CONTEXTUAL FACTORS IN DISCRIMINATION ATTRIBUTIONS FOR IDENTITY

QUESTIONING: EXPLORING THE TARGET AND PERCEIVER PERSPECTIVE

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Contextual Factors in Discrimination Attributions for Identity Questioning: Exploring the

Target and Perceiver Perspective

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Because most people consider the average American to be White, bicultural

people such as Asian Americans are often excluded from the American cultural group

through ambiguous identity questioning (e.g., "Where are you really from?"). This

questioning could imply they are not seen as American or could be driven by genuine

curiosity, leading to variations in bicultural Asian Americans' tendency to view identity

questioning as discrimination. Yet, no work to date has examined factors that influence

discrimination attributions made by targets or perceivers of identity questioning. Part 1 of

this dissertation examined discrimination attributions for identity questioning from Asian

Americans' target perspective. Study 1 provided correlational evidence that greater

discussion of and perceived support for anti-immigration policy were associated with

lower perceived positive curiosity intent and greater perceived exclusion intent for

identity questioning, which were ultimately associated with greater discrimination

attributions and anticipated identity questioning experiences. Studies 2a and 2b

demonstrate that increased salience of anti-immigration policies alone did not

experimentally influence discrimination attributions, while Study 2c suggests perceived

support for anti-immigration policies is necessary to alter discrimination attributions.

Bicultural Latinx Americans who interacted with a purported anti-immigration supporter

believed that an identity questioning experience would be driven by greater exclusion

intent compared to participants who interacted with a purported pro-immigration supporter. In turn, lower perceived positive curiosity intent and greater exclusion intent were associated with greater discrimination attributions and perceived harm for identity questioning.

Part 2 examined discrimination attributions for identity questioning from the perceiver perspective (namely, bicultural Asian Americans and monocultural White Americans). When participants observed questioning perpetrated by Asian Americans compared to White Americans or Latinx Americans, they perceived greater positive curiosity intent (Study 5), lower exclusionary intent (Studies 3 & 5), and made lower discrimination attributions (Studies 3 & 5). Moreover, compared to White participants, Asian participants perceived lower positive curiosity intentions (Study 4), greater exclusion intentions (Study 5), and greater harm (Study 5) for identity questioning. There were no interactions between participant race and perpetrator race.

Given that numerous theories suggest attributions determine stigmatized people's responses to discrimination and their subsequent well-being, the present dissertation advanced current understanding of bicultural Americans' experiences by examining the contextual and personal characteristics that influence discrimination attributions of experienced and observed identity questioning. As such, the present studies are poised to make a valuable contribution to current understanding of identity questioning experiences.

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INTRODUCTION

Imagine an Asian American person is asked, "Where are you from?" She replies with a United States city, but continues to be asked, "Where are you *really* from?" How might an observer interpret this event? Why was she asked that question? How does this interpretation change based on the social context, the source of the question, or if it is experienced rather than observed? This dissertation will investigate these questions by studying the processes of discrimination attributions for identity questioning experiences such as the one described, from both the perspective of people who encounter questioning (the target's perspective) and observers (perceiver's perspective).

Though various definitions of biculturalism have been proposed, psychological research typically defines bicultural people as those who have significant exposure to multiple cultures and identify themselves as bicultural or as members of two different cultural groups (e.g., "I am Chinese American"; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Despite identifying with both mainstream American culture and the culture of another country (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007), persistent associations equating "American" and "White" often exclude bicultural people from the American identity (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Heng, 2009; Devos & Ma, 2008; Devos & Mohamed, 2014; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). As a result, bicultural people often experience social identity threats through *identity denial* and *identity questioning* (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). The existing literature has conflated identity denial and identity questioning as two forms of microaggressions that invalidate bicultural people's American identity (Huynh, 2013; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). However, subtle differences may exist

between the two (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019a). Identity denial describes explicit

challenges to one's membership in an important social group, such as an Asian American

person being told that they should not identify as American (Albuja, Gaither, Sanchez,

Straka, & Cipollina, 2019; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Identity questioning is more subtle

and describes being asked questions that could indirectly imply one is not seen as a

member of an important social group (e.g., "Where are you from?" Albuja et al., 2019a;

Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Previous work showed across two high-powered studies (total

$N = 864$) that identity questioning is experienced more frequently than identity denial.

Indeed, over 90% of bicultural participants reported experiencing identity questioning in

their lifetime (Albuja et al., 2019a). This suggests that though bicultural Americans

identify themselves as American (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), this identity is often

questioned by others.

Compared to White Americans, bicultural Americans are less prototypical

members of the national cultural group (Barlow, Taylor, & Lambert, 2000; Devos &

Banaji, 2005; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Thus, identity questioning may occur

because of perceptions that people who have a bicultural identity are not true Americans

(Sue et al., 2007). Alternatively, identity questioning experiences could also be driven by

genuine curiosity (Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, & Bator, 1997). Because these different

intentions behind identity questioning create ambiguity, bicultural people likely vary in

their tendency to view identity questioning as discrimination, or unequal treatment from

others based on their group membership (Allport, 1954/1979). Though a large body of

work has examined discrimination attributions for ambiguous events, to my knowledge,

no work to date has examined discrimination attributions for identity questioning.

Therefore, the present dissertation will examine factors that influence identity

questioning discrimination attributions from both the target and perceiver perspective.

Discrimination Attributions

Perceptions of discrimination are subjective. Indeed, a long-standing literature has

examined the degree to which people interpret subtle bias or ambiguous events as

discriminatory, and factors that influence these perceptions (e.g., Crocker, Major, &

Steele, 1998; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Stagnor et al., 2003; Swim & Stangor, 1998). For

example, Major and O'Brien's (2005) identity-threat model of stigma outlines three

factors that influence discrimination attributions stigmatized people make for their

experiences: collective representations, contextual cues, and personal characteristics.

Collective representations include beliefs about how society regards a group, such

as stereotypes. Because of persistent associations between American and White, Asian

Americans in the United States are often stereotyped as perpetual foreigners (Armenta et

al., 2013; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011), suggesting that

collective representations of Asian Americans include perceptions of them as foreign.

Contextual cues are aspects of the situation or environment that can also influence

discrimination attributions (Jones, 1997; Sechrist, Swim, & Mark, 2003; Swim, Scott,

Sechrist, Campbell, & Stagnor, 2003). For example, identity contingencies research

demonstrates that the context can signal whether certain identities are valued (Purdie-

Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008). Similarly, the state authenticity as

fit to environment (SAFE) model indicates how subtle contextual cues can thwart

people's sense of fit and acceptance in an environment (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018).

Additional work suggests contextual factors influence discrimination attributions such

that people are more likely to make discrimination attributions if the situation is more ambiguous, if the perpetrator intended to discriminate, and if the target was harmed (Sechrist et al., 2003; Swim et al., 2003). Lastly, personal characteristics are traits about the target or perceiver that can influence discrimination attributions. These include a person's social group membership (Norton & Sommers, 2011), and their own individual attitudes and beliefs (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

The present studies tested whether contextual and personal characteristics (i.e., race of perceiver) influence discrimination attributions for experienced and observed identity questioning. Part 1 examined discrimination attributions for identity questioning experienced by bicultural Asian Americans. Studies 1, 2a, 2b and 2c tested whether anti-immigration policy salience influences the likelihood of attributing identity questioning to exclusionary intentions and ultimately to discrimination. Part 2 examined discrimination attributions for identity questioning observed by bicultural Asian Americans and monocultural White Americans. I tested whether attributions differ by perpetrator race (Study 3), perceiver race (Study 4) and their interaction (Study 5). Below, I introduce each construct and present my hypotheses.

Contextual Factors

Anti-Immigration Policies

When determining whether identity questioning is discrimination and a threat to their American identity, bicultural Americans may use the current political climate. This would be consistent with the identity-threat model of stigma, which suggests people use contextual cues to determine whether an event was discrimination (Major et al., 2002a; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002). Thus, anti-immigration

policies may serve as a contextual cue that informs attributions for identity questioning. Anti-immigration policies are designed to address perceived threats to the nation. Within the United States, anti-immigration policies arise when immigrants are believed to threaten the amount of resources available (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Shin & Dovidio, 2018; Valentino, Brader, & Jardina, 2013) or the country's way of life (Espinosa et al., 2018). Though tough anti-immigration measures are proposed to enforce existing laws, support for such policies is often driven by a desire to protect against symbolic threats to an Anglocentric national American identity rather than to enforce rule of law (Chouhy & Madero-Hernandez, 2019; Mukherjee, Adams, & Molina, 2018; Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2012; Mukherjee, Molina, & Adams, 2013).

Given that policies can be used to defend against threats to an American national identity, I propose that the salience of anti-immigrant policies influences the interpretation of identity questioning experiences because such policies may communicate to bicultural Americans that they are not seen as full Americans (Almeida, Biello, Pedraza, Wintner, & Viruell-Fuentes, 2016). Indeed, bicultural Americans are considered foreigners more so than White Americans (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), and are largely aware of this perception (Huynh et al., 2011). For example, a Pew Research report finds that half of bicultural Latinx Americans surveyed reported serious concerns about their place in the United States and believed their situation has worsened since 2017 (Pew Research Center, 2018). For many, these concerns are related to current anti-immigration policy, as the majority (67%) of those surveyed claimed that the current administration's policies are harmful to Latinx Americans (Pew Research Center, 2018). Thus, anti-immigration legislation may be one contextual cue that bicultural Americans use to

discern whether being questioned about their background is a discriminatory threat to their American identity because it reinforces perceptions of them as less American.

The current U.S. administration has proposed immigration policies that seek to restrict immigration to the country through increased border patrolling and legislation (Pierce & Selee, 2017). For example, legislation canceling existing immigration programs for people brought to the United States as children and proposals to deny citizenship to children of immigrants seek to limit American citizenship. However, bicultural Americans may vary in the extent to which they are aware of such policies. Therefore, in Study 1, I assessed the extent to which anti-immigration policy is a prominent contextual cue through the frequency of discussions surrounding current anti-immigration policies in participants' social network, perceived support for these policies among Americans, and perceived likelihood that such policies will be enacted. Through these measures, I examined the association between the salience of anti-immigration policies and discrimination attributions for identity questioning. In Study 1, I hypothesized that greater salience of anti-immigration policy would be associated with greater attribution of questioning to discrimination and greater anticipated questioning experiences.

Perceived Intentions

Anti-immigration policy salience might increase discrimination attributions for identity questioning by informing the perceived intentions ascribed to the perpetrator, or the person who is questioning another's identity. Identity questioning could be perceived as driven by curiosity and thus, an opportunity to share one's ethnocultural story. Because self-disclosure increases trust and promotes more positive social interactions

(Aron et al., 1997; Vittengl & Holt, 2000), being asked about one's background may be interpreted as friendly, positive curiosity. For example, biracial people (defined as people who have parents of two different racial backgrounds) who were asked about their background sometimes interpreted this as a positive experience and reported that they would respond by reciprocating the question and continuing the conversation with the possibility of beginning a friendship (Tran, Miyake, Martinez-Morales, & Csizmadia, 2016). Similarly, if bicultural people believe that the motivation for identity questioning is driven by positive curiosity intentions, they are unlikely to interpret questioning as discrimination.

In contrast, identity questioning can be interpreted as a threat or challenge to one's American identity. For example, bicultural Americans who experienced identity questioning reasserted their American identity by spending greater cognitive effort to name American movies and by selecting more stereotypical American food than a control condition (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Guendelman et al., 2011). Similarly, biracial participants who characterized inquiries about their background as negative corrected the communicator and questioned their intentions (Tran et al., 2016). Thus, alternatively, identity questioning could be perceived as motivated by exclusion intentions (i.e., the desire to categorize the recipient as not American). The more bicultural Americans perceive questioning as driven by the desire to categorize them as an outgroup member and exclude them from the American group, the more likely they might be to believe identity questioning is discrimination and a threat to their American identity.

The social context of anti-immigration policy may inform these perceived intentions because prejudicial intents are rarely announced, leading people to use

additional cues about the social context to infer the intentions behind behaviors (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major & Crocker, 1993; Malle & Knobe, 1997). Therefore, the relationship between the salience of anti-immigration policies and discrimination attributions for identity questioning may be explained by differences in the perceived intentions driving questioning. A more salient anti-immigration policy context might increase the salience of American and White associations and create a greater perception of threat of exclusion that informs participants' interpretations of identity questioning (Elkins, Phillips, & Konopaske, 2002; Major et al., 2002b). Therefore, in Study 1 I hypothesized that greater salience of anti-immigration policy would be associated with lower positive curiosity intentions and greater exclusion intentions for identity questioning. In turn, I expected that lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intentions would predict greater attribution of questioning to discrimination and greater anticipated questioning experiences. In Studies 2a-c, I experimentally manipulated the salience of anti-immigration policies to test the causal order of this hypothesis. Studies 2a-c also measured perceptions of harm because past work suggests participants are more likely to attribute an ambiguous event to discrimination if the target experienced greater harm (Swim et al., 2003). Therefore, in Studies 2a-c I tested the hypothesis that participants in the anti-immigration condition would perceive identity questioning as more harmful than participants in the control (Studies 2a and 2b) or pro-immigration (Study 2c) conditions. Moreover, I hypothesized that perceptions of harm would mediate the association between condition and discrimination attributions such that lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intent would predict greater perceptions of identity questioning as harmful, and ultimately predict greater discrimination attributions.

Source of Identity Questioning

Characteristics about the source, or perpetrator, of identity questioning may also influence discrimination attributions. Specifically, the *prototype effect* suggests that prototypicality of the perpetrator may influence discrimination attributions (Inman & Baron, 1996). People are more likely to make discrimination attributions if the perpetrator is more prototypical (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991; Flournoy, Prentice-Dunn, & Klinger, 2002; Inman & Baron, 1996; O'Brien, Kinias, & Major, 2008; Rodin, Price, Bryson, & Sanchez, 1990). For example, both men and women viewed men as the prototypical perpetrators of sexism and therefore, were more likely to attribute an ambiguous event to sexism when perpetrated by a man rather than a woman (Baron et al.,1991; Krumm & Corning, 2008). Similarly, both White and African American participants were more likely to describe a White actor as racially prejudiced when the victim was African American compared to when the victim was White (lnman & Baron,1996). Other work suggests a *status-asymmetry effect* in discrimination attributions such that people are more likely to make attributions to discrimination when the target is lower status, more negatively stereotyped, or less powerful compared to the perpetrator than when the target is higher status, more positively stereotyped, or more powerful compared to the perpetrator (Inman, Huerta, & Oh, 1998;Jefferson & Caldwell, 2002; Marino, Negy, Hammons, McKinney, & Asberg, 2007; O'Brien et al., 2008; Rodin et al., 1990). This effect has been hypothesized to occur because higher status perpetrators are believed to cause greater harm to targets than lower status perpetrators (Rodin et al., 1990).

The prototype effect and the status-asymmetry effect support the hypothesis that identity questioning is more likely to be attributed to discrimination if the source is a White American person (high status, prototypical perpetrator), than if the source is an Asian American person (low status, non-prototypical perpetrator). Yet, work taking a motivated construal perspective suggests that people are also less likely to make discrimination attributions when the perpetrator is a member of their own in-group in order to maintain the status quo (for high-status group members) or preserve a positive group identity (e.g., Elkins et al., 2002; Elkins, Phillips, Konopaske, & Townsend, 2001; Thomsen et al., 2010). In order to disentangle ingroup effects from prototype or status-asymmetry effects, Study 3 examined Asian Americans' discrimination attributions for identity questioning depending on perpetrator race as White American, Asian American, and Latinx American. A Latinx American source will provide a non-prototypical outgroup comparison condition. In Study 3, I expected that bicultural Asian Americans would perceive lower curiosity intent, greater exclusion intent, greater harm, and be more likely to make discrimination attributions for observed identity questioning when the source is a prototypical perpetrator than when the source is a non-prototypical outgroup member or an ingroup member.

Personal Characteristics

Characteristics of the people making the discrimination attributions may also influence these attributions. Specifically, participant race has been shown to influence discrimination attributions. For example, White observers tend to perceive less racial discrimination than racial minorities, such as African Americans (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Norton & Sommers, 2011). This may be due to differences in people's motivations

to maintain a positive group image, differences in lay theories of what constitutes racism, and differences in how perceived intentions and harm are weighed when making these attributions (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Sommers & Norton, 2006). White observers focus on the intentions behind a behavior and minimize the role of harm more than Black observers (Simon, Moss, & O'Brien, 2019). Because intent is more difficult to discern than harm, this creates a more rigorous standard to meet before an event is considered discrimination for White observers compared to Black observers. Indeed, White observers often make discrimination attributions for blatant racist acts, but not for subtle racist acts where intentionality is more ambiguous (Sommers & Norton, 2006). Similarly, White perceivers often do not make discrimination attributions for institutional discrimination, which causes harm but where intentionality is unclear (O'Brien et al., 2009; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). In contrast, racial and cultural minorities are often the targets of discrimination and may therefore rely on both intent and harm cues to make discrimination attributions (Simon et al., 2019). Given this literature, in Study 4, I expected that Asian American perceivers would be more likely to attribute observed identity questioning to discrimination than White Americans, and that this difference would be accounted for by within-subject differences in the perceived intentions and between-subject differences in perceived harm. I expect Asian Americans to perceive lower positive curiosity intentions, greater exclusion intentions, and greater harm than White Americans.

