Visible Minority Immigrants' Attributions of Workplace Incivility

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Abstract

The immigration of visible minorities to Canada is expected to continuously rise over the coming years. However, discrimination continues to be a challenge for many immigrants in Canada. The present research aims to better understand how visible minority immigrants make sense of a specific, subtle, and insidious form of interpersonal discrimination: incivility in the workplace. Drawing from acculturation and attribution theories, I form hypotheses about the relationships between immigrants' acculturation and attributions of incivility and explore the potential downstream consequences of different attributions on the targets' wellbeing. I test my hypotheses using two online studies. The first applies a vignette study design to assess how acculturation influences internal and external attributions and the second uses a recall study design to do the same, while also examining the relationship between attributions and well-being. Across both studies, cultural maintenance significantly predicted external attributions. Cultural adaptation significantly predicted internal attributions of discrimination in Study 1, and neither acculturation dimension significantly predicted wellbeing. The present research extends previous work on visible minority immigrants' perceptions of incivility and wellbeing, while providing practical implications and avenues for future directions.

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Visible Minority Immigrants' Attributions of Workplace Incivility

Immigration has played an important role in Canada's formative history. This trend is expected to continue, and even increase significantly over the next two decades. In fact, it is estimated that by 2031, approximately 28% of the population will be foreign born (Malenfant, Lebel & Martel, 2010). While Canada and many other first world countries have taken initiatives to promote multiculturalism, recent surveys of immigrants indicate that they feel discriminated against nonetheless, with higher levels of discrimination experienced by those who are visible minority immigrants (Reid, 1991; Stewart et al., 2008). In fact, discrimination is cited as one of the main challenges facing new settlers to Canada, and other first world countries (Reitz, 2005).

Scholars have distinguished between two overarching types of discrimination: formal and interpersonal (Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002). *Formal discrimination* takes the form of discriminatory institutional policies and decisions (e.g., discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion) and is illegal in many developed countries (including Canada). *Interpersonal discrimination*, on the other hand, manifests through social dynamics and communication (e.g., lack of respect, subtle hostility), tends to be more common, and is comparatively harder to regulate and prohibit through formal policies (Madera & Hebl, 2013). Interpersonal discrimination is most commonly expressed through acts of *incivility*, defined as "low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of norms for mutual respect" (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). While anyone can be the target of incivility, and not all acts of incivility are discrimination-related, when incivility is motivated or influenced by prejudicial attitudes, it takes the form of interpersonal discrimination. Little research to date has specifically investigated visible minority immigrants' experiences of incivility as a means of interpersonal discrimination in organizational settings; however, there is research that establishes that visible minority employees in general

experience a greater level of incivility compared to their Caucasian counterparts, suggesting that prejudicial attitudes at least to a certain extent influence experiences of incivility (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013)

Therein lies a noteworthy complexity regarding interpersonal discrimination: to a large extent, whether an experience of incivility is reported as (or interpreted to be) a form of interpersonal discrimination depends on whether the target attributes the motivating cause to prejudicial or discriminatory attitudes. Consider, for example, a Syrian man who only recently immigrated to Canada. One day, his co-worker rudely but subtly criticizes his work performance. The man might believe that his own personal inadequacies led to poor performance, which in turn motivated his co-worker's comments. Alternatively, the man might interpret his co-worker's criticisms to be unfounded and motivated by prejudice. In the former case, the act of incivility is not perceived to be interpersonal discrimination, where in the latter case it is. This sense-making process captures one's *attributions,* individuals' perceptions of *why* they are being mistreated (Weiner, 1985). Importantly, attributions are known to play a crucial role in determining people's reactions to an event, and their subsequent well-being (Kelley & Michela, 1980). It is often understood that negative interpersonal events are more threatening when one makes internal (e.g., something about themselves) rather than external (e.g., something about the transgressor) attributions (Dion & Earn, 1975).

The overarching purpose of my research is to better understand why visible minority immigrants attribute experiences of incivility to discrimination versus other (more internal) causes, and to investigate the downstream consequences of those attributions on their well-being. Drawing on acculturation theory (Berry, 1997), I investigate one potential factor that might influence attributions in the context of visibility minority immigrants' experience of incivility in

organizational settings: their level of cultural adaptation and cultural maintenance. Acculturation captures how individuals respond to and incorporate a new culture into their own identity (Berry, 1997). It is defined as the dual process of cultural and psychological changes that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005). I theorize that the attributions that visible minority immigrants make will vary depending on their acculturation strategy. Specifically, I propose that cultural adaptation will motivate visible minority immigrants to make internal attributions (of self-blame) in the context of incivility, whereas cultural maintenance will motivate external attributions (of discrimination) in the context of incivility. Furthermore, I hypothesize that internal attributions (of self-blame) will have a comparatively stronger negative impact on targets' wellbeing than external attributions (of discrimination).

My research will contribute to the literature on visible minority immigrants' organizational experiences. Studies examining discrimination in the workplace have focused largely on the manifestations of formal discrimination. While studying such manifestations of discrimination is indispensable, it may cause us to oversee various instances of more subtle and insidious forms of discrimination. Discrimination may manifest through unjust treatment that is not always reflected in hiring decisions or wage disparities, and visible minority immigrants may experience subtle unfair treatment in the workplace from coworkers and supervisors. Moreover, the laws dictating employment diversity and income equality may give the impression of equality, but these measures do not necessarily capture the prejudiced behavior that visible minority immigrants encounter in the workplace via interpersonal treatment. Therefore, I underscore the need to incorporate a more modern standpoint; one that captures interpersonal discrimination into the more traditional focus on formal discriminatory acts in the workplace. In

doing so, I heed the call by scholars to better understand immigrants' interpersonal workplace experiences (van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

I tested my hypotheses across two independent studies. In Study 1, I used a vignette design to gauge participants' attributions of workplace incivility. In Study 2, I used the recall technique to examine attributions of an incident of incivility. Across both studies, I used a sample of participants recruited through online platforms and personal and professional networks. Before detailing the studies I conducted, I begin with a literature review explaining attributions of incivility, acculturation and its predicted influence on attributions, and outline my hypotheses.

Theory Background & Hypothesis Development

Attribution Theory and its Application to Workplace Incivility

Attribution theory underscores how and why people form their opinion about the cause of an event (Winkler, 2010). It is the study of perceived causation, with attribution referring to the inference of cause (Kelley & Michela, 1980). The foundation of attribution theory is that people have a fundamental tendency to search for the cause of their own or someone else's behavior rather than assuming that these behaviors are random, because it provides some feeling of control over their own behaviors and over situations (Regan, 1978). When individuals experience an event, they will implicitly or explicitly ask themselves: "Why did this happen?" or, "What is the reason that this happened?" A variety of causal explanations can be relied upon to account for what went wrong. According to attribution theory, there are two primary characteristics to the explanations that people make to explain events of success or failure (Spilka, Shaver, & Kirkpatrick, 1985): *internal* and *external*. Internal attributions attribute the cause of an event to some sort of personal source or characteristics, such as one's own ability or effort. External

attributions on the other hand, attribute the cause to something external to oneself, such as task difficulty, luck or others' bad behavior. These attributions are not mutually exclusive, and it is possible for individuals to attribute multiple causes, both internal and external, to an event (McClure, 1998).

According to attribution theory, people are especially likely to engage in sense-making processes when confronted with negative, emotionally jarring events (Langer, 1978). Events that suggest 'negative feedback' threaten the self-concept, and humans are motivated to protect, maintain, or enhance the positivity of the self-concept (Brown & Dutton, 1995). There are several theoretical reasons to expect that experiencing workplace incivility will trigger the attribution process in a target. First, workplace incivility is a form of negative feedback. Workplace incivility is conceptualized as an *identity threat* (Anderson & Pearson, 1999). It motivates individuals to question their social standing and can spark anger and other negative emotions because targets feel as though they have been disrespected. Second, as noted above, a defining feature of workplace incivility is its ambiguous intent (Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001). Workplace incivility represents fairly subtle, discourteous behaviors such as using a condescending tone of voice, ignoring another's presence, giving 'dirty' or insulting looks to another, or failing to give credit where credit is due. Due to the ambiguous nature of workplace incivility victims may engage in a variety of causal attributions in an attempt to clarify to themselves the underlying intent of the transgressor and to think about what might have happened for them to receive such treatment.

When it comes to workplace incivility (and mistreatment broadly), targets can make internal and external attributions (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). Returning to my earlier example of the Syrian man, believing that he was criticized due to his own personal inadequacy is an

example of an internal attribution. Alternatively, if he believed his colleague's behavior was because of his coworkers' prejudice towards his ethnic group or being an immigrant in general, this would be an example of an external attribution. In my research I investigate internal attributions from a self-blame perspective. *Self-blame* refers to when the target believes that the negative outcome is due to some aspects of themselves, such as lack of ability or personality flaw (Brewin, 1986). Furthermore, I investigate external attributions through a discrimination lens: when targets of stigmatized groups discount their own role in the negative outcome and blame it on the prejudice of others (presumably an external factor) (Major, Kaiser, & McCoy, 2003).

An important question to answer however, in the context of visible minority immigrants, what predicts internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination? To answer this research question, I draw from theory on acculturation.

