THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION STRESS

IN THE WORKPLACE AMONG HIGH-ACHIEVING ADIVASIS

by

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Abstract

Ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis is a problem that has received little attention in research literature. This qualitative phenomenological study investigates the above problem by using Giorgi's descriptive psychological method. The method, selected due its scientific rigor, applies Husserlian concepts of phenomenological reduction, intentionality of consciousness, and imaginative variation, to identify and describe the psychological structure of the lived experience of EDS. The 15 participants in the study, selected on the basis of the scores of General Ethnic Discrimination Scale, were currently employed high-achieving male Adivasis above the age of 24. The saturation of the data was achieved with the analysis of 272 pages of interview transcripts of 10 participants. The study found that the participants had to face overt ethnic discrimination and microaggressions that were endemic and not just aberrant. The lived experience of EDS involved being constantly judged by negative stereotypes, and being exposed to marginalizing behaviors from the upper caste people. The participants believed that ethnic discrimination, in spite of their academic and career achievements, was meant to perpetuate upper caste hegemony. The resultant feelings of dehumanization, disillusionment, anger, combativeness, and helplessness from silencing led to demoralization. Coping with EDS involved an initial period of resentful submission with negative coping behaviors and a gradual movement toward change-oriented proactive responses. The findings point to a relationship between resilience and career achievement as well as to the need for both structural and paradigmatic changes in order to create a discrimination-free work environment. The findings reflect the tenets of critical race theory and call for paradigmatic changes in the caste mindset and the

dominant discourse that is embedded with dehumanizing stereotypes of Adivasis that promote silencing and upper caste hegemony. The findings may be significant for mental health workers and educators to understand the inner world of discrimination and to find effective strategies for coping with EDS. By giving a scientific voice to the Adivasi struggle against discrimination, the study can support the efforts of the marginalized and the governments for the creation of a discrimination-free work environment.

Dedication

To the Adivasi youth of Chotanagpur

with whom I spent the most joyful and fruitful years

of my life as a priest and a Salesian of Don Bosco.

Working with them I learned Don Bosco's way of educating youth

by creating a God-filled space of compassion, communion and transparent joy

that enhances growth in freedom.

Their tears, hopes and aspirations motivated me to undertake this doctoral research.

And to my late dear brother, Rev. George Padinjareparampil, SDB

who always believed in me and challenged me to strive for the stars.

"What we once enjoyed and deeply loved we can never lose,

For all that we love deeply becomes a part of us."

Helen Keller

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This qualitative study is a phenomenological exploration of the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress among the high-achieving indigenous people of Eastern India called the Adivasis. Chapter 1 is a brief presentation of the nature of the study describing the problem of interest with its background, the research question and the purpose of addressing it, and the research design employed to study it. Included also is the significance of the study with its limitations.

Background of the Problem

Numerous research studies indicate that minority communities suffer from ethnic discrimination leading to ethnic discrimination stress (EDS, Paradies, 2006; William & Mohammad, 2009). Adivasis belong to minority communities of indigenous tribes who have been subjected to economic exploitation and social discrimination from dominant communities for centuries resulting in their underdevelopment and economic, political, educational and social marginalization (Dutta, 2006; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2010; Minority Rights Group International, 2008; World Bank, 2011). Adivasis, meaning earliest inhabitants and referred to as Scheduled Tribes (ST) in the Constitution of India (Dutta, 2006; Xaxa, 1999), comprise about 705 distinct groups numbering 104 million people and forming 8.6% of India's population (Census of India, 2011).

As a result of the affirmative action by governmental and non-governmental agencies for the promotion of education and employment, the percentage of Adivasi college graduates between the ages of 24 and 29 increased from 1.6% in 1984 to 6.08% in the year 2000 (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). In the same year, about 5.7% of Adivasis

were engaged in professional employment. Higher education has given rise to a small group of high-achieving Adivasis including civil service officers, corporate managers, doctors, lawyers, educators and church leaders.

During my 19 years of service among the Adivasis of Eastern India as the principal of a higher secondary school and as the director of Don Bosco Youth and Educational Services, I have listened to numerous personal accounts of discrimination of Adivasis by the majority community members in different social settings including school, government offices, public transport and work places. Ethnic discrimination stress can be a psychological barrier in one's development (Benner & Graham, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Lee, 2002). However, the success stories of high-achieving Adivasis have often made me wonder what the experience of EDS is for them and how they respond to it. The present study aims to explore the lived experience of EDS among high-achieving Adivasis in their current workplace and how they respond to EDS.

The study will be international in scope and etic in approach. It is international since the study involves Adivasi participants from India. The etic aspect of the study is related to my South Indian Malayalee Syro-Malabar Christian ethnic background which is different from that of North Indian Adivasis—an ethnicity that is perceived to be a contributor to ethnic discrimination.

A review of literature indicates that there exists a plethora of scientific studies on ethnic discrimination stress associated with minority groups such as African-American, Latino/Latina, Native American, Aboriginal Australian and Asian people (Paradies, 2006) but none involving the indigenous people of India (Jhaj & Grewal, 1976; Singh, Sharan, Jayaswal, & Chaudhary, 1999).

The current study will be a qualitative phenomenological inquiry and hence does not aim to create a new theory as in grounded theory (Creswell, 2013). Neither can it be structured in any theoretical framework due to methodological constraints of phenomenology. Giorgi's research model of phenomenological reduction requires the researcher "to be freshly and open-endedly present to the expressed meanings" by bracketing preconceived ideas of the world and judgment about the objectivity of the experience (Giorgi, 2006, p. 309). However, efforts will be made to discover links between the findings of the study and existing theories in the field (Creswell, 2013). Some of the possible theories linked to the topic may be identified as social stress model, critical race theory (CRT), and resilience theory.

Social stress model emphasizes that marginalized groups are exposed to greater stress and increased mental health problems due to discrimination and prejudice related social stressors (Aneshensel, 1992; Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Dressler, Oths, & Gravlee, 2005; Meyer, Schwartz, & Frost, 2008; Miech, Caspi, Moffitt, & Wright, 1999; Pearlin, 1989; Schwartz & Meyer, 2010; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Critical race theory sees discrimination as a systemic problem created by the powerful class to maintain their supremacy and privilege (Closson, 2010). It is both a discourse of liberation and a methodological tool aimed at challenging, exposing, disrupting, and changing racist policies. Richardson's resiliency theory (2002) identifies different types of reintegration when stress disrupts one's bio-psycho-spiritual homeostasis and presents resilience as the capacity to gain new protective factors and higher level of homeostasis in the face of adversity. The prior identification of possible links these theories may have to the current

study can help to ensure that their perspectives are bracketed during the study for an appropriate phenomenological inquiry.

