The Moderating Effects of Identity on the Link between Grievance, Frustration, and Nonviolent Protest

Renat Shaykhutdinov
Department of Political Science
Florida Atlantic University

Abstract

Throughout modern history social movement has experienced a shift in tactics from violent toward unarmed insurgencies. Despite this trend, empirical research studying the effects of identity and grievances on nonviolent protest have not yielded conclusive results. In this paper I examine the direct and moderating effects of identity using experimental and quasi-experimental analysis; a potentially powerful yet rarely employed methodology for the study of nonviolent conflict. The experimental scenarios are based on college rivalries, depicted as analogous to inter-ethnic relations. I also experimentally vary one of the most important factors in ethnically based protests; relative deprivation. The findings from these data support the contention that higher level of identification with the group experiencing relative deprivation (framing/grievance) increases the probability that groups will resort to nonviolent protest to achieve their political and social ends. Further, I find that identity moderates both the effects of grievances on the degree of frustration, and the impact of that frustration on unarmed protest.

Paper prepared for presentation at the Workshop on Data on Non-Violent Conflict, Uppsala, Sweden, October 12-13, 2012. The author thanks Belinda Bragg for her support in this project.
Introduction

It is conspicuous that the recent developments in world affairs, such as the Arab Spring in the Middle East, the Occupy movement in the United States, and color revolutions in the former Soviet bloc, have been predominantly nonviolent. These examples illustrate a structural shift in the nature of conflict behavior in the history of social movements, to which Tilly refers as the “displacement of relatively direct and frequently violent, forms of claim making, by predominantly nonviolent shows of strength” (2008: 151). Nonviolence is now also characteristic of the ethnically-based movements, which have been seen as a principal agent of collective political aggression since 1945 (Wimmer 2004). Of 168 ethnic movements demanding a degree of territorial self-government globally between 1945 and 2000, more than half (89, 52.98%) used nonviolent tactics exclusively, while the remainder (79, 47.02%) employed both violent and peaceful strategies at least once (Shaykhutdinov 2010: 182).

Despite the tectonic shift in the nature of social movements toward nonviolence, much of the extant empirical scholarship on ethnic conflict focuses on the determinants of violent behavior, including civil wars and low level brutality. In this paper, I specifically focus on the strength of identity, grievance, and frustration as factors favorable for nonviolent demand making. While these factors have been extensively studied this study differs from previous work in two crucial ways. First, I employ experimental and quasi-experimental analysis; a potentially powerful yet rarely employed methodology for the study of nonviolent ethnic conflict. Second, I examine empirically both direct and moderating effects of identity on peaceful protest. I find that identity moderates the effect of grievances and frustration on nonviolent action.

Identity, Grievances, Frustration, and Conflict

Since first coming to the attention of scholars, studies of ethnic conflict and nationalism have evolved to include a multitude of theoretical approaches, among which two major competing approaches, primordialism and instrumentalism, are distinguished (Gurr 1993: 167). While “the first treats ethnic nationalism as a manifestation of a persisting cultural tradition based on a primordial sense of ethnic identity; the second […] interprets communal

---

1 According to data from the Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW) at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, of all wars fought between 1983 and 1993, 60 (63.8 percent of the total) were ethnic in nature (Scherrer 1994: 74). Similarly, of the 36 armed conflicts ongoing in 2008, 19 (52.8 percent) were fought for the control of an ethnic territory (CSCW, 2009).
movement as an instrumental response to differential treatment”, or relative deprivation (Gurr 1993: 167). Over the past twenty years, considerable empirical evidence has been collected supporting both approaches as viable explanations of violent ethnic conflict and civil wars. In this paper I bring these findings to bear on a related phenomenon; non-violent protest.

Identity

Identity has long been seen as a key characteristic of ethnic and national groups by the students of ethnonationalism. Identity defines borders “separating us from them” and include relations within, outside and across those boundaries assigning meaning to both relations and boundaries (Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 79). Ethnic identification, as an important part of one’s self, shapes individuals’ social and political behavior. As Brady and Kaplan note, ethnic identity “motivates human activity and matters in for people’s lives – especially their political activity”; therefore, much can be learned by letting people talk about their identities and activities, and by observing them (Brady and Kaplan 2009: 33). Zartman similarly deems identity to be prominent in a large number of conflicts; key to and “typically representative of internal conflict in general” (Zartman 2005: 273). Additionally, identities, such as sexual identity, proves to be a basis for international campaigning and mobilization (Clark 2009: 153). Thus, the “process of identity formation” is an important part of the general cultural processes necessary to overcome obstacles to collective action (Shock 2005: 14). In the context of ethnic politics specifically, it has been hypothesized that “the greater the salience of ethnocultural identity for people with shared descent, cultural traits, and historical experience, the more likely they are to define their interests in ethnocultural terms and the easier it is for leaders to mobilize them for collective action” (Gurr 2002 [2000]: 66).

