

MINORITY RACIAL GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

by

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Abstract

Research has found that collective self-esteem or CSE varies greatly between different racial groups. While higher status racial groups experience both high private and public CSE, meaning they think highly of their group and they believe that others think highly of their group, members of low-status racial groups have been found to experience high private CSE, but low public CSE, meaning they think highly of their own group but believe that others think lowly of their group. This may result from the fact that private CSE is formed largely based off of ingroup contact. This study hypothesized that that minorities who were raised in majority White communities will have had less opportunity for in-group contact and as a result will score lower on measures of collective self-esteem and well-being in comparison to minorities raised in Black and Latino communities. No significant results were found, suggesting that the community in which one is raised is far from the only determinant of collective self-esteem.

Minority Racial Groups and Collective Identity

Collective identity is a shared sense of belonging to a group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). One's group membership, and the way that one views themselves as a member of their group, has been theorized to be essential to the formation of an individual's self-identity. That is, belonging to a group, whether it be gender, age, ethnicity, or political identity, can be crucial in the development of one's identity, ideology and even their personal characteristics (Ashmore, Deaux, McLaughlin-Volpe 2004; Crocker, Blaine, & Broadnax 1994). Also referred to as collective self-esteem or CSE, collective identity has been measured using the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The collective self-esteem scale consists of four subscales: member esteem, private regard, public regard, and importance to identity. Member esteem refers to a person's perception of how worthy they are as members of their social group. Private regard refers to one's judgment of one's own group and public regard refers to how one believes others judge their group. Finally, identity importance refers to the importance of one's group membership to one's self-concept (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Research has found that collective self-esteem varies in important ways between racial groups (Bikmen 2011; Crocker et al. 1994; Walton & Cohen, 2007; Wiley, et al., 2008) For example, Crocker, et al., (1994) examined these ideas among White, Black and Asian participants using a modified version of the collective self-esteem scale pertaining specifically to race. They found that White and Asian participants had more positive estimates of public regard than Black participants. This suggests that Black participants had less positive estimates of how the public sees them than White and Asian

participants. They found that among individual White and Asian participants, there was a positive association between public and private regard. In contrast, there was no association between public and private regard among Black participants. Crocker and colleagues hypothesized that since Black people are negatively valued in society, they separate those public views from their own.

Similarly, Wiley and colleagues (2008) examined collective identity among first-generation (i.e., those born outside the United States) and second-generation (i.e., those born in the United States to at least one immigrant parent) immigrants across two studies (Wiley, et al., 2008). In the first study, first- and second-generation West Indian participants were given the CSE scale measuring public and private regard. It was found that second-generation participants had significantly lower scores on public regard than first-generation participants. Likewise, public and private regard were found to be linked among first-generation immigrants, but were not associated in the second-generation immigrants (Wiley et al., 2008).

In a second study, differences in collective identity were examined among first- and second-generation Black, White Asian, and Latino participants. It was found that Asian and Whites had more positive estimates of public regard than Latino and Blacks. Similarly, among Asian participants, public and private regard were linked across both generations. In contrast, among Black and Latino participants, there was an association between public and private regard in the first generation, and no association in the second generation. Surprisingly, the same pattern was found among White participants. Wiley et al. (2008) interpreted these results to mean that since second generation immigrants of

color are socialized within a U.S racial hierarchy, they may have less positive views of how the public viewed them than White participants.

Another line of research has explored the effect of intergroup contact on collective identity (Bikmen, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Tropp and Pettigrew (2005), for example, re-examined data from previous studies on intergroup contact and found that there were disproportionate benefits of intergroup interactions based on the social status of the groups involved, and that these interactions were less beneficial for minorities. They theorized that racial minorities enter interactions with an ongoing awareness of the devaluation of their race (e.g., public regard), which inhibits positive outcomes of interactions. The results of their review suggest that perception of prejudice is associated with low public regard, which in turn inhibits positive contact outcomes for minorities. From this, they concluded that ingroup attitudes or collective esteem may be heavily affected by the perceived perceptions of the outgroup.