Statement of the Problem

There is a plethora of research studies that explore the phenomenon of ethnic discrimination stress suffered by minority communities (Paradies, 2006). A literature review on the research topic indicates (a) that the minority groups experience overt and covert racial/ethnic discrimination and micro-aggressions in different life situations (Gardner, 2005; Jay, 2009; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000), (b) that there is an association between EDS and mental/physical health (Borders & Liang, 2011; Branscombe, 1998; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Dion, Dion, & Pak, 1992; Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002), (c) that EDS is experienced even by high achieving minority group members (Lewis, Ginsber, Davies, & Smith, 2004; Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010), (d) that both positive and avoidant coping strategies have been used to cope with EDS, and (e) that positive coping contributes to career success (Richie, Fassinger, Linn, Johnson, Prosser, & Robinson, 1997).

A review of literature from an Indian perspective indicates that although ancient classical Indian philosophical and theological writings have rich psychological content (Sinha, 1997), contemporary psychological research studies in India have heavily been dependent on concepts, theories and methods developed by the west (Mishra, 2006). Further it was found that there is a dearth of psychological research studies on the Adivasis (Jhaj & Grewal, 1976; John, Singh, & Verma, 2011; Singh et al., 1999).

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Sociological studies related to the current topic involving tribal groups in India indicate that in spite of the Indian Constitutional guarantees, the tribal people have the lowest status in health, education and income (Singh et al., 1999). Jhaj and Grewal (1976) found that the levels of occupational aspirations were correlated in a hierarchical order to socioeconomic status (SES) and that SES and occupational aspirations of the Adivasis were the lowest. Ram (1990) showed that that higher education and social mobility can also lead to higher marginalization of tribal groups. In this context, de Kertanguy and Andronikof (2004) indicated that the interpersonal relationship of the tribal people can be understood only in relation to their cultural environment, traditional symbolic means of communication and sociological structure. However, Mishra and Chaubey (2002) reported that education, urban exposure and outside-contact are important factors for developing integration attitude in acculturation.

The review does not show any direct research studies on the discrimination stress among Adivasis. However, there are some psychological studies that indicate that people belonging to the scheduled castes in India were inclined to devalue their own caste background and were subject to low self-image and aspiration level, feelings of incompetence, powerlessness, alienation, loneliness and apathy (Majeed & Ghosh, 1989). It was found that the tribal people had lower self-esteem than non-tribal groups (Parikh & Patel, 1989) and that collective self-esteem was correlated to strategies of self-categorization (Bhola, 1991). De Kertanguy and Andronikof (2004) indicate that the avoidant style employed by tribal people is to protect themselves from being despised and rejected by dominant cultures. However, the studies are scant, dated, and often

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skewed to arrive at a scientific conclusion regarding the self-esteem of tribal people (Hutnik, 2004).

The review indicates that it is not known what the experience of EDS is for Adivasis and how they coped with it. Hence the current study will focus on the problem of EDS among high-achieving Adivasis of Eastern India at their workplace and on how they coped with EDS. The literature review also indicates that to date there doesn't seem to be any study that addresses the problem of ethnic discrimination stress following Giorgi's phenomenological research model. Some studies employ other phenomenological models to study related topics involving minority communities (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Jose, 2011; Lucero, 2010; Omeri & Atkins, 2002; Thomas et al., 2007). Giorgi's method is capable of inquiring into the subjective experience of EDS with great penetration, depth and scientific rigor leading to the description of the psychological structure of the experience (Giorgi, 2009). Hence, the current study attempts to address the abovementioned gaps in literature in order to make a fresh contribution to the scientific knowledge base on the problem. Specifically, it will study the lived experience of EDS among high-achieving Adivasis in their workplace following Giorgi's descriptive phenomenological method.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study is to explore and describe scientifically how high-achieving Adivasis experienced and coped with EDS in their workplace. The study will be limited to the current EDS experiences of high-achieving Adivasis in the workplace to give greater clarity and specificity to the understanding and description of

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those experiences. Existing studies have examined EDS experiences of the participants during their life span in varied contexts where the retrospective recall of experiences may have compromised the quality of the data due to failures of recall, underreporting, or bias (Mellor, Merino, Saiz, & Quilaqueo, 2009).

The present study will examine the EDS experiences of only high-achieving Adivasis. It is assumed that high-achieving Adivasis will be able to articulate effectively their experience of the problem due to their high-level education as well as their wider experiences in high-profile jobs. Besides, the way they coped with EDS may also have contributed to their career success. Hence, the current exploration can open up avenues for further research to examine if there is any correlation between the ways high-achieving Adivasis coped with EDS and their career success.

The current study is focused on examining the subjective experiences of 10–15 high-achieving Adivasis in their work place in regard to EDS. Using Giorgi's descriptive phenomenological research method in psychology, the study will identify and describe the essence or the general psychological structure of EDS and the manner of coping with EDS. Hence, the contribution to the field will be a scientific understanding of the essence of EDS among the high-achieving Adivasis in their workplace as well as identification of productive and non-productive coping strategies. Consequently, it can contribute toward addressing the wider problem of ethnic discrimination by exposing, challenging and disrupting discriminatory practices in the workplace (Closson, 2010) and promoting policies oriented to systemic change (Bell as cited in Milner, 2008).

Significance of the Study

The Research literature indicates the absence of scientific studies on the EDS experience of Adivasis (Jhaj & Grewal, 1976; Singh et al., 1999) whereas there are numerous studies involving African-American, Native American, Hispanic, and Aboriginal Australian populations (Paradies, 2006). The significance of the current study lies in the fact that the findings may provide scientific data and helpful knowledge to Indian minority communities in their struggle for liberation and empowerment; to mental health workers for counseling patients suffering from EDS; to government and non-governmental agencies for framing policies for educating minority community members and for creating a discrimination-free workplace.

The study can give a scientific voice to the unheard psychological realities of the Adivasis in their struggle for social equality. It can provide scientific data that can promote a critical awareness of their internal and external ecology including oppressive sociopolitical power systems leading to individual and community empowerment and social action (Zimmerman, 1995). Moreover, the exploration of the way high-achieving Adivasis responded to the stressful experience of ethnic discrimination in the workplace might help reveal helpful and unhelpful coping strategies. The findings may be used for the education and the empowerment of Advasi individuals and communities and more specifically for training Adivasi youth in their career development. According to Zimmerman (1995), an empowered person is one who perceives himself capable of influencing a given context (intrapersonal), knows power systems at work in that context (interactional) and chooses behaviors that can influence that context (behavioral).