In addition to differences between participants' racial groups, there may be an interaction between participant race and perpetrator race. For example, some work suggests that only people who are often targets of discrimination may show the prototype

effect when making discrimination attributions. African American participants were more likely to make discrimination attributions for ambiguous events if the race of the perpetrator and target were prototypical (i.e., a White perpetrator and African American target) than non-prototypical situations (Flournoy et al., 2002). This difference was not evident among White participants (Flournoy et al., 2002). Additional related research suggests White and minority perceivers observe ingroup rejection differently such that minorities are more likely to attribute an ingroup rejection to discrimination than Whites (O'Brien, Major, & Simon, 2012). Study 5 will expand this work by examining attributions for identity questioning from outgroup perpetrators and ingroup perpetrators observed by Asian American and White American perceivers. <u>I expected a main effect of participant race such that Asian American perceivers would make greater discrimination attributions than White American perceivers. I also expected a source main effect such that questioning from prototypical perpetrators (White Americans) would be more likely to be attributed to discrimination than questioning from non-prototypical perpetrators (Latinx or Asian Americans). Lastly, I expected these main effects to be qualified by an interaction such that the difference between discrimination attributions for White and minority perpetrators would be smaller for Asian American observers than White American observers.</u>

The Present Work

Past work suggests that bicultural people experience identity questioning frequently (Albuja et al., 2019a; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Though past work has demonstrated that people vary in the extent to which they attribute subtle or ambiguous acts to discrimination (Crocker et al., 1998), no research to date has examined attributions

for identity questioning or how these attributions differ by contextual and participant characteristics. Thus, the present dissertation filled this gap and examined discrimination attributions for participants' own experiences of identity questioning in Part 1 and for observed experiences of identity questioning in Part 2. All materials and measures can be found in Appendix A. Bicultural participants in these studies had various backgrounds, including Asian American and Latinx American identities (Basilio et al., 2014). Past work indicates that Asian Americans and Latinx Americans are seen as similarly foreign, thus providing a test of the generalizability of these results across various bicultural populations (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Across the studies, participant compensation was determined by the panel companies (Qualtrics and TurkPrime).

Part 1: Discrimination attributions for self-experienced identity questioning

Study 1

Study 1 (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019b; Study 2) tested the association between anti-immigration policy salience and discrimination attributions for identity questioning. The political climate might be one cue used by bicultural Americans to determine whether experiences of identity questioning are discriminatory. The social context, and specifically the political climate, might make salient associations between American and White that exclude bicultural people and thus, increase the likelihood that they would perceive exclusionary intentions behind questioning, ultimately leading to greater perceptions of identity questioning as discrimination (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Therefore, in Study 1, I tested the hypothesis that bicultural people who report a more salient anti-immigration policy context would perceive lower positive curiosity intentions and greater exclusion intentions for identity questioning, which would be associated with

greater likelihood of attributing identity questioning to discrimination and anticipating greater identity questioning.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

Adults were recruited to participate online if they spoke English fluently, were monoracial, identified as bicultural, identified as American, currently lived in the United States, and were born outside the United States or had at least one parent born outside the United States. These inclusion criteria are consistent with that used in past work recruiting bicultural participants (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a; Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006). Because the model estimated 10 key parameters, a sample size of 150 or more met the recommended criterion of 15 per parameter for adequate power (Kline, 2011). Participants were recruited through TurkPrime panels (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2017).

The final sample included 187 participants. The mean age was 33.64 years (standard deviation [SD] = 13.24 years), and the sample was 77% ($n = 144$) female, and 65% ($n = 121$) Latinx American, 34% Asian American ($n = 64$), and 1% ($n = 2$) Black American. The majority of the sample (60%) was born in the United States. Participants born outside of the United States listed 24 different countries of origin, with the largest proportion coming from Mexico (18%). The majority (90%) of participants were U.S. citizens. Participants completed a series of questionnaires online that measured the salience of current anti-immigration policies, their anticipated identity questioning, identity questioning discrimination attributions, and perceived positive curiosity and

exclusion intentions, in that order. Participants received $5 as compensation for their participation.

Measures

      Policy salience. Participants were presented with eight anti-immigration policies discussed during the 2016 presidential election (Major, Blodorn, & Major Blascovich, 2016), such as building a wall across the southern U.S. border to prevent immigration. For each policy, participants reported the extent to which they believe most Americans support the policy ($\alpha = .78$), how much discussion of each policy they have heard among their social network ($\alpha = .89$), and the likelihood that each policy will be enacted ($\alpha = .80$). The term social network was not explicitly defined for participants, but was intended to convey family, friends, or others with whom participants have social contact. Participants responded using scales of 1 (*majority of Americans strongly oppose/ not at all/ very unlikely*) to 7 (*majority of Americans strongly support/ very much/ very likely*).

      Identity questioning motivations. Participants were asked to what extent they perceive nine intentions when they are asked, "Where are you from?" Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization was conducted on the nine items. After removing one item that loaded onto both factors (loading > .4), two factors were retained, which cumulatively explained 70% of the variance (Fabrigar,Wegener, MacCallum,&Strahan, 1999; see Table 1). This number of factors was further confirmed by examining the scree plot (Henson & Roberts, 2006). The first factor represents the Positive Curiosity subscale (four items, $\alpha = .81$, e.g., "They are genuinely interested in learning more about me"), while the second factor represents the Exclusion subscale

(four items, α = .78, e.g., "They don't consider me to be an American"). Positive

curiosity and exclusion were negatively correlated, $r(185) = -.18$, $p = .012$.

Discrimination attributions. Through two items, participants reported the extent

to which they consider identity questioning (e.g., "Being asked 'Where are you from?'

and "Being asked about your nationality") to be discrimination. Participants responded

using a scale of 1 (*not at all prejudice*) to 7 (*completely prejudice*). The items were

averaged, $r(185) = .78$, $p < .001$

Anticipated identity questioning. Participants reported anticipated identity

questioning experiences. Using a scale of 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*), participants

answered two items such as, "How likely do you think it is that the following incidents

will happen to you?: Being asked 'Where are you from?'" The items were averaged,

$r(185) = .83$, $p < .001$.

Results

Path Analysis

Study variable correlations and descriptive statistics are found in Table 2. The

hypothesized model was tested using Mplus 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). The

hypothesized model fit well, $\chi^2(6, N = 187) = 10.47$, $p = .106$, RMSEA = 0.06, 90% CI =

[0.00, 0.13], CFI = 0.96, SRMR = .03, AIC = 4515.25 (see Figure 1). Greater perceived

support for anti-immigration policies by most Americans was associated with lower

perceived positive curiosity motivations, and greater discussion of anti-immigration

policies among participants' social circles was associated with greater perceived

exclusion motivations. Lower positive curiosity motivations and greater exclusion

motivations were associated with higher likelihood to view identity questioning as

discrimination. Greater exclusion motivations were also associated with more anticipated questioning. These results indicate that the political climate acts as a cue influencing the perceived motivations for identity questioning, and how identity questioning is interpreted and anticipated.

I tested for mediation by conducting 10,000 bootstrapped resamples of the indirect effects. Specifically, I tested whether the association between anti-immigration policy salience and discrimination attributions and anticipated experiences of identity questioning was mediated by motivations ascribed to identity questioning. There were no significant mediation paths.

Alternative Model

The hypothesized model was compared to plausible alternative models in order to confirm that the hypothesized model was a better fit to the data. For example, rather than using the social context to inform the motivations ascribed to identity questioning, participants who are more likely to view identity questioning as driven by lower positive curiosity motivation and higher exclusion motivation may also expect that others support and discuss anti-immigration policies and that these policies are likely to be enacted. This would be consistent with past work reporting that internal beliefs may influence how one's environment is perceived (Balcetis, Cole, & Sherali, 2014). Therefore, I tested an alternative model where positive curiosity and exclusion intent predicted perceived policy support, policy discussion, and policy enactment likelihood, which then predicted viewing identity questioning as discrimination and anticipated questioning. The alternative model did not fit the data well, $\chi^2(4, N= 187) = 86.38$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.33, 90% CI = [0.27, 0.39], CFI = 0.43, SRMR = 0.11, AIC = 4595.15. The AIC value

was higher, and the model did not indicate good fit, suggesting that the hypothesized model was a better fit to the data than the alternative model.

Summary

Study 1 provided correlational evidence of the association between anti-immigration policy salience and identity questioning discrimination attributions among a diverse sample of bicultural Americans. Participants who reported greater discussion of anti-immigration policies in their social network and who believed there was greater support for these policies among most Americans believed questions about their background were less likely to be driven by a genuine desire to get to know them and more likely to be driven by a desire to exclude them from the American cultural group. In turn, participants were more likely to attribute identity questioning to discrimination and anticipate experiencing it in the future. Perceived likelihood that the policies would be enacted did not relate to identity questioning motivations.

Though the path models supported my hypotheses, I cannot draw conclusions about the causal order of the relationships observed from correlational data. Therefore, Studies 2a-2c employed experimental designs to test the hypothesis that anti-immigration policy salience would have a causal effect on discrimination attributions for identity questioning. Participants made discrimination attributions for hypothetical identity questioning experiences in Studies 2a and 2c, and for an in-laboratory identity questioning experience in Study 2b. As a result of these experimental design differences, participants made discrimination attributions for the *behavior* of identity questioning in Studies 2a and 2c, and for the *perpetrator* of identity questioning in Study 2b.

Additionally, Studies 2a-2c tested for condition effects on mood. Exposure to policies limiting immigration may induce a negative mood for bicultural Americans, as these policies likely represent negative attitudes toward their group (Szkpinski Quiroga, Medina & Glick, 2014). Because discrimination attributions may be informed by mood (Sechrist et al., 2003), mood was measured and included as a control variable if it varied by condition. This allowed me to test the effect of anti-immigration salience on discrimination attributions above and beyond mood effects. Studies 2a (https://osf.io/2phu3) and 2b (https://osf.io/b8fqd) were pre-registered before data collection because they were direct tests of the correlational findings from Study 1. Study 2c was not pre-registered because it included a novel variable (valence of immigration policy discussions).

Study 2a

In Study 2a, I tested the hypothesis that compared to a neutral control, participants who read about increases in anti-immigration policies under the current administration would perceive lower positive curiosity intentions, greater exclusion intentions, make greater discrimination attributions for identity questioning, and perceive identity questioning as more harmful.

Methods

Participants

Bicultural Asian American participants were recruited online through a Qualtrics panel to participate in a study on reading comprehension. Similar to previous studies (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a; Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006), participants were eligible if they were monoracial, identified as bicultural, identified as American, currently lived in the United States, were born in the United States, and had at least one parent born

outside the United States. This is the same inclusion criteria from Study 1 with the change that participants must be born in the United States in order to further ensure that participants identify as American.

The key correlations in Study 1 ranged from small to medium. Therefore, I conducted an *a priori* power analysis for a small-to-medium effect size ($f = .18$) using G*Power, which suggested 245 participants are necessary for 80% power for a two-group between-subjects design with one covariate (Faul Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Additionally, I conducted an *a priori* power analysis for a mediation model with two parallel mediators using Monte Carlo simulations and the parameters from Study 1. This analysis suggested 245 participants are necessary for 80% power for the mediation model.

The sample included 299 Asian American participants. The average age was 35.15 years, $SD = 13.02$ years, and the sample was 61% ($n = 183$) female. Participants listed 28 countries outside of the United States with which they identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Chinese culture (31%; see Table 3). The participants identified as American ($M = 5.92$, $SD = 1.22$), bicultural ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.49$) and with their foreign country's culture ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.52$) above the midpoint of 1-7 scales, ts > 8.30, ps $< .001$. This suggests that the demographic criteria were able to successfully recruit bicultural Americans.

Procedure

Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to better understand how participants comprehend information that they read online. Participants were randomly assigned to read either an article reporting on current proposed anti-immigration policies,

or a control article used in previous studies providing information unrelated to immigration (Craig, DeHart, Richeson, & Fiedorowicz, 2012). Participants completed three manipulation check questions to ensure comprehension of the article. Participants who missed any of these manipulation check questions had the chance to read the article again and completed the manipulation check questions again. Participants who missed any question twice were terminated from the study. Next, participants in the anti-immigration condition completed the same measure of policy support ($\alpha = .72$) and policy discussion ($\alpha = .92$) from Study 1 in order to increase the salience of anti-immigration policy. Participants in the control condition did not complete these measures. All participants completed filler scales assessing perceptions of the articles. Next, participants were asked to answer questions about their thoughts and opinions and were told that these would help the researchers better understand how they might comprehend the articles differently from others. Participants completed measures of positive curiosity and exclusion intentions, discrimination attributions, perceived harm, and reported their mood, in that order. Participants received $7 as compensation for their participation.

Measures

Identity questioning motivations. Participants completed the same scale from Study 1, with the item that double-loaded in Study 1 removed. Participants reported the extent to which they perceived positive curiosity and exclusion intentions for identity questioning after imagining they experienced it (mean time spent imagining = 8.40

seconds, $SD = 27.50$ seconds)[1]. The eight items were subjected to a maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization. The scree plot demonstrated the emergence of two factors, which cumulatively explained 69% of the variance (Henson & Roberts, 2006; see Table 4). The first factor formed the positive curiosity intent subscale (three items, e.g., "To what extent do you think a stranger would ask you where you are from because they want to get to know you better?"), while the second factor formed the exclusion intent subscale (five items, e.g., "To what extent do you think a stranger would ask you where you are from because they don't consider you to be an American?"). Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), and the items were averaged into reliable scales ($\alpha_{\text{positive curiosity}} = .82$, $\alpha_{\text{exclusion}} = .84$). Positive curiosity intent and exclusion intent were not significantly correlated, $r(297) = -.10$, $p = .077$.

Discrimination attributions. Through two items, participants reported the extent to which they consider identity questioning (e.g., "Being asked 'Where are you from?'" and "Being asked about your nationality") to be discrimination. Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all discrimination*) to 7 (*very much discrimination*). The items were averaged to create a reliable scale ($\alpha = .86$; $r(298) = .76$, $p < .001$).

Harm. Participants indicated how harmful they believed it was to be asked, "Where are you from?" Based on Swim et al. (2003), participants responded on a scale of 1 (*no harm done*) to 7 (*high harm done*).

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[1] There were two outliers ($SD > 3$) on time spent imagining experiencing identity questioning. Without these outliers, the mean time spent imagining = 6.57 seconds, $SD = 7.34$ seconds. Removing these outliers did not change the results.

Mood. Participants reported their state mood by indicating the extent to which they felt ten adjectives in that moment: calm/angry, fatigued/alert, good/bad, relaxed/nervous, happy/sad, depressed/elated, content/upset, stressed/serene, excited/lethargic, and certain/uncertain (modified from Sechrist et al., 2003). Each pair of adjectives was presented with one adjective scored as 1 and the other adjective scored as 7. Responses were averaged to create a scale where higher numbers indicated a more positive mood ($\alpha = .90$).

Results

Effects of Condition

There was no effect of condition on participants' mood, $t(297) = 0.28$, $p = .782$. Because participants in the anti-immigration condition reported similar mood ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.16$) to participants in the control condition ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.02$), the remaining analyses do not include mood as a covariate. Though mood was a pre-registered covariate, I deviate from this plan because these results suggest it is statistically inappropriate to include a covariate.

Contrary to predictions, there was no effect of condition on perceived positive curiosity intentions, $t(297) = 0.76$, $p = .449$, perceived exclusion intentions, $t(297) = 0.72$, $p = .617$, discrimination attributions, $t(297) = 0.93$, $p = .355$, or perceived harm, $t(297) = 1.29$, $p = .199$. Across conditions, participants reported similar positive curiosity intentions ($M_{anti\text{-}immigration} = 4.52$, $SD = 1.45$; $M_{control} = 4.63$, $SD = 1.22$), similar exclusion intentions ($M_{anti\text{-}immigration} = 4.70$, $SD = 1.33$; $M_{control} = 4.59$, $SD = 1.26$), similar discrimination attributions ($M_{anti\text{-}immigration} = 3.48$, $SD = 1.80$; $M_{control} = 3.30$, $SD = 1.65$)

and similar harm perceptions ($M_{anti\text{-}immigration}$ = 3.32, SD = 1.60; $M_{control}$ = 3.07, SD = 1.71).

Path Analysis

Although I planned to test whether the effect of condition on discrimination attributions was mediated by positive curiosity and exclusion intentions (see Figure 2), these analyses are no longer warranted because there were no effects of the immigration salience manipulation. In cases when the exogenous variable had no predictive value, I omit the planned path analyses. However, it is important to note that greater positive curiosity intent was associated with lower discrimination attributions and lower harm, while greater exclusion intent was associated with greater discrimination attributions and greater harm (see Table 5). These correlations replicate the findings from Study 1.

<div align="center">

Summary

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Study 2a tested the effect of anti-immigration policy salience on discrimination attributions for a hypothetical experience of identity questioning. Overall, perceived intentions related to discrimination attributions and harm as expected. However, the experimental manipulation of anti-immigration policy salience did not affect any variable. In Study2a, participants reported their perceived intentions and made discrimination attributions for a hypothetical experience of identity questioning. Participants' imaginations of an identity questioning experience may have varied across several factors, including tone, perpetrator race, and social context. Therefore, Study 2b tested the same hypothesis as Study 2a, but created an identity questioning experience in the laboratory that afforded greater experimental control.

<div align="center">

Study 2b

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Study 2b employed an experimental design to test the same hypothesis from Study 2a. However, in Study 2b participants made discrimination attributions for an in-laboratory identity questioning experience. Participants in Study 2b experienced identity questioning in the laboratory from a White, gender-matched confederate. This increased experimental control by standardizing the perpetrator race and gender, and standardizing the identity questioning script.

Methods

Participants

Because Study 2b involved an in-laboratory experience of identity questioning, I anticipated that the effect size would be larger than that found in Study 1. Therefore, I conducted a power analysis for a medium effect size ($f = .20$) using G*Power, which suggested 200 participants are necessary for 80% power for a two-group between-subjects design with one covariate (Faul et al., 2009).

Using the same inclusion criteria from Study 2a, 202 bicultural Asian American participants were recruited from the psychology subject pool[2]. The average age was 18.33 years, $SD = 0.69$ years, and the sample was 58% ($n = 117$) female. Participants listed 16 countries outside of the United States with which they identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Indian culture (41%; see Table 6). The participants identified as American ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.10$), bicultural ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.57$), and with their foreign country's culture ($M = 5.39$, $SD = 1.46$) above the midpoint of the 1-7 scales, ts > 13.46, ps < .001.

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[2] In an exploratory analysis (not pre-registered), participants were excluded if they knew the confederate, experienced a disruption during the study, expressed suspicion that the confederate was part of the research team, or guessed the hypothesis during debriefing ($n = 23$). The results remained the same with this analytic sample.