Grievances

In addition to identity, early literature in sociology and political science has also advanced the relative deprivation argument as an explanation of ethnic conflict. Grounded in psychological theory, this argument views ethnic grievances as the catalyst for a sense of frustration and anger that ultimately triggers aggression. Specifically, Gurr’s frustration-anger-aggression theory of political rebellion (1971 [1970]) builds on psychological work including Dollard et al. (1939) and Berkowitz (1962), proposing a connection between perceived deprivation, frustration, and aggression. In the original formulation of the theory, Dollard and his colleagues state that “the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression” (Dollard et al. 1939: 1). In a later clarification
Miller suggests that aggression is one of the various responses instigated by frustration, qualifying but by no means rejecting the frustration-aggression connection (Gurr 1971 [1970]). This allows Gurr to posit that “the greater the frustration, the greater the quantity of aggression against the source of frustration” (Gurr 1971 [1970]: 9). Yet, violent aggression is only one of the possible responses to grievances in the repertoire of social movements’ actions; in fact, unarmed conflict has been a frequent response to grievances as well (Shock 2005: 13-16).

**Utilizing Interactive Models to Examine Identity, Relative Deprivation, and Nonviolent Action**

Empirical evidence concerning the effects of identity and relative deprivation on ethnic conflict has been mixed. Identity and relative deprivation have been found by some studies to relate independently to both nonviolent protest and violent rebellion (Gurr, 1993). They can explain group mobilization and through this, albeit indirectly, group rebellion (Gurr & Moore, 1997). However other research has found both to be largely irrelevant for explaining group action (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Fearon & Laitin, 2003). The inconclusive nature of the empirical findings has been interpreted by some (e.g., Collier, 2000; Fearon & Laitin, 2003) as an indication of a deficiency in the theoretical argument’s ability to adequately explain the dynamics behind ethnic conflict. However, it is also possible that the quality and quantity of the available historical event data, and variation in model specifications and in the measures of relevant concepts, have been responsible for the lack of decisive empirical support for the identity and grievance hypotheses.

**Interacting Identity and Relative Deprivation**

While no work encountered in the extant literature has empirically treated the moderating effects of identity and relative deprivation, a number of comparative studies affirm that tactics, strategies and mobilization of communal and ethnic collectivities are “based on the interaction of both kinds of factors” (Gurr 1993: 167, emphasis added). Grievances and a sense of frustration generated by discriminative treatment combined with a strong cultural identity of a group lay an important foundation for mobilization and influence the demands articulated by the mobilizing leaders. Thus, “deep grievances and a strong sense of identity […] provide highly combustible material that fuels spontaneous action”, while “[i]f grievances and group identity are both weak, there is little prospect of mobilization by any political entrepreneurs in response to any external threat or opportunity” (Gurr 1993: 167).
The interaction between grievances and identity is probably best represented by William Zartman. He contends that when there is a need for communal leaders to attract and call on the followers in some way, preexisting and readily available identity is a convenient instrument, but only “if it fits” (Zartman 2005: 273). Since followers are identified, recruited and mobilized from the beleaguered and dispossessed corners of the general population (i.e. those having grievances), political entrepreneurs are likely to succeed in their recruitment and mobilization efforts “when their identification fits the situation” (273). It is crucial, therefore, that “If the appeal is made in ethnic terms to people who do not feel need in terms of that form of creed or in class (ideological) terms to people who feel discrimination as fierce ethnicists, it will fall on deaf ears” (273) and mobilization fails. Consequently, both the type and degree of grievances/deprivation/need, on the one hand, and identity/creed, on the other, should fit if the conditions for successful political action are to be achieved. Identity, or creed, thus informs the concept of deprivation, enhances its value, and answers the essential question of when deprivations or distributions are seen as unjust and thus politically relevant (263). This brings us to the first hypothesis:

**H1: High-identified groups with high levels of grievance will be more likely to resort to protest in order to achieve their policy goals than those with low levels of identity and grievance; groups with high levels of identity and low levels of grievance and low-identified communities with high grievances are likely to exhibit moderate levels of nonviolent protest.**

*Identity and the Grievance-Frustration Link*

The frustration-aggression link constitutes the basic motivational connection between relative deprivation and the potential for collective violence and nonviolent action discussed above (Gurr 1971 [1970]: 36). Relative deprivation is defined as the gap between expectations over certain values and the capability to obtain them. Values are conditions and goods, to which people think they are rightfully entitled (24). Conceptually, “relative deprivation” is generally equated with “grievance” in the extant ethnic politics literature. Grievances are associated with “a deprivation of basic needs of some sort, claims of rights based on identity, react to discrimination” (Zartman 2005: 262). In addition to Gurr’s early work, the term “relative deprivation” is used by the collective action critiques of his studies (Lichbach 1995)².

---

² Employing “grievances” as a synonym for “relative deprivation” became most pronounced with the rise of Collier’s “greed” studies and reactions to his work (Arnson and Zartman 2005).
These theories of political violence postulate a causal connection between grievances and frustration. According to Davies (1962: 6), “a mental state of anxiety and frustration” occurs “when manifest reality breaks away from anticipated reality”. Lerner (1963, p. 39) similarly attributes the spread of frustration in less developed regions to the deep gap between achievement and aspirations. A leading authority in peace studies, Johan Galtung (1965, p. 349), sees frustration as “the more general case where goals are not achieved (needs are not satisfied, gratification not obtained, values not fulfilled, etc.) for some reason”. Among the given reasons are scarcity, “blocking the access to the source of gratification”, and efforts by oneself or others to obtain some value.

However, in line with the claims by Gurr (1993) and Zartman (2005), the link between grievance and frustration is not monotonic; a sense of anxiety and a state of frustration is likely to occur only among those individuals who strongly identify with the group. Those with a low ethnic identification would not exhibit much frustration even when the group as a whole is exposed to relative deprivation.

\[H2: \text{Highly identified individuals exposed to higher levels of grievance will report higher levels of frustration than those with lower levels of ethnic identification and grievance.}\]
\[\text{Highly identified individuals with low grievances and those who are low-identified but have high levels of grievances will show moderate levels of unarmed protest.}\]

**Identity and the Frustration-Protest Link**

It is likely that identity also moderates the effects of frustration on unarmed conflict. Frustrated individuals who strongly identify with a group are likely to join nonviolent strike. It is much less plausible that lower identified individuals with low frustration would take part in protest.

\[H3: \text{Individuals who resort to protest to achieve their political goals will exhibit higher levels of frustration and higher identification with their ethnic kin. Most of those who refrain from nonviolent action will be low-identified and less frustrated group members.}\]

**Experimentation and Nonviolent Action**

*Relative deprivation and experimentation*

The goal of the theoretical approaches to ethnic conflict discussed above is to explain the conditions that drive ethnic groups to use non-institutional protest as a means to achieve political goals. Relative deprivation and identity are similar in that they focus their explanations on individual level behavioral and attitudinal factors. Where they differ is in the
factors they identify as predictors of conflictual outcomes. This raises a methodological challenge for researchers, as it is extremely difficult, if not impossible to test the individual-level process expectations of any of these theories using the macro-level historical data on which most empirical studies of ethnic conflict rely. The centrality of emotion (frustration and belonging) to the grievance and identity hypotheses highlights this problem further.

The mechanism underlying the grievance explanation of ethnic conflict is the well-established psychological relationship between frustration and aggression. This can also explain nonviolent protest; frustration leads to an urge to upset the status quo which leads to an increased probability of civil disobedience. To test this process relationship in the context of ethnic conflict would require data on the levels of frustration and decision to take action experienced by both those individuals involved in political protest and those who remained uninvolved. This is simply not possible given the nature of the extant historical data. Instead what is tested in existing studies is the effect of varying levels of grievances on the probability of ethnic conflict at the group level. The contention that grievances generate frustration thus triggering protest remains untested and untestable within this mode of analysis.