The results of the study are also targeted toward the mental health system in India. The knowledge of the experience of EDS of high-achieving Adivasis and the way they coped with EDS, can be helpful to mental health practitioners to better understand, empathize with and empower minority group patients in the highly multi-cultural settings of India. The phenomenological exploration of the perceptions, thoughts, feelings, assumptions, bodily sensations, unconscious motives and expectations, memories and the coping behaviors related to the experience of EDS in the workplace may help expose the nature of this phenomenon and the extent of suffering it causes to those subjected to it. Besides, the knowledge of effective coping strategies that the study aims to identify can be used for the empowerment of the clients suffering from EDS both in individual and group therapy. It can promote an empowerment oriented recovery model that sees recovery as a process of learning with limitations (Masterson & Owen, 2006). The study might open up new topics for future qualitative and quantitative research and contribute to the building up of psychological knowledge base about Adivasis.

The results of the study can influence the policies of the Government of India and Non-Government Organizations (NGO) for the empowerment and development of the Adivasi communities (Turner, Conkel, Reich, Trotter, & Siewart, 2006). Although provisions in the Constitution of India as well as subsequent laws based on it are in place against any type of discrimination at workplace, open and hidden discrimination remains endemic in Indian society with impunity (Nilson, 2012; Shah, 2010). By exposing the macro and micro aggressions at workplace and creating awareness among stakeholders the study can facilitate stricter implementation of the existing laws as well as enactment of new legislation if necessary. It can influence policy decisions of the government and

NGOs in regard to the improvement of the quality of life of Adivasis in educational institutions and work environments.

Finally, the results of the study can be applied not only to the Adivasi communities but to any minority groups that are exposed to any type of discrimination. Thus the findings can add to the global scientific data base on ethnic/racial discrimination stress and coping strategies. It can also provide Indian perspectives on issues related to multicultural counseling.

Research Design

The research design must be congruent with the research question and capable of achieving the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2003). The research question is: What is the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The purpose is to explore and describe scientifically how high-achieving Adivasis experienced and coped with EDS in their workplace. The question naturally demands a qualitative design since it cannot be answered without scientifically analyzing the subjective world of those who have experienced the phenomenon (Maxwell, 2012). According to Giorgi (2009), "if one asks a qualitative question, then one should use a qualitative method" (p. 5). The qualitative method focuses on exploring and describing the subjective experiences and underlying meanings unlike quantitative study that aims at explaining a relationship between variables or predicting some outcome with the help of quantitative numerical data (Creswell, 2003). The question further demands a phenomenological design since the lived experience can be understood only through an exploration of it as it exists in one's consciousness. Phenomenology is a

scientific method that helps to investigate first-person human experiences and meanings as they exist in the consciousness by temporarily suspending or bracketing previous knowledge and belief in an objective reality (Boedeker, 2005; Wertz, 2005).

The current study will employ Giorgi's (2012) descriptive phenomenological method since the focus of the study will be on understanding the phenomenon of EDS as it is present in the consciousness of the participants and on describing it as objectively as possible. According to Giorgi (2005), "How can I learn more about the suffering of the other …? First of all, some form of expression on the part of the person undergoing the experience is necessary" (p. 80). Giorgi insists on psychological description of the phenomenon exactly as it exists in the consciousness of people by using a phenomenological attitude of *epoche* . Epoche, or phenomenological reduction, entails suspension of all judgments about the existence or non-existence of the phenomenon and bracketing of all previous knowledge and theories. Giorgi's research model involves (a) psychological phenomenological reduction which helps the researcher "to be freshly and open-endedly present" (Giorgi, 2006, p. 309) to the phenomenon by bracketing judgment on its objectivity and any preconceived notions, (b) concrete description and "analyses of the psychological meanings of specific experiences" (Giorgi, 1997, p. 254), and (c) the construction of a psychological structure of the experience through imaginative variation (Giorgi, 2009).

Giorgi's phenomenological method differs from van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic phenomenology and Moustaka's heuristic transcendental method (1994). The focus of van Manen's method is on the interpretation of the meaning of the experience under study following Hiedeggerian perspective that absolute reduction is impossible (van

Manen, 1990). Moustakas focuses on a creative synthesis of the lived experiences of the participants through researcher's self-reflection from a "pure consciousness" using Husserlian transcendental phenomenological reduction which "transcends the perspectives of human consciousness" (Giorgi, 2009, p. 98; see also Applebaum, 2013). On the contrary, Giorgi employs Husserlian phenomenological psychological reduction which, according to him, is more appropriate for psychological analysis as it does not exclude a "human mode of consciousness" (2009, p. 98) while reducing the phenomenon under study to a presence in the consciousness. Giorgi's phenomenological method insists on description and not on interpretation. Interpretation for Giorgi is a type of distortion of the experience (van Manen, 1990).

Giorgi's research model is selected because it provides tools for a rigorous scientific inquiry to make the qualitative study of the topic systematic, methodical, general and critical (Applebaum, 2012; Giorgi, 2009). Besides, it employs psychological phenomenological reduction which is more sensitive to psychological understanding and description as opposed to transcendental reduction. Finally, the construction of the psychological structure of experience that Giorgi's method aims at is based on rigorous analysis that is verifiable by critical others (Giorgi, 2009).

Population

High-achieving male Adivasis above the age of 24 will form the population from which a sample of 10-15 participants will be selected for the study through purposeful sampling method. The inclusion criteria will be (a) that the participants are currently-employed adult male Adivasis from Eastern India above the age of 24 living in any part

of India; (b) that they have achieved career success as defined by high-paying careers such as those of doctors, lawyers, educationists, civil service officers, bank managers, and IT professionals; and (c) that they have experienced self-reported ethnic discrimination stress in their workplace. Only male Adivasis will be included in the study in order to ensure homogeneity and to exclude from analysis gender-related discrimination stress. Only high-achieving Adivasis are selected on the assumption that they will be able to articulate effectively their EDS experience due to their education and wider exposure to discriminatory situations. The aim of limiting the age of the participants to above 24 is to exclude young people, as defined by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2009-2014) as those between the ages of 15 and 24, so that their developmental issues may not interfere with the discrimination stress data.

Instrument for Data Collection

Data will be collected by interviewing 10-15 participants selected through purposive sampling method. It is important to note that the representativeness of the sample in a qualitative phenomenological study is determined by the presence of the experience of the phenomenon under study in the sample and not by the number of participants who experienced a phenomenon as in a quantitative study (Giorgi, 2009). Moreover, the credibility of qualitative study will depend on "the information richness of the cases and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size" (Patton, 2002, p. 245). What is important is that the sample size must be adequate to reach the saturation of the data regarding the research question (Cohen,

Kahn, & Steeves, 2002; Kvale, 1996) and to differentiate individual experiences from the general experience of the phenomenon as a whole (Finlay, 2011). The participants also should be capable of entering into a collaborative relationship with the interviewer. The sample size of 10-15 will be sufficient to reach the saturation of the data in order to answer the question meaningfully from a descriptive phenomenological perspective (Speziale & Carpenter, 2007). In fact, Giorgi warns against using large sample size due to practical difficulties involved in the elaborate procedure in the analysis of the data (Giorgi, 2009). He recommends minimum three participants in order to make possible a comparison of the presence of the phenomenon in the participants that will allow the researcher to arrive at the invariant meaning structure of the phenomenon in a global way. The proposed sample size is also consistent with other published studies using phenomenological method (e.g., Kim, Hall, Anderson, & Willingham, 2011; Lucero, 2010; Thomas et al., 2007).