Procedure

Participants signed up for a study on reading comprehension and were told that the purpose of the study was to better understand how people comprehend articles they read online. Upon arriving to the laboratory, participants were joined by a White, gender-matched confederate who they learned was another participant completing the same study. Participants were randomly assigned to read an anti-immigration or control article, as in Study 2a. Participants completed three manipulation check questions. Those who missed any of the questions ($n_{control} = 11$; $n_{experimental} = 5$) were directed to read the article again and completed the manipulation check questions again. All participants completed the manipulation checks correctly the second time. As in Study 2a, participants in the anti-immigration condition completed the same measure of policy support ($\alpha = .83$) and policy discussion ($\alpha = .88$) from Study 1 in order to increase the salience of anti-immigration policy. Participants in the control condition did not complete these measures.

After completing filler scales about the articles, participants were told that they would have a discussion with the other participant about the articles they read and that this portion of the study would be video/audio recorded to ensure protocols were being followed correctly and to train future research assistants. The research assistant (White, gender unmatched) left the room, purportedly to retrieve materials necessary for the discussion, leaving the participant and confederate alone in the room for approximately 20-30 seconds. The research assistant left the room and shut the door, but was able to hear the conversation through the door. During this time, the confederate asked the participant one question ("Which psych class are you in?") before asking the participant

where he/she is from, and following up with, "No, where are you really from?" The research assistant returned shortly after hearing the confederate ask the second question. The research assistant claimed that another study needed a participant to fill in for a short task and asked the confederate to come with her/him. After removing the confederate, the research assistant returned to the participant and informed the participant that the true purpose of the study was to understand the accuracy of people's first impressions when they interact in short slices. The participant was instructed that the remainder of the study would include questions about the other participant (i.e., the confederate) and their interactions, and that the other participant would be completing the same questionnaires in the other room for comparison by the researchers. Participants were assured that their responses would not be shared with the other participant.

Among filler items, participants completed measures of positive curiosity and exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, harm, and mood, in that order and edited to be specific to the interaction with the confederate. As exploratory measures, participants reported their meta-perceptions of harm and provided an open-ended description of their interaction with the confederate. At the end of the study, participants received written and verbal debriefings and were told the other participant was a confederate and the interaction was scripted. Participants received research participation units as compensation for their participation.

Before beginning the study, the research assistants and confederates were trained to give standardized responses to potential questions from participants, and to minimize conversation following the identity questioning. Because the sessions were video recorded, research assistants and confederates received active feedback every week on

their performance for the first two months of data collection, with spot checks throughout

the remainder of the study. Additionally, one joint meeting with all the research assistants

and confederates ($n = 6$) was held after beginning the study to review videos and further

standardize the delivery of identity questioning.

Measures

Identity questioning motivations. Among filler items (e.g., "The other

participant is reserved"), participants reported the extent to which they believed the

confederate was genuinely curious about them and was trying to exclude them. The eight

key items were subjected to a maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation

and Kaiser normalization. The scree plot demonstrated the emergence of two factors,

which cumulatively explained 68% of the variance (Henson & Roberts, 2006; see Table

7). The first factor formed the positive curiosity intention subscale (three items, e.g., "The

other participant wants to get to know me better"), while the second factor formed the

exclusion intention subscale (five items, e.g., "The other participant thinks that I'm an

outsider."). Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), and the

items were averaged into reliable scales ($\alpha_{positive\ curiosity} = .76$, $\alpha_{exclusion} = .85$). Positive

curiosity intentions and exclusion intentions were not significantly correlated, $r(200) = -.11$, $p = .111$.

Discrimination attributions. Participants reported the extent to which a series of

adjectives described the confederate. Among positive and negative filler items,

participants rated five traits describing the confederate as discriminatory (e.g., "biased",

"prejudiced") using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Responses were averaged to

create a reliable scale, $\alpha = .93$.

Harm. Participants rated the interaction with the confederate on six traits measuring harm (e.g., "tense," "pleasant" [reverse-coded]). Participants used a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), and the responses were averaged to create a reliable scale, α = .93.

Mood. Participants completed the same mood measure from Study 2a (modified from Sechrist et al., 2003). Responses were averaged to create a scale where higher numbers indicated a more positive mood, α = .80.

Results

Effects of Condition

There was no effect of condition on participants' mood, $t(200) = 0.85$, $p = .397$. Because participants in the anti-immigration condition reported similar mood ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 0.84$) to participants in the control condition ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 0.83$), the remaining analyses deviate from the pre-registration and do not include mood as a covariate.

Contrary to predictions, there was no effect of condition on perceived positive curiosity intentions, $t(200) = 1.35$, $p = .178$, perceived exclusion intentions, $t(200) = 0.47$, $p = .639$, discrimination attributions, $t(200) = 1.00$, $p = .319$, or perceived harm, $t(200) = 1.34$, $p = .181$. Across conditions, participants reported similar positive curiosity intentions ($M_{anti-immigration} = 4.20$, $SD = 1.24$; $M_{control} = 4.45$, $SD = 1.36$), similar exclusion intentions ($M_{anti-immigration} = 4.88$, $SD = 1.39$; $M_{control} = 4.79$, $SD = 1.29$), similar discrimination attributions ($M_{anti-immigration} = 3.35$, $SD = 1.64$; $M_{control} = 3.13$, $SD = 1.56$) and similar harm perceptions ($M_{anti-immigration} = 4.41$, $SD = 1.32$; $M_{control} = 4.14$, $SD = 1.53$).

Path Analysis

I omitted the planned path analyses (see Figure 2) because there were no effects of the anti-immigration policy salience manipulation. Correlational analyses indicated that greater positive curiosity intent was associated with lower discrimination attributions and lower harm, while greater exclusion intent was associated with greater discrimination attributions and greater harm (see Table 8). These correlations replicate the findings from Study 1 and Study 2a.

Summary

Study 2b tested the effect of anti-immigration policy salience on discrimination attributions for an identity questioning experience in the laboratory. The associations between perceived intentions, discrimination attributions, and harm were consistent with my hypotheses and previous findings. However, as in Study 2a, the anti-immigration policy salience manipulation did not influence any variable. Though Studies 2a and 2b sought to make policy salient for only the experimental group, simply reading an article and answering the subsequent questions may not be enough to influence interpersonal outcomes like discrimination attributions. Therefore, Study 2c improved upon Studies 2a and 2b by including an interpersonal discussion of immigration policy.

Study 2c

The correlational results of Study 1 suggest that discussing anti-immigration policy may play an important role in bicultural people's discrimination attributions for identity questioning. Therefore, in Study 2c, participants read the same immigration policy article, and engaged in an online chat with whom they believed was another participant. The ostensible other participant provided either anti-immigration or pro-immigration views. Furthermore, Study 2c recruited Latinx American participants rather than Asian American participants. Though I expected similar processes to occur for

Americans who identify as bicultural, current immigration policies are principally aimed

at immigration from Mexico, Central America and South America (Huo, Dovidio,

Jiménez, & Schildkraut, 2018). Thus, immigration policy may be especially salient and

relevant for Latinx Americans. I hypothesized that bicultural Latinx American

participants in the anti-immigration condition would report lower positive curiosity

intentions, greater exclusion intentions, greater discrimination attributions, and greater

harm than participants in the pro-immigration condition. As in Study 2a, participants

made discrimination attributions for a hypothetical experience of identity questioning.

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited online via a Qualtrics panel using the same inclusion

criteria from Study 2a except for participant race. Participants must have identified as

Latinx/Hispanic in order to participate. Because Study 2c tested attributions for a

hypothetical experience of identity questioning, I used the same power analysis from

Study 2a to calculate the necessary sample size as 245 participants for 80% power (Faul

et al., 2009).

The sample included 256 Latinx American participants. Participants were

excluded if they expressed suspicion that their chat partner was not real ($n = 20$) or if they

guessed the hypothesis of the study ($n = 5$). Participants were equally likely to express

suspicion about the chat in the anti-immigration ($n = 14$) and the pro-immigration ($n = 6$)

condition, $X^2(1, N = 236) = 3.75$, $p = .053$. The final analytic sample included relatively

equal distribution between conditions, ($n_{\text{anti-immigration}} = 110$, $n_{\text{pro-immigration}} = 122$) with an

overall N of 232. The average age was 35.35 years, $SD = 13.43$ years, and the sample was

61% (*n* = 142) female. Participants listed 22 countries outside of the United States with which they identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Mexican culture (47%; see Table 9). The participants identified as American (*M* = 5.68, *SD* = 1.40), bicultural (*M* = 5.86, *SD* = 1.34), and with their foreign country's culture (*M* = 5.88, *SD* = 1.36) above the midpoint of the 1-7 scales, *t*s > 18.25, *p*s < .001.

Procedure

Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to better understand how participants comprehend articles that they read online. All participants were assigned to read an article reporting on current proposed anti-immigration policies (used in Studies 2a and 2b). Participants completed three manipulation check questions to ensure comprehension of the article. Participants who missed any of these manipulation check questions had the chance to read the article again and complete the manipulation check questions again. Participants who missed any question twice were terminated from the study. Participants then completed filler scales assessing perceptions of the article.

Next, participants were told they would be discussing the article with another participant via online chat technology. Participants were randomly assigned to chat with a purported participant who was either pro-immigration or anti-immigration. For example, in the pro-immigration condition, the confederate said, "Personally, I think building the wall is a really bad idea. It's everyone's responsibility, why shouldn't we also take immigrants in? Our country can help them figure their own problems out. I wish the article had said that too. Did you have any edits for the article?" In the anti-immigration condition, the chat read, "Personally, I think building the wall is a really good idea. It's not our problem, why should we have to take immigrants in? Their own countries should

figure their own problems out. I wish the article had said that too. Did you have any edits for the article?" In both studies, the other participant identified themselves as a 61-year-old White male. The chat box was designed such that participants could not type while the purported participant was typing, thereby limiting the variability in participants' responses.

After the chat, participants were told they would be asked about common topics that come up during discussions of online articles. They were instructed that if the topic did not come up during the discussion, they should respond to the questions based on how they would respond if it had come up. Participants completed measures of positive curiosity and exclusion intentions, discrimination attributions, perceived harm, and mood, in that order. At the end of the study participants were prompted to give feedback on the chat function in order to probe for participants who did not believe they chatted with a real participant. Participants received $5.50 as compensation for their participation.

Measures

   Identity questioning motivations. Participants learned they would be asked about several questions that are common during discussions (see Appendix A for exact wording). Participants were instructed to respond to the items based on their conversation, and if the question did not come up during their conversation, they were asked to take a moment to imagine that it did. This wording was intended to obscure the fact that the conversation was scripted, and no participants were actually asked where they are from. They then completed the same measure of identity questioning motivations from the previous studies in response to imagined identity questioning ("where are you from?"). The eight key identity questioning motivation items were subjected to a

maximum likelihood factor analysis with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization. One item ("The other participants wants to know to categorize me based on my ancestry") loaded on both factors and was removed from the factor analysis. The scree plot demonstrated the emergence of two factors, which cumulatively explained 76% of the variance (Henson & Roberts, 2006; see Table 10). The first factor formed the positive curiosity intent subscale (four items, e.g., "The other participant wants to get to know me better"), while the second factor formed the exclusion intent subscale (three items, e.g., "The other participant thinks that I'm an outsider."). Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*), and the items were averaged into reliable scales ($\alpha_{positive}$ $_{curiosity}$ = .89, $\alpha_{exclusion}$ = .90). Positive curiosity intent and exclusion intent were significantly correlated such that greater perceptions of curiosity intent were associated with greater perceptions of exclusion intent, $r(230) = .32$, $p < .001$.

After completing the identity questioning motivation items, participants also completed perceived intention items for two other discussion questions (being asked "How old are you?" and "What are your political beliefs?") as fillers. The items were modified to be specific to age (e.g., "They are curious about age differences" rather than "They are curious about cultural differences"). As an exploratory analysis, I compared the mean levels of perceived curiosity and exclusion intentions for identity questioning, age questioning, and political orientation questioning. There was a significant difference in positive curiosity intentions, $F(2, 462) = 13.36$, $p < .001$ and exclusion intentions, $F(2, 462) = 10.95$, $p < .001$. Participants perceived identity questioning as driven less by positive curiosity than political orientation questioning, $F(1, 231) = 17.85$, $p < .001$, and age questioning, $F(1, 231) = 15.57$, $p < .001$. Participants also perceived identity

questioning as less exclusionary than political orientation questioning, $F(1, 231) = 17.53$, $p < .001$, and equally exclusionary as age questioning, $F(1, 231) = 0.64$, $p = .425$.

Discrimination attributions. Participants reported the extent to which they consider identity questioning (e.g., "Being asked 'Where are you from?'" and "Being asked about your nationality") to be discrimination through the same items from Study 2a. Participants responded using a scale of 1 (*not at all discrimination*) to 7 (*very much discrimination*). The items were averaged to create a reliable scale ($\alpha = .87$; $r(230) = .76$, $p < .001$).

Harm. As in Study 2a, participants indicated how harmful they believe it is to be asked, "Where are you from?" (Swim et al., 2003). Participants responded on a scale of 1 (*no harm done*) to 7 (*high harm done*).

Mood. Participants completed the same mood measure from Study 2a (modified from Sechrist et al., 2003). Responses were averaged to create a scale where higher numbers indicated a more positive mood, $\alpha = .91$.

Results

Effects of Condition

Participants in the anti-immigration condition ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 1.30$) reported worse mood than participants in the pro-immigration condition ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.09$), $t(230) = 2.97$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.39$, 95% CI = [0.13, 0.65]. Therefore, mood was included as a covariate for the remainder of the analyses.

After covarying out the effect of mood, $F(1, 229) = 5.57$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, 95% CI = [0.004, 0.08], there was no effect of condition on perceived positive curiosity intentions, $F(1, 229) = 0.57$, $p = .435$. Participants in the anti-immigration condition

perceived similar positive curiosity intentions for identity questioning ($M = 4.05$, $SD =$ 1.76) as participants in the pro-immigration condition ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.59$).

Participants in the anti-immigration condition perceived greater exclusion intentions for identity questioning ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.94$) than participants in the pro-immigration condition ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.78$), $F(1, 229) = 7.80$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, 95% CI = [0.003, 0.09]. There was no effect of mood, $F(1, 229) = 0.49$, $p = .485$.

After covarying out the effect of mood, $F(1, 229) = 21.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, 95% CI = [0.03, 0.16], there was no effect of condition on discrimination attributions, $F(1, 229) = 0.21$, $p = .645$. Participants in the anti-immigration condition ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.88$) reported similar attributions to discrimination for identity questioning as participants in the pro-immigration condition ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.72$).

After covarying out the effect of mood, $F(1, 229) = 25.35$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, 95% CI = [0.04, 0.18], there was no effect of condition on perceived harm, $F(1, 229) =$ 0.11, $p = .743$. Participants in the anti-immigration condition ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 2.01$) perceived identity questioning to be similarly harmful as participants in the pro-immigration condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.74$).

Path Analysis

Because the anti-immigration condition influenced exclusion intent, the planned path analysis was conducted using Mplus 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). I tested whether the effect of condition on discrimination attributions was mediated through positive curiosity and exclusion intentions, while controlling for mood (see Figure 3). The model indicated good fit, $\chi^2(1, N = 232) = 0.46$, $p = .499$, RMSEA = 0.00, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.15], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.01, AIC = 2697.59. Participants in the anti-immigration

condition perceived greater exclusion intent than participants in the pro-immigration condition. There was no effect of condition on positive curiosity intent. Greater exclusion intent was associated with greater identity questioning discrimination attributions. Mediation analyses were conducted by analyzing the 95% confidence interval of the 10,000 bootstrapped resamples of the indirect effect. The indirect effect of condition on discrimination attributions was significant through exclusion intentions, $\beta = 0.07$, 95% CI = [0.02, 0.12], but not through positive curiosity intentions, $\beta = 0.00$, 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.01].

Additionally, I tested whether the effect of condition on discrimination attributions was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and perceptions of harm because past work suggests people are more likely to attribute an event to discrimination if harm was caused to the target (Swim et al., 2003). I hypothesized that participants in the anti-immigration condition would perceive lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intentions, which would then predict greater perceptions of identity questioning as harmful, and ultimately predict greater discrimination attributions. This model demonstrated poor fit, χ^2 (4, $N = 232$) = 22.74, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.14, 90% CI = [0.09, 0.20], CFI = 0.92, SRMR = .05, AIC = 3549.02, and was therefore not explored further.

Alternative Model

Further, this hypothesized model was compared to a plausible alternative model. Rather than using perceptions of harm to inform discrimination attributions for identity questioning, participants' perceptions of harm may follow from their attributions to discrimination. This alternative model tests the hypothesis that the association between

condition and harm is serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and discrimination attributions (see Figure 4). This model, which included mood as a covariate, indicated good fit, $\chi^2(4, N = 232) = 1.72$, $p = .787$, RMSEA = 0.00, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.07], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.02, AIC = 3527.99. The better model fit and lower AIC value support this model over the hypothesized model with harm. Participants in the anti-immigration condition perceived greater exclusion intentions than participants in the pro-immigration condition. Greater exclusion intentions were associated with greater discrimination attributions, and in turn, greater harm. The association between condition and harm was serially mediated through exclusion intentions and discrimination attributions, $\beta = 0.04$, 95% CI = [0.01, 0.07]. The serial mediation through positive curiosity intentions and discrimination attributions was not significant, $\beta = 0.00$, 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.01].

Summary

Study 2c tested the effect of immigration policy salience on identity questioning discrimination attributions through an interpersonal discussion. Participants who chatted with an anti-immigration supporter more strongly believed they would be asked about their background in order to be excluded from the American cultural group compared to participants who chatted with a pro-immigration supporter. In turn, greater perceptions of exclusionary intent were associated with greater attributions to discrimination and perceiving identity questioning as more harmful. Study 2c replicated the association between exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, and harm found in Studies 1-2b. However, there was no effect of condition on positive curiosity intent, or association between positive curiosity intent, discrimination attributions, and harm.