Experimental research is much better suited to the examination of processes as careful design can enable direct but unobtrusive measurement of an individual’s decision processes. By moving to an experimental approach we can therefore, achieve several goals at once. First, experimental research provides a unique ability to control many aspect of the environment, including the independent variables of interest. This control enables researchers to break down complex relationships and explore particular theoretical links in the presence or absence of other factors (McDermott 2002), a consideration of particular advantage in this area of study. We can, in effect, silence the high levels of “noise” suffered by econometrics models that rely on historical data by holding all contextual factors constant. Any changes in the dependent variable can therefore be attributed to experimental manipulation, providing a high degree of support for causal inference.

Ostrom contends that “[c]areful experimental research design frequently helps sort out competing hypotheses more effectively than does trying to find the precise combination of variables in the field” (1998, p. 17). As the theoretical basis (frustration-aggression) of the grievance hypothesis remains untested it is, as Ostrom states, difficult to conclusively determine its validity using historical data. A careful experimental design can begin to directly examine, at the individual level, variations in attitudes and emotional responses at
varying levels of grievance. In particular we can examine the relationship between reported levels of frustration, levels of grievance and the probability of nonviolent action.

The distance between the experimental and the real world presents hazards as well as opportunities however, and the transition from theory to experimental design needs to be undertaken with great care. It is crucial to remember that a good experimental design is not one which replicates reality but one in which the researcher can isolate causation, test theories and generate hypotheses. As such, the experiments presented in this paper should be seen as a first, very small step; isolating the most basic components of grievance theory and determining their effects on the probability of non-violent protest. Once this basic relationship is established additional factors can be added and comparisons drawn between these controlled experimental results and those case and statistical studies drawing on real world data.

Moving from theory to experimentation

As discussed above, what I seek to capture in the experimental design are the fundamental mechanisms crucial to the grievance theory. The structure of the theory is well-suited to an experimental design; however the substance presents certain challenges. Specifically, how can an American undergraduate student be motivated to feel and respond to a situation that parallels that of an ethnic minority group in a foreign country? This challenge is related to two methodological issues central to experimental design – realism and construct validity. Concern over realism affects my decision regarding the general setting of the experiment; the ethnic conflict scenario I establish for the participants. Construct validity affects the manner in which I operationalize the central independent and dependent variables drawn from the grievance theory I am testing.

Realism. It quickly became apparent that a focus on mundane realism; basing the experimental scenarios on events similar to the real world (Aronson and Carlsmith 1968), was unlikely to work for several reasons. First, most of the participants were unlikely to be familiar with the details of a particular real world ethnic conflict and thus would require lengthy and complex background information in order to be able to complete the experiment. In general, such situations introduce the high probability that participants will miss vital elements of the manipulation, decreasing the internal validity of the design. Or, as Aronson, Wilson, and Brewer put it: “[m]any events that occur in the real world are boring and unimportant in the lives of the actors or observers. Thus, it is possible to put a participant to
sleep if an experimental event is high on mundane realism but remains low on experimental realism” (Aronson et al. 1998: 131).

Second, to test the theoretical propositions underlying the design it is also necessary to generate a response based on the participant’s sense of personal connection to the group represented in the experimental scenario. That is, as Wallis and Friedman (1942) argue, we need the participants to react to actual stimuli, rather than their conjecture of how they might respond if they were confronted with a more mundanely realistic situation. To attempt to artificially generate this sense of group identity in a single session in a laboratory setting is simply not feasible. Thus, what was required was an experimental setting high in both experimental and psychological realism; one in which the psychological processes that occur in the experimental scenario are similar to those that occur in the real world (Aronson et al. 1998: 132).

To achieve this I needed to create a scenario which mirrored the theoretically important elements of an ethnic conflict scenario and would resonate with undergraduates at an American university, more specifically, with students at Texas A&M University. It was the specific location of this study that actually provided us with an unusual advantage. Texas A&M undergraduates - “Aggies” - have an extremely strong, well-defined, active student culture in which most participate. By building the experimental design around this pre-existing culture I was able to overcome one of the most problematic obstacles to creating an experimental test of grievance theory; how to induce in the participants the essential sense of group identity.