More recent examinations into intergroup contact have led to further insight about collective self-esteem, within the context of how it may vary between racial groups of varying statuses (Bikmen, 2011). In a 2011 study by Bikmen, Black and Asian students at a majority White institution responded to questions about rejection, ethnic identity (identification with one's ethnic group), public regard, and interracial contact. Results found that there was a significant positive correlation between ethnic identity and discrimination for Black participants and a significant negative correlation between ethnic identity and public CSE. Bikmen found that when Black participants felt rejected by the majority White institution, they turned to ingroup. Asian participants, in contrast, did not experience the same difficulty, as their group held a higher status that was closer

to that of their White peers. It was also found that Asian students perceived interactions with the White majority as favorable, while Black students did not benefit from these interactions. This research suggests that communities in which people of color make up a smaller percentage of the population may exacerbate perceptions of racial differences and heighten sensitivity to the perception of public regard. The results also indicate that the conditions in which minorities make up a small proportion of the population make impact their ability to articulate collective identity. This is the focus of the present research.

Taken together, the goals of the present research are to investigate the ways in which the racial makeup of one's upbringing will impact collective self-esteem in adulthood. Research has shown that lower levels of collective self-esteem have a number of adverse effects such as decreased psychological well-being. It was hypothesized that minorities who were raised in majority White communities will have had less opportunity for in-group contact and as a result will score lower on measures of collective self-esteem and well-being in comparison to minorities raised in Black and Latino communities.

Methods

Participants

Thirteen self-identified racial minorities completed this study. Participants were recruited by word of mouth and through posts on a number of social media platforms including Instagram and Facebook. Participant's ages ranged from 20 and 62 years of age ($M = 28.30$, $SD = 14.16$). Of the thirteen participants, six self-identified as Hispanic or Latino (46.15%), five identified as Black or African American (38.46%), and two identified as Other (15.37%). The two participants who selected Other identified as "Black and White" and "Caribbean and Nordic". Participants also reported the racial

makeup of the community in which they were raised. Five participants stated that their community was majority White (non-Hispanic) (38.46%), five stated their community as both White and Black/Latino (38.46%), and 3 identified their community as majority Hispanic or Latino. Participants who were psychology majors at Purchase College, State University of New York were compensated for their time with course credit in one psychology class.

Measures

All materials utilized in this study were distributed remotely using the computer-based Qualtrics system. Participants completed a brief demographics questionnaire, which asked them to provide information regarding ethnicity, gender, age, and the racial makeup of the community in which they grew up. This study also utilized the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), as a measure of well-being. It evaluates positive and negative feelings about the self. Example measures include: “I feel I do not have much to be proud of” and “ I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.” Participants responded on a 4-point Likert scale, with 1 corresponding with “Strongly Disagree” and 4 correlating with “Strongly Agree”. Higher scores on this survey indicate higher self-esteem. The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was utilized as a measure of well-being. This questionnaire asked participants to report feelings relating to depression across the course of a year. Example measures included: “I felt that people dislike me” and “I felt hopeful about the future”. Participants responded on a four point Likert scale with 1 corresponding with “Rarely or none of the time” and 4 correlating with “Most or all of the time”. A higher score on this survey indicates greater depressive symptomology. This study utilized the Collective

Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), which measures collective self-esteem across four subscales: private CSE, public CSE, membership esteem, and importance to identity. Measures of private CSE, which is one's judgment of their own group, included "I often regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group" and "In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group". Measures of public CSE, which is how one believes others judge their group, included "Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others" and "Most people consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups". Measures of membership self-esteem, which is one's perception of their own worth as a member of their social group, include "I am a worthy member of my race/ethnic group" and "I feel I don't have much to offer to my racial/ethnic group". Measures of importance to identity, which is the importance of one's group memberships to one's self-concept, include "Overall, my racial/ethnic group has very little to do with how I feel about myself" and "The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am". All answers were reported on a seven point Likert scale on which 1 corresponds with Strongly Disagree and 7 corresponds Strongly Agree. Higher scores on this survey indicate higher CSE.

Procedure

Participants were provided with a link to the online survey on Qualtrics. They were then presented with the informed consent form and had to confirm their consent before continuing with the study. They then completed the demographics questionnaire followed by the CES-D Depression Scale, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and Collective Self-Esteem Scale. Participants were then presented with the debriefing form, which explained the purpose of the study and thanked them for their participation.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Participants' responses on the Collective Self-Esteem scale were scored on a seven-point Likert scale. This scale was divided into four subscales, Private CSE, Public CSE, Importance to Identity, and Membership Self-Esteem. The maximum possible score for each subscale was 28.

