction terms (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and state self-esteem did

not vary by racial discrimination condition). Following the procedure used in Hypothesis 1, interactions terms were retained in the model and lower-order coefficients are interpreted as conditional effects.

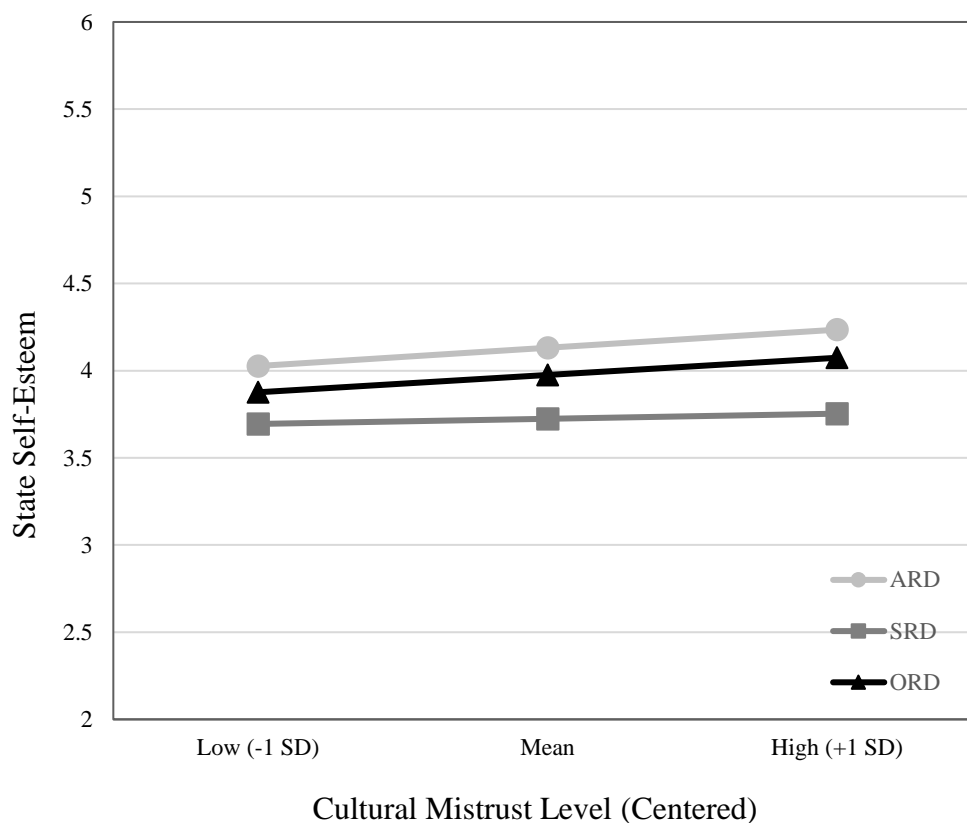


Figure 3. Simple regression lines depicting the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of state self-esteem at specified values of cultural mistrust.

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating state self-esteem from cultural mistrust was not significantly different from zero for participants in the ARD condition (i.e., differences in cultural mistrust did not predict differences in state self-esteem). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated state self-esteem between the SRD and ARD conditions was significant,  $b = -.407$ ,  $t(129) = -2.054$ ,  $p = .042$ . That is, individuals in the SRD condition reported significantly lower state self-esteem than individuals in the ARD condition by .407 units. The regression

coefficient for the difference in estimated state self-esteem between the ORD and ARD condition was not significant (i.e., there were no significant differences in state self-esteem between individuals in the ORD and ARD conditions). Figure 3 depicts the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of state self-esteem at specified values of cultural mistrust.

**Hypothesis 3.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and other-directed emotional responses.

To test Hypothesis 3, the two dummy variables and cultural mistrust were entered in the first step of the regression equation (see Table 6). The two interaction terms were entered in step two.

Table 6

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Discrimination Condition and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Other-Directed Emotional Responses*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>	.131	.131***				
Cultural Mistrust			.462	.820**	.258	.31/1.33
Dummy Variable 1 (SRD)			-.013	-.038	.268	-.57/.50
Dummy Variable 2 (ORD)			.132	.376	.268	-.15/.91
<i>Step 2 (Interaction)</i>	.151	.020				
SRD x Cultural Mistrust			-.186	-.596	.369	-1.33/.13
ORD x Cultural Mistrust			-.033	-.097	.350	-.79/.60

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

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

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .151$ ,  $F(5, 130) = 4.631$ ,  $p = .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .119 indicates that 12% of the variability in other-directed emotional responses is predicted by levels cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition, and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** Hypothesis 3 was not supported. The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the two interaction terms into the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .020$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 130) = 1.523$ ,  $p = .222$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction terms (i.e., the relationship between racial discrimination condition experienced and other-directed emotional responses to racial discrimination was not moderated by levels of cultural mistrust). Following the procedure used in the previous hypotheses, interaction terms were retained in the model.

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating other-directed emotional responses from cultural mistrust was significantly different from zero for participants in the ARD condition,  $b = .820$   $t(130) = 3.173$ ,  $p = .002$ . That is, a one unit increase in cultural mistrust contributes a .820 unit increase in other-directed emotional responses (i.e., individuals who differ by one measurement unit in cultural mistrust differ by .820 units in other-directed emotional responses, with higher levels of cultural mistrust associated with higher levels of other-directed emotional responses). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated other-directed emotional responses between the SRD and ARD conditions was not significant (i.e., no significant differences in other-directed emotional responses between individuals in the SRD and ARD conditions). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated other-directed emotional responses between the ORD and ARD condition was also not significant (i.e., no significant differences in other-directed emotional responses between individuals in the ORD and ARD conditions). Figure 4 depicts the relationship between racial



discrimination condition and level of other-directed emotional responses at specified values of cultural mistrust.

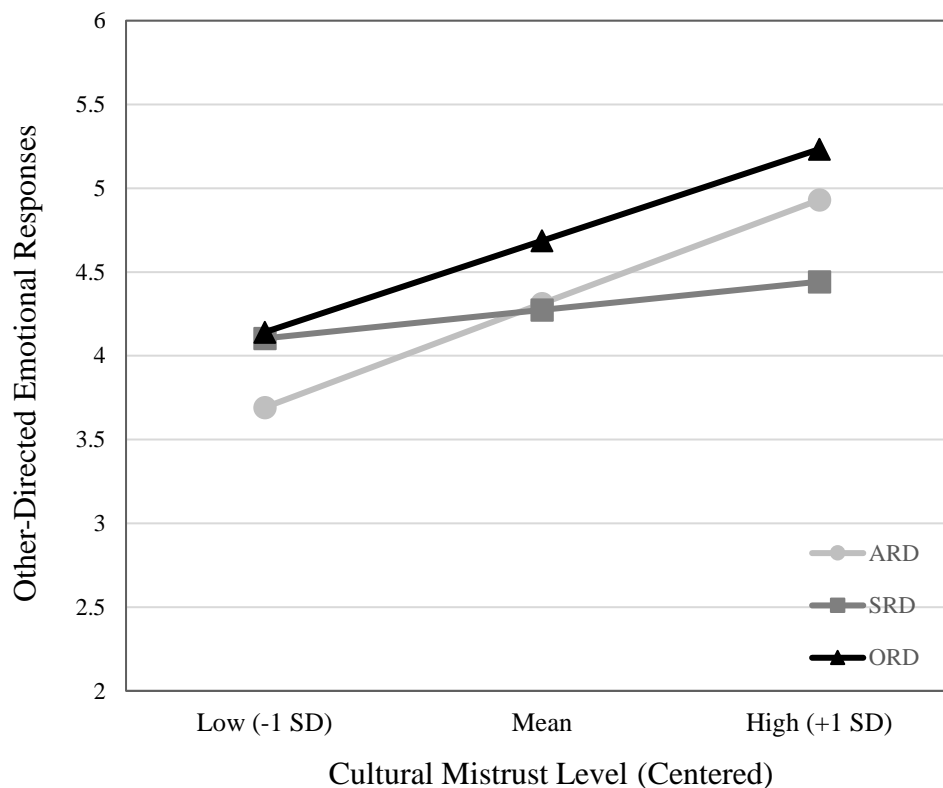


Figure 4. Simple regression lines depicting the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of other-directed emotional responses at specified values of cultural mistrust.

**Hypothesis 4.** Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and behavioural responses.

To test Hypothesis 4, the two dummy variables and cultural mistrust were entered in the first step of the regression equation (see Table 7). The two interaction terms were entered in step two.

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .140$ ,  $F(5, 130) = 4.228$ ,  $p = .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .107 indicates that 11% of the variability in behavioural responses to racial discrimination is predicted by levels

cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition, and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition

Table 7

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Discrimination Condition and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Behavioural Responses*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>	.132	.132***				
Cultural Mistrust			.162	.272	.247	-.22/.76
Dummy Variable 1 (SRD)			.025	.067	.256	-.44/.57
Dummy Variable 2 (ORD)			.224	.606*	.256	.10/1.11
<i>Step 2 (Interaction)</i>	.140	.008				
SRD x Cultural Mistrust			.121	.367	.352	-.33/1.06
ORD x Cultural Mistrust			.095	.264	.334	-.40/.93

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

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

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** Hypothesis 4 was not supported. The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the two interaction terms into the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .008$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 130) = .586$ ,  $p = .558$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction terms (i.e., the relationship between racial discrimination condition experienced and behavioural responses to racial discrimination was not moderated by levels of cultural mistrust). Following the procedure used in the previous hypotheses, interactions terms were retained in the model and lower-order coefficients are interpreted as conditional effects.