Part 1 Summary

Part 1 explored how anti-immigration policy salience influences discrimination attributions for imagined or experienced identity questioning. Study 1 used correlational methods to test whether perceived support, perceived approval, and greater discussions of anti-immigration policies were associated with differential perceived intentions for questioning, and therefore, viewing identity questioning as more discriminatory. The results suggest that participants who reported greater discussion of anti-immigration policies in their social network were more likely to believe that they would be asked, "Where are you from?" as a method of exclusion from the American group. Additionally, participants who more strongly believed most Americans support anti-immigration policies were less likely to believe that they would be asked this question because of positive curiosity. In turn, greater perceived exclusion intentions were associated with greater attributions of questioning to discrimination, and greater anticipated experiences of identity questioning in the future. Greater perceived positive curiosity intentions were also associated with a lower attributions of identity questioning to discrimination.

Studies 2a and 2b tested these associations experimentally to understand the causal role of anti-immigration policy salience in identity questioning discrimination attributions. Anti-immigration policy was made salient for participants in the experimental condition through an article outlining recent proposed anti-immigration policies and by completing the measures of policy salience used in Study 1. However, there were no significant effects of condition on perceived intentions, discrimination attributions, or perceptions of harm of hypothetical (Study 2a) or experienced (Study 2b) identity questioning. Studies 2a and 2b were conducted between September-December 2019, a time when immigration policy was extensively covered in the media. Therefore,

immigration policy may have been highly salient for all participants, reducing the amount of variance that could have been altered by the experimental manipulation. Despite the non-significant experimental results, the correlations between the measured variables replicated the patterns found in Study 1. Across both studies, lower perceived positive curiosity intent and greater exclusion intent were associated with greater discrimination attributions and greater harm.

Study 2c tested a similar hypothesis about the role of anti-immigration policy in identity questioning discrimination attributions through a pro- or anti-immigration policy discussion. Participants in the anti-immigration condition perceived greater exclusion intentions than participants in the pro-immigration condition, which then predicted greater attribution of identity questioning to discrimination and greater perceived harm. The direct effect of condition on discrimination attributions was not significant, indicating that participants did not make discrimination attributions based on the purported position on immigration policy, but rather based on the perceived intention of identity questioning. These results clarify that immigration policy discussion is an important component of the dynamics of immigration policy in identity questioning discrimination attributions, and that in particular, discussing policy with someone who is anti-immigration can increase perceptions of threat from identity questioning. Study 2c further expanded the existing results by including Latinx American bicultural participants, for whom immigration policy may be especially relevant.

Part 2: Discrimination attributions for observed identity questioning

Part 2 examined discrimination attributions for *observed* identity questioning experiences. These studies explored how attributions differ by race of perpetrator (Study

3), and observer (Study 4). Study 5 tested the interaction between these to see whether discrimination attributions differ based on perpetrator and participant race. These studies expanded our current understanding of identity questioning discrimination attributions by examining how these are made by third-party observers rather than targets. Understanding how people interpret potentially discriminatory events they witness is important because victims often rely on other witnesses to help resolve the ambiguity (Essed, 1991; Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998). In addition, there may be shared processes between making attributions for experienced and perceived discrimination (Inman, 2001; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). Further, examining discrimination attributions in two paradigms tested the robustness of the findings. Lastly, investigating discrimination attributions made by observers allowed me to test the effect of participant race between people who do and do not typically experience identity questioning.

Study 3

Study 3 tested how Asian Americans' discrimination attributions differ based on the race of the perpetrator. I directly compared identity questioning attributions when the source of the identity questioning was an ingroup perpetrator, a non-prototypical outgroup perpetrator, and a prototypical outgroup perpetrator. Because past work finds that discrimination attributions are more likely when the perpetrator is prototypical and higher status (Flournoy et al., 2002; Rodin et al., 1990), I hypothesized that participants would perceive lower positive curiosity intentions, greater exclusion intentions, make greater discrimination attributions, and view questioning as more harmful when the perpetrator was prototypical (White American) than when the perpetrator was non-prototypical (Asian American or Latinx American). I also expected the Latinx perpetrator

to be seen as less curious, more exclusionary, more discriminatory, and more harmful than the Asian perpetrator. These findings would provide support for the prototype effect hypothesis, rather than attributions simply being motivated by a desire to protect the ingroup.

Methods

Participants

Following the same inclusion criteria and recruitment strategy from Studies 2a and 2b, Asian American adults were recruited to participate online using a Qualtrics panel. Because there is no existing effect size, I conducted a power analysis using a small-to-medium effect size ($f = .18$) for a three group between-subjects design with one covariate using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009). A sample of 301 participants would provide 80% power for this design.

The sample included 312 Asian American participants. One participant was excluded because they correctly guessed the hypothesis of the study, leaving a final sample of 311 participants. The average age was 32.80 years, $SD = 10.40$ years, and the sample was 64% ($n = 198$) female. Participants listed 24 countries outside of the United States with which they identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Chinese culture (30%; see Table 11). The participants identified as American ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.38$), bicultural ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 1.54$) and with their foreign country's culture ($M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.61$) above the midpoint of the 1-7 scales, ts > 10.87, ps $< .001$.

Procedure and Measures

Participants were told the purpose of the study was to better understand how people make first impressions and were instructed that they would watch two videos of

conversations between participants that were recorded in our laboratory during a previous study. Participants learned that they would be giving us their impression of the participants, which we would then compare to the participants' impressions of each other. Participants were randomly assigned to the outgroup-prototypical, outgroup-non-prototypical, or ingroup condition. Across conditions, the person questioned was Asian and the pair was gender-matched. In the outgroup-prototypical condition, identity questioning perpetrator was White American, while in the outgroup-non-prototypical condition, the perpetrator was Latinx American, and in the ingroup condition the perpetrator was Asian American. The dyads were gender matched to the participants' own gender. In order to control for differences across dyads in the delivery of identity questioning (e.g., tone, body language, and accent), participants viewed a static image of the purported video with an error message saying the video would not load. The transcript of the conversation was included below the image and participants were instructed to read the transcript rather than watch the video. Each participant had an identifying number in the static image in order to clarify the speaking roles in the transcript, and each participant's race and gender was identified. Across conditions, participants spent an average of 31 seconds viewing the image and reading the transcript.

Next, participants completed the same measures of positive curiosity intentions (α = .80)[3], exclusion intentions (α = .84; see Table 12 for factor analysis results), discrimination attributions (α = .89), harm (α = .89), and mood (α = .90) from the previous studies, in that order. Each measure was reworded to be specifically about the identity questioning perpetrator (e.g., "Participant 103 wants to get to know Participant

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[3] There were four outliers ($SD > 3$) on positive curiosity. Removing these outliers did not change the results.

222 better"), and the image and transcript was included on the same page for each question so participants could easily refer back as they answered the questions. Positive curiosity intentions and exclusion intentions were significantly correlated, $r(310) = .11$, $p = .048$. Additionally, this study included a one-item behavioral measure to assess interest working in the laboratory featured in the video ("If you were a student at this university, how interested would you be to work as a research assistant in the lab that you viewed in the videos?" measured on a scale of 1 [*not interested at all*] to 7 [*very interested*]).

After completing the measures, participants viewed a filler video between two participants and completed the same set of measures. As exploratory moderator variables, participants reported the frequency of identity questioning and identity denial they have experienced in their lifetime (Albuja et al., 2019). Mood and the exploratory measures were completed after the filler items. Participants received $5.50 as compensation for completing the study.

Results

Effects of Condition

There was no effect of condition on mood, $F(2, 308) = 0.01$, $p = .995$. Participants reported similar mood when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.16$), Latinx ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.17$), or Asian ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.03$). Therefore, mood was not included as a covariate for the remaining analyses.

There was no effect of condition on perceived positive curiosity intentions, $F(2, 308) = 0.54$, $p = .584$. Participants perceived similar positive curiosity intent when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.06$), Latinx ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.30$), or Asian ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.26$).

There was an effect of condition on perceived exclusion intentions, $F(2, 308) = 4.10$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, 95% CI = [0.001, 0.07]. Participants perceived greater exclusion intent when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.97$, $SD = 1.41$) rather than Asian ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.49$), $t(308) = 2.01$, $p = .045$. Participants also perceived greater exclusion intent when the perpetrator was Latinx ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.30$) rather than Asian, $t(308) = 2.77$, $p = .006$. There was no difference between the White and Latinx perpetrator conditions, $t(308) = 0.75$, $p = .454$.

There was an effect of condition on discrimination attributions, $F(2, 308) = 5.42$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, 95% CI = [0.003, 0.08]. Participants made greater discrimination attributions when the perpetrator was Latinx ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.48$) rather than Asian ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.46$), $t(308) = 3.28$, $p = .001$. Participants made marginally greater discrimination attributions when the perpetrator was Latinx compared to White ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.40$), $t(308) = 1.86$, $p = .064$. There was no difference between participants in the White and Asian perpetrator conditions, $t(308) = 1.42$, $p = .158$.

There was no effect of condition on perceived harm, $F(2, 308) = 1.15$, $p = .318$. Participants perceived similar harm when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 1.42$), Latinx ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.20$) or Asian ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 1.17$).

There was no effect of condition on the behavioral measure of interest in working in the laboratory, $F(2, 308) = 0.40$, $p = .668$. Participants reported equal interest in the laboratory when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.68$), Latinx ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.80$), or Asian ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.63$).

Path Analysis

Because condition influenced positive curiosity intent, the planned path analysis was conducted using Mplus 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). I tested whether the effect of condition on discrimination attributions was significantly mediated by positive curiosity and exclusion intentions (see Figure 5). The model indicated adequate fit, $X^2(2, N = 311)$ = 4.98, p = .083, RMSEA = 0.07, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.15], CFI = 0.99, SRMR = 0.03, AIC = 3029.19. Compared to participants who viewed an Asian perpetrator, participants who viewed a White or Latinx perpetrator perceived greater exclusion intent. Greater exclusion intent and lower positive curiosity intent were associated with greater discrimination attributions. Perceived exclusion intent significantly mediated the association between discrimination attributions and condition (White versus Asian perpetrator: β = 0.24, 90% CI = [0.07, 0.41]; Latinx versus Asian perpetrator: β = 0.18, 90% CI = [0.01, 0.35]). There was no significant mediation through positive curiosity.

Next, I tested whether the association between condition and discrimination attributions was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and harm. This model demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(6, N = 311) = 138.06$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.27, 90% CI = [0.23, 0.31], CFI = 0.61, SRMR = 0.10, AIC = 4061.51, and was not explored further.

Alternative Model

Lastly, I tested an alternative model wherein the association between condition and harm was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and discrimination attributions. Because this model also demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(6, N = 311)$ = 44.25, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.14, 90% CI = [0.11, 0.18], CFI = 0.89, SRMR = 0.06, AIC = 3967.70, it was not explored further.

Summary

Study 3 tested whether Asian Americans' perceptions of identity questioning differed based on perpetrator race. Participants who viewed a White or Latinx perpetrator perceived greater exclusion intent than participants who viewed an Asian perpetrator. This finding is consistent with ingroup preference effects, where ingroup perpetrators are evaluated more positively than both prototypical and non-prototypical outgroup perpetrators (Elkins et al., 2002). However, this pattern did not replicate for discrimination attributions. Participants who viewed a Latinx perpetrator reported greater discrimination attributions than participants who viewed an Asian or White perpetrator. This finding is inconsistent with the ingroup preference hypothesis because participants viewed the Asian perpetrator as equally discriminatory as the White perpetrator. This finding is also inconsistent with the status-asymmetry and prototype hypotheses because the Latinx perpetrator is lower status and less prototypical than the White perpetrator, but was viewed as more discriminatory (O'Brien et al., 2008; Rodin et al., 1990). Lastly, the path analyses replicated the associations between positive curiosity intent, exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, and harm found in the previous studies. Moreover, exclusion intent mediated the relationship between perpetrator race and discrimination attributions.

Study 4

Past work suggests White Americans detect less discrimination than racial minorities, particularly when intentionality is ambiguous and the behavior is more subtle (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2012; Simon et al., 2019). Thus, the current literature may benefit from examining attributions for identity questioning from

White American observers, who hold higher status and are less likely to have personally experienced identity questioning. Because White people are considered prototypical Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005), their background may be questioned less by others. In contrast, bicultural Americans, who experience questioning frequently, may rely on White people to detect identity questioning as discrimination in order to act as allies or confront the perpetrator (Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2012; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). This may be particularly important given that targets who claim to have personally experienced discrimination are often derided and seen as complainers (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Thus, Studies 4 and 5 expanded the previous studies to investigate identity questioning discrimination attributions from the perspective of White Americans, as well. Specifically, Study 4 tested for baseline differences between Asian Americans' and White Americans' discrimination attributions, and whether these differences are explained by a greater likelihood of viewing benevolent (curiosity) rather than malevolent intentions (exclusionary).

I expected Asian Americans to perceive lower positive curiosity intentions, greater exclusion intentions, more harm, and make greater discrimination attributions than White Americans. I expected the difference between groups on discrimination attributions to be mediated by within-subject differences in perceived intentions, and between-subject differences in perceived harm. Given past work finding that White people focus more on intention than harm when making discrimination attributions (Simon et al., 2019), there may be a mean level difference between White Americans and Asian Americans, such that White Americans overall perceive lower positive curiosity and exclusion intentions. However, the difference between positive curiosity and

exclusion intentions may be greater for White Americans than Asian Americans.

Therefore, the present study tested within-subject differences in perceived intentions as a

mediator of the effect of participant race on discrimination attributions.

Methods

Participants

I conducted a power analysis using a small-to-medium effect size ($f = .18$) for a

two group (participant race: Asian, White) between-subjects design with one covariate

using G*Power because there was no prior effect size. The results indicated recruiting

245 participants would provide 80% power for this design (Faul et al., 2019). Participants

were recruited from the psychology research pool ($n = 22$), Amazon Mechanical Turk ($n

= 291$), and a TurkPrime Panel ($n = 100$). Because of this recruitment strategy, the

exclusion criteria were applied after the data were collected, rather than in real-time as

done by Qualtrics panels project managers. Thus, Asian participants were excluded if

they guessed the hypothesis ($n = 2$), did not identify as American ($n = 19$), did not

identify as bicultural ($n = 79$), or were born outside of the United States ($n = 41$), leaving

a final sample of 108 Asian American participants. White participants were excluded if

they did not identify as American ($n = 1$), or if they identified as bicultural ($n = 12$),

leaving a final sample of 189 White participants. The average age of the total sample ($N

= 297$) was 37.71 years, $SD = 14.03$ years, and the sample was 54% ($n = 159$) female.

Asian participants listed 24 countries outside of the United States with which they

identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Chinese culture (31%; see Table 13).

Procedure and Measures

Study 4 followed the same procedure as Study 3. However, in Study 4 participants only saw the outgroup-prototypical condition, which showed a White American perpetrator questioning the identity of an Asian American person. Participants evaluated the interaction using the same scales of positive curiosity intentions ($\alpha = .82$), exclusion intentions ($\alpha = .89$; see Table 14 for factor analysis results)[4], discrimination attributions ($\alpha = .92$), harm ($\alpha = .92$), and behavioral intentions from Study 3. Positive curiosity and exclusion intentions were presented in a random order before the remaining scales listed, and were not significantly correlated, $r(295) = 0.05$, $p = .424$. The presentation of stimuli was counterbalanced such that half of the participants completed the key measures before the filler measures, and half of the participants completed the key measures after the filler measures. After completing the key and filler measures, participants reported their current mood ($\alpha = .90$; Sechrist et al., 2003). Lastly, as exploratory variables, participants reported the frequency of identity questioning and identity denial they have experienced in their lifetime (Albuja et al., 2019).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Because the presentation order was counterbalanced between the critical stimuli and scales and the filler stimuli and scales, I tested for order effects on all the dependent variables. There were no significant effects of order, ts < 1.29, ps $> .195$. Therefore, I collapsed across order for the remaining analyses.

Participant Race Effects

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[4] There were six outliers ($SD > 3$) on exclusion intentions. Removing these outliers did not change the results.

Asian participants (M = 4.69, SD = 1.03) reported a less positive mood than White participants (M = 5.09, SD = 1.09), F(1, 295) = 9.32, p = .002, η_p^2 = .03, 95% CI = [0.004, 0.08]. Therefore, mood was included as a covariate for the remaining analyses.

Asian participants (M = 4.22, SD = 1.29) perceived less positive curiosity intent than White participants (M = 4.60, SD = 1.34), F(1, 294) = 4.07, p = .044, η_p^2 = .014, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.05]. Asian participants (M = 5.54, SD = 1.41) perceived similar exclusion intent as White participants (M = 5.54, SD = 1.25), F(1, 294) = 0.01, p = .909. Asian participants (M = 4.66, SD = 1.45) reported similar discrimination attributions for identity questioning as White participants (M = 4.34, SD = 1.62), F(1, 294) = 1.53, p = .217. Asian participants (M = 4.99, SD = 1.26) reported similar perceptions of harm as White participants (M = 4.69, SD = 1.34), F(1, 294) = 2.13, p = .146. Lastly, Asian participants (M = 3.75, SD = 1.82) reported a lower interest in the laboratory than White participants (M = 4.34, SD = 1.65), F(1, 294) = 5.54, p = .019, η_p^2 = .019, 95% CI = [0.0003, 0.06].

Within-Subject Differences in Identity Questioning Motivations

To test whether within-subject differences in the perceived intentions of identity questioning differed by participant race, I conducted a mixed ANOVA with positive curiosity and exclusion intentions as the within-subjects variable and participant race as the between-subjects variable. There was a main effect of perceived intentions, F(1, 295) = 105.94, p < .001, η_p^2 = .26, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.34], such that participants perceived more exclusion intentions (M = 5.54, SD = 1.31) than positive curiosity intentions (M = 4.47, SD = 1.33). There was no interaction with participant race, F(1, 295) = 3.07, p = .081.