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation is defined as the dual process of cultural and psychological changes that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005). At the individual level, this process encompasses changes in a person's behaviours and attitudes. While early research conceptualized acculturation as unidimensional, Berry (1980) proposed a multidimensional model of acculturation, which suggested that acculturating individuals hold attitudes towards two dimensions of acculturation: (1) *cultural maintenance*, which is the importance for ethnic minorities to maintain key aspects of the ethnic culture, and (2) *cultural adaptation*, which is the extent to which ethnic minorities wish to have contacts and participation in the host-country culture. These two dimensions are not mutually exclusive; a person may be high on both, low on both, or emphasize one over the other. When

immigrants report high cultural adaptation, they are more likely to embrace their host country's culture and traditions. Cultural adaptation can be revealed in immigrants' behavior such that those high in cultural adaptation are likely to dress like host country nationals, speak the host country language at home, follow the news of the host country, uphold the values of the host country, and develop strong social ties with members of their host country's dominant culture. In contrast, individuals with high cultural maintenance are likely to speak their native language at home, dress in their traditional fashion, follow the news of their ethnic group or country, maintain the values of their ethnic community, and form social networks with members of their ethnic/cultural community (Gordon, 1964; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). Both dimensions of acculturation reflect an immigrant's identity, and the extent to which they incorporate their home country culture and their host country culture into their sense of self.

I propose that acculturation plays an important role in determining the extent to which visible minority immigrants make attributions to discrimination towards incidents of workplace incivility. First, I hypothesize that visible minority immigrants' level of cultural maintenance (i.e., the extent to which individuals maintain strong ties and identity to their original culture) will positively predict the tendency to attribute workplace incivility externally, to discrimination. The social cognitive perspective of identity suggests that individuals can have multiple identities and while each can become activated in certain contexts some identities are more central to one's core sense the self (Kihlstrom & Klein, 1994). Central identities tend to be chronically activated and influence how individuals' process information, and how they make sense of the world, across most situations. When individuals have a strong group, or ethnic identity, they are likely to interpret ambiguous situations through this 'group-based' lens (Gurin, 1985).

Cultural maintenance essentially captures the strength or centrality of a visible minority immigrant's social identity (see Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Since visible minority immigrants who report high cultural maintenance identify strongly with their ethnic group, aspects of their ethnic group will be strongly incorporated into their self-concept; their ethnic identity is a central identity in their self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As a result, their salient group-identity becomes a framework through which they make interpretations regarding their experiences. Accordingly, when immigrants who highly identify with their ethnic group face situations of uncivil treatment, they are likely to more readily and immediately jump to the conclusion that they are being mistreated because of a 'group-based injustice' (i.e. discrimination), rather than some sort of personal injustice. Consistent with this reasoning, several empirical studies have reported a positive correlation between the cultural maintenance dimension of acculturation and perceptions of general prejudice among members of devalued groups (e.g. Sodowsky & Plake, 1992; Liu, Pope-Davis Nevitt & Toporek, 1999).

Furthermore, I hypothesize that visible minority immigrants' degree of cultural adaptation to their host country culture will positively predict internal, self-blame attributions in response to incidents of workplace incivility. Immigrants who are high in cultural adaptation tend to view themselves as being less distinct and perceive a number of shared commonalities with members of their host country (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, Pandey, & Kagitcibasi, 1997; De Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014). Consequently, attributions of discrimination are less likely to be an immediate reaction as a function of cultural adaptation. Furthermore, people high in cultural adaptation experience strong motivations to seek a sense of belonging and acceptance in their new countries (Berry et al., 1997). Thus, attributions of discrimination may actually be threatening to their sense of self as it suggests that they have not successfully achieved such

belonging and acceptance in their host country. To avoid this threat, they likely rely on internal attributions because attributions of discrimination are inconsistent with the way they view themselves.

Based on the preceding theory, I hypothesize the degree to which visible minority immigrants attribute experiences of workplace incivility to attributions of discrimination will be positively associated with their reports of cultural maintenance. I also hypothesize that the degree to which visible minority immigrants attribute experiences of workplace incivility to attributions of self-blame will be positively associated with their reports of cultural adaptation. Formally, I offer the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Cultural maintenance will be positively associated with external attributions of discrimination towards an incident of workplace incivility.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural adaptation will be positively associated with internal attributions of self-blame towards an incident of workplace incivility.

Attributions of Workplace Incivility and Employee Well-being

An important implication of the attributions people make towards negative events is that it can have downstream consequences on their well-being (Alloy, Just & Panzarella, 1997; Anderson & Arnoult, 1985). While some inconsistencies in the literature exist, in general, making internal attributions tends to have a more negative impact on individuals' self-esteem and psychological well-being than external attributions (Crocker & Major, 1989). Once again, I return to my earlier example of the Syrian employee in Canada who experiences an incident of workplace incivility. If he blames himself and believes that he is criticized by his co-worker because of his own personal inadequacies (i.e. makes an internal attribution), he is more likely to experience stronger feelings of hurt and personal inadequacies than if he made external

attributions of discrimination. Self-blame can reduce one's sense of self-efficacy—one's conscious beliefs in their own abilities to achieve necessary performance (Bandura & Wessels, 1997). An individuals' level of self-efficacy is shaped by their causal attributions of past success and failures (Bandura, 1997).

External attributions can to a certain extent 'lessen the blow' of a negative interpersonal event. So in contrast, if the Syrian immigrant believes that his colleague's unbecoming behavior was due to his own prejudice and therefore makes external attributions of discrimination, he might not experience as strong as an identity threat as if he made internal attributions of self-blame. Since the self is not held accountable for the negative event, attributing negative outcomes to prejudice can protect self-esteem to a certain extent, relative to attributing the cause to internal properties of the self (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991).

Major and colleagues (Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003), for example, found that the negative impact of negative feedback on self-esteem was weaker for participants who blamed the negative feedback on discrimination rather than personal characteristics. Related research of note has found that female employees tend to report higher levels of job dissatisfaction (Lapierre, Spector, & Leck, 2005) and psychological distress (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010) as a result of general harassment rather than sexual harassment. The underlying rationale is that female employees can psychologically buffer themselves from the negative impacts of sexual harassment because they can more easily blame the aggressors' actions on negative qualities of the aggressors themselves (i.e., make external attributions).

To date, no research has studied immigrants' reactions to workplace incivility as a function of their internal versus external attributions, but if the results found in these previous

studies generalize to the context of my own research, I expect to find that external attributions of discrimination can at least dampen the otherwise negative impact of workplace incivility on targets' psychological well-being. Therefore, I offer the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 3:* The negative relationship between internal attributions of self-blame towards workplace incivility and well-being will be comparatively stronger than the negative relationship between external attributions of discrimination and well-being.

OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

I conducted two studies to test my hypotheses. The first study used a vignette to capture an instance of workplace incivility and tested Hypotheses 1 and 2. Previous research has applied a vignette study design to investigate similar research questions as my own. For example, Craig and Richeson (2012) used vignettes to study the relationship between ethnic identification and attributional processes. A particular strength of vignette studies is that by holding the incident of workplace incivility constant for all participants, it offers a controlled way to assess my base hypotheses that acculturation maintenance and adaptation influence the attributions that visible minority immigrants make regarding workplace incivility (see Aguinis, & Bradley, 2014). Furthermore, the scenario presented resembled a real-life situation that can commonly occur in the workplace. Such realism can help contribute to the external validity of my research (Lynch, 1999).

The second study was a recall study used to elicit salient experiences of workplace offenses. In a recall study (also sometimes referred to as a critical incident technique), participants are asked to recall a time in which they experienced a situation that meets one or more prescribed criteria (Kemppainen, 2000). In my research, I asked participants to recall their most recent experience of workplace incivility. The recall technique is commonly used in studies

seeking to assess participants' attributions and sensemaking around workplace mistreatment (e.g., Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001). A particular advantage of recall studies is that it captures participants' actual experiences and the attributions they have made in response. All three hypotheses were tested in Study 2.

STUDY 1

Participants

Participants were recruited via two sources. The first was Mechanical Turk Prime (MTurkP). Mechanical Turk (MTurk) is an online marketplace that connects researchers with individuals willing to participate in research for a nominal payment. MTurkP is an add-on service that helps researchers recruit participants with specific inclusion criteria. MTurk participants are representative of noncollege populations and the quality of data provided by MTurk meets the psychometric standards associated with published research (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). To ensure that my sample consisted of immigrants (one of two inclusion criteria), the recruitment criteria was set so that only individuals who identified as an 'immigrant,' and were born in non-western but now live in the US or Canada could view the posting for the study and click to participate. I also collected information about participants' birth country and their current country of residence as a validity check. Participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria of being an immigrant based on their answers to these questions were subsequently removed from the sample. To ensure that participants in the final sample met the second inclusion criterion – being an ethnic minority (i.e., non-white) – participants were asked to report their visible ethnicity. Individuals who reported that they identify as Caucasian/White were removed from the sample. An incentive payment of $1.50 was provided to all individuals who completed the survey, regardless of whether they met the inclusion criteria.

The second recruitment source was through my personal social media network and professional connections within the immigrant community network in Ottawa and Halifax. I reached out to participants through Facebook, through a connection to teachers at an Islamic school in Halifax, and through a WhatsApp group for immigrants in Halifax. Recruitment via these sources was open to all individuals, however, the posting messages informed interested individuals that the study was targeted towards understanding visible minority immigrants' understanding of a negative workplace interaction and that being a racial minority and immigrant to Canada were inclusion criteria of this study. Once again, I collected data to verify that participants' met these criteria through survey questions that asked participants to report their birth and residence countries, and self-identified race.