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating behavioural responses from cultural mistrust was not significantly different from zero for participants in the ARD condition (e.g., differences in cultural mistrust did not predict differences in behavioural responses). The regression coefficient for the difference in

estimated behavioural responses to racial discrimination between the SRD and ARD conditions was not significant (i.e., no significant differences in behavioural responses to racial discrimination between individuals in the SRD and ARD conditions). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated behavioural responses between the ORD and ARD racial discrimination condition was significant,  $b = .606$ ,  $t(130) = 2.370$ ,  $p = .019$ . That is, individuals in the ORD condition reported significantly greater behavioural responses than individuals in the ARD condition by .606 units. Figure 5 provides a graphical depiction of the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of behavioural responses at specified values of cultural mistrust. Table 8 provides a summary of the main findings.

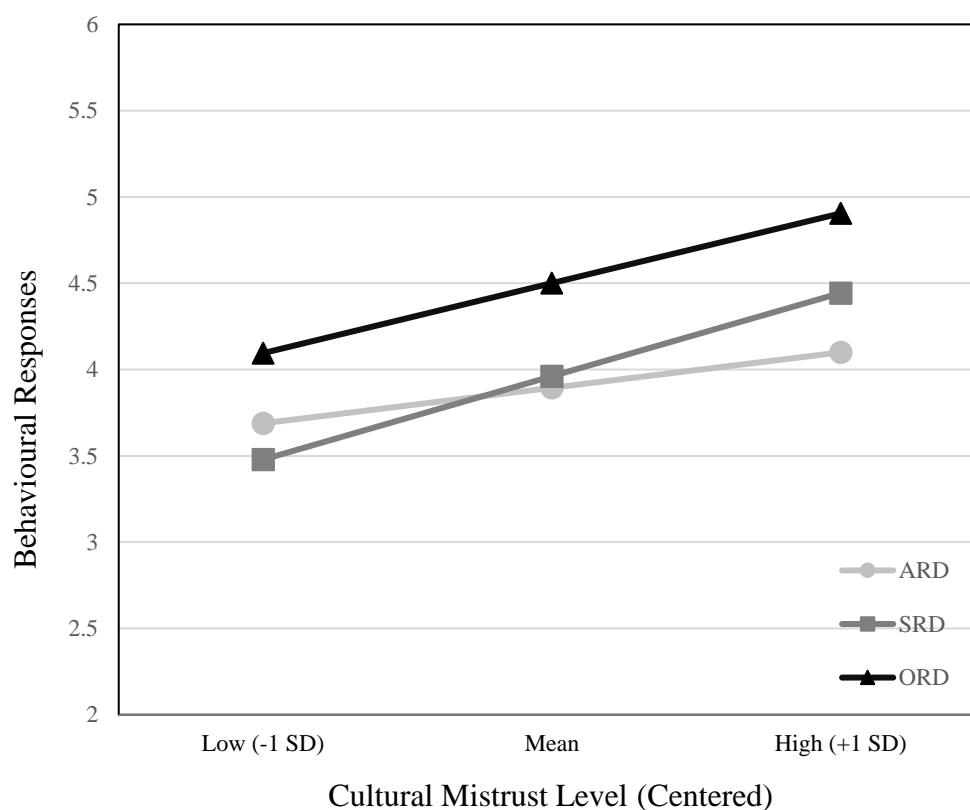


Figure 5. Simple regression lines depicting the relationship between racial discrimination condition and level of behavioural responses at specified values of cultural mistrust.

Table 8

*Summary of Main Findings*

<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Result</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
1. Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and attributions to racial discrimination (RD).	<p><i>Hypothesis not supported:</i></p> <p>a) No significant change in variance explained in attributions to RD by addition of the interaction between cultural mistrust and RD condition.</p> <p><i>Conditional effects:</i></p> <p>b) Cultural mistrust significantly predicted attributions to RD.</p> <p>c) No significant difference in attributions to RD between the SRD and ARD conditions.</p> <p>d) Significant difference in attributions to RD between the ORD and ARD conditions.</p>	<p>a) The relationship between cultural mistrust and attributions to RD did not depend on the RD condition.</p> <p>b) Individuals with more cultural mistrust made more attributions to RD.</p> <p>c) Individuals in the SRD condition did not make more or less attributions to RD than individuals in the ARD condition.</p> <p>d) Individuals in the ORD condition made more attributions to RD than individuals in the ARD condition.</p>
2. Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and state self-esteem.	<p><i>Hypothesis not supported:</i></p> <p>a) No significant change in variance explained in state self-esteem by the addition of the interaction between cultural mistrust and RD condition.</p> <p><i>Conditional effects:</i></p> <p>b) Cultural mistrust did not significantly predict state self-esteem.</p> <p>c) Significant difference in state self-esteem between the SRD and ARD conditions.</p> <p>d) No significant difference in state self-esteem between the ORD and ARD conditions.</p>	<p>a) The relationship between cultural mistrust and state self-esteem did not depend on the RD condition.</p> <p>b) There was no relationship between individuals' levels of cultural mistrust and state self-esteem.</p> <p>c) Individuals in the SRD condition reported lower state self-esteem than individuals in the ARD condition.</p> <p>d) Individuals in the ORD condition did not report higher or lower state self-esteem than individuals in the ARD condition.</p>

<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Result</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
3. Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and other-directed emotional responses.	<p><i>Hypothesis not supported:</i></p> <p>a) No significant change in variance explained in other-directed emotional responses by the addition of the interaction between cultural mistrust and RD condition.</p> <p><i>Conditional effects:</i></p> <p>b) Cultural mistrust significantly predicted other-directed emotional responses.</p> <p>c) No significant difference in other-directed emotional responses between SRD and ARD conditions.</p> <p>d) No significant difference in other-directed emotional responses between the ORD and ARD conditions.</p>	<p>a) The relationship between cultural mistrust and other-directed emotional responses to RD did not depend on the type of RD experienced.</p> <p>b) Individuals with more cultural mistrust reported more other-directed emotional responses.</p> <p>c) Individuals in the SRD condition did not report higher or lower other-directed emotional responses than individuals in the ARD condition.</p> <p>d) Individuals in the ORD condition did not report higher or lower other-directed emotional responses than individuals in the ARD condition.</p>
4. Cultural mistrust will moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition and behavioural responses.	<p><i>Hypothesis not supported:</i></p> <p>a) No significant change in variance explained in behavioural responses by the addition of the interaction between cultural mistrust and RD condition.</p> <p><i>Conditional effects:</i></p> <p>b) Cultural mistrust did not significantly predict behavioural responses.</p> <p>c) No significant difference in behavioural responses between SRD and ARD conditions.</p> <p>d) Significant difference in behavioural responses between the ORD and ARD conditions.</p>	<p>a) The relationship between cultural mistrust and behavioural responses did not depend on the type of RD experienced.</p> <p>b) There was no relationship between individuals' levels of cultural mistrust and behavioural responses.</p> <p>c) Individuals in the SRD condition did not report higher or lower behavioural responses compared to individuals in the ARD condition.</p> <p>d) Individuals in the ORD condition reported higher behavioural responses than individuals in the ARD condition.</p>

*Note:* All hypotheses were tested using Moderated Multiple Regression (MMR).

### **Ancillary Analyses**

The current study differs from previous work in that differences across three experimental conditions, including a control (i.e., ARD) condition, were analyzed. In contrast, several previous experimental studies compare only two conditions: 1) blatant or overt and 2) ambiguous or subtle (e.g., Merrit et al., 2006; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). The lack of a control condition in these studies increases the power for differences to be detected between experimental conditions. Furthermore, subtle racial discrimination is difficult to identify, which may make it difficult for participants to distinguish between situations containing subtle versus no racial discrimination cues.

In the current study, the results of one-way ANOVA indicated that there were no significant differences between the ARD and SRD conditions on the manipulation check variable, ratings of perceived racial discrimination involvement. Similarly, regression analyses indicated no significant differences between the ARD and SRD conditions on the dependent variable, attributions to racial discrimination. Given the lack of significant differences found between the ARD and SRD conditions on these two variables, post-hoc ancillary analyses were conducted to explore whether the results of the current study would differ with only two experimental conditions, as commonly found in previous work. Specifically, MMR analyses were conducted to compare data from the ORD condition with collapsed data from the ARD and SRD conditions.

**Creation of new dummy variable and interaction term.** A single dummy variable was used to compare the mean of data from the ORD condition with the mean of collapsed data from the ARD and SRD conditions. The ORD condition was assigned a value of 1 and the ARD and SRD conditions were assigned a value of 0. An interaction term was created to represent the interaction between this new dummy variable and the

centered moderator. Hierarchical/moderated multiple regression analyses were conducted following the same procedure as in the main analyses, with the interaction term entered after the dummy and moderator variables.

**Attributions to racial discrimination.** See Table 9 to view the sequence of steps in which variables were added to the regression model.

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .321$ ,  $F(4, 131) = 15.496$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .30 indicates that 30% of the variability in attributions to racial discrimination is predicted by past experiences of racial discrimination (covariate), level of cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition (ORD vs. combined ARD-SRD), and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition.

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the new interaction term in the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .001$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 131) = .023$ ,  $p = .880$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction term (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and attributions to racial discrimination does not vary between the ORD and combined ARD and SRD conditions).

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating attributions to racial discrimination from cultural mistrust was significantly different from zero,  $b = .831$ ,  $t(131) = 3.902$ ,  $p < .001$ . That is, a one unit increase in cultural mistrust contributes a .831 unit increase in attributions to racial discrimination. The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated attributions to racial discrimination between the ORD and combined ARD-SRD conditions was significant,  $b = 1.437$ ,  $t(131) = 5.562$ ,  $p <$

.001. That is, individuals in the ORD condition reported more attributions to racial discrimination than individuals in the combined ARD-SRD conditions by 1.456 units.