The prospective candidates for the study will be identified and contacted using the contact information available with an NGO involved in the service of Adivasis and by using snowball technique if necessary. Candidates who are willing to participate in the study will be administered the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GEDS, Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006) in order to include in the study only those candidates who have experienced EDS (as indicated by GED score 51 and above) and to exclude from the study those who have experienced extreme form of EDS (as indicated by GED score 85 and above) as a protective measure for the participants. They will also be asked to fill in the demographic data form including information regarding age, tribe, profession and current job designation,

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number of years of service, yearly salary, and highest educational degree to insure that they meet the inclusion criteria and to get background information for better understanding of the data both during the interview and data analysis.

Highest ethical standards will be maintained all through the study. Informed consent will be obtained before the interview. Since formal ethical review infrastructure for non-invasive research on human subjects in India is very limited (Bhat & Hegde, 2006; Chatterjee, 2008), and a local IRB review cannot be obtained, the IRB at Capella will be informed of the local ethical concerns and any ethical problems that may arise during the data collection process. In addition, a participant advocate from Adivasi community will be made available who is competent to understand and address any of participants' concerns related to the study.

Data will be collected through conversational semi-structured in-depth face-to-face interviews using semi-structured questions. Englander (2012) notes that conversational semi-structured in-depth interviews using broad open-ended general questions in order to elicit a naïve description of the experience as existing in the consciousness of the participants is an effective instrument for data collection in a descriptive phenomenological study. The researcher will be present in a subject-to-subject relation to the participant and to the phenomenon under study and will shift between these two modes of presence in a figure-ground Gestalt-like perception in order to understand the phenomenon as it exists in the awareness of the participant and expressed during the interview (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009).

The interview questions will be broad and open-ended (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2006). Giorgi (2009) insists that the purpose of the interview questions should be for

"directing the participant" and not for "leading the participant" (p. 123). Hence, the follow-up questions will incorporate the interviewee's words and use them as probes for eliciting further details and descriptions about what was already said in response to the initial open-ended questions. Some specimen questions related to the topic will be: Can you describe a situation in which you experienced ethnic discrimination stress? What was this experience like for you? You mentioned —; tell me what that was like for you.

Feminist researchers highlight the power differential that exists between the interviewer and the interviewee and consider the interview process itself to be invasive as social roles can affect the interview process (Ribbens & Edwards, 1998). Hence a field test of the interview questions was done with one expert in the field in order to ensure that (a) the language and tone of the questions were appropriate for the vulnerable tribal population and the sensitive nature of the topic under study, and (b) there were no unneeded questions that may cause unnecessary distress or discomfort to the tribal participants.

The aim of the data analysis is to make accessible for elucidation the explicated and implied meanings of the experience contained in the interview text (Giorgi, 1985). Hence, the recorded interview will be transcribed integrating the content of the nonverbal communication registered in the field notes. The data then will be analyzed using Giorgi's (2012) modified Husserlian method comprising the following steps:

1. A phenomenological attitude is assumed by bracketing previous knowledge so that the experience can be seen freshly as revealed by the participants.

2. The entire transcript is read initially in order to achieve a holistic sense of the data.

3. The transcript of the narrative then is delineated to show transition in meaning and to form manageable meaning units about the experience of EDS.

4. The naïve descriptions of the participants are rewritten to explicate their psychological import.

5. The underlying psychological structure of the experience of EDS is written by reviewing the psychological descriptions through imaginative variation.

6. The basic psychological structure is then employed to understand and interpret the raw data of the research.

The psychological structure refers to the essence of the individual experience from the perspective of lived meanings but expressed in a global way leading to a holistic understanding of the phenomenon (Giorgi, 2009).

Research Questions

The qualitative inquiry will be guided by the research question: What is the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The study will address two parts of the experience of EDS,

1. What is the lived experience of stress among high-achieving Adivasis from being discriminated against in the work place on account of their ethnic identity?

2. What is the lived experience of coping with EDS in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis?

Assumptions and Limitations

The study accepts the assumptions of constructivism. Some of the specific assumptions the study is based on include the following: First, the reality is subjective and relative to the context. Second, the essence of a phenomenon can be understood only if it is described and exhibited as it is found in one's consciousness without

interpretation, construction or explanation (Giorgi, 2009). Third, the process of inquiry may be affected by the preconceptions and value judgments of the researcher and hence, they must be bracketed. Fourth, the phenomenological method to collect and analyze data is capable of understanding and describing the complex subjective reality (Maxwell, 2012). Fifth, the generalizability of the results will not be in terms of facts or sample size but of meaning, the presence of the phenomenon in the participants, and saturation of data since the study is based on depth strategy and not on sampling strategy (Giorgi, 2009). Sixth, face-to-face interview is an effective instrument for a phenomenological inquiry as it enables deeper exploration through follow-up questions and field notes of nonverbal communications (Englander, 2012).

Being a phenomenological inquiry, the study is not based on any theoretical assumptions. Hence, they need to be identified and bracketed for an unbiased inquiry. One such assumption is that racial discrimination is a systemic problem in India and that research can help to expose and challenge unjust discriminatory social structures and meritocracy as an instrument of oppression. Another is that the discrimination stress is a barrier in the development of marginalized people. A third assumption to be bracketed is that the career success of high-achieving Adivasis may be related to their capacity for resilience and hence developing resilience may be a positive strategy to counter discrimination stress.

The etic nature of the study (as I do not belong to Adivasi community) may be a barrier in understanding and describing the nuances of the discrimination stress experienced by the participants. However, my 19 years of interaction with the Adivasi community members may partially compensate for this limitation. Besides, it would not

be a major barrier in answering the research question using phenomenological method since phenomenology demands the bracketing of both emic and etic biases.

A participatory research method may have greater impact on the empowerment of the Adivasi community through to social action. Similarly, a quantitative survey on the experience of discrimination stress among high-achieving Adivasis in the workplace would have provided hardcore data that could have greater force to gaud governments to initiate measures to create a discrimination-free work environment. However, the present study is significant for deeper and wider exploration of the experience and creation of an educated awareness of the problem among both Adivasi and non-Adivasi communities. Moreover, it may help to open up many relevant topics for further research geared to the empowerment of the Adivasi community.