In total, 215 participants completed the survey (98 from MTurk and 117 from network sources). Of those, 42 were removed because they failed at least one of the two attention check questions included in the survey. The first attention check question asked participants to select 'strongly agree.' The second attention check gave participants the full name of a fictional individual and asked them to type out the middle name of a full name provided above. Another 46 were removed from the sample because they indicated that they did not meet the inclusion criteria (i.e., non-minority, and/or not an immigrant). Thus, the final sample consisted of 127 participants (59% of those who initially completed the survey; 45.6% from MTurk and 54.4% from network sources).

The sample consisted of 74 female and 53 male participants. The average age was 36.01 (*SD* = 10.76) years and the average length of stay in the host country (Canada or US) was 15.41 (*SD* = 12.17) years. The three most commonly reported races were Asian (44.9 %), Middle

Eastern (26%) and Black (11%). Seventy-eight percent of participants in the final sample indicated that they had a bachelor's degree or higher.

Procedure

After reading the Information Letter and Consent Form and agreeing to participate, participants were directed to a page that included the survey instructions, followed by the survey. Participants first answered questions regarding their self-esteem. They were then asked to indicate their birth country and current country of residence, and the country in which they work. After that, they were asked to indicate their perceived cultural distance between their home and host countries, followed by a series of questions to assess cultural adaptation and maintenance. After that, they were asked to indicate their workplace belongingness[1]. Participants were then asked to read and think about the following vignette that depicted an instance of workplace incivility:

> *"You work as a clerk in a company located in {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. The vast majority of the employees at your company were all born and raised in {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. One day at work during lunch, you see some colleagues eating and chatting together. You walk up to them, with your lunch, to sit in the empty seat at their table. As you sit down, they look at you, gather up their food, and leave the table."*

The "Country of Residence" field was filled in with the participants' current country of residence. After reading the vignette, the participants responded to a series of questions about their attributions of the event in the scenario. Finally, participants answered a series of demographic questions.

Measures

[1] I originally added cultural distance and workplace belongingness as potential control variables, in order to assess the relationship between the acculturation dimensions and attributions over and above these two potential influencers. However, cultural distance and workplace belongingness moderately correlated with cultural adaptation and presented confounding effects in the regression models. To ease the interpretation of my results, they were removed from the final analyses.

A full set of items included in this study are available in Appendix A.

Acculturation: Cultural Adaptation and Maintenance. Cultural adaptation and maintenance were measured using the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003). Examples of items that measured cultural adaptation include, "I feel that I am part of (country of residence) culture," and "I feel good about being (a member of my country of residence)". Examples of items that measured cultural maintenance include, "I feel good about being (a member of my culture of origin)," and, "I am proud of being (a member of my culture of origin)". Again, the 'country of residence' and 'home country' fields were filled in with participants' answers to these questions so that the scale was personalized for each participant. This scale has been used in the management literature to understand the impact of acculturation on management-relevant outcomes and has shown good validity in previous organizational research (Volpone, Marquardt, Casper, & Avery, 2018). It uses a 5-point scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Both the cultural adaptation and maintenance dimensions exhibited good internal consistency, with Cronbach alphas of .93 and .92 respectively.

***Attributions*.** Attributions were measured using an approach described in the revised causal dimension scale (CDSII) (McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992), but with different specific items intended to capture participants' attributions of self-blame and discrimination. Using this approach, participants were first asked an open-ended question regarding "why" they think the event described in the vignette occurred. They were then instructed to think about their answer, and to answer a series of close-ended questions that capture internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination on a scale of [range of 4 options]. These closed-ended items followed the stem question: *This happened because...*

I assessed internal attributions of self-blame via three items from Hershcovis & Barling, (2010). Sample items include "I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleague," and, "I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me". I assessed external attributions of discrimination through three items that have been adapted from Hansen & Sassenberg, (2006), and were carefully chosen to tap into the extent to which participants perceive the incivility to be caused by the perpetrators' discrimination and prejudice. Sample items include "My colleagues are prejudiced," and, "My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races". The internal self-blame and external discrimination subscale items exhibited good internal consistency, with Cronbach alphas of .77 and .87 respectively[2].

Control Variables. I controlled for recruitment source (MTurk Prime = 1; all other sources =0), self-esteem, gender (Female = 2; Male = 1) and length of time in the US or Canada (measured in years) as there are practical and theoretical reasons to predict that these variables might influence participants' attributions of workplace incivility. For example, people with low self-esteem in general tend to be more likely to make internal versus external attributions (Tennen & Herzberger, 1987). Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (RSE) (Rosenberg, 1965). Items include, "I certainly feel useless at times" and "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself". This scale has received more empirical validation than any other self-esteem measure (Gray-Little, Williams & Hancock, 1997; Wylie, 1989) and is commonly used in the management literature (Hui & Lee, 2000). All items are answered using a 4-point scale

[2] Some scholars have argued that attributions of discrimination can also have an internal component (e.g., Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). In assessing participants' attributions of incivility, across both studies I included exploratory items intended to measure internal attributions of discrimination. I conducted Exploratory Factor Analyses to assess the distinction between these attributions and the focal attributions in my research as well as follow up regression analyses. No noteworthy findings emerged. However, for the sake of transparency the exploratory analyses I conducted are provided in Appendix C.

format ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree. The self-esteem scale exhibited good internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .89.

Analyses

The means, standard deviations, and correlations between the variables of interest in this study are presented in Table 2.

Exploratory Factor Analysis. Before conducting the hypothesis testing analyses for this study, I first conducted an exploratory factor analysis on the attribution items to assess their distinction. In particular, I wanted to ensure that internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination were satisfactorily distinct. Since the items included in my exploratory factor analysis violated assumptions of multivariate normality, I used principal-axis factor extraction (guided by advice by Fabrigar, Wegner, MacCallum, & Straham, 1999). Furthermore, to aid interpretation, I used an oblimin rotation because internal and external attributions are not necessarily mutually exclusive (i.e., an individual can intuit more than one attribution), and therefore even seemingly opposite attributions can be positively correlated at times. The results of the factor analysis are provided in Table 1. The loadings suggest that internal attributions of self-blame and external discrimination attributions are indeed distinct, with Factor 2 representing internal attributions of self-blame, and Factor 1 representing discrimination attributions.

Hypothesis Testing Analyses. Study 1 tested Hypotheses 1 and 2. I conducted two separate analyses: one predicting internal attributions of self-blame and one predicting external attributions of discrimination. I used linear regression in SPSS (25.0) with listwise deletion. The independent variables in each model were cultural adaptation, and cultural maintenance, with

recruitment source, gender, self-esteem and length of time in host country as control variables. The results of the hypothesis testing are presented in Table 3.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that cultural maintenance would be positively associated with external attributions of discrimination towards an incident of workplace incivility. The results indicated that cultural maintenance did significantly predict external discrimination attributions (β =.19, t =1.98, p =.050). Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed. In addition, cultural adaptation did not significantly predict external attributions of discrimination (β =-.01, t =-.07, p =.947).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that cultural adaptation would be positively associated with internal attributions of self-blame towards an incident of workplace incivility. The results indicate that cultural adaptation significantly predicted internal attributions of self-blame (β = .191, t = 2.07, p =.040). Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was supported. Another notable finding is that cultural maintenance was a significant predictor of attributions of self-blame, and was negatively associated with internal attributions of self-blame (β = -.24, t = -2.68, p = .009).

I conducted follow up analyses to assess whether an interaction between cultural maintenance and adaptation predicted attributions of either self-blame or discrimination. There were no significant interactions.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 included a vignette study to assess whether and how cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation predict internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination within a sample of visible minority immigrants. Across a series of analyses, I found support for my theory. The first hypothesis was supported; there was a significant positive relationship between cultural maintenance and external attributions of discrimination, suggesting

that the more strongly visible minority immigrants identified with their home country, the more likely they are to make external attributions of discrimination in response to a vignette that depicted workplace incivility. This is consistent with my theorizing that as visible minority immigrants with high cultural maintenance identify strongly with their ethnic group, aspects of their ethnic group will be incorporated into their self-concept, making them more likely to interpret events through a group-based lens (Gurin, 1985).

Moreover, my second hypothesis, that cultural adaptation would positively predict internal attributions of self-blame was supported. Based on my theory, the more visible minority immigrants adapt to their new country, the more likely they see themselves as part of their new culture, and less likely to by attuned or hypervigilant towards cues of discrimination. The results of Study 1 provides evidence that the more visible minority immigrants adapt to their host country, the more likely they are to internalize incivility.

Additionally, I found that cultural maintenance also predicted less attributions of self-blame. This finding is also consistent with my overarching theory that visible minority immigrants' who strongly identify with their ethnic cultural are more likely to view their social interactions through a group-based lens and to attribute more discrimination, and less self-blame to their social interactions. I now turn to Study 2. In Study 2, I use a recall approach to assess the relationship between acculturation and attributions and I extend the model by including an assessment of wellbeing.

STUDY 2

Participants

Participants were recruited via three sources. The first was MTurkP. To ensure that my sample consisted of immigrants (one of two inclusion criteria), the recruitment criteria was set so

that only individuals who identified as an 'immigrant' and were born in Non-western but now live in the US could view the posting for the study and click to participate. Again, I collected information about participants' birth country and their current country of residence as a validity check and removed participants who did not meet the criteria. To ensure that the second inclusion criterion – being an ethnic minority (i.e., non-white) – participants were asked to report their ethnicity and I removed participants who reported that they were Caucasian/White. All participants who completed the survey, regardless of whether they met the inclusion criteria, received an incentive payment of $1.50.