Table 9

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis with Collapsed ARD and SRD Conditions and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Attributions to Racial Discrimination*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Covariate)</i>						
Total Occurrences of Racial Discrimination	.039	.039*	.070	.079	.089	-.10/.26
<i>Step 2 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>						
Cultural Mistrust (CM)	.321	.282***	.373	.831***	.213	.41/1.25
Dummy Variable <sup>a</sup>			.401	1.437***	.258	.93/1.95
<i>Step 3 (Interaction)</i>						
Dummy Variable x CM	.321	.000	-.014	-.050	.333	-.71/.61

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval; \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; <sup>a</sup>ORD vs. ARD+SRD

**State self-esteem.** See Table 10 to view the sequence of steps in which variables were added to the regression model.

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .226$ ,  $F(4, 131) = 9.577$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .226 indicates that 23% of the variability in state self-esteem is predicted by levels of trait self-esteem (covariate), cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition (ORD vs. combined ARD-SRD), and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition.

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the interaction term in the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 < .001$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 131) < .001$ ,  $p = .993$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction term (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and state self-esteem does not vary between the ORD and combined ARD and SRD conditions).



**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating state self-esteem from cultural mistrust was not significantly different from zero (i.e., differences in cultural mistrust did not predict differences in state self-esteem). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated state self-esteem between the ORD and combined ARD-SRD condition was not significant (i.e., there was no significant difference in state self-esteem between individuals in the ORD condition and individuals in the combined ARD-SRD conditions).

Table 10

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis with Collapsed ARD and SRD Conditions and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting State Self-Esteem*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Covariate)</i>						
Trait Self-Esteem	.216	.216***	-.481	-1.428***	.232	-1.89/- .97
<i>Step 2 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>						
Cultural Mistrust (CM)	.226	.011	.103	.143	.135	-.12/.41
Dummy Variable <sup>a</sup>			.019	.041	.172	-.30/.38
<i>Step 3 (Interaction)</i>						
DV x Cultural Mistrust	.226	.000	-.001	-.002	.222	-.44/.44

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval; \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; <sup>a</sup> ORD vs. ARD+SRD

**Other-directed emotional responses.** See Table 11 to view the sequence of steps in which variables were added to the regression model.

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .134$ ,  $F(3, 132) = 6.807$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .114 indicates that 11% of the variability in other-directed emotional responses is predicted by levels of cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition (ORD vs. combined ARD-SRD), and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the interaction term in the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .003$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 132) = 0.412$ ,  $p$

= .522, indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction term (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and other-directed emotional responses to racial discrimination does not vary between the ORD condition and combined ARD and SRD conditions).

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating other-directed emotional responses from cultural mistrust was significantly different from zero,  $b = .531$ ,  $t(132) = 2.934$ ,  $p = .004$ . That is, a one unit increase in cultural mistrust contributes a .531 unit increase in other-directed emotional responses (i.e., individuals who differ by one measurement unit in cultural mistrust differ by .351 units in other-directed emotional responses). The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated other-directed emotional responses between the ORD condition and the combined SRD and ARD conditions was not significant (i.e., no significant differences in other-directed emotional responses between individuals in the ORD condition versus the combined ARD-SRD conditions).

Table 11

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis with Collapsed ARD and SRD Conditions and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Other-Directed Emotional Responses*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% CI
<i>Step 1 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>	.131	.131***				
Cultural Mistrust (CM)			.299	.531**	.181	.17/.89
Dummy Variable <sup>a</sup>			.123	.351	.231	-.11/.81
<i>Step 2 (Interaction)</i>	.134	.003				
Dummy Variable x CM			.065	.191	.298	-.40/.78

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval; \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; <sup>a</sup> ORD vs. ARD+SRD

**Behavioural responses.** See Table 12 to view the sequence of steps in which variables were added to the regression model.

**Overall model.** R was significantly different from zero after each step. In the final model,  $R^2 = .364$ ,  $F(3, 132) = 6.708$ ,  $p < .001$ . The adjusted  $R^2$  of .113 indicates that 11% of the variability in behavioural responses to racial discrimination is predicted by levels cultural mistrust, racial discrimination condition (ORD vs. combined ARD-SRD), and the interaction between cultural mistrust and racial discrimination condition

**Interaction between CM and RDC.** The stepwise change in  $R^2$  for the addition of the interaction term in the model was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .001$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 132) = .106$ ,  $p = .745$ , indicating that there was no significant change in the percentage of variance explained by the addition of the interaction term (i.e., the relationship between cultural mistrust and behavioural responses to racial discrimination does not vary between the ORD condition and combined ARD and SRD conditions).

**Conditional effects of CM and RDC.** The regression coefficient estimating behavioural responses to racial discrimination from cultural mistrust was significantly different from zero,  $b = .444$ ,  $t(132) = 2.583$ ,  $p < .05$ . That is, a one unit increase in cultural mistrust contributes a .444 unit increase in behavioural responses to racial discrimination. The regression coefficient for the difference in estimated behavioural responses to racial discrimination between the ORD condition and combined ARD-SRD conditions was significant,  $b = .599$ ,  $t(132) = 2.370$ ,  $p = .007$ . That is, individuals in the ORD condition reported significantly greater behavioural responses to racial discrimination than individuals in the combined ARD-SRD condition by .599 units.

Table 12

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis with Collapsed ARD and SRD Conditions and Cultural Mistrust in Predicting Behavioural Responses to Racial Discrimination*

Variable	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	$\beta$	$B$	$SE B$	95% $CI$
<i>Step 1 (Predictor and Moderator)</i>	.363	.132***				
Cultural Mistrust (CM)			.264	.444*	.172	.10/.78
Dummy Variable <sup>a</sup>			.221	.599**	.220	.17/1.03
<i>Step 2 (Interaction)</i>	.364	.001				
Dummy Variable x CM			.033	.092	.283	-.47/.65

Note. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval; \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; <sup>a</sup>ORD vs. ARD+SRD

**Summary of results of ancillary analyses.** The results of MMR analyses using collapsed data from the ARD and SRD conditions were largely consistent with the results of the main analyses. Main and ancillary findings did not support the study hypotheses.

**Absence of interaction effects for all dependent variables.** As found in the main analyses, cultural mistrust did not moderate the relationship between racial discrimination condition (ORD vs. combined ARD-SRD) and 1) attributions to racial discrimination; 2) state self-esteem; 3) other-directed emotional responses and; 4) behavioural responses to racial discrimination. These results provide more confidence that the lack of moderating effects was not due to the addition of a control condition.

**Conditional effects.** Consistent with the results of the main analyses, cultural mistrust significantly predicted attributions to racial discrimination and other-directed emotional responses. Individuals in the overt condition reported significantly higher attributions to racial discrimination and behavioural responses than individuals in the combined ARD-SRD conditions. There were no differences in state self-esteem between the ORD and combined ARD-SRD conditions. See Table 13 for a summary of conditional effects found in the main and ancillary analyses for racial discrimination condition.

In contrast to results of the main analyses, MMR using collapsed data from the ARD and SRD conditions found that cultural mistrust significantly predicted behavioural responses to racial discrimination.

Table 13

*Summary of Conditional Effects Found in Main and Ancillary Analyses for RDC*

Dependent Variable	Main Analyses	Ancillary Analyses
Attributions to racial discrimination	ARD = SRD ORD > SRD	ORD > ARD-SRD
State self-esteem	SRD > ARD ARD = ORD	ORD = ARD-SRD
Other-directed emotional responses	ARD = SRD ARD = ORD	ORD = ARD-SRD
Behavioural responses	ARD = SRD ORD > ARD	ORD > ARD-SRD

Note: = no significant differences; > significantly greater; ARD = Absent Racial Discrimination; SRD = Subtle Racial Discrimination; ORD = Overt Racial Discrimination

## CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

### Significance of the Current Study

This is the first known experimental examination of the potential moderating effects of cultural mistrust on the relationship between subtle versus overt racial discrimination cues and attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses among Black Canadians. The majority of research on cultural mistrust and racial discrimination has focused on the experiences of Blacks living in the U.S. The current study provides important information about cultural mistrust and experiences of racial discrimination among Black Canadians.

### Main Findings

**Nature and correlates of cultural mistrust.** Contrary to the study hypotheses, cultural mistrust did not moderate the impact of racial discrimination cues on attributions, state self-esteem, other-directed emotional responses, or behavioural responses. For participants in the present study, cultural mistrust did not protect against the negative impacts of subtle and overt racial discrimination. These findings are in contrast to those reported in previous research on related constructs, including minority group identity and racial identity, both of which have been found to protect psychological health among Black Americans (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Davis et al., 2006). Among other possible explanations, it may be that focusing on thoughts and feelings about the self as a member of a racial group versus perceiving others as threats to one's racial group (i.e., ingroup versus outgroup focus) may underlie differences in the protective role of minority group or racial identity versus cultural mistrust.