However there remained the problem that Aggies are definitely not a minority group within their current environment. Rather, the university is an influential and relatively autonomous institution (within the limitations of the state system). To overcome this problem the experimental scenario was set in a fictional future where economic depression has forced the state to integrate all state universities under a single centralized system and the Aggies (I will refer to Texas A&M and students from now on as the Aggies) have become a minority group within a larger centralized system. It must be emphasized here that I am not claiming that this scenario in any way mirrors the intensity of discrimination, oppression or aggression faced by ethnic groups in real world situations. Rather, through psychological realism I seek to create the same feelings of frustration, relative deprivation and anger that are central to the theories I am testing, albeit not to the same degree.
Construct Validity. Construct validity refers to the accuracy with which an independent variable captures a theoretical concept. That is, “[t]o what extent do the operations and measures embodied in the experimental procedures of a particular study reflect the theoretical concepts that gave rise to the research in the first place?” (Aronson et al. 1998: 130). In the context of this experiment the central concept that I need to operationalize as independent variables in the experimental design is grievance. For this I return to Gurr’s conceptualization and operationalization of underlying and proximate causes of grievance discussed earlier.

Level of autonomy – the central determinant of underlying grievance - was manipulated both institutionally (did the school keep its name or not) and culturally (did the school retain its own colors). Additionally in the high grievance conditions amalgamation was forced whereas in low grievance conditions it was voluntary. Conditions compared to the previous regime (autonomy), ability to express anger and satisfaction on other issues were incorporated by discussing the manner in which the Aggies had been treated by the central administration since incorporation into the central system. The proximate element of grievance provided the trigger event which the participants were required to respond to. In the low grievance conditions this event concerned future funding levels for the University. In the high grievance conditions participants were informed the Aggies were no longer to have a football team and that the only team to play intercollegiate football for Texas would be their arch rivals University of Texas at Austin.

Identity and Quasi-Experimentation

Although the presence of a control group is often given as the defining difference between experimental and quasi-experimental designs this is not the case. Random assignment of subjects into conditions is the defining characteristic of an experimental design. In a quasi-experimental design subjects are grouped by personal characteristics or contextual traits. The concept of ethnic identity was captured using self-reported perceptions of participants’ identification with the Aggies. Thus the sections of the analysis that touch on identity are quasi-experimental in nature.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The experiment was introduced as a study of group behavior, and conducted with undergraduate students enrolled in political science classes at Texas A&M University. Sixty-eight undergraduate students participated in the first run of the experiment (Round 1) and fifty-six students took part in the replication (Round 2). Both rounds involved different
subjects. The experiment uses a one-way design employing a single manipulation rather than the classical experimental design that utilizes a control group.

**Measures**

*Protest behavior.* In Round 1, the participants were given the choice to either negotiate with the central university administration or join a student strike and protest at the Texas State House. In Round 2, I expanded the strategy options to include the choice to “do nothing”, in order to make sure I was not forcing any participants into taking action they would not take if given the opportunity not to. Only four participants chose the “do nothing” option, and they were evenly distributed across the grievance conditions. As this additional outcome category is not central to the theory and does not provide any significant findings I collapsed the “do nothing” and “negotiate” categories into a single “not protest” category for the purposes of the analysis.

*Grievance.* The manipulated variable is the level of grievance, (high / low). Level of autonomy – the central determinant of underlying grievance – is manipulated both institutionally (did the school keep its name or not) and culturally (did the school retain its own colors).

*Identity.* The variable of ethnic identity was measured using self-reported identification with the Aggie culture. The participants in the experiments were asked to choose a value of their Aggie identity strength on a scale ranging from 1 (lowest) to 10.

*Frustration.* To capture the concept of frustration, participants were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (lowest) to 10 how strongly the central administration’s action had generated feelings of frustration. In low grievance conditions this action was cutting student services and raising tuition. In high grievance conditions the central administration made the Aggies’ rival school, UT Austin, the only Texas team to play intercollegiate football for the state.

**Results**

*Does identity moderate the grievance – protest link?*

Hypothesis 1 captures interactive effects of identity and grievances on nonviolent protest. Consistent with the hypothesis, the moderating effects of identity on the grievance – protest link is positive and statistically significant ($\beta_{id*g}=.37, p=.078$) in a binary logit model, as are the main effect of grievances ($\beta_g=1.23, p=.002$). The main effect of identity is not significant. Calculated probabilities indicate that aggravated and individuals with a maximal level of identification (10) are likely to engage in nonviolent protest with a probability of .73, in contrast to only .05 for those with minimal identity (1). Identity influences the likelihood of
protest for non-deprived (grievance condition=0) individuals much less dramatically (.13 difference). Highly identified (10) individuals in this category will protest with a probability of .32, while those with minimal identification (1), with .19 (Fig. 1).