The second recruitment source was Prolific. *Prolific* is an online participant recruitment platform with good recruitment standards. Participants are based in the UK, and they are explicitly notified that they are recruited for participation in research (Palan & Schitter, 2018). The recruitment criteria was set so that only prospective participants who met the two inclusion criteria (immigrant & ethnic minority) could see the posting to the survey. Again, I collected information about participants' birth country and their current country of residence as a validity check, and removed all those who did not fit the criteria. All participants who completed the survey received an incentive payment of €1.50, regardless of whether they met the inclusion criteria.

The third recruitment source was through professional connections within the immigrant community networks and through the graduate student association (GSEAD) at the University of Ottawa. Once again, I collected data about participants' birth and residence countries, and self-identified race through survey questions to ensure that the final sample met the inclusion criteria.

In total, 421 participants completed the survey (157 from MTurkP, 144 from Prolific, 83 from immigrant networks, and 37 from GSEAD). Of those, 149 were removed because they

failed at least one of the two attention-check questions included in the survey. These questions were similar to the ones used in Study 1. Another 9 were removed from the sample because they indicated that they did not meet the inclusion criteria (i.e., non-minority, and/or not an immigrant). Another 31 were removed from the sample because they did not answer open-ended questions in the survey that were essential for data analysis, and another 7 were removed from the sample because they indicated that they had participated in Study 1. Thus, the final sample consisted of 225 participants (53.44% of those who initially completed the survey; 37.29% from MTurkP, 34.21% from Prolific, 19.71% from personal and professional network and 8.79% from GSEAD).

The sample consisted of 127 female and 95 male participants. The average age was 32.95 (*SD* = 9.74) years and the average length of stay in years in the host country (Canada, US or UK) was 14.68 (*SD* = 11.93) years. The two most commonly reported races were Asian (52.7%) and Black (17%). Seventy-six percent of participants in the final sample indicated that they had a bachelor's degree or higher.

Procedure

First, participants were presented with the Information Letter and Consent Form. Once they agreed to participate, they were directed to a page that included the survey instructions, followed by the survey. Participants answered a series of questions assessing self-esteem, followed by questions about their birth country, their current country of residence, and the country in which they work. They were then asked to report their perceived cultural distance between their home and host countries. This was followed by a series of questions assessing cultural adaptation and maintenance. After that, they were asked to report on their workplace

belongingness. Participants were then instructed to recall a time in which they experienced workplace incivility:

> *"In the next section, we would like you to recall a time in which you experienced* ***workplace incivility in your current place of employment*** *and to answer a series of questions about your experience.*
>
> ***Workplace incivility*** *is defined as low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target. It includes behaviors are rude and discourteous, and that display a lack of regard for others."*

The face validity of participants' answers was checked to ensure that participants described a lived experience of workplace incivility. As alluded to above, those who did not answer this question or did not describe a situation of workplace incivility were removed from the sample. This open-ended recall question was followed by a series of questions about the incident recalled (i.e., offensiveness, how long ago was event, etc.). This was followed by a list of attributions regarding the reasons *why* they think they were treated in a discourteous manner, and participants responded on a Likert scale. Finally, participants answered a series of demographic questions.

Measures

A full set of items included in this study is available in Appendix B.

Acculturation: Cultural Adaptation and Maintenance. Cultural adaptation and maintenance were measured using the same items used in Study 1. Both the cultural adaptation and maintenance dimensions exhibited good internal consistency, with Cronbach alphas of .93 and .94 respectively.

***Attributions*.** Attributions were measured using the same items used in Study 1. The internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination subscale items exhibited reasonable internal consistency, with Cronbach alphas of .65 and .83 respectively.

Well-Being. Psychological well-being was assessed using six items from 'The General Health Questionnaire' (GHQ, Goldberg, 1972), a mental health test for non-psychiatric conditions such as distress and anxiety. Items include "I was able to concentrate," and "I felt unhappy and depressed" (reverse scored). Items were scored so that higher numbers represent less distress and therefore higher well-being. Participants responded using a 4-point scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (4) Strongly Agree. The scale exhibited good internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .77.

Control Variables. As I did in Study 1, I controlled for gender, self-esteem and length of time in the US, UK or Canada (depending on participant's host country) as there are theoretical reasons to predict that these variables will also influence participants' attributions of workplace incivility[3]. The self-esteem scale exhibited good internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .88.

Analyses

The means, standard deviations, and correlations between the variables of interest in this study are presented in Table 5.

Exploratory Factor Analysis. Prior to conducting my hypothesis testing analyses, I once again ensured that the internal and external attribution items measured distinct constructs. I followed the same exploratory factor analysis procedures detailed in Study 1. The results of the factor analysis are provided in Table 4. The loadings suggest that internal attributions of self-blame and external discrimination attributions proved to be distinct, with Factor 2 representing internal attributions of self-blame, and Factor 1 representing external discrimination attributions.

[3] I controlled for recruitment source in Study 2 by creating three dummy codes (MTurk, GSEAD, and Network sources). The results indicated that recruitment source did not influence the results presented in my hypothesis testing nor change the interpretation of my findings. I subsequently chose to remove recruitment source as a formal control variable in Study 2 in order to present a more parsimonious model.

Hypothesis Testing Analyses. I tested all three hypotheses proposed in my research in Study 2. I conducted three separate analyses: one predicting internal attributions of self-blame, one predicting external attributions of discrimination, and one predicting wellbeing[4]. Table 6 provides the complete results of the analyses conducted to test Hypotheses 1 and 2, and Table 7 provides the complete results of Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that cultural maintenance would be positively associated with external attributions of discrimination towards an incident of workplace incivility. I used linear regression in SPSS (25.0) to test this hypothesis. The independent variables in the model include cultural adaptation, and cultural maintenance, with self-esteem, gender, and length of time in the host country as control variables. Hypothesis 1 was confirmed; cultural maintenance significantly predicted external discrimination attributions (β = .24, t = 3.37, p =.001). Notably, cultural adaptation did not significantly predict external attributions of discrimination (β =- .04, t = -.51, p = .614).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that cultural adaptation would be positively associated with internal attributions of self-blame towards an incident of workplace incivility. Again, I conducted a linear regression to test this hypothesis. The variables in the model included cultural adaptation, and cultural maintenance, with self-esteem, gender and length of time in host country as control variables. Hypothesis 2 was not supported; the results indicate that cultural adaptation was not significantly related to internal self-blame attributions (β = -.02, t = -.21, p = .843).

[4] As indicated, participants were asked to write a brief description of an incident of incivility that they had experienced in the workplace. I read each of the descriptions and coded whether a story clearly depicted workplace incivility (i.e., low-intensity, ambiguous intent form of mistreatment), versus a more severe form of mistreatment (i.e., a story that indicated the potential for racism, bullying, or ongoing harassment). Based on the coding, 87 participants described events that depicted mistreatment that seemingly extended beyond incivility. I removed these 87 participants from my sample and re-ran all the described hypothesis testing analyses. The results were consistent to those based on the full sample.

Cultural maintenance was also not significantly related to internal self-blame attributions (β = .010, t = .136, p = .892).

I conducted follow up analyses to assess whether an interaction between cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation predicts either attributions of self-blame or external discrimination attributions but I found no significant interactions.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the negative relationship between internal attributions and well-being will be comparatively stronger than the negative relationship between external attributions and well-being. Looking at the correlations, both internal attributions of self-blame (r = -.15, p =.024) and external attributions of discrimination (r = -.17, p =.009) were statistically significantly and negatively related to well-being (albeit the correlations are small). To more formally test this hypothesis, I conducted a regression analysis that included my control variables, dimensions of acculturation, and attributions in a model predicting well-being. These results are presented in Table 7 and reveal that both the negative relationship between internal attributions of self-blame and well-being (β = -.08, t = -1.11, p =.267) and the negative relationship between external attributions of discrimination and psychological well-being become non-significant (β = -.12, t = -1.78, p =.077). Therefore, the results do not support Hypothesis 3 and suggest that well-being is not a function of the attributions participants made in response to an incident of incivility.

Supplementary Analyses. A limitation of recall studies is that the data is limited by participants' personal biases and memory (compared to a vignette study in which all participants' are exposed to the same stimuli). In addition, the situations that participants recall are not directly comparable with one another, as the specific acts of workplace incivility across participants differ in severity and context. For this reason, I collected information regarding the

length of time that has passed since the event had happened, and participants' perceptions of the offensiveness of the event, to control for whether these factors would influence my results. To measure the length of time that has passed since the event occurred, participants were asked the following question: "How long ago did this incident occur?" Participants were given five options that ranged from "within the past week" to "more than 6 months ago". The most commonly reported response was "more than 6 months ago" (M = 3.42, SD = 1.40). Participants' perceived severity of the offense was measured via a question asking them to indicate whether the event was slightly (1), moderately (2), or highly offensive (3) to them. Thus, higher numbers indicated greater offensiveness (M = 1.88, SD = .77). 'Length of time since event' did not appear to have any relevant correlations with the other focal variables in my research. There was however, a strong correlation between external attributions of discrimination and offensiveness of the incivility event (r = .31, p = .000), and a small correlation between internal attributions of self-blame and offensiveness of the incivility event (r = -.14, p = .020). These results suggest that the more experiences of workplace incivility were attributed to external attributions of discrimination the more offensive they were. In contrast, the more experiences of workplace incivility were attributed to internal attributions of self-blame the less offensive they were.