The results of the current study are consistent with Gilbert's (1998) report that cultural mistrust was associated with increased perceptions of prejudice in ambiguous situations among Black Americans. However, since Gilbert did not include overt and absent prejudice conditions in her study, it is not clear whether her findings would generalize to situations where prejudice cues were more or less salient. The present findings suggest that cultural mistrust is associated with increased perceptions of racial discrimination, regardless of whether racial discrimination is ambiguously present, unambiguously present, or absent. Consequently, cultural mistrust may not carry functional utility in terms of helping Black Canadians more accurately identify negative outcomes that result from racial discrimination. In this regard, cultural mistrust appears to differ from a related construct, chronic suspicion of White motives (i.e., SOMI), which has been reported to help racial minorities accurately detect disingenuousness among Whites (Major et al., 2013; Kuntsman et al., 2016), as well as Whites' actual levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice (LaCosse, 2015). Further research is required to identify how these two constructs differ in ways that contribute to observed differences in their functional utility.

Overall, the results provide more information about the nature and correlates of cultural mistrust among Black Canadians. Cultural mistrust appears to reflect a generalized or stable attitude of mistrust toward Whites, rather than a situation-specific mistrust toward Whites among Black Canadians. This conclusion is consistent with the most widely accepted conceptualization and operationalization of cultural mistrust as mistrust of Whites that manifests across multiple domains of life (i.e., interpersonal relations, education/training, business/work, politics/law; Terrell & Terrell, 1981), as well

as with psychometric evidence that cultural mistrust represents a single global factor (Whaley, 2002). Furthermore, consistent with the conceptualization of cultural mistrust as an attitude, among participants in the current study, cultural mistrust was associated with a cognitive component (i.e., increased perceptions of racial discrimination) as well as an affective component (i.e., greater anger toward perceived perpetrators) following imagined job rejection. In this regard, cultural mistrust appears to share conceptual similarities with stigma consciousness, which has also been found to be stable across subtle and overt (gender) discrimination situations, and has been associated with increased discrimination attributions and other-directed anger (Wang et al., 2012).

It is important to note that the lack of moderating effects found for cultural mistrust may be specific to the current study. It is possible that cultural mistrust could serve a protective role in other groups. Cultural mistrust has been long theorized to have protective benefits for Black Americans and related constructs have been found to carry functional utility for racial minority groups in the U.S. Thus, it may be fruitful to examine if, and how, the results of the current study apply to Blacks and other racial minority groups living in the U.S. Of course, the lack of observed moderating effects for cultural mistrust in the current study may also be due to the study design and methodology (see Limitations, below).

### **Additional Findings**

**Differential impacts of subtle and overt racial discrimination.** Some differential impacts of subtle and overt cues of racial discrimination on imagined responses to racial discrimination were observed among Black participants in the current study.



*Attributions to racial discrimination and behavioural coping responses.* As expected, participants in the overt racial discrimination condition reported more attributions and increased behavioural coping responses compared to participants in the subtle and no racial discrimination conditions. However, there were no between-group differences in reported attributions or behavioural responses when comparing responses of participants in the subtle versus no racial discrimination conditions. These findings suggest that individuals in the subtle racial discrimination condition either did not perceive the racial discrimination cues or were unwilling to make attributions to racial discrimination due to uncertainty about the presence of discrimination. Participants may not have perceived racial discrimination in the subtle racial discrimination condition due to the deliberate subtlety of the manipulation.

Similarly, in real-world contexts, individuals may frequently miss occurrences of subtle racial discrimination or be uncertain about the presence of discrimination in a given situation. Individuals may also be unwilling to publicly or privately acknowledge perceptions of racial discrimination due to the potential emotional and social costs of making these experiences known to others (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Lewis et al., 2015). Potential emotional and social costs of acknowledging racial discrimination include re-experiencing negative emotions when recalling generally stressful events (Lewis et al., 2015), having one's perceptions invalidated or dismissed by others (Sue & Sue, 2008), or experiencing a diminished sense of belonging to a larger social network or society (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Noh et al., 2007). Further, reporting racial discrimination may result in negative evaluations by interaction partners in positions of authority (Kaiser & Major, 2006). Such negative evaluations may be especially detrimental in employment

contexts, where one is reliant on positive evaluations to secure desired outcomes (e.g., interview call-back, job offer, positive performance evaluation, etc.). Furthermore, unwillingness to acknowledge perceptions of racial discrimination is likely to be heightened when an individual experiences uncertainty about whether it occurred.

*State self-esteem.* In the current study, individuals in the subtle racial discrimination condition reported lower state self-esteem following imagined job rejection, as compared to participants in the overt and absent discrimination conditions. These findings suggest that subtle racial discrimination had a unique negative impact on the state self-esteem of the Black Canadian participants, and are congruent with previous experimental research demonstrating that subtle, but not overt bias, impairs cognitive (Murphy et al., 2013; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Richeson & Shelton, 2007) and physiological functioning (Merritt et al., 2006) among Black Americans. Thus, current results support and expand research in this area by demonstrating that subtle, but not overt racial discrimination may also be associated with impairments in emotional functioning.

This interpretation is consistent with attributional ambiguity theory, which asserts that ambiguous forms of prejudice and discrimination can have more detrimental psychological impacts on targets than overt forms due to difficulty in clearly attributing such experiences to their cause (e.g., racial discrimination; Crocker & Major, 1989; Major et al., 2002; Major et al., 2003; Noh et al., 2007). The inclusion of the “absent” control condition in the current study clarifies that the decrease in state self-esteem among participants in the subtle condition is likely not due to an inability to attribute negative outcomes to external (i.e., racial discrimination) versus internal (i.e., personal

failure) causes. That is, if participants experienced any ego protection from attributing imagined job rejection to racial discrimination, then participants in both the absent and subtle racial discrimination conditions should have reported lowered state self-esteem relative to the overt condition.

It is possible that the unique impact of subtle or ambiguous racial discrimination on state self-esteem may be due in part to greater uncertainty about appropriate coping responses and lowered perceptions of controllability in a stressful situation. In contrast, choice of coping responses and perceived controllability may be clearer when racial discrimination is more obviously present (i.e., overt) or absent. Previous research supports this contention. For example, passive or avoidant coping responses to racism among Black Americans have been found to relate to more negative physical and mental health outcomes, as compared to more active or problem-focused coping (e.g., talk to others or taking action; Krieger, 1990; West, Donovan, & Roemer, 2010). It is also possible that the decreased state self-esteem reported by current participants in the subtle racial discrimination condition was influenced by their cognitive appraisals or interpretations of an ambiguous situation (e.g., beliefs about situations as confusing, intimidating, etc.). Although not measured in the current study, Noh and colleagues (2007) found that cognitive appraisals of situations did mediate the relationship between subtle racial discrimination and depressive symptoms.

State self-esteem differences disappeared when data from the subtle and no racial discrimination conditions were collapsed and then compared with the overt condition in the ancillary analyses. This finding highlights the importance of including both a subtle and no racial discrimination condition in experimental research to capture the full range

of potential effects on emotional functioning. Indeed, the results of the ancillary analyses indicate that the lack of a control condition in research may conceal potentially unique negative effects that subtle racial discrimination may have on emotional functioning. However, replications of the current findings are necessary to confirm that the decreased state self-esteem found among participants in the subtle racial condition was not a statistical artifact.

### **Clinical Implications of the Current Study**

Skilled mental health clinicians strive to develop strong therapeutic alliances and effect treatment outcomes that improve the wellbeing of the clients with whom they work. When working with racially diverse clients, clinicians can strengthen the therapeutic relationship through open dialogues about race and race-related topics (Cardemil & Battle, 2003). Further, mental health services are likely to produce more effective treatment outcomes when interventions are adapted to match clients' specific cultural contexts (Griner & Smith, 2006) and when clients feel accurately perceived and understood (Holoien, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015). Clinicians are better positioned to provide such culturally-competent services when they are knowledgeable about the influence of culture and race-related stressors on the wellbeing of the clients with whom they work, including cultural mistrust and perceived racial discrimination.

**Cultural mistrust among Black Canadians.** Clinicians must be cautious when interpreting the results of the current study, particularly since cultural mistrust has been historically misunderstood to reflect pathology (Whaley, 2001b). While cultural mistrust was not found to increase recognition of racial discrimination or provide a buffer against the negative effects of racial discrimination for Black Canadians in the current study, it

was found to be associated with cognitive and emotional responses that are consistent with experiences of chronic discrimination (i.e., increased attributions to racial discrimination and anger toward perceived perpetrators; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Whaley, 2001b).

Recognizing that cultural mistrust may manifest in increased attributions to racial discrimination attributions and expressions of anger toward perceived perpetrators is especially important given research demonstrating that Whites experience evaluative concerns about appearing non-prejudiced that may interfere with accurate perceptions of the thoughts and feelings of Black interactional partners (Holoien et al., 2015). Concerns about appearing non-prejudiced are especially likely to be heightened for Whites who have a high desire to affiliate (Holoien et al., 2015), as would be the case for White clinicians seeking to develop therapeutic rapport with clients. Discomfort or anxiety about appearing non-prejudiced when discussing race-related topics may detract from client-centered treatment and contribute to clinician defensiveness, including responses that harm the client. This could include invalidation of client experiences of racial discrimination or misinterpretation of cultural mistrust and related responses (i.e., increased anger and perceptions of racial discrimination) as unwarranted, over-reactive, or symptomatic of pathology. In fact, such harmful clinician responses may partly explain why cultural mistrust among Black Americans is associated with more negative attitudes and behaviors toward seeking mental health services (e.g., Whaley, 2001b), more negative beliefs about White clinicians (Watkins & Terrell, 1988; Watkins et al., 1989; Whaley, 2001a), decreased self-disclosure with White clinicians (Thompson et al., 1994),

higher concealment of personal information from others (Joseph, 2010), and premature or early termination from therapy (Terrell & Terrell, 1984).