Definitions of Terms

Adivasis, meaning *original inhabitants,* are considered the indigenous people of India (Xaxa, 1999). The legal and constitutional name for them is Scheduled Tribe (ST).

Bracketing refers to the phenomenological attitude of suspending one's judgment based on previous knowledge or preconceptions so that one is enabled to be present to a phenomenon as it presents itself in one's consciousness (Giorgi, 2009).

Dalits refers to people belonging to Schedule Caste communities that are outside the four major castes and are considered lowest in the social hierarchy (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). The word Dalit means suppressed or crushed.

Ethnic discrimination (ED) refers to the differential treatment of members of ethnic minority groups initiated and maintained by social institutions and individuals that

systematically harm them and reinforce systems of power and privilege (Feagin, 2000; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) refers to a state of mental, emotional or physical strain or tension resulting from differential treatment of ethnic minority groups by privileged others solely on account of their ethnic identity. The stress may be caused by chronic (recurring and persisting for an extended period of time) or temporary (passing, casual, day-to-day) stressors that may be direct or indirect, overt or covert, flagrant or subtle but are discriminatory in nature and has a negative impact on one's mental wellbeing (Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009).

High-Achieving Adivasis refers to Adivasis who have achieved successful careers that are high in social status and economic remuneration such as those of civil service and police officers, doctors, engineers, IT professionals, lawyers, corporate managers, professors and educational officers.

Imaginative variation is a process of identifying the invariant constituent meaning of a phenomenon by removing one aspect of what is presented in the consciousness to see if it changes the phenomenon in an essential way (Giorgi, 2009). If it does, it is an essential part; otherwise, it is only a contingent part. It helps one to see if a particular object of consciousness related to a particular phenomenon is an integral part of the phenomenon or not. For example, a triangle will cease to be a triangle if one side is removed but it will not, if only its color or size is changed.

Intentionality refers to the directedness or *aboutness* of mental state in the sense that consciousness is conscious *of* something (Siewert, 2011). Intentional act refers to what the consciousness was aware of or made meaning of.

Lived Experience refers to the spontaneous, reflexive, immediate, pre-reflective awareness of a phenomenon as it presents itself to one's consciousness "which cannot be grasped in its immediate manifestation but only as reflectively as past presence" (van Manen, 1990, p. 36). It is the awareness of a phenomenon as a presence without positing its existence (Giorgi, 2009). It is a reality that is not constructed or explained but described as it presents itself to the mind (Merleau-Ponty as cited in Giorgi, 2009).

Phenomenological means as existing for one's subjective consciousness and not as it is in itself objectively (Giorgi, 2009).

Phenomenological reduction refers to (a) understanding the object presented to consciousness as it is experienced without reference to whether it exists in reality or not, and (b) avoiding any judgment on it based on previous knowledge by way of interpreting or explaining (Giorgi, 2012).

Psychological structure of an experience is a global description of the essential meaning of the experience by a process of synthesizing and integrating specific meaning units culled out from the interviewee's naïve account of the event using the method of imaginative variation (Giorgi, 2009).

Reservation refers to the affirmative action by government in favor of minority communities by way of reserving certain percentage of seats for them in educational institutions, government services and political constituencies in order to help them develop and catch up with the mainstream communities.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST) refers to communities that have been suffering from extreme social, educational and economic underdevelopment due to untouchability and/or on account of geographical exclusion and primitive practices and

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notified as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes according to the provisions contained in Clause 1 of Article 341 and 342 in the Constitutions of India respectively that qualifies them for affirmative action from the Central and State Governments (National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, 2005). They are outside the four major castes and are considered lowest in the social hierarchy (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008).

Research Biases for Consideration

In a phenomenological study it is critical for researchers to become aware of and bracket their preconceptions and biases to enable them to look at the phenomenon without any judgment. Some of the preconceptions and biases are (a) most high-achieving Adivasis experience EDS, (b) many high-achieving Adivasis are ashamed to be identified by their ethnic background for fear of rejection and a sense of shame, (d) some high-achieving Adivasis tend to judge neutral situations as discriminatory due to past conditioning, and (e) I can understand the Adivasis because I too have had EDS experiences in other contexts.

These assumptions can impact the recruitment, the data collection and data analysis process. My own personal experiences of discrimination may color my understanding during the interview and analysis of the data. Hence, bracketing these "preconceived biases and judgments … setting aside voices, sounds and silences that so readily tell us what something is" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 60) is essential to understand what it is like for high-achieving Adivasis to feel discriminated against because of their ethnicity. My training in psychodynamic therapy that insists on empathic non-judgmental

listening will be an asset to help me set aside the above mentioned preconceptions and biases.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

This discussion on the research problem, the purpose and significance of the study, and the research design will be followed by a review and critique of the related literature and theories in Chapter 2 which will demonstrate how the current study fills a gap in the knowledge base about ethnic discrimination stress. In Chapter 3, the research method and design of the study will be examined in detail and in Chapter 4 the results of the analysis of the data will be presented. Included in Chapter 5 will be a discussion on the implications of the findings, limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Numerous research studies indicate that minority communities suffer from ethnic discrimination leading to ethnic discrimination stress (EDS, Paradies, 2006; William & Mohammad, 2009). Adivasis are minority communities of indigenous people that have been subjected to ethnic discrimination from dominant communities for centuries (Dutta, 2006). However, the affirmative action by the government has given rise to a small group of Adivasis who have achieved successful careers in public and private sectors. The current study aims at exploring the lived experience of EDS in the workplace among these high-achieving Adivasis and the manner of their coping with it. The current chapter reviews the research literature on EDS in relation to the topic to gain a critical understanding of it as well as to indicate how the present study will fill a gap in the knowledge base.

After discussing the literature review strategy, the theoretical framework of the review will be presented. The theories such as the social stress model, critical race theory and Richardson's resilience theory are discussed as they may be linked to the main constructs of the research question. The discussion aims at exposing possible biases that must be bracketed during the phenomenological inquiry. The overview of the related research that follows discusses the constructs related to the research question under (a) racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace, (b) microaggressions or covert discrimination, (c) relation between EDS and mental/physical health, (d) coping with EDS, (e) EDS among high-achieving minority group members, and (f) EDS among high-achieving Adivasis. Included in the final section are an examination and evaluation of

viable research designs for the present study as well as a synthesis and critique of the research findings.