I repeated the hypotheses testing analyses including 'length of time since event' and offensiveness as control variables (see Table 8). There were no changes in the interpretations of my results. The relationship between cultural maintenance and external discrimination attributions remained significant (β = .26, t = 3.04, p =.003) and in the hypothesized direction, and the relationship between cultural adaptation and internal attributions of self-blame remained non-significant (β = -.02, t = -.26, p =.793). Finally, the results of Hypothesis 3 were also not influenced by the inclusion of these variables in the model. Neither external attributions of

discrimination (β = -.10, t= -1.50, p = .13) nor internal attributions of self-blame (β = -.04, t= -.58, p = .561) predicted well-being. One notable result, however, is that offensiveness significantly and negatively predicted wellbeing (β = -.16, t= -2.23, p = .027), suggesting that the more offensive the incident of incivility is, the more harmful to wellbeing it is.

Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 included a recall study to assess whether and how cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation predict internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination, and whether and how internal attributions of self-blame and external attributions of discrimination affect well-being within a sample of visible minority immigrants. Across a series of analyses, I found partial support for my theory. The first hypothesis was supported; there was a positive relationship between cultural maintenance and external attributions of discrimination, suggesting that the more strongly visible minority immigrants identified with their home country, the more likely they are to make external attributions of discrimination when recalling an incidence of workplace incivility. This is consistent with my findings in Study 1.

In contrast to the results found in Study 1, I did not find support for my hypothesis that cultural adaptation would be a predictor of internal attributions of self-blame. In Study 2, internal attributions of self-blame were not predicted by participants' degree of cultural adaptation, nor their degree of cultural maintenance. It is possible that given that Study 2 relies on real accounts of incidents of workplace incivility, internal attributions of self-blame are more strongly a function of the context and participants' pre-existing relationships with those involved in the incident.

Finally, I did not find support for Hypothesis 3, which predicted that the negative relationship between internal attributions of self-blame towards workplace incivility and well-

being will be comparatively stronger than the negative relationship between external attributions of discrimination and well-being. Instead, the data suggests both types of attributions have a negative correlation with well-being. I consider this finding further in my General Discussion.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research aimed to better understand why visible minority immigrants attribute experiences of incivility to discrimination versus other (more internal) causes, and to investigate the downstream consequences of those attributions on their well-being. Workplace incivility is marked by low-intensity interpersonal mistreatment with ambiguous intent, which means that when individuals experience incivility its 'cause' (or, the presumed reason for *why* it occurred) is open to a number of interpretations. It can also be a form of interpersonal discrimination in organizations when it is motivated or attributed to prejudice (Cortina, 2008). Drawing from theories of acculturation (Berry, 1995, 2005), identity (Kihlstrom & Klein, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and attribution (Winkler, 2010; Kelley & Michela, 1980), I predicted that cultural maintenance would be positively associated with external attributions of discrimination towards an incident of workplace incivility, and that cultural adaptation would be positively associated with internal attributions of self-blame. Furthermore, expanding from previous research that has shown that external attributions can sometimes be self-protecting (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major et. al, 2003), I predicted that internal attributions of self-blame towards workplace incivility would have a more detrimental relationship with visible minorities' well-being, compared to external attributions of discrimination.

Across a vignette study (Study 1) and a recall study (Study 2) I found some support for my hypotheses, as well as some findings that have important theoretical implications. First, across both studies I found support for my hypothesis that the more visible minority immigrants

identify with their home culture (i.e., high cultural maintenance), the more likely they are to make external attributions of discrimination. In other words, they are more likely to perceive or recognize that their experience of workplace incivility is caused by others' discrimination and prejudice. This finding is in line with the theorizing I drew from identity-based theories that suggest that when individuals strongly identity with their ethnic identity, they are more likely to apply a group-based lens to making sense of the world (Kihlstrom & Klein, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For such individuals, the group can act as a cognitive schema that shapes perceptions in social contexts (Smith, Coats, & Walling, 1999; Smith & Henry, 1996). As their group membership becomes salient (i.e., being a minority in a majority group) or is chronically activated, this leads to increased sensitivity to being discriminated against by the majority group members (Postmes, Branscombe, Spears, & Young, 1999). In acculturation theory, cultural maintenance denotes the extent to which an immigrant identifies with their ethnic group; those high in cultural maintenance strongly identify with their ethnic group. My findings across both studies support the proposition that when visible minority immigrants have high cultural maintenance, they are more likely to display sensitivity to information related to their ethnic group and are therefore likely to be particularly vigilant for social cues of discrimination.

I find conflicting results for my second hypothesis. My hypothesis regarding cultural adaptation – that ethnic minorities who wish to have contacts and participation in the host-country culture are more likely to make attributions of self-blame when encountering incivility – was supported in Study 1 but not in Study 2. In Study 1, I found evidence to suggest that the more visible minority immigrants embrace their new culture and incorporate that culture into their identity (i.e., high cultural adaptation), the more likely they are to make internal attributions of self-blame. One potential explanation for the inconsistent results is the study design. The first

study used a vignette design, in which all participants were exposed to the same hypothetical stimuli. On the other hand, the second study used the recall technique, which may include various contextual factors that may influence the participants' attributions of incivility (e.g., an employees' relationship with their manager and coworkers). In other words, once in the real world, internal attributions of self-blame might be more nuanced and people might be more discerning when it comes to determining whether they should consider themselves at fault for incivility when there is a lot of additional social information available to make sense of the situation. Additional research is needed to more comprehensively understand how cultural adaptation influences how visible minority immigrants make sense of workplace incivility. Perhaps cultural adaptation predicts other attributions not formally considered in this research.

Finally, Hypothesis 3 predicted that internal attributions of self-blame would have a stronger negative relationship with wellbeing compared to external attributions of discrimination. I tested this hypothesis in Study 2 and did not find support for a 'buffering' impact of external attributions. The buffering hypothesis was first identified in early work by Crocker and Major (1989), who suggested that perceptions of discrimination against one's group are self-protective because they encourage individuals to explain their negative outcomes as being due to the prejudice of others rather than having to attribute the cause to their own perceivable inadequacies. Other research has also confirmed the buffering effect of external attributions versus internal attributions towards social mistreatment in other areas of discrimination, such as gender discrimination (Crocker et. al, 1991) and workplace mistreatment (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Lapierre et. al, 2005)

Despite this evidence for the buffering effect, other researchers have challenged the hypothesis that attributions to discrimination can be self-protective – suggesting that the

relationship between external and internal attributions and well-being is more complex (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Schmitt and Branscombe (2001), for example, suggest that in addition to the external component, attributions to prejudice have an internal component as well since one's group membership is a fairly stable and salient aspect of the self. Since attributions to prejudice threaten an important aspect of self, they are likely to have a strong negative impact on the psychological well-being of the individuals belonging to disadvantaged groups. Moreover, continuously attributing mistreatment to prejudice may make it seem pervasive and unavoidable, thus evoking feelings of helplessness (Seligman, 1975). Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) found empirical support for this perspective from correlational studies that showed that perceptions of pervasive discrimination are associated with poor psychological well-being.

My findings, along with others' (Major, & Sawyer, 2009), suggests that more research is needed to assess the validity of the buffering hypothesis, and the contextual factors that might influence whether external attributions of discrimination have a buffering impact on one's psychological well-being or not.

Practical Implications

My research highlights some important practical implications. The first is that the more a visible minority immigrant identifies with their home country, the more he or she is likely to attribute workplace incivility to discrimination and be attuned to cues of discrimination in his or her workplace. This finding presents a bit of a practical quandary; on the one hand, it is not advisable to suggest that visible minority immigrants relinquish their identification towards their home ethnicity. On the other hand, the more a visible minority immigrant maintains their home identity, the more likely they are to interpret negative social interactions through a lens of discrimination. My results provide important information for managers in this context. It is

advisable that managers be aware that their visible minority immigrant employees may be particularly perturbed by workplace incivility, and encourage their employees to come talk to them in the event they experience incivility so that any potential interpersonal conflict can be resolved amongst employees.

Regardless of how a visible minority immigrant makes sense of his or her experience of workplace incivility, it is important that managers seek to reduce incivility and create an organizational climate that encourages norms of inclusion. To do that, managers can help their employees feel included through their leadership (Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Holcombe Ehrhart & Singh, 2011). They can encourage their employees to get to know each other on a personal level and promote positive exchanges among colleagues. Furthermore, programs such as CREW (Civility, Respect and Engagement in the Workplace) training can help infuse positivity in a workplace and reduce incivility (Leiter, Laschinger, Day, & Gilin-Oore, 2011; Osatuke, Moore, Ward, Dyrenforth & Belton, 2009). By encouraging good will and compassion between colleagues, managers can help create an organizational environment in which people treat one another respectfully, thereby avoiding situations in which a visible minority immigrant might perceive or experience interpersonal discrimination via uncivil interactions.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

This study includes some limitations. First, the relationship between cultural maintenance and attributions of discrimination is not necessarily unidirectional. Although I hypothesized that individuals with high cultural maintenance are more likely to make attributions of discrimination, when a powerful majority discriminates against one's ethnic group, this may lead to the victims' increased identification with the in-group (Tajfel &Turner 1986). Future studies

should include longitudinal designs in order to model complex, and potentially interactive, relationships between cultural maintenance and attributions of discrimination.