Clinicians with greater knowledge about how cultural mistrust may influence responses toward White interaction partners are likely to be more effective in helping Black clients explore their perceptions of racial discrimination and to develop adaptive coping responses. For example, clinicians may be better positioned to help clients with high levels of cultural mistrust to navigate race-related stressors at work or other social contexts by validating and providing information about cultural mistrust, normalizing associated cognitive and emotional responses, while also identifying individualized coping responses that increase client wellbeing and progress toward identified goals.

**Impact of subtle racial discrimination on emotional functioning.** The negative cognitive and emotional impacts of subtle racial discrimination have potentially serious real-world consequences for the everyday lives of racial minorities. For example, they may influence the likelihood of success in achieving one's life goals, including career or job-related goals. Subtle racial discrimination may erode the cognitive and emotional resources that are necessary for the individual to respond in optimal ways to demands inherent in the job hiring process, such as responding to interview questions appropriately and confidently. In addition, unwillingness to acknowledge racial discrimination due to uncertainty or other perceived costs places the targets of racial discrimination at a disadvantage in terms of obtaining equitable outcomes.

Clinicians may also consider that decreased state self-esteem or mood following repeated occurrences of subtle racial discrimination may have cumulative, long-term negative impacts on the mental health and wellbeing of its targets. This idea is supported

by research by Noh and colleagues (2007), who reported that subtle racial discrimination was associated with depressive symptoms. Clinicians who recognize the unique negative impacts that subtle racial discrimination may have on mental health and wellbeing are better positioned to intervene in ways that demonstrate their understanding and support for clients. Such interventions might include providing education and information about the nature and potential impacts of subtle racial discrimination and collaboratively working with clients to identify and develop individualized and context-specific coping strategies following race-related stressors.

### **Limitations of the Current Study**

Limitations of the current study should be considered when evaluating the reported findings. The experimental research design and use of vignettes offered high levels of experimental control, including minimization of extraneous variables that might impact the manipulation of subtle, overt, and absent racial discrimination. However, as with other lab-based experimental research, increased internal validity may limit ecological validity. The use of job interview vignettes cannot fully represent the everyday situations that Black Canadians must negotiate or the factors that are present in real-world contexts, such as nonverbal behaviours that may serve as additional evidence for racial discrimination. Furthermore, the use of vignettes only allows for the analysis of reported imagined responses, not actual responses.

The lack of moderating effects of cultural mistrust in the current study may reflect the nature of real-world conditions, or may also relate to the study design, sample, measurement, and analytic procedures used. Moderated multiple regression analyses are notable for their relatively low statistical power, making the probability of detecting

effects in smaller samples relatively low (Aguinis & Gottfredson, 2010). Although the low statistical power of MMR was considered in the design, measurement, and analysis stage (i.e., adequate sample size, approximately equal subgroup proportions, use of reliable measurement instruments when available, mean-centering predictors, not artificially dichotomizing predictor variables, etc.), future researchers should consider minimizing measurement scale coarseness for underlying continuous constructs (i.e., use of an 11- or 9-point versus 7-point Likert rating scale) and increasing the strength of the experimental manipulations. In regard to the latter, moderating effects are more easily detected when the experimental conditions under analyses are clearly distinct from one another. This presents obvious challenges when studying subtle forms of racial discrimination, since by definition, subtle racial discrimination should be hard to detect.

The lack of moderating effects may also be a function of the predominantly student sample. Students are more likely to be employed in temporary and part-time positions, rather than the permanent and full-time positions that were described in the experimental vignettes. This might have reduced the imagined impact that negative work incidents, such as racial discrimination, could have on one's emotional and behavioural responses. For example, students may be more likely to dismiss potential occurrences of racial discrimination at work when they are less invested in the position or when the position is perceived as short-term. This would be consistent with research by Shelton & Stewart (2004), which found that perceptions of an interview as high- or low-stakes significantly affected one's actual responses to discrimination.

During participant recruitment, the study was described as an examination of challenging employment experiences among Black Canadians. Providing a more general



rationale for the study was intended to interest participants in the research while also attempting to conceal the specific study hypotheses. However, it is difficult to imagine factors other than racism that might present challenging employment experiences specifically for Black Canadians. Thus, it is likely that participants were able to surmise that the study was related to racial discrimination, which may have influenced their responses.

### **Directions for Future Research**

Directions for future research include addressing the limitations of the current study and further clarifying the nature and role of cultural mistrust.

**Improvements to the current study.** The experimental vignettes were pre-tested with a small pilot sample. A follow-up to the current study might begin with focus group discussions in which participants are asked to discuss and generate realistic scenarios based on personal experiences, and to evaluate each scenario based on how strongly they believe racial discrimination is involved. Scenarios selected from the focus group discussion could then be adapted for experimental vignettes and pilot tested using a separate sample and a between-groups design. Results of the pilot test could be used to determine whether the subtle racial discrimination scenario is powerful enough to be perceived as distinct from both the absent scenario and the overt scenario. This combination of focus group and pilot testing with a larger sample size would increase confidence in the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation.

In addition, whereas the current study examined potential cognitive, emotional, and behavioural responses to racial discrimination, the addition of physiological measures (e.g., skin conductance, blood pressure, fMRI) would enhance our knowledge

of how subtle racial discrimination may exert negative impacts, even if not consciously experienced or reported.

**Future research on cultural mistrust and racial discrimination.** Subsequent research on cultural mistrust should include experimental designs that more closely model real-world conditions, including in-person job interviews. Such research could enhance our understanding of how cultural mistrust impacts responses to subtle indicators of discrimination that may be reflected in interpersonal behaviours (i.e., duration of interaction, perceived interest of employer, avoidance of eye contact, hostility, or nervousness (Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Jones et al., 2016). Retrospective studies based on actual occurrences of racial discrimination could also help to clarify the relationship between cultural mistrust, racial discrimination, and health outcomes.

Relationships between cultural mistrust and responses to racial discrimination are likely to vary depending on the unique historical and social experiences relevant to different racial minority groups. In future research, it may be useful to compare differences in the nature and strength of the role of cultural mistrust among racial minority groups residing in different geographic and social contexts. Furthermore, given that the majority of theoretical and empirical research on cultural mistrust has developed in the U.S. and has focused on the experiences of Black Americans, it would be beneficial to conduct comparative research using U.S. and Canadian samples. Such research may clarify whether the theorized protective role of cultural mistrust is more applicable to Black Americans due to historical and social factors unique to the U.S.

Future research would benefit from further intellectual and methodological integration and collaboration between subfields of psychology (e.g., clinical and social-

personality) and other disciplines to better understand the impact of cultural mistrust and racial discrimination on the mental health of racial minorities (Okazaki, 2009). Given the presence of several constructs conceptually related to cultural mistrust in the social-personality literature (e.g., stigma consciousness, stereotype threat, stereotype vulnerability, suspicion of White motives, etc.), it would be beneficial to further explicate the similarities and differences between these various constructs. This may involve a formal analysis of items and underlying factors that compose the various measures that operationalize each construct and identifying the nature and extent of item and factor overlap or redundancies. Such research would facilitate advancements in our knowledge and understanding of the impact of race and race-related factors on the mental health of racial minorities by focusing research efforts and resources on the key constructs recognized across diverse disciplines.

Finally, future work could clarify possible mechanism through which subtle racial discrimination negatively impacts emotional functioning among Black Canadians and other racial minority groups. For example, it would be helpful to explore whether cognitive appraisals of racial discrimination mediate the relationship between racial discrimination and emotional functioning (e.g., state self-esteem).

### **Study Conclusions**

There is little empirical research on potential moderators and impacts of contemporary forms of racial discrimination among racial minority groups in Canada. Furthermore, few studies have examined experiences of cultural mistrust among Blacks living in Canada. The current study provides preliminary findings about the nature and role of cultural mistrust among Black Canadians. It is consistent with the idea that

cultural mistrust reflects a more stable and general versus situation-specific attitude of mistrust toward Whites. During interpersonal situations, this mistrust may manifest as an increased likelihood of attributing negative outcomes to racial discrimination and increased anger toward possible perpetrators of racial discrimination—responses that would be expected from members of groups that have been historically and chronically discriminated against. However, as the current findings suggest, cultural mistrust may not necessarily increase the ability to accurately identify occurrences of racial discrimination or provide a buffer against its negative effects.

The results of this study also suggest that subtle and overt racial discrimination may impact individual functioning in particular ways. Specifically, subtle racial discrimination may have unique negative impacts on state self-esteem among Black Canadians that may result in diminished emotional functioning during interpersonal interactions, including those that take place in employment contexts. Such impaired emotional functioning may affect an individual's ability to successfully negotiate situations involving hiring and salary decisions, and possibly contribute to observed Black-White disparities in Canadian labour market outcomes. Knowledge about the ways in which cultural mistrust and racial discrimination impact the attributional, emotional, and behavioural responses of Black Canadians could be used to develop greater awareness and sensitivity in workplace and other interpersonal settings, and enhance the ability of clinicians to provide more effective and culturally-sensitive mental health services to an important and underserved segment of the Canadian population. Several avenues for continued research on cultural mistrust exist, including exploring how the nature and role of cultural mistrust may vary depending on unique geographical,

historical, and social contexts, and examining similarities and differences between cultural mistrust and closely related constructs.

### **Final Thoughts**

Racial discrimination has been shown to have deleterious impacts on physical and psychological health. Subtle racial discrimination in particular has been shown to negatively impact cognitive, physiological, and emotional functioning among members of racial minority groups. Given the insidious ways in which contemporary forms of racial discrimination may manifest, it is more important than ever to increase our knowledge and understanding of various forms of racial discrimination, and the individual and situational factors that may heighten or diminish their effects.