Figure 1 about here

Does identity moderate the grievances – frustration link?

The second hypothesis examines the moderating effects of identity on the linkage between grievance and frustration. Specifically, I expect that highly identified individuals who experience higher levels of grievance will indicate higher levels of frustration than those who are low indentified and experience lower levels of grievance. Both main effects and the interactive term are positive and statistically significant ($\beta_g=.84$, p=.010; $\beta_{id}=.49$, p=.000; $\beta_{id*g}=.30$, p=.045). Calculated effects indicate that identity affects individuals with grievances more that those without grievances (Fig. 2), supporting the second hypothesis.

Figure 2 about here

Does identity influence the effects of frustration on nonviolent protest?

The final link that needs to be demonstrated is the moderating effect of identity on the connection between frustration and unarmed action. As Hypothesis 3 states, we need to see effects of the interactive relationship between the level of identity and frustration on the probability of protest to demonstrate this connection. Estimating a binary logit model I find that the effect of the interactive term on protest is positive, as expected, and statistically significant ($\beta_{id*f}=.07$, p=.038). The level of frustration represents the only significant main effect ($\beta_f=.45$, p=.002). Calculated probabilities indicate that for any given identity level above 2, highly frustrated group members are more likely to engage in protest than those without a sense of frustration (Fig. 3).

Figure 3 about here

Discussion

In this paper, I have analyzed moderating effects of identity on grievances and frustration, factors associated with the relative deprivation theory of ethnic conflict. I use an experimental and quasi-experimental design as the method of inquiry. Experimentation is relatively underutilized methodology in the study of ethnic conflict; yet its key strength is the ability it gives the researcher to isolate key theoretical variables of interest and examine casual relationships. The findings indicate that identity conditions the link between grievances and frustration, frustration and protest, and grievance and protest.
While the findings are generally consistent with the three hypotheses, some results are surprising. Highly identified and highly deprived individuals exhibit the highest levels of frustration and protest; highly identified and highly frustrated individuals are also those most likely to protest. Highly identified but non-deprived group members show the second highest levels of frustration and protest; highly identified but not frustrated members are similarly second in protest. Surprisingly, low-identified and non-deprived individuals are not the last in frustration and protest. They are more likely to get frustrated and protest than low-identified but deprived group members. It is likely that the members of the low-identified but not deprived groups have more resources at their disposal than low-identified and deprived collectivities. This finding partly resonates with experimental work conducted in other contexts on moderating effects of social identity. In an important study, Operario and Fiske (2001) find that less-identified minorities are less prone to personal discrimination but more vocal about the group-related discrimination. Similarly, McCoy and Major (2003) report that low-identified Latino-Americans exhibit less repressed emotions after reading about prejudice towards the in-group, than do Latino-Americans of high ethnic identification.

These findings demonstrate that that the relationship between identity and social and political behavior is not necessarily an easy one. This study, however, provides the general contours of these relationships in the context of nonviolent protest in ethnonationalist politics. Moreover, there are implications of these findings for policy makers. While I treat identity as an exogenous variable, these results suggest group leaders might find it useful to attempt to shape identities. Since identity is a crucial factor moderating and therefore effecting, the levels of nonviolent protest leaders of resistance groups should devise mechanisms that would ensure consolidation of the common identities among the group members around main symbols, ideas, and ideals. Conversely, it is not surprising that many central governments have put their efforts into dissolving the “unwanted” ethnic identities, including employing policies of outright assimilation, as a means to prevent even nonviolent protests. Nevertheless,

---

3 High-identified minorities expressed enhanced feeling of personal vulnerability due to discrimination and less group-related discrimination. While Whites experienced more personal and not group discrimination, the strength of their ethnic identity did not moderate this relationship.

4 This relationship was reversed when the prejudice read was against the outgroup. In contrast, Lee (2003) shows that “Contrary to the main hypothesis, ethnic identity did not moderate or mediate the effects of discrimination” on distress and psychological well-being of Asian Americans (133).
creative means for accommodation of ethnic demands while preserving state borders should be considered by both ethnic and nation-level elites to prevent further escalation of conflicts.
References:


Figure 1. Conditional Effects of Identity and Grievances on the Probability of Protest
Figure 2. Conditional Effects of Identity and Grievances on the Level of Frustration
Figure 3. Conditional Effects of Identity and Frustration on the Probability of Protest