Second, the first study used a vignette. While vignettes provide greater control over relevant and extraneous variables, it is difficult to ascertain how realistic the participants considered the vignette and whether or not they responded carefully and thoughtfully (Huebner, 1991). Moreover, the vignette design may not necessarily reflect participants' actual responses in real-life contexts because vignettes fail to take into account all the potential factors that influence decisions in real life (Poulou, 2001). I attempted to rectify this limitation by replicating my results using a recall study in Study 2 which offered less control and consistency amongst participants' experiences but also more realism. Nonetheless, future studies should utilize more realistic research methods.

Finally, the two studies I conducted fail to provide comparisons between the different ethnicities within the sample of visible minority immigrants. I lacked sufficient statistical power, for example, to compare Africans, Asians, or Middle Easterners. Although my primary focus was visible minority immigrants in general, comparing different groups may reveal interesting insights since groups may differ in their acculturation orientations and in their reactions to incivility. Therefore, future research should permit for comparisons of various ethnic groups.

CONCLUSION

The immigration trend of visible minorities in Canada is expected to continuously rise over the coming years (Malenfant, et al., 2010). Yet, discrimination continues to be a challenge for immigrants to Canada (Reitz, 2005). The present research aimed to better understand how visible minority immigrants make sense of a specific, subtle, and insidious form of interpersonal

discrimination: incivility in the workplace. Being the target of others' uncivil and discourteous behaviors can be upsetting for any person, but it is a particularly jarring experience for visible minority immigrants, who are left wondering whether the incivility was due to discrimination and prejudice amongst other potential reasons. The more visible minority immigrants identify with their home culture identity, the more likely they are to perceive or be hypervigilant to cues of discrimination in relation to their experiences of workplace incivility. The present research highlights how understanding visible minority immigrants' perceptions of incivility and the distressing feelings it can cause sheds light onto their social experiences. Managers and organizations should seek to reduce incivility for all employees, and in doing so they can help visible minority immigrants feel less discriminated against.

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FIGURE 1

Model Theorizing Relationships between Acculturation, Attributions, and Well-Being

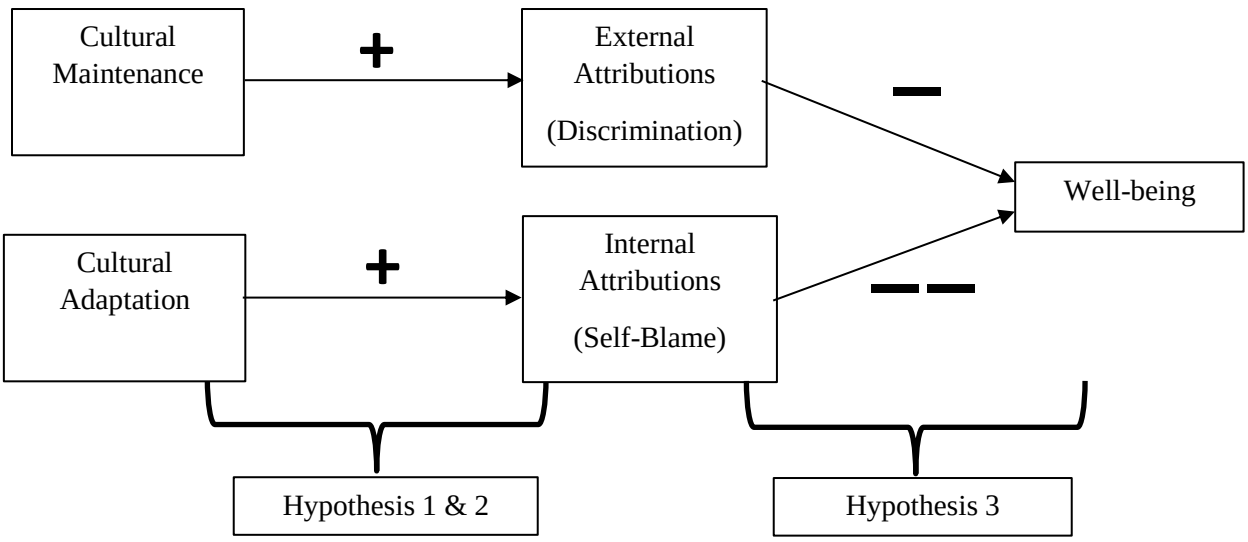


Table 1
Study 1: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	1	2
1. My personality might be faulty.	.00	**.80**
2. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleagues	-.08	**.66**
3. I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me	.06	**.74**
1. My colleagues are discriminating against me	**.89**	.01
2. My colleagues are prejudiced	**.84**	-.04
3. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races	**.78**	.02

Table 2
Study 1: Correlation Matrix

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.MTurk	.61	.49								
2. Gender	1.58	.50	-.08							
3. Self-esteem	3.06	.53	-.22*	.09						
4. Length of time in host country	15.4	12.16	.26**	-.01	-.13					
5. Cultural Maintenance	4.07	.72	.09	.09	.12	-.06				
6. Cultural Adaptation	3.87	.79	-.04	.01	.07	.28**	.25**			
7. External Attributions of Discrimination	3.67	.86	.21*	.03	.10	. 05	.23*	.06		
8. Internal Attributions of Self-Blame	2.51	.92	.18*	.08	-.30**	-.06	-.19*	.04	-.22*	
9. Internal Attributions of Discrimination (Exploratory Variable)	3.65	.89	.09	.02	.07	.05	.12	.05	.78**	-.17

Note. N = 125-127 based on pairwise deletion of missing data.

Table 3

Study 1: Regression Analyses Testing Hypotheses 1 and 2

	DV: External Attributions of Discrimination						**DV: Internal Attributions of Self-Blame**					
	β	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*
MTurk			.28	3.00**	.25	2.64**			.15	1.61	.20	2.21*
Gender			-.01	.12	-.02	-.09			.13	1.44	.15	1.75
Self-esteem			.14	1.54	.12	1.30			-.29	-3.19**	-.27	-3.12**
Length of time in Host country			.02	.16	.03	.34			-.13	-1.48	-.21	-2.28*
Cultural Maintenance	.23	2.49*			.19	1.98*	-.21	-2.28*			-.24	-2.68**
Cultural Adaptation	-.00	-.04			-.02	-.07	.10	1.10			.19	2.07*
Model R^2	.05*		.08*		.11*		.04		.12**		.19**	

Note. N = 122-124 based on listwise deletion of missing data.

*p <.05 **p <.01

Table 4

Study 2: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	1	2
1. My personality might be faulty	-.00	**.47**
2. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleagues	-.17	**.93**
3. I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me	.14	**.52**
1. My colleagues are discriminating against me	**.86**	-.06
2. My colleagues are prejudiced	**.81**	.05
3. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races	**.72**	.05

Table 5
Study 2: Correlation Matrix

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender	1.58	.51							
2. Self-esteem	3.03	.53	.11						
3. Length of time in host country	14.7	11.9	.03	.16*					
4. Cultural Maintenance	3.91	.94	.02	.21**	-.12				
5. Cultural Adaptation	3.59	.94	.06	.19**	.29**	.20**			
6. External Attributions of Discrimination	2.72	1.06	.12	-.10	-.16*	.20**	-0.5		
7. Internal Attributions of Self-Blame	1.91	.74	-.13*	-.29**	-.02	-.06	-.07	.08	
8. Wellbeing	2.52	.63	-.08	.33**	.13	.12	.16*	-.17**	-.15*

Note. N = 210- 225 based on pairwise deletion of missing data
*p <.05 **p <.01

Table 6
Study 2: Regression Analysis Testing Hypotheses 1 and 2

	DV: External Attributions of Discrimination						**DV: Internal Attributions of Self-Blame**					
	β	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*
Gender			.12	1.74	.12	1.78			-.10	-1.52	-.10	-1.50
Self-esteem			-.07	-.99	-.12	-1.66			-.27	-3.84**	-.27	-3.72**
Length of time in Host country			-.14	-2.06*	-.10	-1.35			.05	.79	.06	.82
Cultural Maintenance	.22	3.29			.24	3.37**	-.05	-.66			.01	.136
Cultural Adaptation	-.09	-1.41			-.04	-.51	-.05	-.81			-.02	-.21
Model R^2	.05**		.04*		.09**		.01		.09**		.09**	

Note. N = 203- 224 based on listwise deletion of missing data
* p <.05 **p <.01

Table 7

Study 2: Regression Analysis Predicting Hypothesis 3

	DV: Wellbeing							
	β	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*	*β*	*t*
Gender			-.09	-1.38	-.09	-1.48	-.09	-1.38
Self-esteem			.35	5.12**	.32	4.6**	.28	3.96**
Length of time in Host country			.08	1.13	.05	.76	.05	0.66
Cultural Maintenance					.07	.97	.10	1.39
Cultural Adaptation					.12	1.70	.11	1.62
Internal Attributions of Self-Blame	-.14	-2.10*					-.08	-1.10
External Attributions of Discrimination	-.17	-2.51*					-.12	-1.78
Model R^2	.05**		0.13**		.15**		.17**	

Note. N = 203- 222

*p <.05 **p <.01

Table 8

Study 2 Supplementary Analyses: Regression Analysis

	DV: Wellbeing			
	β	*t*	*β*	*t*
Gender	-.07	-1.12	-.08	-1.20
Self-esteem	.35	5.23**	.32	4.61**
Length of time in Host country	.11	1.56	.10	1.51
Length	-.02	-.10	-.01	-.18
Offensive	-.17	-2.43*	-.16	-2.23*
External Attributions of Discrimination			-.04	-.58
Internal Attributions of Self-Blame			-.10	-1.50
Model R^2	.16**		.17**	

Note. *p <.05 **p <.01

APPENDIX A: COMPLETE STUDY 1 SURVEY

Instructions: Before you begin, we would like to know more about where you were born and where you currently live and work. In the space below, please indicate **THE COUNTRY** in which you were born, reside, and work.