Literature Review Strategy

The strategy used to identify available literature on the topic included the use of search engines Eric, PsycARTICLE, PsycInfo, ProQuest, WorldCat, and Google Scholar. The words used for the search were *discrimination, workplace, race* OR *racial* OR *ethnic* OR *minority*, *stress*, *Adivasi* OR *tribal* OR *Scheduled Tribe*, and *India*. Since no results were found with all these words together different searches were made using varied combination of these words to find literature related to the different subheadings. Thus, for example, to find literature on Adivasis, the number of search words was limited to *discrimination* AND *Adivasi* OR *tribal* OR *scheduled tribe;* for discrimination stress in workplace the words *discrimination* AND *stress* AND *workplace* were used. When results were not found in the *abstract* the search was filtered to include *all text*. Similarly when few results were found with filters for literature of the last five years, the timespan was increased as necessary. Google Scholar, WorldCat, OpenDOAR and PAIS International delivered studies that were unavailable in other search engines especially with regard to Adivasis and other tribal populations in India. Google Scholar and Summon were useful in getting a general idea of the available research on any topic. In choosing a particular article for review, special attention was paid to see the number of times that article was cited in the data base. Other strategies used were identifying articles from the reference list of latest studies as well as related articles suggested by the search engines themselves.

Theoretical Framework of the Review

Being a phenomenological inquiry, the present study cannot be bound by any theoretical framework due to methodological constraints. Giorgi's research model of psychological reduction requires the researcher "to be freshly and open-endedly present to the expressed meanings" (Giorgi, 2006, p. 309) by bracketing preconceived ideas of the world and the self. However, efforts will be made to discover links between the findings of the study and existing theories in the field in the discussion section of this dissertation (Creswell, 2013). Some of the theories linked to the topic are social stress model, critical race theory (CRT), and resilience theory.

Social stress model has increasingly been employed as an explanatory model by number of research studies on EDS recently (Dressler et al., 2005). According to social stress model, members of disadvantaged social statuses are exposed to greater stress due to discrimination and prejudice related social stressors leading to increased mental health problems (Aneshensel, 1992; Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Dressler et al., 2005; Meyer et al., 2008; Miech et al., 1999; Pearlin, 1989; Schwartz & Meyer, 2010; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). The social stress model may serve as a structure for understanding the constructs involved in the research question and for formulating appropriate interview questions.

Critical race theory, based on the African-American experience, holds that power structures in society are based on supremacy and privilege of the Whites which continue the marginalization of minorities. It questions and rejects meritocracy as an instrument for securing one's self interest and for holding on to power and privilege without addressing the systemic inequalities that are inherent in institutional racism (Closson, 2010). Consequently, CRT aims at challenging, exposing, disrupting, and changing racist

policies that subordinate and disenfranchise some people in order to maintain the status quo (Bell, as cited in Milner, 2008; Delgado, Stefancic, & Liendo, 2012). According to Parker and Lyn (2002), CRT is both a discourse of liberation as well as a methodological and epistemological tool to expose how racism affects racial and ethnic minorities. The current study may provide counter-stories of Adivasis that challenge the dominant discourse and help build cases against discriminatory institutions and practices (Creswell, 2013). The study may refine CRT with the experiences of a racial/ethnic group other than African-American on whose experiences the theory is originally based. The results of the study may also reveal systemic inequalities that Adivasis may be subject to and thus confirm the tenets of CRT. The study may expand the CRT by showing how resilience can work as an antidote to marginalization caused by systemic inequalities perpetuated by the dominant groups.

Richardson's resiliency theory (2002) may help to understand the dynamics involved in the way high-achieving Adivasis coped with EDS. The resilience theory holds that one's biopsychospiritual homeostasis (current state of physical, mental and spiritual adaptation to one's life situations) is disturbed by internal and external life prompts in the form of adversities and stresses. Disruption occurs in the absence of adequate resources (learned from earlier disruptions) to moderate the effects of life prompts. The possibility of occurrence of disruptions is determined by the interplay between life prompts and protective factors. Disruptions are followed by a reintegration process to adjust to the disruption resulting in one of four outcomes: (a) resilient reintegration where disruption brings in new protective factors and higher level of homeostasis; (b) homeostatic reintegration where disruption leads one back to their

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comfort zones to heal and just get past, thus turning down opportunities for growth; (c) reintegration with loss where disruptions lead to loss of protective factors and diminished homeostasis level; and (e) dysfunctional reintegration where disruptions lead to destructive behaviors like alcoholism.

An Overview of the Related Research

Literature review will facilitate a deeper understanding of the topic under study as well as reveal what is known and not known in scientific literature about it (Creswell, 2009). This will help prevent duplication of studies. Besides providing rich resources on the topic, a literature review will help define more accurately the terms used in the light of the existing knowledge and reveal current empirical or theoretical controversies. The review will also throw light on methods and instruments used in previous studies as well as indicate gaps in literature that need to be addressed to add to the knowledge base. In qualitative research, literature review may be used in the introduction, to frame the question, or in a separate section or at the end to compare and contrast the findings (Bordens and Abbott, 2011).

A review of the literature on the ethnic discrimination stress indicates that though studies related to the Adivasis are scarce, there is a plethora of scientific studies related to EDS among minority groups in the USA especially African-Americans. There are also a limited number of studies involving other populations such as Latino/Latina, Native American, Asian, and Aboriginal Australian people (Chae & Walters, 2009; Gee & Ponce, 2010; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Mellor et al., 2009; Shrake & Rhee, 2004). A review of the general literature related to EDS is presented under the following sections: (a)

racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace, (b) covert discrimination and microaggressions, (c) relation between EDS and mental/physical health, (d) coping with EDS, (e) EDS among high-achieving minority group members, and (f) EDS among high-achieving Adivasis.

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination in the Workplace

There is a plethora of studies on racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace. For example, a search with the words discrimination+workplace OR employment+racial OR ethnic brought up 117 results in PsycINFO and 225 results with combined use of other search engines such as SocINDEX, ERIC and PsycARTICLES. However, a search with the words discrimination+workplace OR employment+tribe OR tribal OR caste+India using the same search engines brought up only 11 results of which only two were relevant for the present study. A review of some of the recent articles indicates the presence of racial/ethnic discriminatory practices in recruitment, termination of job, mobility, working conditions, and remuneration.

On the strength of the data from a sub-sample of 100 from the 3,164 verified employment discrimination cases filed in the State of Ohio between 1988 and 2003 involving African-American men, Mong and Roscigno (2010) reported that there is a strong evidence for the existence of racially discriminatory practices in hiring (4.3% of the sample), mobility (8.2%), and termination of jobs (56%) as well as on-going racial harassment in the workplace (23%). Disparate policing and sanctioning, and discretionary use of power by supervisors served arbitrary decisions regarding hiring, firing, mobility and remuneration. Harassment by supervisors and peers included disparate workload,

discriminatory allotment of work, unfair negative evaluations, intimidation through threats of transfer or dropping of insurance cover, racial slurs, taunting, social exclusion and neglect of employee needs. Often discriminatory actions were justified on the assumption that recruitment through affirmative action lacked merit despite clear evidence of seniority, educational qualification and absence of negative evaluations. The inclusion of a large sample size and the verified accounts from court cases instead of mere self-report of the interviewees add to the credibility of the findings.