## EPILOGUE

As a clinician, I believe I have personally benefitted as a result of this research. I've increased my confidence and comfort in discussing race and race-related topics with the culturally diverse clients with whom I work, and in sharing the knowledge and skills I've developed throughout the course of my research and clinical training.

A particularly meaningful clinical encounter occurred as I was writing the final draft of my dissertation while working as a therapist at a residential treatment center for males with traumatic brain injury and comorbid mental health problems. The vast majority of clients who admit to the facility are White males, and the majority of staff are also White males or females. Clients live under the same roof, eat and socialize together, as well as attend daily group therapy together. At the time, I was assigned to work with a Black male client with severe depression and anxiety. He was only non-White client being treated at the facility at the time. During the course of therapy, he shared with me his past experiences of subtle racism, as well as perceptions of subtle racism occurring inside the facility itself among both staff and clients.

Having studied cultural mistrust for a period of time, I felt especially grateful and honored that he trusted me, an Asian female, to share and explore his perceptions of racism. I also felt fortunate to be able to share and discuss what I have learned over the course of my dissertation research, and to be confident in encouraging ongoing dialogue about his experiences. However, I believe if I had worked with this client during an earlier period in my training, I may have inadvertently minimized and invalidated the experiences he shared. This may have occurred with good intentions, in an attempt to increase his comfort and perceptions of belongingness in the facility, or perhaps to satisfy

my own need to see good or feel comfort around the other clients and colleagues with whom I worked.

I feel grateful to have received training as a researcher and clinician in a field that I am passionate about. I hope to continuously grow as a researcher and clinician, to explore how my own worldview, biases, and needs may influence my clinical decisions, and to be thoughtful about how such decisions may impact the lives of my clients in important ways.

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## APPENDIX A

### Consent Form for Pre-Test Study



#### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Responses to Challenging Employment Experiences among Black Canadians

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Miera Moon, MA, supervised by Dr. Cheryl Thomas from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The results of this study will contribute to the completion of a doctoral dissertation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon, at [moonm@uwindsor.ca](mailto:moonm@uwindsor.ca) or Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca), 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252).

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the present study is to examine Black Canadians' responses to three different types of challenging employment experiences.

#### PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

- Volunteer no more than 60 minutes of your time to complete the study.
- Carefully read and imagine yourself in three different employment scenarios and provide written responses to questions about your responses to the imagined scenario.
- Discuss your thoughts about the three employment scenarios with the researcher.

#### POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The present study requires you to imagine being in a potentially upsetting situation and to answer questions about your experiences, which may be personal in nature and/or could cause psychological or emotional discomfort. If you do experience discomfort, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon, to discuss your concerns. You may also contact Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca); 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252) for further questions or consultation. If you have any concerns you wish to discuss with an individual not connected with this study, please feel free to contact the Student Counselling Centre at 519-253-3000 Ext. 4616.

## POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The benefit of participating in this research is the opportunity to learn about and contribute to psychological research. Your involvement in this research project will contribute to increasing scientific knowledge about Black Canadians' responses to challenging employment experiences. In addition, you may find that you learn more about yourself by participating in this research, or you may find this research study personally interesting.

## COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

If you are participating in the present study for the purpose of receiving course credit in a psychology course at the University of Windsor, you are eligible to receive 1 bonus point for approximately 60 minutes of participation, provided that you are registered in the psychology participant pool and enrolled in one or more eligible courses.

Compensation (i.e., bonus credits or entry into the draw) will only be awarded if a meaningful portion of the study is completed (i.e., approximately 80-90% of questions answered).

## CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

Each individual who participates in this study will be assigned an ID number representing a record of their participation that is not linked to their identity. Your survey responses will be stored in a non-identifiable data file with other participants' responses, separate from your personal information. Survey responses and compensation data will be indirectly linked to each other via a research identification number, for the purpose of ensuring that a meaningful portion of the survey is completed prior to compensation. Responses from individual participants will not be identified. That is, your individual answers will not be shared or presented in any way that would identify you as the source. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. The data will be destroyed five years after the publication of work associated with this research.

## PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty. If you choose to withdraw from this study you may also choose to withdraw your data from the study. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study; however, compensation will only be provided if approximately 80-90% of questions are answered. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise that warrant doing so.

## FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The results of this study will be available at <http://www.uwindsor.ca/reb> under Study Results (Participants/Visitors) by December 2015.

### SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations. If published, only group data will be reported and no individual will be identified in any publication of the results.

### RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: [ethics@uwindsor.ca](mailto:ethics@uwindsor.ca)

### SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study, 'Responses to Challenging Employment Experiences among Black Canadians' as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I keep a copy of this consent form for my own reference.

### SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

### SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

In my judgement, the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent to participate in this research study. These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## APPENDIX B

### Post-Study Information Form for Pre-Test Study



#### Black Canadians' Responses to Subtle, Overt, and Absent Racial Discrimination in an Employment Situation

Thank you very much for participating in this research study. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

#### STUDY PURPOSE

At the beginning of this session, you were told that we were looking at Black Canadians' responses to challenging employment situations. Specifically, we are examining Blacks Canadians' perceptions and emotional and behavioural responses to subtle (ambiguous), overt (unambiguous), and absent (no) racial discrimination at an early and critical stage of the employment process—the job interview.

You read three vignettes in which you were asked to imagine being interviewed and turned down for a job by a White employer. You were then asked to answer questions in regard to your perceptions of discrimination and your emotional and behavioural responses to the situation. The three vignettes were constructed to contain: 1) subtle racial discrimination; 2) overt racial discrimination; and 3) absent (no) racial discrimination. In the subtle racial discrimination group, the interview questions contained indirect references to Black racial stereotypes that were intended to reflect the interviewer's racial bias in a subtle or ambiguous manner. In the overt racial discrimination group, the interview questions contained an additional comment and question that were intended to reflect the interviewer's racial bias in an obvious or unambiguous manner. There were no cues to the racial discrimination in the absent (no) racial discrimination group.

The purpose of today's session was to examine determine whether you perceive the three different vignettes as reflecting subtle, overt, and absent racial discrimination, the way we intended, and to determine your likely emotional and behavioural responses to each situation. Your responses that you provide today may be used to modify the vignettes and questionnaires for a larger-scale study that will examine individual factors that impact Black Canadian's perceptions of, and responses to, subtle and overt racial discrimination in an employment situation. In other words, the purpose of today's session was to pre-test the research materials that we plan to use for our main study.

Please do not discuss this study with anyone who might participate in the main study in the future as this could affect the results of the study.



## CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or comments regarding this study, or are interested in obtaining more information, including a copy of the final report of this study, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon ([moonm@uwindsor.ca](mailto:moonm@uwindsor.ca)) or faculty supervisor Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca), 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252).

Please keep a copy of this form for your reference.

Once again, thank you very much for your time and willingness to participate in this study!

## APPENDIX C

### Consent Form for Main (Online) Study

#### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Factors Impacting Responses to Challenging Employment Experiences among Black Canadians

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Miera Moon, MA, supervised by Dr. Cheryl Thomas from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The results of this study will contribute to the completion of a doctoral dissertation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon, at [moonm@uwindsor.ca](mailto:moonm@uwindsor.ca) or Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca), 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252).

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the present study is to examine individual and situational factors that may impact Black Canadians' responses to challenging employment experiences. For scientific reasons, this consent form does not include information about the specific study hypotheses being tested. You will be given information about the study rationale and hypotheses following your participation in the study.

#### PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

- Volunteer no more than 60 minutes of your time to complete the online study package.
- Carefully read and imagine yourself in the employment scenario described to you.
- Carefully read and answer the questions presented to you. You will be asked to answer questions about your responses to the imagined scenario. You will also be asked to answer questions about your attitudes and beliefs, and demographic background.

#### POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The present study requires you to imagine being in a potentially upsetting situation and to answer questions about your experiences, which may be personal in nature and/or could cause psychological or emotional discomfort. If you do experience discomfort, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon, to discuss your concerns. You may also contact Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca); 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252) for further questions or consultation. If you have any concerns you wish to discuss with an individual not connected with this study, please feel free to contact the Student Counselling Centre at 519-253-3000 Ext. 4616.

#### POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The benefit of participating in this research is the opportunity to learn about and contribute to psychological research. Your involvement in this research project will contribute to increasing scientific knowledge about individual and situational factors that impact Black Canadians' responses to challenging employment experiences. In addition, you may find that you learn more about yourself by participating in this research, or you may find this research study personally

interesting.

#### COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

If you are participating in the present study for the purpose of receiving course credit in a psychology course at the University of Windsor, you are eligible to receive 1 bonus point for approximately 60 minutes of participation, provided that you are registered in the psychology participant pool and enrolled in one or more eligible courses.

If you are not participating in the present study for the purpose of receiving course credit, you will have the option of being entered into a draw to win one of ten \$50 gift cards to your choice of Amazon, Chapters Indigo, or Cineplex Odeon Cinemas. You will be asked to provide an e-mail address to receive a gift card if you are one of the winners of the draw.

Compensation (i.e., bonus credits or entry into the draw) will only be awarded if a meaningful portion of the study is completed (i.e., approximately 80-90% of questions answered).

#### CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

Each individual who participates in this study will be assigned an ID number representing a record of their participation that is not linked to their identity. Your survey responses will be stored in a non-identifiable data file with other participants' responses, separate from your personal information. Survey responses and compensation data will be indirectly linked to each other via a research identification number, for the purpose of ensuring that a meaningful portion of the survey is completed prior to compensation. Responses from individual participants will not be identified. That is, your individual answers will not be shared or presented in any way that would identify you as the source. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. The data will be destroyed five years after the publication of work associated with this research.