1. I was born in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

2. I currently reside in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

3. I currently work in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

SECTION A

Self-Esteem (Rosenberg, 1965)

INSTRUCTIONS: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Using the scale provided, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Agree	4 Strongly Agree
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
2. At times I think I am no good at all	1	2	3	4
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	1	2	3	4
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4

Belonging (O'Reilly, Robinson, Berdahl, & Banki, 2015); (Adapted from Van Beest & Williams, 2006)

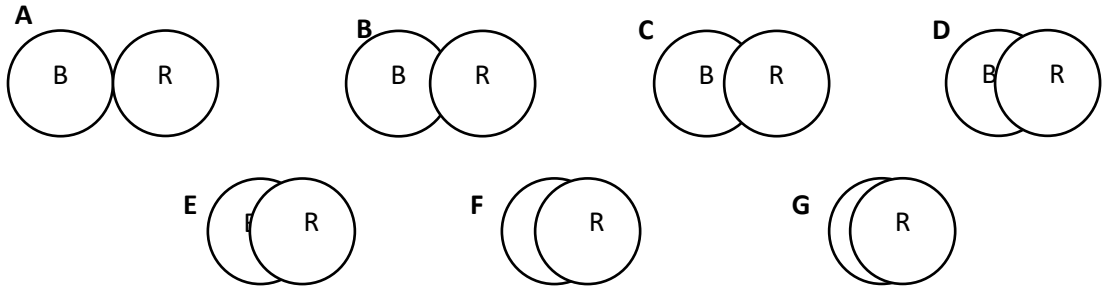
INSTRUCTIONS: Think about your relationships in general with your colleagues. Using the scale provided, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I feel as one with my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
2. I have the feeling that I belong with my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
3. I do not feel accepted by my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel connected with one or more of my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel like an outsider at work	1	2	3	4	5

Cultural Distance (Adapted from: Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992)

INSTRUCTIONS: Once again, please think about the culture of the country in which you reside and the culture of the country in which you were born. How similar or different at these cultures? In answering this question, you might think of the norms and values of these countries, foods, environments, languages, etc. Anything that is important for the cultures of each country.

Below are a series of pairs of circles. Circle "R" represents the culture of your country of residence {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE} and "B" represents the culture of your birth country, {BIRTH COUNTRY}, in each pair. Choose the figure that <u>best describes the degree of similarity between the cultures of your birth country and your country of residence</u>. In other words, if the cultures are very similar choose option G, if they are very different, choose option A.



Acculturation (Adapted from: Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003)

INSTRUCTIONS: The following section contains questions about the extent you identify with the culture of your country of residence.

You indicated to us that you reside in {COUNTY OF RESIDENCE}, take a moment to think about the culture in this country. With that in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF RESIDE).	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel good about being (CULTURE OF RESIDE).	1	2	3	4	5
3. Being (CULTURE OF RESIDE) plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel that I am part of (CULTURE OF RESIDE) culture.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have a strong sense of being (CULTURE OF RESIDE)	1	2	3	4	5
6. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF RESIDE)	1	2	3	4	5

INSTRUCTIONS: The following section contains questions about the extent you identify with the culture of your birth country.

You indicated to us that you were born in {BIRTH COUNTRY HERE}, take a moment to think about the culture in your home country. With that in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN).	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel good about being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN).	1	2	3	4	5

3. Being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN) plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel that I am part of (CULTURE OF ORIGIN) culture.	1	2	3	4	5
5.I have a strong sense of being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN)	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am proud of being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN)	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B

INSTRUCTIONS: The following paragraph describes a social interaction that can occur in the workplace. Please *imagine yourself* in the following scenario. Consider how you would react, think and feel.

Imagine the following…

"You work as a clerk in a company located in {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. The vast majority of the employees at your company were all born and raised in {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. One day at work during lunch, you see some colleagues eating and chatting together. You walk up to them, with your lunch, to sit in the empty seat at their table. As you sit down, they look at you, gather up their food, and leave the table."

To what extent to you believe the event that occurred in the scenario is offensive? [Choose one of the following]

_____ 1= not at all offensive

_____ 2= moderately offensive

_____ 3= highly offensive

Attributions (Approach: McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992; Items adapted from: Hershcovis & Barling, 2010)

Think about "why" this incident occurred and list the reason(s) below.

_____

_____

_____

Think about the reason(s) you have written above. The items below concern your impressions or opinions of this cause or causes of your treatment. Circle one number for each of the following questions.

This happened because:	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. My personality might be faulty	1	2	3	4	5
2. My colleagues are discriminating against me	1	2	3	4	5
3. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleagues	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am not from here	1	2	3	4	5
5. My colleagues are prejudiced	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am a visible minority	1	2	3	4	5
7. Something about my colleagues (e.g., the type of person he/she is)	1	2	3	4	5
8. My ethnicity/race is different from theirs'	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am to blame for my colleagues behavior towards me	1	2	3	4	5
10. My colleagues behavior is within their control	1	2	3	4	5
11. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races	1	2	3	4	5
12. My colleagues choose to act the way they did	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C

INSTRUCTIONS: Please provide the following general information about yourself.

In the space provided, please indicate the year in which you were born: _____

I currently present myself as:
____ Male
____ Female
____ you don't have an option that applies to me. I identity as (please specify) _____

Which State do you live in? (If US only) _____

What is the approximate population of the city you live in? _____[Will be given drop down menu}

What year did you immigrate to {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}?: _____

Think about why you immigrated to {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. Please choose the reason that best fits your experience using the list provided:
____ Economic reasons
____ Family reasons (family sponsor)
____ Education reasons
____ Seeking refuge
____ Other. Please specify _____

My race and/or ethnicity is:
____ White
____ Black or African American
____ Hispanic or Latina/o (all races)
____ Asian (all ethnicities)
____ Middle Eastern (all races)
____ Two or more races (all other races)
____ Other. Please specify _____

People often assume that I am:
____ White
____ Black or African American
____ Hispanic or Latina/o (all races)
____ Asian (all ethnicities)
____ Middle Eastern (all races)
____ Two or more races (all other races)
____ Other. Please specify _____

My highest level of education is:
_____ Did not graduate high school
_____ Some college
_____ BA/BS degree
_____ MA/MS degree
_____ PhD or higher

I work in the _____ industry

I have been at my job for:
_____ 0-6 months
_____ 6-12 months
_____ 1-3 years
_____ 3+ years

I work _____hours per week

I would describe my workplace as:
_____ All White coworkers
_____ Mostly White coworkers
_____ Equally mixed with different races
_____ Mostly minority coworkers
_____ All minority coworkers

I socialize with:
_____ All White coworkers
_____ Mostly White coworkers
_____ Equally mixed with different races
_____ Mostly minority coworkers
_____ All minority coworkers

How well do you speak English?
_____ Not at all
_____ A little
_____ Pretty well
_____ Extremely well

APPENDIX B: COMPLETE STUDY 2 SURVEY

Instructions: Before you begin, we would like to know more about where you were born and where you currently live and work. In the space below, please indicate **THE COUNTRY** in which you were born, reside, and work.

1. I was born in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

2. I currently reside in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

3. I currently work in _____ [participants will have drop down menu]

SECTION A

Self-Esteem (Rosenberg, 1965)

INSTRUCTIONS: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Using the scale provided, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Agree	4 Strongly Agree
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
2. At times I think I am no good at all	1	2	3	4
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	1	2	3	4
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4

Belonging (O'Reilly et al., 2015): (Adapted from Van Beest & Williams, 2006)

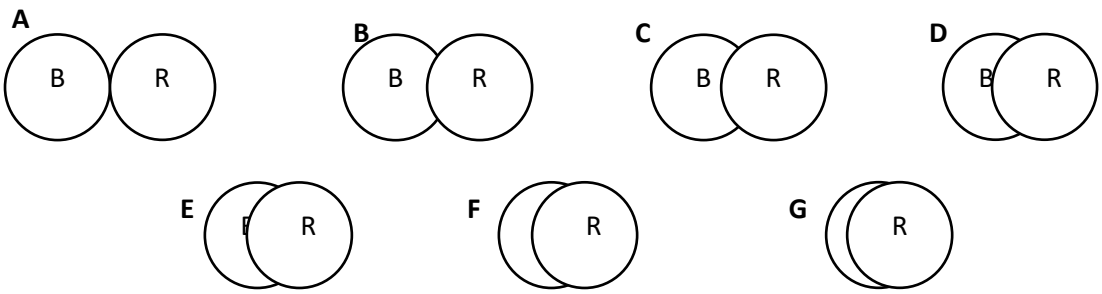
INSTRUCTIONS: Think about your relationships in general with your colleagues. Using the scale provided, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I feel as one with my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
2. I have the feeling that I belong with my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
3. I do not feel accepted by my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel connected with one or more of my coworkers	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel like an outsider at work	1	2	3	4	5

Cultural Distance (Adapted from: Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992)

INSTRUCTIONS: Once again, please think about the culture of the country in which you reside and the culture of the country in which you were born. How similar or different at these cultures? In answering this question, you might think of the norms and values of these countries, foods, environments, languages, etc. Anything that is important for the cultures of each country.

Below are a series of pairs of circles. Circle "R" represents the culture of your country of residence {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE} and "B" represents the culture of your birth country, {BIRTH COUNTRY}, in each pair. Choose the figure that best describes the degree of similarity between the cultures of your birth country and your country of residence. In other words, if the cultures are very similar choose option G, if they are very different, choose option A.