Private CSE was highest in participants who grew up in a Both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 25.20$, $SD = 3.11$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 25.00$, $SD = 4.53$) or majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 24.00$, $SD = 4.00$).

Public CSE was highest in participants who grew up in a Both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 13.80$, $SD = 4.27$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 13.20$, $SD = 1.79$) or majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 13.00$, $SD = 2.00$).

Importance to identity was highest in participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 22.00$, $SD = 3.46$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 21.33$, $SD = 3.22$) or a Both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 20.00$, $SD = 5.34$).

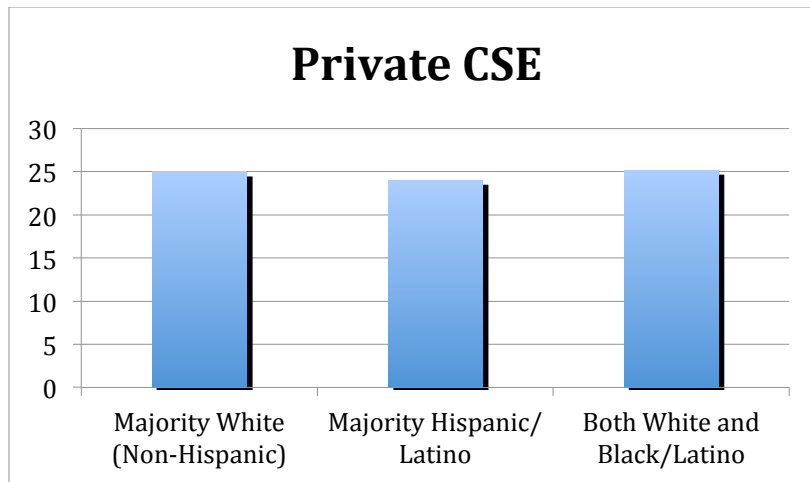
Membership self-esteem was highest in participants who grew up in a majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 21.67$, $SD = 4.62$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 21.40$, $SD = 4.40$) or a both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 19.20$, $SD = 7.43$).

Responses on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale were scored on a four point Likert scale. Self-Esteem was highest in participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 29.00$, $SD = 5.96$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a Both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 26.40$, $SD = 9.56$) or a majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 25.33$, $SD = 3.22$).

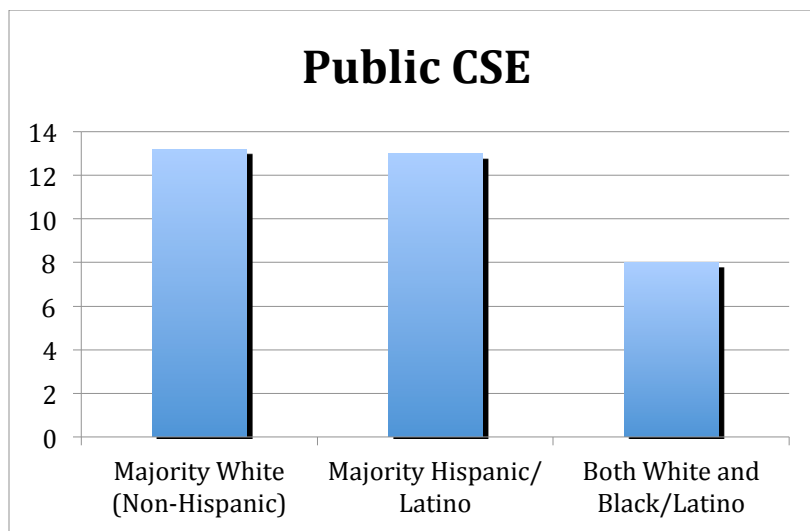
Responses on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) were scored on a four-point Likert scale, with higher scores corresponding with higher depressive symptomology. Depression was highest in participants who grew up in a Both White and Black/Latino community ($M = 48.60$, $SD = 8.96$) in comparison to participants who grew up in a majority White (Non-Hispanic) community ($M = 46.20$, $SD = 16.47$) or majority Hispanic of Latino community ($M = 45.67$, $SD = 13.43$).

Inferential Statistics

It was hypothesized that minorities who were raised in majority White communities will have had less opportunity for in-group contact and as a result will score lower on measures of collective self-esteem in comparison to minorities raised in Black and Latino communities. To test this hypothesis, a one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and private CSE was entered as continuous dependent variables. Results from these analyses indicated that there was no significant difference in private CSE by community racial makeup, $F(2, 10) = 0.10$, $p = .911$, $\eta = .02$. The mean private CSE for each group is shown in Figure 1.