The information you submit will be stored temporarily on FluidSurveys.com server located in Canada. FluidSurveys.com servers are protected with generally available security technologies, including firewalls and data encryption. All electronic data files will be stored in a password-protected and secured database that can only be accessed by a researcher.

#### PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, You may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty. If you choose to withdraw from this study you may also choose to withdraw your data from the study. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study; however, compensation will only be provided if approximately 80-90% of questions are answered. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise that warrant doing so.

#### FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The results of this study will be available at <http://www.uwindsor.ca/reb> under Study Results (Participants/Visitors) by December 2015.

#### SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations. If published, only group data will be reported and no individual will be identified in any publication of the results.

#### RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: [ethics@uwindsor.ca](mailto:ethics@uwindsor.ca)

#### SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study, 'Factors Impacting Responses to Challenging Employment Experiences Among Black Canadians' as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I will print or save a copy of this consent form for my own reference.

I have read the letter of information and consent, and I agree to participate in this study. By selecting 'Yes' below, I am providing my informed consent.

Yes

No

Please click 'Next' to proceed to the study.

## APPENDIX D

### Experimental Vignettes

#### Absent Racial Discrimination (ARD) Condition

*Imagine that you have just applied for a job that you are very qualified for and find highly desirable. The job pays a generous starting salary and has many opportunities for advancement in your field of interest. As part of the job selection process, you are invited to the head office of the company to complete a face-to-face interview with the Human Resources manager, who is responsible for making final hiring decisions.*

*On the day of your interview, an administrative assistant guides you to the interview room where you are introduced to the HR manager, who is the same gender as you, White, middle-aged, average height, and dressed in professional attire. During the job interview, the HR manager asks you the following questions. For each question, provide a brief written response to the HR manager.*

- (1) What are your strengths?*
- (2) What are your weaknesses?*
- (3) Where do you see yourself five years from now?*
- (4) What interests you about this position?*
- (5) Tell me about your educational background.*
- (6) Tell me about a time when you made a mistake.*
- (7) Tell me about a time when you disagreed with someone at work.*
- (8) Tell me about your work ethic.*

*A few days after you complete the interview, the HR manager contacts you to inform you: "I have completed evaluating all job applicants. I regret to inform you that you have not been selected for the position. I've selected another applicant who is a better fit for the position"*

Subtle Racial Discrimination (SRD) Condition

*Imagine that you have just applied for a job that you are very qualified for and find highly desirable. The job pays a generous starting salary and has many opportunities for advancement in your field of interest. As part of the job selection process, you are invited to the head office of the company to complete a face-to-face interview with the Human Resources manager, who is responsible for making final hiring decisions.*

*On the day of your interview, an administrative assistant guides you to the interview room where you are introduced to the HR manager, who is the same gender as you, White, middle-aged, average height, and dressed in professional attire. During the job interview, the HR manager asks you the following questions. For each question, provide a brief written response to the HR manager.*

- (1) What are your strengths?*
- (2) What are your weaknesses?*
- (3) Where do you see yourself five years from now?*
- (4) What interests you about this position?*
- (5) Did you struggle to get good grades when in school?*
- (6) Do you have a criminal record?*
- (7) Have you ever become violent with someone at work?*
- (8) Has a supervisor ever complained about your work ethic?*

*A few days after you complete the interview, the HR manager contacts you to inform you: "I have completed evaluating all job applicants. I regret to inform you that you have not been selected for the position. I've selected another applicant who is a better fit for the position"*

Overt Racial Discrimination (ORD) Condition

*Imagine that you have just applied for a job that you are very qualified for and find highly desirable. The job pays a generous starting salary and has many opportunities for advancement in your field of interest. The job pays a high starting salary and has many opportunities for advancement in your field of interest. As part of the job selection process, you are invited to the head office of the company to complete a face-to-face interview with the Human Resources manager, who is responsible for making final hiring decisions.*

*On the day of your interview, an administrative assistant guides you to the interview room where you are introduced to the HR manager, who is the same gender as you, White, middle-aged, average height, and dressed in professional attire. During the job interview, the HR manager asks you the following questions. For each question, provide a brief written response to the HR manager.*

- (1) What are your strengths?*
- (2) What are your weaknesses?*
- (3) Where do you see yourself five years from now?*
- (4) What interests you about this position?*
- (5) Did you struggle to get good grades when in school?*
- (6) Do you have a criminal record?*
- (7) Have you ever become violent with someone at work?*
- (8) Has a supervisor ever complained about your work ethic?*
- (9) I have a few Black employees in my department who often come in to work late and don't work as hard as my other employees. Will this be an issue if I hire you?*

*A few days after you complete the interview, the HR manager contacts you to inform you: "I have completed evaluating all job applicants. I regret to inform you that you have not been selected for the position. I've selected another applicant who is a better fit for the position"*

## APPENDIX E

### Measures

#### Manipulation Check

In regard to the situation described in the vignette...

1. Briefly explain why you believe you did not get the job.

2. How likely do you think the situation involved racial discrimination?

<i>Very Unlikely</i>	<i>Unlikely</i>	<i>Somewhat Unlikely</i>	<i>Neither Likely Nor Unlikely</i>	<i>Somewhat Likely</i>	<i>Likely</i>	<i>Very Likely</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7



## APPENDIX F

### Attributions to Racial Discrimination

Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement below:

1. The HR manager's decision to not hire me was due to my race.

<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. The HR manager evaluates Black job candidates unfairly.

<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## APPENDIX G

### State Self-Esteem

Using the scale below, please indicate how you would feel following the situation described in the vignette.

I would feel...

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
Proud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Smart	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Resourceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Effective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Efficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inadequate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Worthless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## APPENDIX H

### Other-Directed Emotional Responses

Using the scale below, please indicate how you would feel following the situation described in the vignette.

I would feel...

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Irritated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## APPENDIX I

### Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965)

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Read each statement carefully and indicate your level of agreement with each statement using the following scale.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. All and all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## APPENDIX J

### Behavioural Responses to Racial Discrimination

If you experienced the situation described in the vignette, please indicate how likely you would...

	<i>Very Unlikely</i>	<i>Unlikely</i>	<i>Somewhat Unlikely</i>	<i>Neither Likely Nor Unlikely</i>	<i>Somewhat Likely</i>	<i>Likely</i>	<i>Very Likely</i>
1. Speak to the supervisor/superior of the HR manager about your interview experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. File a formal complaint against the HR manager/company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Talk to someone about what can be done about the situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Sign a petition with others to protest against racial discrimination in the job market.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Join an organization that aims to increase others' awareness of racial discrimination in the job market.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Take legal action against the HR manager/company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Confront the HR manager about the questions that were asked during the interview.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Inquire about the interview procedure with the supervisor/superior of the HR manager.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Talk to family and/or friends about your experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Use the internet or social media (e.g., blog, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, etc.) to share your experiences with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Look for another job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## APPENDIX K

### Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1981)

Below are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the belief or attitude expressed. Indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement using the scale below. Remember, there are no “wrong” answers, and the only right ones are whatever you honestly feel or believe. Circle the response that seems closest to your feelings about the statement. It is important that you answer every item.

	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Slightly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>
1. Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. White teachers teach subjects so that it favors Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. White teachers are more likely to slant the subject matter to make Blacks look inferior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. White teachers deliberately ask Black students questions that are difficult so they will fail.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. There is no need for a Black person to work hard to get ahead financially because Whites will take what you earn anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Black citizens can rely on White lawyers to defend them to the best of his or her ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Black parents should not trust White teachers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. White politicians will promise Blacks a lot but deliver little.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. White policemen will slant a story to make Blacks appear guilty.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. White politicians usually can be relied on to keep the promises they make to Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Blacks should be suspicious of a White person who tries to be friendly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Whether you should trust a person or not is not based on his race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Probably the biggest reason Whites want to be friendly with Blacks is so they can take advantage of them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. A Black person can usually trust his or her White co-workers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. If a White person is honest in dealing with Blacks it is because of fear of being caught.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. A Black person cannot trust a White judge to evaluate him fairly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. A Black person can feel comfortable making a deal with a White person simply by a handshake.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Whites deliberately pass laws designed to block the progress of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. There are some Whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Blacks should not have anything to do with Whites since they cannot be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. It is best for Blacks to be on their guard when among Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Of all ethnic groups, Whites are really the 'Indian-givers'.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. White friends are least likely to break their promise.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Blacks should be cautious about what they say in the presence of White since Whites will try to use it against them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Whites can rarely be counted on to do what they say.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Whites are usually honest with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Whites are as trustworthy as members of any other ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Whites will say one thing and do another.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. White politicians will take advantage of Blacks every change they get.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. When a White teacher asks a Black student a question, it is usually to get information that can be used against him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. White policemen can be relied on to exert an effort to apprehend those who commit crimes against Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. Black students can talk to a White teacher in confidence without fear that the teacher will use it against him or her later.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Whites will usually keep their word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. White policemen usually do not try to trick Blacks into admitting they committed a crime which they didn't.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. There is no need for Blacks to be more cautious with White	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	businessmen than with Blacks.							
36.	There are some White businessmen who are honest in business transactions with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	White storeowners, salesmen, and other White businessmen tend to cheat Blacks whenever they can.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	Since Whites cannot be trusted, the old saying "one in the hand is worth two in the bush" is a good policy to follow.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	Whites who establish businesses in Black communities do so only so that they can take advantage of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	Blacks have often been deceived by White politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	White politicians are equally honest with Blacks and Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42.	Blacks should not confide in Whites because they will use it against you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43.	A Black person can loan money to a White person and feel confident it will be repaid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44.	White businessmen usually will not try to cheat Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	White business executives will steal the ideas of their Black employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46.	A promise from a White is about as good as a three dollar bill.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47.	Blacks should be suspicious of advice given by White politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48.	If a Black student tries, he will get the grade he deserves from a White teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



## APPENDIX L

### Experiences of Racial Discrimination (Krieger et al., 2005)

Have you ever experienced discrimination, been prevented from doing something, or been hassled or made to feel inferior in any of the following situations because of your race, ethnicity, or colour?