McBrier and Wilson's (2004) minority vulnerability thesis holds that the minority members are more vulnerable since they are not protected like the majority community members. Roscigno, William and Byron's (2012) study seems to confirm this. They examined the concept of African-American middle class vulnerability to racial discrimination in the workplace in their study involving an analysis of 325 randomly chosen workplace discrimination suits from 9013 court cases verified by civil rights investigators. The five areas of vulnerability in the order of severity were firing, mobility, harassment, hiring and wages. It was found that in comparison to the unskilled workers, the middle class workers were more vulnerable in mobility, harassment and wages. Harassment injuries included unfair disciplining, social isolation, antagonistic attitudes and disparate terms and conditions of work. Even African-American executives were subject to unfair scrutiny and were held to higher standards than their White peers and were not provided with the protection enjoyed by majority community members. The findings point to social closure, which is a process of creating boundaries, identities and groups in order to monopolize scarce resources by excluding others (Mackert, 2012). The findings are significant for the current study that focuses on the discrimination stress

experiences of high-achieving Adivasis. Credibility of the findings is augmented by the inclusion of random sampling method in this qualitative study besides the use of verified data from court cases.

Birzer and Smith-Mahdi (2006) in their phenomenological study of perceived discrimination involving 15 African-American women and men in Kansas identified racial discrimination experiences related to shopping, law enforcement, employment and being a minority in a majority social setting. The underlying core feelings, irrespective of the age of the discriminated or the type of discriminatory experiences, were fear, frustration, anger and depression. The study indicates that racism has not declined but only changed its appearance as is evident in covert discriminatory practices in modern symbolic racism (Sidanius, Devereux & Pratto, 1991). Although the use of the focus group and semi-structured personal interviews helped to arrive at the saturation of the data, the analysis seems to lack scientific rigor and depth. The study is based on an integrated phenomenological model and not on any specific structured designs like that of Giorgi or Moustake.

Brooks and Clunis's (2007) review of literature from 1980 to 2005 on learning and development in the US workplace confirm the above findings. They found that significant racial bias does exist in in the field of training, performance appraisal and promotion and that the Blacks were at a disadvantage due to structural, political, personal and cultural factors. These included lack of diversity and mentoring, the presence of prejudices and stereotypes (Palmer & Johnson-Bailey, 2005) as well as limited opportunities for training and for assignments with greater visibility (Cianni & Romberger, 1995b). The review indicated the existence of racial bias with regard to

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supervisory ratings and performance appraisals as well (Stauffer & Buckley, 2005). The reviewers found that most studies were quantitative and were focused on identifying discriminatory indicators rather than understanding the complex relation between discrimination and institutional and social structures. The reviewers underlined the need for qualitative studies that address the complexity of workplace discrimination that affect the training, performance appraisal, and promotion.

Meares, Oetzel, Torres, Derkacs, and Ginossar (2004) in their narrative study of employee mistreatment and muted voice in culturally diverse workplace identified injustice to employees at four levels: (a) interactional as in interpersonal relationship, (b) distributive with regard to allocation of resources, (c) procedural with regard to skewed policies and (d) systemic with regard to organizational set up and culture. The three muted narratives of response to these injustices were (a) muted-but-engaged, (b) angrily disengaged, and (c) resigned. The two ways of muting their voices were silencing through repetition and silencing through ambiguous policies. The main strategies the Blacks used to survive and succeed in career advancement were education and training, social networking, career self-management, and mentoring (Palmer & Johnson-Bailey, 2005).

In contrast to the above findings, there are a few studies that indicate no direct association between racial identity and discrimination in promotion or mentoring (Gaddis, 2012; Nkomo & Cox, 1990; Powell & Butter-field, 1997; Sheridan, Slocum, & Buda, 1997; Shenhav, 1992; Thomas, 1990; Ward et al., 2014). Russ-Eft, Dickison and Levine (2008) indicated that minority status was not associated with objective or subjective career success and that what predicted career success was education,

experience and satisfaction with others and with supervisors. Moreover, Collins' (1997) qualitative study of Black mobility in White corporations involving 64 Black top executives indicated that affirmative action in job recruitment and allotment may be a barrier to advancement since it creates "deficit in on-job-training and experience" leading to "human capital deficits" (p.64). However, Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) argue against it by suggesting that it is the discriminatory treatment of minorities that creates difference in job performance.

Microaggression and Covert Ethnic Discrimination

It is well documented that though racism has been abolished and overt intentional expressions of racial and ethnic discrimination have been made prosecutable under law in most modern nations, it continues to exist in a subtle and disguised manner in most societies (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). In the US, for example, many people believe that Civil Rights Movement put an end to racism and established equality between the Whites and the people of color (Thompson & Neville, 1999). However, research indicates that overt discrimination has increasingly been replaced by covert discrimination (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Sue, 2003, 2005). In fact critical race theory considers racism as "not aberrant, but endemic and permanent in American society" (Jay, 2009, p. 671).

The new, micro, disguised forms of discrimination have been called micro-aggressions, a term first coined by psychologist Chester Pierce in 1978, to refer to "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges, which are put-downs" (Hochberg, 2008, p. 20). Covert racism manifests itself in microaggressions that are often

unintentional but emerging from unconscious beliefs of superiority and entitlement. It is also called *aversive racism, implicit racism and modern racism* (Sidanius et al., 1991). It is practiced even by well-intentioned people who are unaware of their assumptions, attitudes and behaviors that are discriminatory. Sue et al. (2007) define microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults that potentially have harmful or unpleasant psychological impact on the target person or group" (p. 72). They are often unacknowledged and dismissed as trifle (Solorzano et al., 2000).

Sue et al. (2007) identify three forms of microaggressions: microassault, microinsult and microinvalidation. Microassaults are explicit verbal or nonverbal conduct that is meant to hurt a person of color by purposeful discriminatory actions including taunting, avoiding inter-racial interactions, and preferential behaviors towards other community members. It is old racism in new skin but practiced openly in safe environments or in a fit of anger without thinking. Microinsults involve intentional or unintentional verbal or nonverbal communications that show rudeness or insensitivity to people of color that belittle their culture and heritage on assumptions of inferior intelligence or capability, second class status, criminality and abnormal cultural values or communication styles. Microinvalidations are communications that do not give importance to or take seriously the psychological experiences of a person of color and dismiss them as trifles with statements like, "Don't be oversensitive" or "Don't be petty." Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) in their study of microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans using focus group interview involving 13 male and

female participants identified five message groups: "You do not belong," "You are

abnormal," "You are intellectually inferior," "You are untrustworthy," and "You are all

the same."