Path Analysis

To test whether there were within-subject differences in the perceived intentions of identity questioning, I created a difference score between perceived exclusion and positive curiosity intentions. This difference score did not significantly mediate the association between participant race and discrimination attributions, $\beta = 0.06$, 95% CI = [-0.02, 0.15], harm, $\beta = 0.04$, 95% CI = [-0.02, 0.10], or behavioral intention to work in the laboratory, $\beta = -0.03$, 95% CI = [-0.09, 0.01].

I also tested whether the effect of participant race on discrimination attributions was significantly mediated by positive curiosity and exclusion intentions (see Figure 6). The model indicated good fit, $X^2(2, N = 297) = 1.64$, $p = .441$, RMSEA = 0.00, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.11], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.02, AIC = 2910.77. Asian participants perceived lower positive curiosity intent than White participants. Lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intentions were associated with greater discrimination attributions. Positive curiosity intentions mediated the association between discrimination attributions and participant race, $\beta = -0.04$, 95% CI = [-0.08, 0.00]. There was no significant mediation through exclusion intentions.

Next, I tested whether the association between participant race and discrimination attributions was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and harm. This model demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(5, N = 297) = 107.56$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.26, 90% CI = [0.22, 0.31], CFI = 0.76, SRMR = 0.07, AIC = 3822.74, and is not explored further.

Alternative Model

Lastly, I tested whether the association between participant race and harm was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and discrimination

attributions. Because this model also demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(5, N = 297) = 21.80$, $p <$ .001, RMSEA = 0.11, 90% CI = [0.06, 0.15], CFI = 0.96, SRMR = 0.04, AIC = 3736.98, it was not explored further.

Summary

The results of Study 4 indicate that Asian American participants perceived less positive curiosity intentions and reported a lower interest in the laboratory than White American participants. However, there were no differences by participant race for exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, or harm. The path analyses replicated the associations between positive curiosity intent, exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, and harm found in the previous studies. Moreover, positive curiosity intent mediated the relationship between participant race and discrimination attributions.

Study 5

Discrimination attributions may not only be influenced by the source of discrimination and personal characteristics, but also by an interaction between these factors (O'Brien et al., 2012; Flournoy et al., 2002). Therefore, Study 5 used a 3 (perpetrator race: Asian American, White American, Latinx American) x 2 (participant race: Asian American, White American) design to test whether differences between racial groups in discrimination attributions are influenced by the source of identity questioning. I expected a main effect of race such that Asian Americans made greater discrimination attributions than White Americans. I also expected a main effect of source such that questioning from the prototypical source (White American) was more likely to be attributed to discrimination that questioning from Asian Americans or Latinx Americans. Lastly, I expected these main effects to be qualified by an interaction such that the difference between discrimination attributions for White and minority sources is smaller

for Asian Americans than White Americans. I explored whether these effects were found for perceived intentions and harm, though I did not have *a priori* hypotheses about the interaction effects.

Methods

Participants

White American and Asian American participants were recruited through a Qualtrics panel using the same inclusion criteria from Study 4. Using the average effect size for the key dependent variables in Study 3 ($f = .13$), I conducted a power analysis for the main effect and for the interactions (Faul et al., 2009). The results indicated a sample of 569 participants would provide 80% power for the main effect and 463 participants would provide 80% power for the interaction. Therefore, I aimed to collect 500 total participants given resource and time restrictions. The final sample included 510 participants ($N = 251$ White; $N = 259$ Asian). The average age was 35.49 years, $SD = 12.16$ years, and the sample was 59% ($n = 300$) female. Asian participants listed 26 countries outside of the United States with which they identify, with the largest proportion identifying with Chinese culture (28%; see Table 15).

Procedure and Measures

The procedure and measures followed that of Study 4. White and Asian American participants were randomly assigned to watch a video of identity questioning that varied in the source of the questioning between a White American, Asian American, or Latinx American perpetrator. The participants were led to believe that the video did not load, and therefore saw only a static image and read the transcript beneath it. Participants spent an average of 29 seconds viewing the image and reading the transcript. After watching

the video, participants completed the same measures of perceived positive curiosity intentions (α = .80), exclusion intentions (α = .83; see Table 16 for factor analysis results), discrimination attributions (α =.85), harm (α = .87), and mood (α = .88)[5] from Study 4, in that order. Positive curiosity and exclusion intentions were significantly correlated, $r(508) = .13$, $p = .005$. Because there were no order effects in Study 4, all participants saw the key stimuli and scales first, followed by the filler stimuli and scales. Participants completed the mood scale after the filler scales. As exploratory measures, participants reported the frequency of identity questioning and identity denial they have experienced in their lifetime (Albuja et al., 2019), their perceptions of biculturalism as a strength, and their stigma consciousness (modified from Pinel, 1999). Participants received $5.50 as compensation for completing the study.

Results[6]

Effects of Participant Race and Perpetrator Race

Three (perpetrator race: White, Latinx, Asian) × 2 (participant race: Asian, White) between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted on mood, positive curiosity intent, exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, harm, and behavioral intentions. For mood, there was no significant effect of perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 1.12$, $p = .326$. There was also no effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 0.02$, $p = .888$, or interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 0.55$, $p = .578$. Therefore, mood was not included as a covariate for the remaining analyses.

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[5] There were two outliers ($SD > 3$) on mood. Removing these outliers did not change the results.
[6] 30% of the sample ($n = 151$) failed an instructional attention check item ("If you're still reading, for this item select 1 'Not at all'"). When these participants were excluded, the results remained the same with two exceptions. The main effect of participant race on exclusion intent ($F(1, 353) = 2.13$, $p = .145$) and harm ($F(1, 353) = 1.54$, $p = .215$) became non-significant. The high failure rate may be due to the length of the survey (mean completion time = 13.83 minutes, $SD = 10.40$ minutes) or because participants were not warned that there would be attention check questions (Paas, Dolnicar, & Karlsson, 2018).

For perceived positive curiosity intentions, there was a main effect of perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 3.51$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.04]. Participants perceived more positive curiosity intent when the perpetrator was Asian ($M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.30$) rather than White ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 1.41$), $t(508) = 2.47$, $p = .014$, or Latinx ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(508) = 2.05$, $p = .041$. There was no difference between the White and Latinx perpetrator conditions, $t(508) = 0.41$, $p = .683$. There was no effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 0.11$, $p = .745$, or interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 1.41$, $p = .246$.

For perceived exclusion intentions, there was a main effect of perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 3.48$, $p = .032$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.04]. Participants perceived lower exclusion intent when the perpetrator was Asian ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.35$) rather than White ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.33$), $t(508) = 2.65$, $p = .009$. There was no difference between the Asian perpetrator and Latinx perpetrator conditions ($M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.35$), $t(508) = 1.20$, $p = .230$. There was also no difference between the White and Latinx perpetrator conditions, $t(508) = 1.41$, $p = .157$. There was also a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 5.53$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$, 95% CI = [0.0002, 0.04]. Asian participants perceived greater exclusion intentions ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.22$) than White participants ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.46$). There was no significant interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 0.79$, $p = .457$.

For discrimination attributions, there was a main effect of perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 3.33$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.04]. Participants made greater discrimination attributions when the perpetrator was White ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.41$) rather than Asian ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(508) = 2.53$, $p = .012$. Participants also made

marginally greater discrimination attributions when the perpetrator was Latinx ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.41$) rather than Asian, $t(508) = 1.69$, $p = .091$. There was no difference between the White and Latinx perpetrator conditions, $t(508) = 0.82$, $p = .411$. There was no effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 0.03$, $p = .860$, or interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 0.31$, $p = .733$.

For perceived harm, there was no effect of condition, $F(2, 504) = 1.60$, $p = .203$. There was a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 4.13$, $p = .043$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.03]. Asian participants ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.34$) reported greater harm than White participants ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 1.31$). There was no interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 0.80$, $p = .450$.

For the behavioral measure of interest in working in the laboratory, there was no effect of perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 0.55$, $p = .580$. There was also no effect of participant race, $F(1, 504) = 0.13$, $p = .718$, and no interaction between perpetrator race and participant race, $F(2, 504) = 1.03$, $p = .358$.

Within-Subject Differences in Identity Questioning Motivations

To test whether within-subject differences in the perceived intentions of identity questioning differed by perpetrator race and participant race, I conducted a mixed ANOVA with positive curiosity and exclusion intentions as the within-subjects variable and perpetrator race and participant race as the between-subjects variables. There was a main effect of perceived intentions, $F(1, 504) = 4.09$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.03], such that participants perceived more exclusion intentions ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.35$) than positive curiosity intentions ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.38$). There was an interaction with participant race, $F(1, 504) = 4.53$, $p = .034$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.03]. Asian participants perceived greater exclusion intentions ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.22$) than positive

curiosity intentions ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.36$), $F(1, 256) = 7.91$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, 95% CI = [0.003, 0.08]. There was no difference between positive curiosity and exclusion intentions among White participants, $F(1, 248) = 0.01$, $p = .937$. There was also an interaction between intentions and perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 8.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, 95% CI = [0.002, 0.05]. In the Asian perpetrator condition, participants perceived greater positive curiosity intentions ($M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.30$) than exclusion intentions ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.35$), $F(1, 171) = 4.28$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, 95% CI = [0.00, 0.09]. In the White perpetrator condition, participants perceived greater exclusion intentions ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.33$) than positive curiosity intentions ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 168) = 13.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, 95% CI = [0.02, 0.16]. In the Latino perpetrator condition, there was no difference between the perceived intentions, $F(1, 165) = 2.88$, $p = .092$. There was no three-way interaction between intentions, participant race, and perpetrator race, $F(2, 504) = 0.09$, $p = .915$.

Path Analysis

To test whether there were within-subject differences in the perceived intentions of identity questioning, I created a difference score between perceived exclusion and positive curiosity intentions. When covarying perpetrator race condition, this difference score significantly mediated the association between participant race and mood, $b = 0.01$, 95% CI = [0.002, 0.04], discrimination attributions, $b = -0.07$, 95% CI = [-0.14, -0.01], harm, $b = -0.06$, 95% CI = [-0.12, -0.01], and behavioral interest in working in the laboratory, $b = 0.04$, 95% CI = [0.01, 0.08]. Compared to White participants, Asian participants perceived greater exclusionary intentions than positive curiosity intentions, which then predicated more negative mood, greater discrimination attributions, greater harm, and lower interest in the laboratory.

I also tested whether the effect of perpetrator race on discrimination attributions was mediated by positive curiosity and exclusion intentions (see Figure 7). Because there were no interactions with participant race, participant race is included as a covariate. The model indicated good fit, $X^2(2, N = 510) = 0.17$, $p = .918$, RMSEA = 0.00, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.03], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.003, AIC = 5096.73. Participants perceived greater positive curiosity intent when the perpetrator was Asian compared to Latinx and White. Participants also perceived lower exclusion intent when the perpetrator was Asian compared to White. Lower positive curiosity intentions and greater exclusion intentions were associated with greater discrimination attributions. Positive curiosity intentions mediated the association between perpetrator race condition and discrimination attributions (Latinx versus Asian perpetrators, $\beta = 0.07$, 95% CI = [0.001, 0.14]). Exclusion intentions also mediated the association between perpetrator race condition and discrimination attributions (Latinx versus Asian perpetrators: $\beta = 0.09$, 95% CI = [0.02, 0.16], White versus Asian perpetrators: $\beta = 0.16$, 95% CI = [0.04, 0.29]).

Next, I tested whether the association between perpetrator race and discrimination attributions was serially mediated through identity questioning motivations and harm. This model demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(7, N = 510) = 165.01$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.21, 90% CI = [0.18, 0.24], CFI = 0.67, SRMR = 0.09, AIC = 6779.98, and is not explored further.

Alternative Model

Lastly, I tested for serial mediation through identity questioning motivations and discrimination attributions to harm. Because this model also demonstrated poor fit, $X^2(7,$

$N = 510$) $= 90.95$, $p < .001$, RMSEA $= 0.15$, 90% CI $= [0.13, 0.18]$, CFI $= 0.82$, SRMR $=$

0.07, AIC $= 6705.92$, it was not explored further.

Summary

The results of Study 5 indicate White perpetrators of identity questioning were

viewed as driven less by positive curiosity intent, driven more by exclusionary intent, and

as more discriminatory than Asian perpetrators. This finding is consistent with the

prototype effect because White people may be considered the prototypical perpetrators of

identity questioning (Inman & Baron, 1996). Moreover, because participants perceived

the Latinx and Asian perpetrators as similarly driven by positive curiosity and exclusion

intent, and because there was no interaction between perpetrator and participant race,

there is not clear evidence in support of the ingroup preference effect (Elkins et al.,

2002). The path analyses replicated the associations between positive curiosity intent,

exclusion intent, discrimination attributions, and harm found in the previous studies.

Moreover, positive curiosity intent and exclusion intent mediated the relationship

between perpetrator race and discrimination attributions. Lastly, Asian participants

perceived greater exclusion intent and greater harm than White participants.

Part 2 Summary

Part 2 explored how perpetrator and participant race influence discrimination

attributions for observed identity questioning. Contrary to my hypothesis, there were no

interactions between perpetrator race and participant race. This suggests participants did

not show an ingroup preference when viewing identity questioning. However, the

hypothesized prototype main effects were partially supported. When participants

observed questioning perpetrated by Asian Americans compared to White Americans,

they perceived greater positive curiosity intent (Study 5), lower exclusionary intent

(Studies 3 & 5) and made marginally lower discrimination attributions (Study 5). Similarly, identity questioning perpetrated by Asian Americans compared to Latinx Americans was perceived as driven by greater positive curiosity intent (Study 5), lower exclusion intent (Study 3), and was seen as less discriminatory (Studies 3 & 5). There were no consistent differences between perceptions of the Latinx and White perpetrators across the studies.

The hypothesized effects of participant race were also partially supported. Compared to White participants, Asian participants perceived lower positive curiosity intentions (Study 4), greater exclusion intentions (Study 5), greater harm (Study 5), and reported lower interest in working in the laboratory depicted in the videos (Study 4). There were no differences between racial groups on discrimination attributions across the studies.

The path analyses models examining the associations between discrimination attributions and perpetrator or participant race fit well. Specifically, the association between perpetrator race and discrimination attributions was significantly mediated by positive curiosity intentions (Study 5) and exclusion intentions (Studies 3 and 5), while the association between participant race and discrimination attributions was significantly mediated by positive curiosity intentions (Study 4). Additionally, in Studies 4 and 5, I hypothesized that White Americans overall would perceive lower positive curiosity and exclusion intentions than Asian Americans, and that the difference between positive curiosity and exclusion intentions for White Americans would be greater than for Asian Americans. In Study 4, there was no evidence of within-subject differences between participant race in perceived intent significantly mediating these associations. In Study 5,

this hypothesis was partially supported as Asian participants perceived greater exclusion intentions than positive curiosity intentions, while White participants did not show a difference. This difference between positive curiosity and exclusion intentions significantly mediated the associations between participant race and the outcomes, such that Asian participants perceived greater exclusion than positive curiosity more than White participants, which predicted a worse mood, greater discrimination attributions, greater harm, and less interest in working in the laboratory.

Discussion

Part 1 of this dissertation explored how bicultural Americans' identity questioning attributions were related to anti-immigration policy salience. Study 1 provided correlational evidence that greater discussion and perceived support for anti-immigration policies were associated with lower perceived positive curiosity intent and greater perceived exclusion intent for identity questioning, which were ultimately associated with greater discrimination attributions and anticipated identity questioning experiences. Studies 2a and 2b failed to experimentally demonstrate the relationship between anti-immigration policies and discrimination attributions.

Because Study 1 did not measure the valence of anti-immigration policy discussions, it was unclear whether anti-immigration salience in general, regardless of whether the discussions express support or opposition, was related to identity questioning discrimination attributions. Similarly, the article presented in Studies 2a and 2b did not include valence or report attitudes toward immigration policy, but rather included factual information regarding proposed immigration policies. Thus, Study 2c tested whether the valence of immigration policy discussions (anti-immigration versus pro-immigration) influenced discrimination attributions. Study 2c suggests support for anti-immigration

policies is necessary to alter discrimination attributions. Indeed, bicultural Latinx Americans who interacted with a purported anti-immigration supporter believed that a hypothetical identity questioning experience would be driven by greater exclusion intent compared to participants who interacted with a purported pro-immigration supporter. In turn, participants who perceived lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intent reported greater discrimination attributions and harm.

Moreover, in Studies 2a and 2b, anti-immigration policies were made salient at the national level, yet participants made discrimination attributions for an interpersonal experience of identity questioning. In contrast, in Study 2c, anti-immigration policies were made salient through an interpersonal discussion. Therefore, the level at which the policy was made salient was congruent with the level at which participants made attributions. This difference may be an additional explanation for the discrepancy of findings between Studies 2a-b and Study 2c.

Taken together, Part 1 highlights the potential role of anti-immigration policy in bicultural Americans' perceived intentions for identity questioning, and suggests that while neutral, factual information about immigration policy may not alter discrimination attributions, anti-immigration discussions may be influential in identity questioning discrimination attributions. These findings extend past work suggesting anti-immigration policies can be motivated by a desire to protect an Anglocentric American identity (Mukherjee et al., 2018) by highlighting the role of these policies in interpersonal dynamics. In addition to possible group-level effects of immigration policy rhetoric (Mukherjee et al., 2012), this dissertation demonstrates that interpersonal discussions of

immigration policy may provide a contextual cue that influences how identity questioning is perceived.

Part 2 of the dissertation explored identity questioning attributions from perceivers' perspective. These studies indicate that bicultural Asian American perceivers, who more often experience identity questioning themselves, viewed identity questioning as less motivated by positive curiosity, more motivated by exclusion, and perceived identity questioning to be more harmful. Though there were no direct differences between racial groups on discrimination attributions, there were indirect effects through positive curiosity such that White participants perceived greater positive curiosity intentions than Asian participants, which in turn predicted lower discrimination attributions. These findings are consistent with past work indicating racial minorities are more likely to attribute ambiguous events to discrimination than White people (Carter & Murphy, 2015). Moreover, White perceivers have been found to heavily weigh intent when making discrimination attributions, thereby creating a more rigorous standard for attributions (Simon et al., 2019). The present work extends these findings by testing perceived positive intentions for an ambiguous event, and provides some evidence that while White observers perceive similar positive intent behind questioning as Asian Americans, they ultimately make lower discrimination attributions for identity questioning because they perceive lower negative exclusion intentions than Asian Americans.