1. At school?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
2. Getting hired or getting a job?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
3. At work?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
4. Getting housing?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
5. Getting medical care?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
6. Getting service in a store or restaurant?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
7. Getting credit, bank loans, or a mortgage?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
8. On the street or in a public setting?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times
9. From the police or in courts?	Never	Once	2-3 times	4 or more times

## APPENDIX M

### Sociodemographic Questions

1. Are you between the ages of 18-65? Yes No
  
2. Would you identify yourself as belonging to any of the following population groups (check all that apply)?
  - a. Black Canadian Yes No
  - b. African Canadian Yes No
  - c. Afro-Caribbean Canadian Yes No
  
3. What is your current age? \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. What is your gender? Male Female Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. What is your country of birth?
   
 Canada  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
   
If Other, how many years have you lived in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. What is your country of residence?
   
 Canada  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
   
If Other, how many years have you lived in this country? \_\_\_\_\_
  
7. Statistics Canada defines ethnic origin as the ethnic or cultural origins of an individual's ancestors. An ancestor is someone from whom a person is descended and is usually more distant than a grandparent. A person may have only a single ethnic origin, or may have multiple ethnicities. Using the following categories, how would you describe your ethnic origin (check all that apply)?
   
Caribbean (e.g., Bahamian, Barbadian, Dominican, Haitian, Jamaican, etc.)
   
Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
   
African (e.g., Nigerian, Sudanese, Kenyan, Somali, etc.)
   
Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
   
Other
   
Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
8. What is your current citizenship or immigration status?
   
 Canadian Citizen
   
 Permanent Resident (Landed Immigrant) of Canada
   
 Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
  
9. What is your generation status in Canada?
   
 First generation (born outside of Canada)
   
 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (born in Canada & have at least one parent who was born outside of Canada)
   
 3<sup>rd</sup> generation or more (born in Canada with both parents born in Canada)
  
10. What is your marital status?
   
 Never legally married
   
 Legally married (and not separated)

- Separated, but still legally married
- Divorced
- Widowed

11. Are you currently (check all that apply)?

- Employed Full-Time
- Employed Part-Time
- Self-employed
- Not employed, looking for work
- Not employed, not looking for work
- Homemaker
- Retired
- Student
- Prefer not to answer

12. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Grade school (Highest grade completed e.g. 1 – 8: \_\_\_\_\_)
- Partially completed high School (Highest grade completed: \_\_\_\_\_)
- Completed high school or the equivalent (e.g., GED)
- Partially completed college program
- Completed college program
- Partially completed University degree
- Completed University degree
- Partially completed graduate or professional school
- Completed graduate or professional school

13. What is your total household income?

- Under \$20,000
- \$20,000-\$30,000
- \$30,000-\$40,000
- \$40,000-\$50,000
- \$50,000-\$75,000
- \$75,000-\$100,000
- \$100,000-\$150,000
- \$150,000 or more
- Prefer Not to Answer

## APPENDIX N

### Post-Study Information Form for Main (Online) Study

#### Moderating Effects of Cultural Mistrust on Perceptions of and Responses to Subtle and Overt Racial Discrimination Among Black Canadians

Thank you very much for participating in this research study. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

#### STUDY PURPOSE AND HYPOTHESES

At the beginning of this study, you were told that we were looking at individual and situational factors that may impact Black Canadians' responses to challenging employment situations. Specifically, we are looking at how an individual factor, cultural mistrust, may impact Blacks' perceptions of and responses to subtle (ambiguous) and overt (unambiguous) racial discrimination at an early and critical stage of the employment process—the job interview.

Research suggests that subtle racial discrimination during employment processes contributes to significant disadvantages among Blacks compared to Whites in North America, including higher unemployment rates and lower wages. Because subtle racial discrimination is more difficult to detect than blatant or overt forms of racism, it is important to identify factors that may help individuals perceive and respond to it when it occurs to them. Many scholars believe that cultural mistrust—defined as Blacks' mistrust of Whites and White society as a result of their historical and contemporary experiences with oppression and racism—is an adaptive and healthy response adopted by Blacks to protect themselves against discriminatory social environments.

In this study, you read a vignette in which you were asked to imagine being interviewed and turned down for a job by a White employer. You were then asked to answer a series of questions in regard to your perceptions of racial discrimination, your emotional and behavioural responses to the situation, and your level of cultural mistrust. You were randomly assigned to receive one of three vignettes that contained either: 1) subtle racial discrimination; 2) overt racial discrimination; or 3) absent (no) racial discrimination. In the subtle racial discrimination group, the interview questions contained indirect references to Black racial stereotypes that were intended to reflect the interviewer's racial bias in a subtle or ambiguous manner. In the overt racial discrimination group, the interview questions contained an additional comment and question that were intended to reflect the interviewer's racial bias in an obvious or unambiguous manner. There were no cues to the racial discrimination in the absent (no) racial discrimination group.

We expect to find that individuals who have higher levels of cultural mistrust will be more likely to perceive racism in the subtle racial discrimination condition than individual who have lower levels of cultural mistrust. We do not expect individual differences in levels of cultural mistrust to impact perceptions of racism in the more obvious overt or absent conditions. We also expect that individuals with higher levels of cultural mistrust will have different emotional and behavioural responses to subtle racial discrimination condition compared to individuals with lower levels of

cultural mistrust.

Prior to your participation, we only gave you a broad description of the study and did not reveal the study title or the specific hypotheses to avoid impacting your responses to the study questions. Please do not discuss the research procedure and or hypotheses to anyone who might participate in this study in the future as this could affect the results of the study.

#### CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or comments regarding this study, or are interested in obtaining more information, including a copy of the final report of this study, please feel free to contact the primary investigator, Miera Moon ([moonm@uwindsor.ca](mailto:moonm@uwindsor.ca)) or faculty supervisor, Dr. Cheryl Thomas ([cdthomas@uwindsor.ca](mailto:cdthomas@uwindsor.ca), 519-253-3000, Ext. 2252).

Please print or save a copy of this form for your reference or contact the primary investigator to have a hard copy sent to you.

Once again, thank you very much for your time and willingness to participate in this study!

Please click the "Submit" button below to submit your survey. You will automatically be redirected to a separate survey compensation form.

## APPENDIX O

### Dummy Codes Used to Represent Experimental Conditions

Experimental Condition	ARD as Comparison Group	
	C <sub>1</sub> (SRD vs. ARD)	C <sub>2</sub> (ORD vs. ARD)
SRD	1	0
ORD	0	1
ARD	0	0

## APPENDIX P

### Regression Equations for Hypotheses 1 and 2 – With Covariate

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X + b_6W$$

$Y$  = predicted value of the dependent variable

$b_0$  = intercept

$b_1$  = regression coefficient for cultural mistrust ( $X$ )

$b_2$  = regression coefficient for the first dummy code representing the comparison of experimental conditions SRD and ARD ( $C_1$ )

$b_3$  = regression coefficient for the first dummy code representing the comparison of experimental conditions ORD and ARD ( $C_2$ )

$b_4$  = regression coefficient for the interaction of  $C_1$  and  $X$  ( $C_1X$ )

$b_5$  = regression coefficient for the interaction of  $C_2$  and  $X$  ( $C_2X$ )

$b_6$  = regression coefficient for the covariate ( $W$ )

#### *Derivation of Simple Regression Equations for Three Experimental Conditions*

SRD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(1) + b_3(0) + b_4(1)X + b_5(0)X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2 + b_4X + b_6W$$

$$Y = (b_0 + b_2) + (b_1 + b_4)X + b_6W$$

ORD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(0) + b_3(1) + b_4(0)X + b_5(1)X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_3 + b_5X + b_6W$$

$$Y = (b_0 + b_3) + (b_1 + b_5)X + b_6W$$

ARD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(0) + b_3(0) + b_4(0)X + b_5(0)X + b_6W$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_6W$$

## APPENDIX Q

### Regression Equation for Hypotheses 3 and 4 (Without Covariate)

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X$$

$Y$  = predicted value of the dependent variable

$b_0$  = intercept

$b_1$  = regression coefficient for cultural mistrust ( $X$ )

$b_2$  = regression coefficient for the first dummy code representing the comparison of experimental conditions SRD and ARD ( $C_1$ )

$b_3$  = regression coefficient for the first dummy code representing the comparison of experimental conditions ORD and ARD ( $C_2$ )

$b_4$  = regression coefficient for the interaction of  $C_1$  and  $X$  ( $C_1X$ )

$b_5$  = regression coefficient for the interaction of  $C_2$  and  $X$  ( $C_2X$ )

### *Derivation of Simple Regression Equations for Three Experimental Conditions*

SRD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(1) + b_3(0) + b_4(1)X + b_5(0)X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2 + b_4X$$

$$Y = (b_0 + b_2) + (b_1 + b_4)X$$

ORD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(0) + b_3(1) + b_4(0)X + b_5(1)X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_3 + b_5X$$

$$Y = (b_0 + b_3) + (b_1 + b_5)X$$

ARD Condition:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2C_1 + b_3C_2 + b_4C_1X + b_5C_2X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X + b_2(0) + b_3(0) + b_4(0)X + b_5(0)X$$

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X$$



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