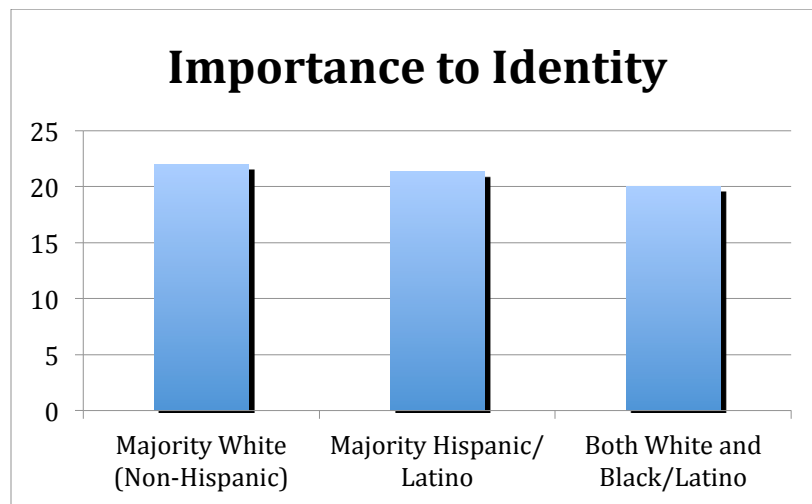


A second one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and public CSE was entered as the continuous dependent variable. Results from this analysis indicated that there was not a significant difference in public CSE by community racial makeup, $F(2, 10) = 0.08$, $p = .925$, $\eta = .02$. The mean public CSE for each group is shown in Figure 2.

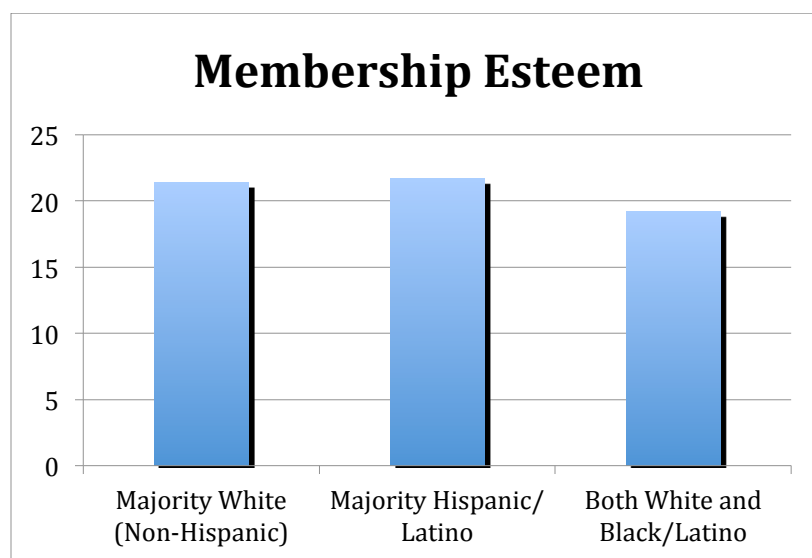


A third one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and importance was entered as the continuous dependent variable. Results from this analysis indicated that there was no significant difference in importance to identity by community racial makeup, $F(2, 10)$

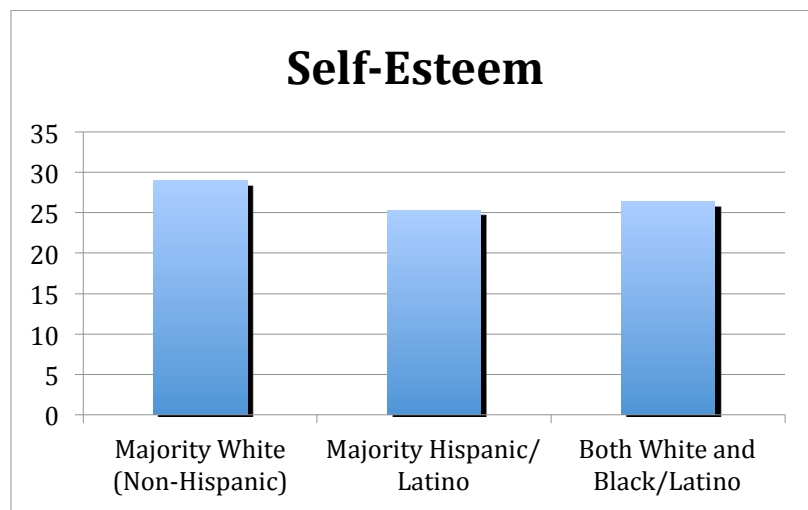
$= 0.28, p = .761, \eta = .05$. The mean importance to identity for each group is shown in Figure 3.