Part 2 also explored the role of perpetrator race in discrimination attributions. The findings suggest White and Latinx perpetrators of identity questioning were seen as less motivated by positive curiosity, more motivated by exclusion, and more discriminatory

than Asian perpetrators. Because there were not consistent differences between perceptions of White and Latinx perpetrators, there is no clear support for either the prototype or status-asymmetry effect (Inman & Baron, 1996; Rodin et al., 1990). This suggests there may not be consensus on prototypical perpetrators of identity questioning (Inman et al., 1998), perhaps because identity questioning is more ambiguous and less common than other forms of discrimination that carry a prototypical perpetrator (e.g., sexism; Baron et al., 1991). Additionally, the motivated social cognition perspective argues people rely on prototypes of perpetrators in discrimination attributions to fulfill needs such as a need for control or need for cognitive closure, which may not have been relevant in the present studies (Bucchianeri & Corning, 2013; Corning & Bucchianeri, 2010; Krumm & Corning, 2008).

Lastly, there were no significant interactions between participant and perpetrator race, suggesting there was no evidence of an ingroup preference among White perceivers (Elkins et al., 2002). Though past work has found that people are less likely to make discrimination attributions when the perpetrator is part of their ingroup, the present findings did not support this pattern. Because the past research has largely found an ingroup preference among men and women making discrimination attributions for sexism (e.g., Elkins et al., 2001; Elkins et al., 2002), it is possible that this preference does not extend to cultural or racial ingroups but rather is specific to gender ingroup preferences.

Inconsistencies Between Identity Questioning Motivations

The positive curiosity and intention subscales were computed based on the results of a factor analysis in each study, yet the factor analyses were inconsistent across studies. The item, "The other participant is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm

from" loaded onto the positive curiosity factor in Studies 1, 2c, and 3, and onto the exclusion factor in Studies 2a, 2b, 4, and 5. This item may be more ambiguous than the others, though the results largely remained the same when it was excluded from each study. These discrepancies may also have been driven by differences in the samples because Studies 1 and 2c included majority Latinx participants. Similarly, differences in the study procedures may have altered participants' interpretations of this item.

Additionally, there were inconsistencies in the associations between positive curiosity intentions and exclusion intentions across the studies. The two perceived motivations were negatively correlated in Study 1, positively correlated in studies 2c, 3, and 5, and not related in studies 2a, 2b, and 4. These discrepancies may be due to differences in the factor analyses results. However, these correlations largely remained the same when the item that loaded onto different factors was removed from the scales. This suggests the relationship between these motivations remains unclear. Though some correlations were significant, these were small, suggesting the association between the two motivations is weak. Like discrimination attributions, the perceived relationship between positive curiosity and exclusion intentions may differ based on contextual and perceiver factors.

Taken together, these inconsistencies suggest the relationship between positive curiosity and exclusion intent may be more complex than currently understood. For some participants, curiosity may be ambivalent rather than positive. Consistent with perceptions of bicultural Americans as foreigners (Huynh et al., 2011), past work suggests bicultural people may be viewed as exotic (Devos & Mohamed, 2014). Thus, in certain contexts, curiosity about what cultural or racial group someone is from may be

negatively viewed as exoticizing, rather than as genuine and positive (Aron et al., 1997). Future research and scale development may improve the conceptual understanding of perceived positive curiosity and exclusion intent for identity questioning.

Inconsistencies in Participant Race Effects Between Studies 4 and 5

Though the significant effects found in these studies were consistent with my hypotheses, there were several inconsistent results across the studies. For example, several effects found in Study 4 did not replicate in Study 5. While there were effects of participant race on mood, positive curiosity intentions, and behavioral interest in Study 4, these effects were not found in Study 5. However, the effects of participant race on exclusion intentions and harm found in Study 5 were not found in Study 4. Several possible explanations for these differences were explored. Study 5 included a larger sample, so it was better powered to detect smaller effects. Additionally, because the participants in Study 4 were older than those in Study 5 (t[807] = 2.37, p = .018), I explored whether age moderated participant effects on the dependent variables. However, there was no consistent evidence of moderation by age in either study, suggesting that participants' responses may not differ by age. Both samples included a majority of women, and across both samples, the largest proportion of Asian participants identified with Chinese culture. Future research should replicate this study with a high-powered sample to better understand the replicability of the present findings.

Limitations and Future Directions

The conclusions drawn from the present studies are limited by aspects of the designs. For example, the present studies used a subset of the population that is likely to experience identity questioning. Largely Asian and Latinx American samples were

included in Part 1, which explores discrimination attributions from targets' perspective. However, bicultural people from other backgrounds likely experience identity questioning as well. Future research should explore participant background as a boundary condition for the effects found in these studies. For example, the effect of anti-immigration policy on discrimination attributions may be weaker among bicultural African or Caribbean Americans because Black Americans are not generally stereotyped as foreign (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). For such populations, discrimination attributions may differ based on whether targets' bicultural identity is salient rather than their racial group identity. This would identify different mechanisms that influence discrimination attributions for various bicultural groups.

Similarly, the stimuli used to measure perceived identity questioning in Part 2 is limited in several ways. Though the target race and gender were explicitly labeled on the stimuli, the targets may not be representative of participants' prototype of the racial category and may not be congruent with their own specific background. For example, all the Asian American targets were of Indian descent, while Indian American participants constituted approximately 10% of the Asian American samples across Studies 3-5. Therefore, the stimuli may have been perceived as less representative of the cultural ingroup by many participants. Participants' responses may differ if the target shares their own heritage culture, but the current samples did not provide sufficient power to examine this question. Therefore, future research may benefit from diversifying the stimuli presented, and measuring whether participants' responses differ based on a shared heritage culture within the Asian group.

Additionally, the stimuli used in the present studies were static and lacked non-verbal and verbal information that is present in real-world interactions. Though this was limited in order to increase experimental control and isolate the variable of interest, people likely rely on these additional cues when making discrimination attributions in their lives, suggesting the results found here may not generalize outside of the controlled laboratory setting. Future research may seek to incorporate additional non-verbal and verbal cues to better understand the complex nature of discrimination attributions. For example, a perpetrator's tone and facial expressions may communicate positive curiosity or exclusion motives. Additionally, verbal and non-verbal cues from the target may also influence discrimination attributions for perceived identity questioning. For instance, past work suggests that speaking English with an accent is associated with perceptions of Asian and Latinx Americans as foreign, ultimately leading to greater discrimination (Kim et al., 2011; Rodriguez, Myers, Bingham, Flores, & Garcia-Hernandez, 2002). Therefore, perceivers may view identity questioning as more exclusionary if the target has an accent, because it may appear that the target is being specifically addressed as a perceived foreigner. Future research should incorporate these additional cues to better understand the complex processes underlying discrimination attributions for identity questioning.

The study of identity questioning discrimination attributions may also progress by exploring relevant individual difference measures that could moderate the results. For example, Studies 3-5 included measures of past experience with identity questioning and denial as exploratory moderators. Though these did not demonstrate a clear pattern of findings, future research may expand on this measure by assessing not only the frequency of these experiences, but participants' past interpretation of these experiences and their

resolution. Participants who have experienced identity questioning frequently and interpreted those past instances as driven by positive curiosity may be more likely to perceive identity questioning experienced by others as driven by positive curiosity compared to participants who have had negative, exclusionary experiences of identity questioning. Additionally, participants' own race-based rejection sensitivity may influence their discrimination attributions for identity questioning (Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998). People who are more sensitive to race-based rejection may also be more likely to perceive questioning as driven by exclusion motives and as discrimination.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Numerous theories suggest attributions determine stigmatized people's responses to discrimination and their subsequent well-being (Allport, 1954/1979; Crocker & Major, 1989; Gurin, 1985; Major, 1994). For example, the identity-threat model of stigma indicates that people's appraisal of possibly identity threatening situations predicts their response (e.g., coping, anxiety, vigilance), ultimately affecting downstream outcomes such as self-esteem and health (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Similarly, Stagnor et al. (2003) suggested that discrimination attributions are an intermediary step between categorizing an event as potentially discriminatory and outcomes such as publicly expressing claims of discrimination. Thus, studying attributions for identity questioning may help future work better understand the health consequences that stem from such attributions, as well as behaviors that follow questioning (e.g., identity reassertion; Albuja et al., 2019b; Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Guendelman et al., 2011; Trujillo, Garcia, & Shelton, 2015).

Identity questioning is particularly important to examine because past work has demonstrated that bicultural people experience identity questioning frequently (Albuja et al., 2019a). In fact, only 1 Asian American participant in Studies 3-5 (total $N = 678$) reported never experiencing identity questioning in their life. These reports are consistent with previous findings (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019a; Cheryan & Monin, 2005), providing converging evidence that identity questioning is ubiquitous for bicultural Americans. Moreover, many bicultural Americans find the behavior itself ambiguous (Albuja et al., 2019b), suggesting there may be wide variation in people's interpretations, and discrimination attributions may be a key variable in understanding the experience and effects of identity questioning. The present dissertation advanced the current understanding by examining the contextual and personal characteristics that influence discrimination attributions of experienced and observed identity questioning.

In particular, the present findings highlight the importance of anti-immigration policy discussions in discrimination attributions for identity questioning. Despite being hypothetically asked the same question, after an interaction with someone opposed to immigration, bicultural Americans were more likely to interpret the question as negative, discriminatory, and harmful. This finding suggests that support for anti-immigration policy may be one medium through which associations between American and White are upheld and communicated to bicultural Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005).

Moreover, the findings from Part 2 indicate that identity questioning may be a more threatening and aversive experience for bicultural Americans than White Americans. This has significant consequences because bicultural Americans contend with these experiences more, suggesting that identity questioning may be a chronic or often-

recurring challenge that could hinder positive identity development. Additionally, identity questioning was seen as more discriminatory when perpetrated by White Americans. Because there was not a consistent pattern of results in the Latinx perpetrator condition, it is currently unclear whether perceptions of a prototypical perpetrator of identity questioning are driven by status or association with the American group. Identity questioning perpetrated by Asian Americans was seen as the least discriminatory. These findings are consistent with work suggesting that self-disclosure is associated with positive friendship formation (Aron et al., 1997). Perceivers may have viewed identity questioning between two racial ingroup members as more positive because the shared group status suggests a greater likelihood of preferential and positive treatment rather than threats to their identity.

Taken together, these studies help advance social psychological research beyond typically overrepresented samples (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), and helps expand the role of cultural minorities beyond passive targets of prejudice (Shelton, 2000). Given that bicultural Americans will account for as much as 88% of the United States' population growth through 2065 (López, Bialik, & Radford, 2018), the present studies are poised to make a valuable contribution to our understanding of identity questioning experiences.

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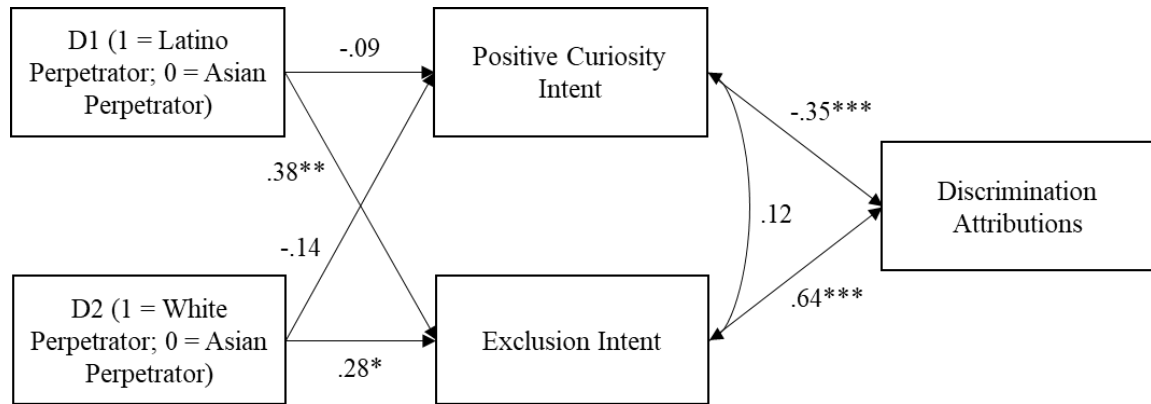*Figure 1.* Standardized coefficients for hypothesized model tested in Study 1. This model demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2(6, N = 187) = 10.47$, $p = .106$, RMSEA = 0.06, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.13], CFI = 0.96, SRMR = .03, AIC = 4515.25. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 2. Hypothesized model tested in Studies 2a and 2b. I expected that participants in the anti-immigration condition would report lower positive curiosity and greater exclusion intentions than control, which in turn would be associated with greater discrimination attributions.

Figure 3. Standardized coefficients for model tested in Study 2c, controlling for mood.

This model demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2(1, N = 232) = 0.46$, $p = .499$, RMSEA $= 0.00$, 95%

CI $= [0.00, 0.15]$, CFI $= 1.00$, SRMR $= 0.01$, AIC $= 2697.59$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 4. Standardized coefficients for model tested in Study 2c, controlling for mood. This model demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2(4, N = 232) = 1.72$, $p = .787$, RMSEA $= 0.00$, 95% CI $= [0.00, 0.07]$, CFI $= 1.00$, SRMR $= 0.02$, AIC $= 3527.99$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 5. Standardized coefficients for model tested in Study 3. This model demonstrated adequate fit, $X^2(2, N = 311) = 4.98$, $p = .083$, RMSEA = 0.07, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.15], CFI = 0.99, SRMR = 0.03, AIC = 3029.19. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 6. Standardized coefficients for hypothesized model tested in Study 4, covarying for mood. This model demonstrated good fit, $X^2(2, N = 297) = 1.64$, $p = .441$, RMSEA = 0.00, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.11], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.02, AIC = 2910.77. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 7. Standardized coefficients for hypothesized model tested in Study 5, covarying

for participant race. This model indicated good fit, $X^2(2, N = 510) = 0.17$, $p = .918$,

RMSEA = 0.00, 90% CI = [0.00, 0.03], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.003, AIC = 5096.73. * p

< .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Table 1

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 1

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
They want to get to know me better.	**.79**	-.29
They are genuinely interested in learning more about me.	**.85**	-.26
They are curious about cultural differences.	**.83**	-.09
They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.	**.46**	.29
They don't consider me to be an American.	-.26	**.86**
They think I'm different.	-.11	**.80**
They want to know how to categorize me based on my ancestry.	.28	**.42**
They think that I'm an outsider.	-.22	**.74**
They want to know what group I'm a part of.[a]	.47	.48

Note. [a] Item not retained in analysis due to double loading.

Table 2

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables in Study 1

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Policy Support	3.90	1.04	--					
2. Policy Discussion	4.34	1.41	.16*	--				
3. Policy Likelihood	3.79	1.29	.45***	.23**	--			
4. Positive	5.01	1.30	-.13	.06	-	--		
5. Exclusion Intent	4.21	1.48	.02	.14	-.06	-.18*	--	
6. Discrimination	4.02	1.84	.05	.22**	.001	-	.47***	--
7. Anticipated	5.35	1.71	-.03	.06	.001	.08	.19*	.14

Note. M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Table 3

Foreign Country Cultural Identity in Study 2a

Country	*N*	%
China	94	31.4
India	32	10.7
Philippines	30	10
Vietnam	29	9.7
Asia	22	7.4
Japan	16	5.4
Korea	14	4.7
N/A	11	3.7
Taiwan	11	3.7
Hong Kong	6	2
Cambodia	5	1.7
Pakistan	5	1.7
Bangladesh	4	1.3
Thailand	4	1.3
Laos	3	1
Canada	2	0.7
Hmong	2	0.7
Guyana	1	0.3
Hawaii	1	0.3
Indonesia	1	0.3

Malaysia	1	0.3
Mienh	1	0.3
Sikh	1	0.3
Trinidad	1	0.3
Two or More	1	0.3
West-Indian	1	0.3

Table 4

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 2a

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
They want to get to know you better.	**.85**	-.15
They are genuinely interested in learning more about you.	**.91**	-.12
They are curious about cultural differences.	**.60**	.14
They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.	.13	**.62**
They don't consider me to be an American.	-.18	**.76**
They think I'm different.	-.05	**.81**
They want to know how to categorize me based on my ancestry.	.11	**.70**
They think that I'm an outsider.	-.16	**.76**

Table 5

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables in Study 2a

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4
1. Mood	4.67	1.09	--			
2. Positive Curiosity Intent	4.57	1.34	.19**	--		
3. Exclusion Intent	4.64	1.29	-.21***	-.10	--	
4. Discrimination Attributions	3.39	1.72	-.24***	-.23***	.37***	--
5. Harm	3.20	1.66	-.30***	-.25***	.37***	.76***

Note. M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Table 6

Foreign Country Cultural Identity in Study 2b

Country	*N*	%
India	83	41.1
China	40	19.7
Korea	22	10.9
Philippines	15	7.4
Pakistan	13	6.4
Vietnam	11	5
Asia	5	2.5
Bangladesh	4	2
Taiwan	3	1.5
England	2	1
Antarctica	1	0.5
Argentina	1	0.5
Japan	1	0.5
South Asia	1	0.5
Tamil	1	0.5

Table 7

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 2b

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
The other participant wants to get to know me better.	**.76**	-.19
The other participant is genuinely interested in learning more about me.	**.81**	-.11
The other participant is curious about cultural differences.	**.64**	.14
The other participant is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.	.24	**.67**
The other participant doesn't consider me to be an American.	-.18	**.76**
The other participant thinks I'm different.	-.22	**.79**
The other participant wants to know how to categorize me based on my ancestry.	.16	**.69**
The other participant thinks that I'm an outsider.	-.24	**.74**

Table 8

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables in Study 2b

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4
1. Mood	4.50	0.84	--			
2. Positive Curiosity Intent	4.33	1.31	.24**	--		
3. Exclusion Intent	4.84	1.34	-.31***	-.11	--	
4. Discrimination Attributions	3.24	1.60	-.47***	-.43***	.71***	--
5. Harm	4.27	1.43	-.39***	-.47***	.58***	.73***

Note. M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

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

Table 9

Foreign Country Cultural Identity in Study 2c

	N	*%*
Mexico	108	46.6
Latinx	19	8.2
Puerto Rico	18	7.8
Dominican Republic	16	6.9
Cuba	12	5.2
Colombia	8	3.4
N/A	6	2.6
Honduras	5	2.2
Two or more	5	2.2
Argentina	4	1.7
Guatemala	4	1.7
Peru	4	1.7
Spain	4	1.7
Costa Rica	3	1.3
El Salvador	3	1.3
Panama	3	1.3
Black	2	0.9
Ecuador	2	0.9
Nicaragua	2	0.9
Asian	1	0.4

Brazil	1	0.4
Chile	1	0.4
Italy	1	0.4

Table 10

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 2c

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
They want to get to know you better.	**.87**	.04
They are genuinely interested in learning more about you.	**.87**	.07
They are curious about cultural differences.	**.78**	.12
They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial group you're from.	**.61**	.36
They don't consider me to be an American.	.05	**.83**
They think I'm different.	.13	**.90**
They think that I'm an outsider.	.20	**.86**
They want to know how to categorize you based on your ancestry.[a]	.67	.40

[a]*Note.* Item not retained in analysis due to double loading.