Acculturation (Adapted from: Zea et. al, 2003)
INSTRUCTIONS: The following section contains questions about the extent you identify with the culture of your country of residence.

You indicated to us that you reside in {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}, take a moment to think about the culture in this country. With that in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF RESIDE).	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel good about being (CULTURE OF RESIDE).	1	2	3	4	5
3. Being (CULTURE OF RESIDE) plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel that I am part of (CULTURE OF RESIDE) culture.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have a strong sense of being (CULTURE OF RESIDE)	1	2	3	4	5
6. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF RESIDE)	1	2	3	4	5

INSTRUCTIONS: The following section contains questions about the extent you identify with the culture of your birth country.

You indicated to us that you were born in {BIRTH COUNTRY HERE}, take a moment to think about the culture in your home country. With that in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I think of myself as being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN).	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel good about being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN).	1	2	3	4	5
3. Being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN) plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel that I am part of (CULTURE OF ORIGIN) culture.	1	2	3	4	5
5.I have a strong sense of being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN)	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am proud of being (CULTURE OF ORIGIN)	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B

INSTRUCTIONS: Workplace incivility is defined as *low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target*. It includes behaviors are rude and discourteous, and that display a lack of regard for others.

Think about your interactions with your coworkers. In the space below, please describe your most **recent experience of incivility from a co-worker**, using as much detail as possible.

_____

_____

B. How offensive was this event?

_____ 1= not offensive

_____ 2= moderately offensive

_____ 3= highly offensive

C. How long ago did the incident you described above occur? _____ [Participants will be given drop down menu options}

Attributions (Approach: McAuley et. al, 1992; Items adapted from: Hershcovis & Barling, 2010)

B. Think about "why" this incident occurred and list the reason(s) below.

_____

_____

C. Think about the reason(s) you have written above. The items below concern your impressions or opinions of this cause or causes of your treatment. Circle one number for each of the following questions.

This happened because:	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. My personality might be faulty	1	2	3	4	5
2. My colleagues are discriminatory	1	2	3	4	5
3. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleague	1	2	3	4	5
4. I belong to a stigmatized ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
5. My colleagues are prejudiced	1	2	3	4	5
6. I belong to a disadvantaged ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
7. My colleagues are just snobs	1	2	3	4	5
8. I belong to a disliked ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me	1	2	3	4	5
10. My colleagues are just rude people	1	2	3	4	5
11. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races.	1	2	3	4	5
.12. My colleague are just impolite	1	2	3	4	5

Wellbeing (GHQ, Goldberg, 1972)

INSTRUCTIONS: Think about the incident you described above. Below are a list of experiences that you may or may not have experienced following the incident. To the best of your memory, please indicate the extent to which you experienced the following.

In the days following the incident I described above, I…

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Slightly Disagree	3 Slightly Agree	4 Strongly Agree
1. Felt full of energy	1	2	3	4
2. Felt that I couldn't overcome my difficulties	1	2	3	4
3. Felt constantly under a strain	1	2	3	4
4. Lost confidence in myself	1	2	3	4
5. Felt that I was able to concentrate	1	2	3	4
6. Felt unhappy and depressed	1	2	3	4

SECTION C

INSTRUCTIONS: Please provide the following general information about yourself.

In the space provided, please indicate the year in which you were born: _____

I currently present myself as:
____ Male
____ Female
____ you don't have an option that applies to me. I identity as (please specify) _____

Which State do you live in? (If US only) _____

What is the approximate population of the city you live in? _____[Will be given drop down menu}

What year did you immigrate to {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}?: _____

Think about why you immigrated to {COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE}. Please choose the reason that best fits your experience using the list provided:

____ Economic reasons
____ Family reasons (family sponsor)
____ Education reasons
____ Seeking refuge
____ Other. Please specify _____

My race and/or ethnicity is:
____ White
____ Black or African American
____ Hispanic or Latina/o (all races)
____ Asian (all ethnicities)
____ Middle Eastern (all races)
____ Two or more races (all other races)
____ Other. Please specify _____

People often assume that I am:
____ White
____ Black or African American
____ Hispanic or Latina/o (all races)
____ Asian (all ethnicities)
____ Middle Eastern (all races)
____ Two or more races (all other races)
____ Other. Please specify _____

My highest level of education is:
_____ Did not graduate high school
_____ Some college
_____ BA/BS degree
_____ MA/MS degree
_____ PhD or higher

I work in the _____ industry

I have been at my job for:
_____ 0-6 months
_____ 6-12 months
_____ 1-3 years
_____ 3+ years

I work _____hours per week

I would describe my workplace as:
_____ All White coworkers
_____ Mostly White coworkers
_____ Equally mixed with different races
_____ Mostly minority coworkers
_____ All minority coworkers

I socialize with:
_____ All White coworkers
_____ Mostly White coworkers
_____ Equally mixed with different races
_____ Mostly minority coworkers
_____ All minority coworkers

How well do you speak English?
_____ Not at all
_____ A little
_____ Pretty well
_____ Extremely well

Have you done this survey before?
_____ No
_____ Yes. If so, please briefly explain what the study was about.

APPENDIX C: Exploratory Analyses

As an exploratory element of my thesis, I included three items that captured attributions of discrimination that have an *internal* focus. While internal attributions of discrimination have not received considerable attention in the literature, it is possible for a target to perceive as though they are mistreated because of discrimination, but to focus on themselves as being different (i.e. internal foci) rather than the perpetrators being prejudiced (i.e., external foci). For example, Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) have argued that since one's group membership is a fairly stable and salient aspect of the self, attributions of discrimination can also reflect the self and be internal. To assess for this possibility, I included three items in Studies 1 and 2 intended to capture internal attributions of discrimination. The items in Study 2 were reworded based on the empirical findings in Study 1. I conducted Exploratory Factor Analyses to assess the distinction of internal and external attributions of discrimination and internal attributions of self-blame. However, the results of these analyses failed to support a distinction between internal and external attributions of self-blame, at least in terms of the items written for the purpose of this research. For this reason, I did not include these results as part of my formal hypothesis testing. However, I include the analyses and results here for the sake of transparency.

FINDINGS IN STUDY 1

Internal attributions of discrimination were measured using the following three items: "I am not from here", "My ethnicity is different than theirs'", and "I am a visible minority". The internal discrimination subscale items exhibited good internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .85.

Exploratory Factor Analysis. I conducted an Exploratory Factor Analysis that included all nine attribution items (external and internal attributions of discrimination and internal attributions of self-blame). I used principal-axis factor extraction with an oblimin rotation. The results of the factor analysis are provided in Supplementary Table 1 below. The internal and external dimensions of discrimination attributions were not found to be distinct and loaded together on one factor.

Exploratory Regression Analyses. To test the exploratory component of my study, I used linear regression to assess whether cultural maintenance predicted internal attributions of discrimination. The variables in the model included cultural adaptation, cultural maintenance, with recruitment source, self-esteem, gender and length of time in host country as control variables. The results indicated that cultural maintenance (β =.09, t =.93, p = .355) and cultural adaptation (β =.01, t =.06, p =.951) failed to significantly predict internal attributions of discrimination.

FINDINGS IN STUDY 2

Since the factor analysis in Study 1 failed to find a difference between external and internal attributions of discrimination, I reworded the items used in Study 2 to increase the face validity. The items used for Study 2 were: "I belong to a stigmatized ethnic group", "I belong to a disadvantaged ethnic group", and "I belong to a disliked ethnic group". The internal discrimination subscale items exhibited good internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .85.

Exploratory Factor Analysis. I once again conducted an exploratory factor analysis, with principal-axis factor extraction and an oblimin rotation. The results are presented in

Supplementary Table 2 below. With the reworded items, I did find evidence of distinction between the three sets of attributions.

Exploratory Regression Analyses. Again, I tested the exploratory component of my study using linear regression to assess whether cultural maintenance predicted internal attributions of discrimination. The variables in the model included cultural adaptation, cultural maintenance, with gender, self-esteem and length of time in host country as control variables. Both cultural maintenance (β =-.01, t =-.12, p =.906) and cultural adaptation (β =-.06, t =-.76, p =.448) failed to significantly predict internal attributions of discrimination.

Supplementary Table 1

Study 1 Exploratory: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	1	2
1. My personality might be faulty	-.04	**.82**
2. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleagues	-.09	**.66**
3. I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me	.04	**.72**
81. My colleagues are discriminating against me	**.80**	-.03
2. My colleagues are prejudiced	**.80**	-.07
3. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races	**.81**	.00
1. I am not from here	**.72**	.03
2. I am a visible minority	**.76**	.05
3. My ethnicity/race is different from theirs'	**.89**	-.01

Supplementary Table 2

Study 2 Exploratory: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	1	2	3
1. My personality might be faulty	.03	**.47**	.00
2. I may have done something to deserve this behavior from my colleagues	-.13	**.96**	-.09
3. I am to blame for my colleague's behavior towards me	.09	**.50**	.09

1. My colleagues are discriminating against me	-.10	-.03	**.92**
2. My colleagues are prejudiced	-.00	.06	**.81**
3. My colleagues are intolerant of different ethnicities/races	.25	-.03	**.61**
1. I belong to a stigmatized ethnic group	**.79**	-.02	.07
2. I belong to a disadvantaged ethnic group	**.93**	.00	-.07
3. I belong to a disliked ethnic group	**.81**	.06	.02