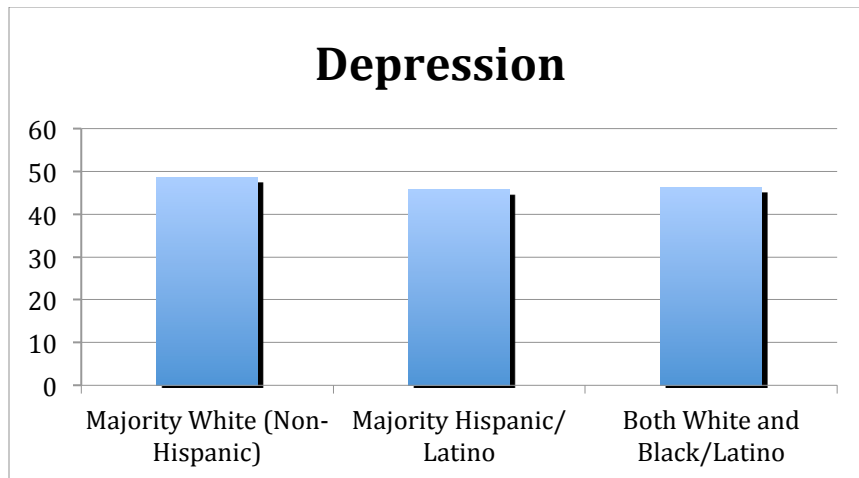
A fourth one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and membership self-esteem was entered as the continuous dependent variable. Results from this analysis indicated that there was no significant difference membership esteem by community racial makeup, $F(2, 10) = 0.24, p = .790, \eta = .05$. The mean membership esteem for each group is shown in Figure 4.



It was also hypothesized that minorities who were raised in majority White communities would score lower on measures of well-being in comparison to minorities raised in Black and Latino communities. To test this hypothesis, a one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and self-esteem was entered as continuous dependent variables. Results from these analyses indicated that there was no significant difference in private CSE by community racial Makeup, $F(2, 10) = 0.28, p = .760, \eta = .05$. The mean private CSE for each group is shown in Figure 5.



A final one-way ANOVA was conducted where community racial makeup was entered as the three-group categorical independent variable and depression was entered as the continuous dependent variable. Results from this analysis indicated that there was not a significant difference in public CSE by community racial makeup, $F(2, 10) = 0.06, p = .942, \eta = .01$. On this variable, lower scores indicate lower levels of depression. The mean public CSE for each group is shown in Figure 6.



Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine the relationship between the racial makeup of the environment in which one is raised and their collective self-esteem and wellbeing in adulthood. Results found no significant difference between collective self-esteem and well-being between those who had grown up in primarily White communities and those who grew up in primarily Black and Latino communities. On the four measures of collective self-esteem, there was no significant difference on these measures based on where participants grew up.

There are many factors that could have impacted these results. Firstly, attitudes towards race vary greatly from community to community regardless of race, and the experiences of a participant who grew up in a majority White town near New York City may be vastly different than those of someone who grew up in the Midwest. These differing attitudes surrounding race greatly impact CSE. Additionally, collective self-esteem is something that is constantly evolving as we grow up, and it may be difficult to

measure how much of that of that is truly related to one's childhood. It is possible that even participants who were greatly affected by the racial makeup of their communities growing up may have had self-esteem at the time, but many of those participants no longer live in those communities. Especially considering the changes in America's political climate during the last few years, identification with one's group is something that for many has continued to develop beyond their adolescence. CSE may be something related not only to childhood community makeup but also by makeup of the communities in which participants live now.

There were a number of flaws in survey design that also may have contributed to the lack of significant results. Firstly, the term "grew up" as used in the question "What was the racial/ethnic makeup of the community in which you grew up?" was not defined. By failing to operationalize "grew up" participants were left to define the term themselves, which means that participants may have been referring to hugely different periods of time when answering this question. While some may consider that term to mean their early childhood, others may consider it to mean their adolescence. Additionally, some participants may not identify specifically with one community and may have had difficulty answering this question accurately.