Table 11

Foreign Country Cultural Identity in Study 3

Country	*N*	%
China	91	29.3
Philippines	30	9.6
India	29	9.3
Vietnam	25	8
South Korea	24	7.7
Asia	19	6.1
Japan	18	5.8
Pakistan	12	3.9
N/A	11	3.5
Taiwan	9	2.9
Hmong	7	2.3
Cambodia	6	1.9
Two or More	6	1.9
Bangladesh	5	1.6
Hong Kong	4	1.3
Laos	3	1
Malaysia	2	0.6
Thailand	2	0.6
Argentina	1	0.3
Ecuador	1	0.3

Kenya	1	0.3
Myanmar	1	0.3
Palestine	1	0.3
Spain	1	0.3
Sri Lanka	1	0.3
Trinidad	1	0.3

Table 12

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 3

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
Participant 103 wants to get to know Participant 222 better.	**.85**	-.09
Participant 103 is genuinely interested in learning more about Participant 222.	**.86**	-.09
Participant 103 is curious about cultural differences.	**.61**	.13
Participant 103 is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group Participant 222 is from.	**.49**	.31
Participant 103 doesn't consider Participant 222 to be an American.	.004	**.74**
Participant 103 wants to know how to categorize Participant 222 based on his ancestry.	.16	**.73**
Participant 103 thinks that Participant 222 is an outsider.	-.02	**.69**
Participant 103 thinks Participant 222 is different.	.05	**.84**

Table 13

Foreign Country Cultural Identity for Asian Participants in Study 4

Country	N	%
China	33	30.6
South Korea	13	12
India	12	11.1
N/A	10	9.3
Philippines	9	8.3
Taiwan	6	5.6
Vietnam	6	5.6
Japan	5	4.6
Asia	4	3.7
Two or More	4	3.7
Thailand	2	1.9
Bangladesh	1	0.9
Cambodia	1	0.9
Hmong	1	0.9
Laos	1	0.9

Table 14

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 4

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
Participant 103 wants to get to know Participant 222 better.	**.90**	-.14
Participant 103 is genuinely interested in learning more about Participant 222.	**.94**	-.12
Participant 103 is curious about cultural differences.	**.58**	.36
Participant 103 is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group Participant 222 is from.	.12	**.64**
Participant 103 doesn't consider Participant 222 to be an American.	-.05	**.79**
Participant 103 wants to know how to categorize Participant 222 based on his ancestry.	.001	**.82**
Participant 103 thinks that Participant 222 is an outsider.	-.14	**.83**
Participant 103 thinks Participant 222 is different.	.03	**.88**

Table 15

Foreign Country Cultural Identity in Study 5

Country	*N*	%
China	72	27.8
Philippines	29	11.2
India	27	10.4
Asia	*25*	9.7
Vietnam	20	7.7
Korea	14	5.4
N/A	11	4.2
Japan	10	3.9
Thailand	6	2.3
Hmong	5	1.9
Taiwan	5	1.9
Two or More	5	1.9
Cambodia	4	1.5
Laos	4	1.5
Bangladesh	3	1.2
Pakistan	3	1.2
East Asian	2	0.8
Hong Kong	2	0.8
Burma	1	0.4
Cuba	1	0.4

Europe	1	0.4
Guyana	1	0.4
Iran	1	0.4
Muslim	1	0.4
Pacific Islander	1	0.4
Scotland	1	0.4
South Asian	1	0.4
Sri Lanka	1	0.4
Switzerland	1	0.4
Trinidad	1	0.4

Table 16

Factor Loadings for Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation in Study 5

	Positive Curiosity Intent	Exclusion Intent
Participant 103 wants to get to know Participant 222 better.	**.84**	.03
Participant 103 is genuinely interested in learning more about Participant 222.	**.85**	-.03
Participant 103 is curious about cultural differences.	**.63**	.18
Participant 103 is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group Participant 222 is from.	.38	**.48**
Participant 103 doesn't consider Participant 222 to be an American.	.04	**.69**
Participant 103 wants to know how to categorize Participant 222 based on his ancestry.	.10	**.78**
Participant 103 thinks that Participant 222 is an outsider.	.03	**.73**
Participant 103 thinks Participant 222 is different.	.06	**.85**

Appendix A: Study Materials

Study 1

Study Introduction
Welcome to our study! We are interested in many aspects of our social experiences. You will complete a series of questionnaires today. Please answer the questions honestly.

Policy Salience:
Participants responded to the perceived policy support, policy discussion, and policy enactment likelihood items (listed below) for each item:

1. Building a wall across the southern U.S. border to prevent immigration.
2. Allowing refugees and asylum-seekers into the U.S.
3. Subjecting individuals who do not leave the U.S. after their temporary visa expires to criminal penalties.
4. Having the Mexican government pay for building a wall across the southern U.S. border.
5. Creating stricter policies for the admission of refugees and asylum seekers into the U.S.
6. Denying birthright citizenship (denying citizenship to children of immigrants born in the U.S.).
7. Reducing funds for refugee programs.
8. Denying Muslims entry into the U.S.

Perceived Policy Support
Please indicate the extent to which you believe the majority of Americans currently support the following proposed policies:

1 = *Majority of Americans Strongly Oppose*

2 = *Majority of Americans Oppose*

3 = *Majority of Americans Somewhat Oppose*

4 = *Majority of Americans Neither Support nor Oppose*

5 = *Majority of Americans Somewhat Support*

6 = *Majority of Americans Support*

7 = *Majority of Americans Strongly Support*

Policy Discussion
Please indicate the extent to which you have heard discussion among your social networks about the following policies:
1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very Much*

Policy Likelihood
Please indicate how likely you believe it is that each of the following proposed policies will be enacted in the next 2-6 years:

1 = *Very unlikely*

2 = *Moderately unlikely*

3 = *Slightly unlikely*

4 = *Neither likely nor unlikely*

5 = *Slightly likely*

6 = *Moderately likely*

7 = *Very likely*

Identity Questioning Motivations
When someone asks you "Where are you from?", to what extent do you think they are doing it because:
1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very much*

1. They want to get to know me better.
2. They are genuinely interested in learning more about me.
3. They are curious about cultural differences.
4. They want to know how to categorize me based on my ancestry.
5. They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.
6. They want to know what group I'm a part of.
7. They think that I'm an outsider.
8. They don't consider me to be an American.
9. They think I'm different.

Anticipated Identity Questioning
How likely do you think it is that the following incidents will happen to you?

1 = *Very unlikely*
2 = *Moderately unlikely*
3 = *Slightly unlikely*
4 = *Neither likely nor unlikely*
5 = *Slightly likely*
6 = *Moderately likely*
7 = *Very likely*

1. Being asked "Where are you from?"
2. Being asked about your nationality
3. Being told you are not American*
4. Being told you cannot identify as American*
5. Being told you should culturally identify differently*
6. Being told you should identify with one cultural identity over another*
*Denotes filler items

<u>Discrimination Attributions</u>
To what extent do you think the following experiences constitute prejudice:

1 = *Not at all prejudice*
7 = *Very much prejudice*

1. Being asked "Where are you from?"
2. Being asked about your nationality
3. Being told you are not American*
4. Being told you cannot identify as American*
5. Being told you should culturally identify differently*
6. Being told you should identify with one cultural identity over another*
*Denotes filler items

Studies 2a and 2b

Experimental Condition

Control Condition

SHARE

Researchers Explore Left-Handedness
By J.L. Haley Aug. 6, 2019, 10:30 AM

Data collected in 2007 by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan estimates that 7 to 10 percent of the adult population is left-handed. This study also examined LRRTM1, the first gene linked to increased odds of left-handedness. Although little is known about LRRTM1, the research team suspects that it modifies the development of asymmetry in the human brain.

Asymmetry is an important feature of the brain, with the left side usually controlling speech and language, and the right side controlling emotion. In left-handers this pattern is often reversed. An identical twin of a left-handed person has a 76 percent chance of being left-handed. These data suggest a possible genetic link to handedness.

POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON HUMAN THINKING
A theory about how handedness affects thinking was developed from this study. According to this theory, right-handed people are thought to process information using a "linear sequential" method in which one thread must complete its processing before the next thread can be started. Left-handed persons are thought to process information using a "visual simultaneous" method in which several threads can be processed simultaneously.

Right-handed people process information using analysis, the method of solving a problem by breaking it down to its pieces and analyzing the pieces one at a time. By contrast, left-handed people process information using synthesis, which is the method of solving a problem by looking at the whole and trying to use pattern-matching to solve the problem.

Experiments on multi-tasking performance showed that when given two tasks to simultaneously complete, left-handers outperformed right-handers. However, when instructed to focus on one task at a time, right-handers completed the tasks more quickly, compared to left-handers.

MEMORY DIFFERENCES
Experiments on the role of handedness on different types of memory yielded interesting findings. Episodic memory, the recall and recognition of events, uses different areas of the brain than non-episodic memory (used in factual and implicit memory). Left-handers showed better episodic than non-episodic memory. This finding was reversed in right-handers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS
Left-handed individuals show different styles of thinking which influence multitasking performance and memory. A result of these differing styles of processing is that right-handers perform better when they complete one task before starting the next. Left-handers, by contrast, are capable and comfortable switching between tasks. While left-handers showed more accurate memories of events, right-handers displayed better factual memory.
In short, the research consortium study demonstrated that left-handed individuals show interesting differences in task and memory performance.

Posted in: **Science and Policy**
doi:10.1126/science.aaz023

Manipulation Check Questions (Experimental Condition):

According to the article, which of the following is true:

- The current administration has prioritized limiting immigration into the United States.
- The current administration has NOT prioritized limiting immigration into the United States.

The current administration's policies surrounding immigration are:

- pro-immigration (we welcome immigrants to the US)
- anti-immigration (we do not welcome immigrants to the US)
- neutral on immigration

According to the article, it is likely that in the future, the United States will be:

- more hostile toward immigrants.
- more welcoming toward immigrants

Manipulation Check Questions (Control Condition):

What was this article about?

- Differences between colorblind and non-colorblind people
- Differences between left-handed and right-handed people
- Racial differences
- None of the above

Is the following statement true or false:

Researchers found differences between left-handed and right-handed people.

- True
- False

What percent of the population is left-handed?

- 7%-10%
- 50%-55%
- 80%-85%

Filler Article Feedback
How would you rate the article you read on the following characteristics?
1 = *Not at all*

7 = *Very much*

1. Clear
2. Easy to understand
3. Informative
4. Compelling
5. Persuasive
6. To the point

7. Wordy

What edits would you suggest to make this article easier to understand? (Open-ended)

Study 2a Measures

Identity Questioning Motivations

Before you complete the remaining questions, please take a moment to imagine that you are speaking with a stranger, and they ask you, "Where are you from?" Once you have taken a moment to imagine this experience, please click the arrows to continue.

To what extent do you think a stranger would ask you where you are from because:

1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very much*

1. They want to get to know me better.
2. They are genuinely interested in learning more about me.
3. They are curious about cultural differences.
4. They want to know how to categorize me based on my ancestry.
5. They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.
6. They think that I'm an outsider.
7. They don't consider me to be an American.
8. They think I'm different.

Discrimination Attributions

To what extent do you think the following experiences constitute discrimination:

1 = *Not at all discrimination*
7 = *Very much discrimination*

1. Being asked "Where are you from?"
2. Being asked about your nationality
3. Being asked how old you are*
4. Being asked your name*
5. Being told you are friendly*
6. Being asked what your hobbies are*

*Denotes filler items

Harm

How harmful do you think being asked "Where are you from?" is?

	No Harm Done	High Harm Done
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

Mood (Sechrist, Swim, & Mark, 2003)

Right now, to what extent do you feel:

1 = calm… 7 = angry

1= fatigued … 7 = alert

1 = good … 7 = bad

1 = relaxed … 7 = nervous

1 = happy … 7 = sad

1 = depressed … 7 = elated

1 = contented … 7 = upset

1 = stressed … 7 = serene

1 = excited … 7 = lethargic

1 = certain … 7 = uncertain

Study 2b Measures

Identity Questioning Motivations (PI-Created)
Based on the short interaction you had with the other participant, to what extent do you think each of the following are true:

1 = *Not at all*
2 = *Very Much*

1. The other participant wants to get to know me better.
2. The other participant is helpful and unselfish with others.*
3. The other participant is reserved.*
4. The other participant is genuinely interested in learning more about me.
5. The other participant is original and comes up with new ideas.*
6. The other participant is curious about cultural differences.
7. The other participant wants to know how to categorize me based on your ancestry.
8. The other participant is depressed and blue.*
9. The other participant tends to do a thorough job.*
10. The other participant is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group I'm from.
11. The other participant can be somewhat careless.*
12. The other participant thinks that I'm an outsider.
13. The other participant is relaxed and handles stress well.*
14. The other participant doesn't consider me to be an American.
15. The other participant is a reliable worker.*
16. The other participant tends to find fault with others.*
17. The other participant is talkative.*
18. The other participant thinks I'm different.

*Denotes filler items

Discrimination Attributions

Based on the short interaction you had with the other participant, to what extent does each word below describe them?

1 = *Not at all*
2 = *Very Much*

1. Annoying*
2. Biased
3. Discriminatory
4. Boring*
5. Obnoxious*
6. Prejudiced
7. Racist
8. Reserved*
9. Fair
10. Unintelligent*

11. Funny*
12. Witty*
13. Kind*
14. Inquisitive*
15. Energetic*

Harm

To what extent do each of the following describe your interaction with the other participant:

1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very Much*

1. Pleasant
2. Fun
3. Enjoyable
4. Comfortable
5. Nice
6. Tense

Mood (Sechrist, Swim, & Mark, 2003)

Right now, to what extent do you feel:

1 = calm… 7 = angry

1= fatigued … 7 = alert

1 = good … 7 = bad

1 = relaxed … 7 = nervous

1 = happy … 7 = sad

1 = depressed … 7 = elated

1 = contented … 7 = upset

1 = stressed … 7 = serene

1 = excited … 7 = lethargic

1 = certain … 7 = uncertain

Description of Interaction

Below, please write anything about your interaction that informed your impression of the other participant. For example, you can write about what you discussed (if anything), how the other participant behaved, or any non-verbal behavior you noticed. Please include as much detail as you remember from that short interaction, so that the researchers can learn more about what factors might influence first impression accuracy.

Meta-Perceptions of Harm

To what extent do you think they would describe the interaction with you as:

1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very Much*

1. Pleasant
2. Fun
3. Enjoyable
4. Comfortable
5. Nice
6. Tense

Study 2c

<u>Study Instructions:</u>

Welcome to our study! We are interested in how people comprehend and discuss information that they read online. You will be reading an article taken from a website and answering questions about it. After you read the questions, you will be matched with another participant to discuss the article via chat.

<u>Manipulation Check Questions:</u>

According to the article, which of the following is true:

- The current administration has prioritized limiting immigration into the United States.
- The current administration has NOT prioritized limiting immigration into the United States.

The current administration's policies surrounding immigration are:

- pro-immigration (we welcome immigrants to the US)
- anti-immigration (we do not welcome immigrants to the US)
- neutral on immigration

According to the article, it is likely that in the future, the United States will be:

- more hostile toward immigrants.
- more welcoming toward immigrants

Filler Article Feedback

How would you rate the article you read on the following characteristics?

1 = *Not at all*

7 = *Very much*

8. Clear
9. Easy to understand
10. Informative
11. Compelling
12. Persuasive
13. To the point
14. Wordy

What edits would you suggest to make this article easier to understand? (Open-ended)

Chat Instructions

Thank you! In the next part of the study, you will chat with another participant who read the same article. You will discuss your impressions of the article and the edits you recommend.

Once you are ready to begin, click the >> arrows and you will be matched with one other participant. Note this may take a few moments. Because this is new technology, you will have the opportunity to give us feedback on this experience at the end of the study.

>> Joining chat, please wait...

>> You are now connected. Please wait while your chat group is filled. Once all participants have connected, you will be able to chat.

>> All chat participants have arrived. You may now chat! First, please share basic demographic information with the other participant to get to know each other. Then, you will discuss your impressions of the article, and what you think could be improved.