Additionally, the responses to this question, "majority White (Non-Hispanic)", "majority Black/African American", "majority Hispanic or Latino", and "both White and Black/Latino" are slightly ambiguous, as some communities have a much more complex racial makeup that could not be accurately summarized here. Additionally, self-report data on the ethnic makeup of these communities could not be verified, as the communities were not named. Participants' own accounts of this measure may not be

entirely correct, as some participants may be recalling experiences from decades ago and there is no way to know whether or not their perspective is correct. By asking participants to report on their own community makeup, results are more likely to reflect their perspective on their community rather than an objective answer.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study, the greatest being the small sample size utilized. Though the study was originally designed to have thirty participants, due to unforeseen circumstances the research was forced to move forward with only thirteen participants. This small sample size made it less likely that this study would yield significant results. This study was faced difficulty in recruiting participants as extenuating circumstances led to students moving off campus. There were also unexpected time constraints as data collection had to begin later than originally intended and had to conclude quickly.

In a future recreation of this study, a larger sample size should be utilized. Additionally, terms that may be confusing such as “grew up” should be defined within the study to avoid participants being unsure of how to answer this question. It would also be useful to expand the participant requirements to include a wider range of ethnicities beyond Black and Hispanic/Latino. For more accurate results, a way to verify the racial makeup of communities should be implemented if possible. Additionally, other wellbeing measures beyond self-esteem and depression should be considered.

Implications

While the racial makeup of one’s upbringing undoubtedly impacts the way people come to view themselves and their race as adults, the results of this study show that that

is far from the only influence. The lack of significant difference between participants raised in majority Black/Latino communities and participants raised in majority White communities implies this variable actually has little bearing on CSE in adulthood. The racial makeup of one's community likely impacts how often one is able to experience ingroup contact, which studies have shown to be extremely important in the development of collective self-esteem. (Bikmen, 2011) If the number of members of one's racial group within your community does not correlate with CSE, then the amount of opportunity for ingroup interaction may not be what is important, rather it may have more to do with the quality and content of that ingroup interaction.

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**Appendix
Demographics Survey**

Q5 What is your Age?

Q2 What is your Gender?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-Binary (3)
 - Prefer not to say (4)
-

Q3 What is your Ethnicity?

- White (1)
 - Black or African American (2)
 - Hispanic or Latino (3)
 - American Indian or Alaska Native (4)
 - Asian (5)
 - Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (6)
 - Other (7)
-

Q6 If you answered "Other" to the previous question, please specify.

Q7 What was the racial/ethnic makeup of the community in which you grew up?

- Majority White (non-Hispanic) (1)
- Majority Black/African American (2)
- Majority Hispanic or Latino (3)
- Both White and Black/Latino (4)

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Scale:

Instructions

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. At times I think I am no good at all.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. I certainly feel useless at times.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Scoring:

Items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 are reverse scored. Give "Strongly Disagree" 1 point, "Disagree" 2 points, "Agree" 3 points, and "Strongly Agree" 4 points. Sum scores for all ten items. Keep scores on a continuous scale. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem.

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), NIMH

Below is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved. Please tell me how often you have felt this way during the past week.

	During the Past			
	Week			
	Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)	Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)	Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)	Most or all of the time (5-7 days)
1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I felt I was just as good as other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I felt depressed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I felt hopeful about the future.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I thought my life had been a failure.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. I felt fearful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. My sleep was restless.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I was happy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. I talked less than usual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. I felt lonely.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. People were unfriendly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. I enjoyed life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. I had crying spells.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. I felt sad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. I felt that people dislike me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. I could not get "going."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SCORING: zero for answers in the first column, 1 for answers in the second column, 2 for answers in the third column, 3 for answers in the fourth column. The scoring of positive items is reversed. Possible range of scores is zero to 60, with the higher scores indicating the presence of more symptomatology.

Collective Self-Esteem Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider **your race or ethnicity** (e.g., African-American, Latino/Latina, Asian, European-American) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7:

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I am a worthy member of my race/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I feel I don't have much to offer to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Most people consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Overall, I often feel that my racial/ethnic group is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	In general, others respect my race/ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I feel good about the race/ethnicity I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15 .	In general, others think that my racial/ethnic group is unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16 .	In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7