Anti-Immigration Chat

>> All chat participants have arrived. You may now chat! First, please share basic demographic information with the other participant to get to know each other. Then, you will discuss your impressions of the article, and what you think could be improved.
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: well that's a strange way to start, but i'm a 61 year old white male
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: did you get the article about immigration policy?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: I dont know about you but i'm so glad there are finally real changes to immigration. This country has needed tougher immigration control for a long time. Which policy do you think will work best?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Me: ${q://QID222/ChoiceTextEntryValue}
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: personally, i think building the wall is a really good idea. it's not our problem, why should we have to take immigrants in? their own countries should figure their own problems out. i wish the article had said that too. did you have any edits for the article?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Me: ${q://QID228/ChoiceTextEntryValue}
>> The chat session has ended. You will now be directed to the next part of this study.

Pro-Immigration Chat

>> All chat participants have arrived. You may now chat! First, please share basic demographic information with the other participant to get to know each other. Then, you will discuss your impressions of the article, and what you think could be improved.
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: well that's a strange way to start, but i'm a 61 year old white male
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: so did you read the article about immigration policy?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: I dont know about you but i can't believe these changes to immigration. This country has needed more relaxed and fair immigration laws for a long time. I think these changes are really bad. Which policy do you think will be the worst?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Me: ${q://QID252/ChoiceTextEntryValue}
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Participant 1: personally, i think building the wall is a really bad idea. it's everyone's responsibility, why shouldn't we also take immigrants in? our country can help them figure their own problems out. i wish the article had said that too. did you have any edits for the article?
(${date://CurrentTime/MT}) Me: ${q://QID258/ChoiceTextEntryValue}
>> The chat session has ended. You will now be directed to the next part of this study.

<u>Measures Instructions</u>

Thank you for participating in the chat. If you had any technical problems, you will be able to give us feedback and let us know about any problems at the end of the study.

Next, you will see questions about common topics that come up during discussions of online articles. If this topic didn't come up in your discussion, please answer based on how you would respond if it had come up.

<u>Identity Questioning Motivations</u>

One common question in discussions is "Where are you from?" ["How old are you?"*/ "What are your political beliefs?"*]
(If the other participant didn't ask you this question, please take a moment to imagine that they did, and answer the questions below based on this hypothetical scenario).
To what extent do you think the other participant asked you where you are from [how old you are*/ about your political beliefs*] because:

1 = *Not at all*
2 = *Very Much*

1. They want to get to know you better.
2. They are genuinely interested in learning more about you.
3. They are curious about cultural [age*/political*] differences.
4. They want to know how to categorize you based on your ancestry [age group*/ political party*].
5. They are trying to figure out what cultural or racial [generational*/ political party*] group you're from.
6. They think that you're an outsider [older person*/not in their political party*].
7. They don't consider you to be an American [someone from their generation*/ someone from their political party*].
8. They think you're different.
*Denotes filler items

<u>Discrimination Attributions</u>

To what extent do you think the following experiences constitute discrimination:

1 = *Not at all discrimination*
7 = *Very much discrimination*

1. Being asked "Where are you from?"
2. Being asked about your nationality
3. Being asked how old you are*
4. Being asked your name*

5. Being asked what your political beliefs are*
6. Being asked what your hobbies are*
*Denotes filler items

Harm (PI-Created)

How harmful do you think being asked "Where are you from?" ["How old are you?"*/
"What are your political views?"*] is?

| | No Harm Done | | | High Harm Done | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Mood (Sechrist, Swim, & Mark, 2003)

Right now, to what extent do you feel:

1 = calm… 7 = angry

1= fatigued … 7 = alert

1 = good … 7 = bad

1 = relaxed … 7 = nervous

1 = happy … 7 = sad

1 = depressed … 7 = elated

1 = contented … 7 = upset

1 = stressed … 7 = serene

1 = excited … 7 = lethargic

1 = certain … 7 = uncertain

Suspicion Probe

Was there anything unusual about the instant messaging technology?

Filler Items about Messaging Technology
Please complete the following questions about the instant messaging technology.

1 = *Strongly disagree*
5 = *Strongly agree*

1. The instant messaging technology worked well
2. The presentation of the instant messaging technology was appealing
3. I would be interested in using this technology in other HITS
4. The instant messaging technology still needs a lot of work before it becomes widely used
5. The instant messaging technology had several glitches

What would you like to see us improve with this instant messaging technology?
Did you experience any glitches with the instant messaging technology?

Studies 3-5

<u>Study Introduction</u>

We are interested in how people make first impressions when they only have short slices of information.

You will watch two videos and give us your impression of the people in the videos. The videos show a conversation between two participants and were taken during a study conducted in our laboratory. We have data on each participant's first impression of the other participant, so now we want to see how a third person makes a first impression.

The transcript of the conversation is beneath each video in case you have any video/audio issues. You will still be able to complete the study even if a video doesn't load.

Ingroup condition (Included in Studies 3 and 5 only):

Outgroup-Prototypical Condition:

Sorry, an unexpected error occurred. Please read the transcript below.

ID: 222
Sex: Male
Race: Asian

ID: 103
Sex: Male
Race: White

Outgroup Non-Prototypical (Included in Studies 3 and 5 only):

Sorry, an unexpected error occurred. Please read the transcript below.

ID: 103
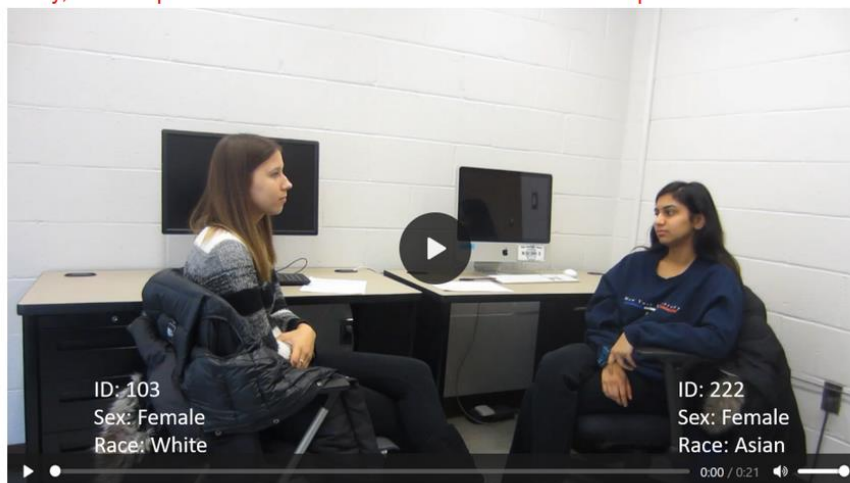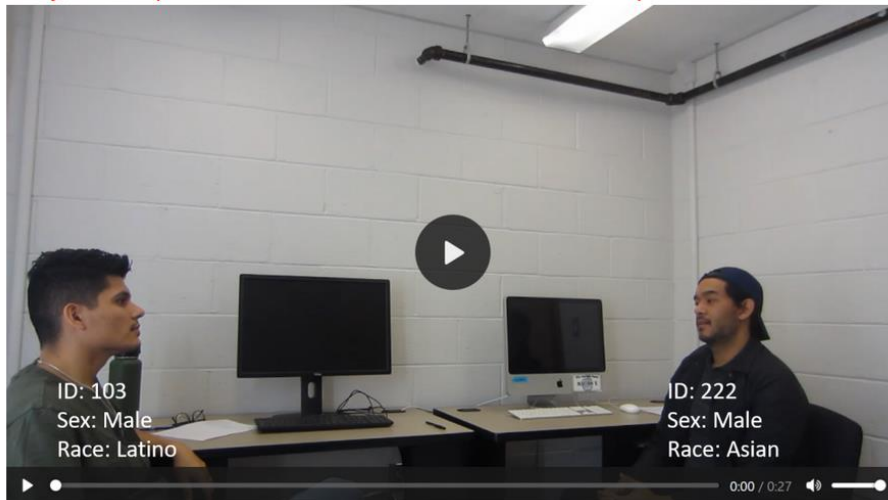Sex: Female
Race: Latina

ID: 222
Sex: Female
Race: Asian

Beneath each photo, participants read this transcript (edited to match the ID of the perpetrator):

Participant 222 (103): So I guess we have to wait to discuss the article.
Participant 103 (222): Yeah, I guess so. So which psych class are you in?
Participant 222 (103): Gen psych
Participant 103 (222): Oh me too. Who's your professor?
Participant 222(103): Umm, professor Cultice. It's the Tuesday Wednesday class.
Participant 103 (222): Oh ok, I don't know that professor. I have Ingate.
Participant 222(103): Oh I think I know people in that class.
Participant 103 (222): That's cool. Yeah, I like the class. Umm, so, where are you from?
Participant 222(103): I'm from New Jersey.
Participant 103 (222): No, I mean, where are you really from?
[Knocking.]

Participants saw an additional pair with the filler conversation below:
Participant 268: Is this the first study you have done?

Participant 105: No, I've done a couple already.

Participant 268: Oh, yeah, this is my second one.

Participant 105: Oh, so you still have a lot of RPUs to be done?

Participant 268: Yeah, I kind of put it off because I thought it would be easy to do but most of the studies are filled up now, so I don't have a lot of studies to sign up for.

Participant 105: Oh ok. I think I did a lot in the beginning of the semester. I think I only have a couple of them to go.

Participant 268: Oh, that's great. Hopefully I'll find some studies to fill my credits

Identity Questioning Motivations

Based on the short interaction you viewed between the participants, to what extent do you think each of the following are true:

1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very Much*

1. Participant 103 (222/268*) wants to get to know Participant 222 (103/105*) better.
2. Participant 103 (222/268*) is genuinely interested in learning more about Participant 222 (103/105*).
3. Participant 103 (222/268*) is curious about cultural differences.
4. Participant 103 (222/268*) is trying to figure out what cultural or racial group Participant 222 (103/105*) is from.
5. Participant 103 (222/268*) doesn't consider Participant 222 (103/105*) to be an American.
6. Participant 103 (222/268*) thinks Participant 222 (103/105*) is different.
7. Participant 103 (222/268*) wants to know how to categorize Participant 222 (103/105*) based on his/her ancestry.
8. Participant 103 (222/268*) thinks that Participant 222 (103/105*) is an outsider.
9. Participant 103 (222/268*) is helpful and unselfish with others.*
10. Participant 103 (222/268*) is reserved.*
11. Participant 103 (222/268*) is original and comes up with new ideas.*
12. Participant 103 (222/268*) tends to find fault with others.*
13. Participant 103 (222/268*) is talkative.*
*Denotes filler items and filler targets

Discrimination Attributions

Based on the short interaction you viewed between the participants, to what extent does each word below describe Participant 103 [222/105*]?

1 = *Not at all*
7 = *Very Much*

1. Annoying*
2. Biased
3. Discriminatory
4. Boring*
5. Obnoxious*
6. Prejudiced
7. Racist
8. Reserved*
9. Fair
10. Unintelligent*
11. Funny*
12. Witty*
13. Kind*
14. Inquisitive*
15. Energetic*
*Denotes filler items and filler targets

Harm
Based on the short interaction you viewed between the participants, to what extent does each word below describe the interaction between Participant 103 and Participant 222 [Participant 105 and 268*]?

1 = *Not at all*
2 = *Very Much*

1. Pleasant
2. Fun
3. Enjoyable
4. Comfortable
5. Nice
6. Tense
*Denotes filler targets

Behavioral Interest

If you were a student at this university, how interested would you be to work as a research assistant in the lab that you viewed in the videos?

1 = *Not interested at all*
7 = *Very interested*

Mood (Sechrist, Swim, & Mark, 2003)

Right now, to what extent do you feel:

1 = calm… 7 = angry

1= fatigued … 7 = alert

1 = good … 7 = bad

1 = relaxed … 7 = nervous

1 = happy … 7 = sad

1 = depressed … 7 = elated

1 = contented … 7 = upset

1 = stressed … 7 = serene

1 = excited … 7 = lethargic

1 = certain … 7 = uncertain

Exploratory Measures Instructions

Thank you! You have finished the first part of this study. The second half of the study includes questions about your thoughts and opinions. This will help us understand more about you and how you might make your impressions. There are no right or wrong answers, so please answer honestly.

Identity Questioning and Denial Frequency (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019)
In your lifetime, how often have you been:

1 = *Never*
7 = *Always*

1. Asked "Where are you from?"
2. Asked about your nationality
3. Told you are not American
4. Told you cannot identify as American
5. Told you should culturally identify differently
6. Told you should identify with one cultural identity over another

Bicultural Resource Theory (Study 5 only)
Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements below.

1 = *Strongly disagree*
2 = *Disagree*
3 = *Somewhat disagree*
4 = *Neither agree nor disagree*
5 = *Somewhat agree*
6 = *Agree*
7 = *Strongly agree*

1. Being bicultural means having two cultural forces to draw from.
2. I feel good about knowing the American and Asian ways of doing things.
3. I feel that my Asian and American cultures are two resources to draw from.
4. I feel like someone who has access to two cultures.

Stigma Consciousness (Pinel, 1999; Study 5 only)
Indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the statements below.

1 = *Strongly disagree*
2 = *Disagree*
3 = *Somewhat disagree*
4 = *Neither agree nor disagree*
5 = *Somewhat agree*
6 = *Agree*
7 = *Strongly agree*

1. Stereotypes about Asians have not affected me personally.
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically Asian.
3. When interacting with others, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am Asian.
4. Most people do not judge Asians on the basis of their race.
5. My being Asian does not influence how men act with me.
6. I almost never think about the fact that I am Asian when I interact with others.
7. My being Asian does not influence how people act with me.
8. Most people have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.
9. I often think that people are unfairly accused of being racist.
10. Most people have a problem viewing Asians as equals.

Demographics- All studies

Are you at least 18 years old, speak English fluently AND currently live in the United States?
○ Yes
○ No

Do you identify as having more than one culture (i.e., bicultural)?

○ Yes

○ No

Do you identify as American?

○ Yes

○ No

What race is your biological father? (Check all that may apply)
❑ White
❑ Black/African American
❑ Hispanic/ Latino
❑ Asian
❑ Biracial/Multiracial _____

What race is your biological mother? (Check all that may apply)
❑ White
❑ Black/African American
❑ Hispanic/ Latino
❑ Asian
❑ Biracial/Multiracial _____

What is your racial background? (Check all that may apply)
❑ White/ Caucasian
❑ Black/African American
❑ Hispanic/ Latino
❑ Asian
❑ Biracial/Multiracial _____

Were you born in the United States?
○ Yes
○ No (If no, where were you born?) _____

How long did you live in the country you were born? (In years)

How long have you lived in the United States? (In years)

Was your father born in the United States?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No (If no, where was he born?) _____

How long did your father live in the country he was born (in years)? If you don't know for sure, give us your best guess.

Was your mother born in the United States?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No (If no, where was she born?) _____

How long did your mother live in the country she was born (in years)? If you don't know for sure, give us your best guess.

What non-American (i.e., from another country) culture do you most identify with?

_____

How strongly do you identify as bicultural?
- ○ 1 Very weakly
- ○ 2
- ○ 3
- ○ 4
- ○ 5
- ○ 6
- ○ 7 Very strongly
- ○ I don't identify as bicultural

How strongly do you identify as [INSERT MINORITY IDENTITY]?
- ❍ 1 Very weakly
- ❍ 2
- ❍ 3
- ❍ 4
- ❍ 5
- ❍ 6
- ❍ 7 Very strongly
- ❍ I don't identify as [INSERT MINORITY IDENTITY]

How strongly do you identify as American?
- ❍ 1 Very weakly
- ❍ 2
- ❍ 3
- ❍ 4
- ❍ 5
- ❍ 6
- ❍ 7 Very strongly
- ❍ I don't identify as American

How old are you? (In years)

Are you a United States citizen?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Do you speak English fluently?
O Yes
O No

Do you speak more than one language?
o   No
o   Yes (If yes, what other language(s)?
_____

Please rate your speaking ability in the non-English language(s). (If more than one language, rate your highest ability).

- ○ 1 Very little ability
- ○ 2
- ○ 3
- ○ 4
- ○ 5
- ○ 6
- ○ 7 Very high ability

If you have an immigrant background, what is your generational status? (If at least one of parents is an immigrant, you are 2nd generation, if at least one of your grandparents is an immigrant, you are 3rd generation, etc.)

- ○ 1st generation (I moved here myself)
- ○ 2nd generation (one of my parents moved here)
- ○ 3rd generation (one of my grandparents moved here)
- ○ 4th generation (one of my great-grandparents moved here)
- ○ 5th+ generation
- ○ I do not have an immigrant background

What is your gender?
- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Other

What is your current zip code?

What is the highest grade or year of regular school that you have completed?
- ○ No formal schooling
- ○ 8th grade or less
- ○ Some high school (Grades 9,10,11 & 12)
- ○ High school diploma (Completed 12th grade)
- ○ G.E.D.
- ○ Some college or 2 year degree
- ○ Technical or trade school
- ○ Bachelor's degree
- ○ Graduate or professional school

Here is a seven-point scale of the political views that people might hold. How would you categorize your political beliefs?

- ○ Very conservative
- ○ Conservative
- ○ Somewhat conservative
- ○ Moderate/Middle of the road
- ○ Somewhat liberal
- ○ Liberal
- ○ Very liberal

Now, please think of your household income from all sources. Include not just your own income, but also the income of everyone living with you. Include money you have from jobs and public assistance programs, as well as any other sources such as rent, interest and dividends.

What was your total household income last year before taxes? If you don't know, you can give us a guess estimate. Can you indicate if it is:

- ❍ Less than $5,000
- ❍ $5,001 to $10,000
- ❍ $10,001 to $15,000
- ❍ $15,001 to $20,000
- ❍ $20,001 to $25,000
- ❍ $25,001 to $30,000
- ❍ $30,001 to $35,000
- ❍ $35,001 to $40,000
- ❍ $40,001 to $45,000
- ❍ $45,001 to $50,000
- ❍ $50,001 to $55,000
- ❍ $55,001 to $60,000
- ❍ $60,001 to $65,000
- ❍ $65,001 to $70,000
- ❍ $70,001 to $75,000
- ❍ $75,001 to $80,000
- ❍ $80,001 to $85,000
- ❍ $85,001 to $90,000
- ❍ $90,001 to $95,000
- ❍ $95,001 to $100,000
- ❍ Over 100,000