Jay's (2009) phenomenological study on the experience of racial discrimination of

African-American educators confirmed that racism is "not aberrant, but endemic and

permanent in American society, and routinely exists in public schools" (p. 671). She

identified some micro-aggressions such as surprise and reluctance to recognize and

accept the authority of a person of color, assumptions of incompetence and presumptions

of failure. She also suggested that the educational system served as a medium for

maintaining a marginal status for racial minorities. This finding is in conformity with

Solórzano's (1998) research that indicated that Chicano and Chicana college students are

subjected to microaggressions, both inside and outside of the classroom and that "even at

higher levels of accomplishment where educational conditions might on the surface

appear to be equal, the forms of inequality and discrimination can be more subtle and

harder to see" (p. 132).

Torres et al. (2010) investigated the role of racial microaggressions and

psychological functioning among the highly achieving African-Americans using mixed

method approach involving 97 African-American doctoral students. The findings

revealed three categories of microaggressions: (a) assumptions of criminality/second-

class citizen, (b) underestimation of personal ability, and (c) cultural/racial isolation. The

results concur with Sue et al.'s (2008) finding that an assumption of intellectual

inferiority was a major theme endorsed by ethnic minority individuals; and Lewis et

al.'s (2004) conclusion that the cultural and racial isolation was a key challenge for

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African-American doctoral students. However, an in-depth interview instead of an internet response would have added to the quality and quantity of the qualitative data.

Similarly, Gardner (2005) in his study on the attrition rate of racial and ethnic minority nursing students studying in a predominantly White nursing program identified the barriers influencing their success through in-depth interview of 15 minority students conducted in the college campus. Some of the barriers include loneliness and isolation, absence of acknowledgment of individuality and support from teachers, peer's lack of understanding and knowledge about cultural differences and coping with insensitivity and discrimination.

Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, and Sue (2013) in their study of microaggressions among Asian Americans, had 152 participants complete daily for 14 consecutive days, measures that assessed the number and type of daily microaggressions, affect and physical health. The findings indicated that 78% of participants experienced some type of microaggressions within the study period. They further noted that increase in the number and/or intensity of microaggressions predicted increased somatic symptoms and negative affect. More such quantitative studies are needed on microaggressions since most studies seem to be focused on exposing the different types of microaggressions. However, survey does not indicate any phenomenological study on microaggressions that employs totally Giorgi's descriptive psychological method. Dowden, Gunby, Warren, and Boston (2014) used Giorgi's method partially in their phenomenological study of invisibility among African-American males. The study, involving seven participants, reported the existence of varying types and degrees of invisibility on a daily basis.

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Relation Between EDS and Mental/Physical Health

Research studies have established an association between discrimination and negative psychological and physical health outcomes like decreased self-esteem, increased depression and anxiety, increased blood pressure and hyper tension (Ahmed, Mohammed, & Williams, 2007; Bhui, Stansfeld, McKenzie, Karlsen, Nazroo, & Weich, 2005; Branscombe, 1998; Branscombe et al., 1999; Brown, Matthews, & Bromberger, 2006; Clark et al., 1999; Dion et al., 1992; Panchanadeswaran & Dawson, 2011; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2002). Paradies (2006) in his review of 138 empirical quantitative studies done between 2000 and 2005 on racism and health observed that "the strongest and most consistent findings are for negative mental health outcomes" (p. 888).

Volpone and Avery (2013) in their study of how employees react to discrimination in the workplace found that discrimination resulted in psychological withdrawal (manifested in burnout) leading to physical withdrawal (manifested in lateness, absenteeism and intent to quit).   This in turn led to lesser engagement and more burnout, forming a vicious cycle. In a qualitative study involving 50 adults of indigenous Mapuche tribe of Chile, Mellor et al., (2009) found that the experience of ethnic discrimination was psychologically wounding resulting in anger, undifferentiated bad feelings, shame and a sense of powerlessness. Carter (2007) argues that the trauma accompanying a discriminatory experience must be assessed by the severity of a person's reaction since the severity may be indicative of the cumulative effects of racism throughout a person's life. Chronic exposure to discrimination stress can cause *allostatic load* that can affect the body's ability to adapt to stress and maintain homeostasis leading

to multiple diseases (McEwen, 1998). According to Pierce, "In and of itself a microaggression may seem harmless, but the cumulative burden of a lifetime of microaggressions can theoretically contribute to diminished mortality, augmented morbidity, and flattened confidence" (1995, p. 281).

Benner and Graham's (2013) study involving 876 Latino, African-American, and Asian-American adolescents examined the antecedents and consequences of discrimination found that there was a positive correlation across ethnic groups between discrimination from school authorities and academic performance, between discrimination from peers and psychological maladjustment, and between discrimination from wider society and increased racial awareness. Torres et al.'s (2010) quantitative investigation showed a stronger correlation between microaggressions (especially underestimation of personal ability) and perceived stress. Active coping was related to weaker microaggression-perceived stress. This may be due to the impact of the underlying disempowering message about one's capability that may pose a potential threat to the individual's goals. According to Crocker and Major (1989), assumptions of criminality/second-class citizen and cultural/racial isolation may have less severe psychological consequences because of the availability of social resources to cope with them as well as their limited effect on self-identification. However, the applicability of the result is limited to female African-American graduate students.

In a review of 138 studies related to EDS, Paradies (2006) noted that though most of these studies are on African-Americans, impact of racism exists across victimized groups. For example, Shrake and Rhee (2004) showed that EDS is linked to both externalizing and internalizing problems among Korean-American youth. Chae and

Walters (2009) found that discrimination was positively associated with fair or poor health among Alaska Natives with low levels of actualization but weak among those with high levels of actualization. Gee and Ponce (2010) showed that EDS was related to health related quality of life among six Asian ethnic groups in California. However, there is limited number of studies on EDS involving indigenous people as well as high achieving minority group members.

Coping with Ethnic Discrimination Stress

A review of studies on the way minority community members in other parts of the world coped with EDS can throw light on understanding the coping strategies used by high-achieving Adivasis. There is a growing body of research involving different minority communities in the world that indicates that mental health was associated with the way one coped with EDS and that both positive and avoidant strategies were used.

Mellor et al. (2009) found that members of Mapuche tribe in Chile responded with self-protective, self-controlled or confronting actions. Some strategies they used was to reinterpret the discriminatory experience as not intentional on the part of the discriminator, suppressing the discriminatory feelings, accepting the discriminatory situation as normal and engaging in defensive behaviors of verbal or physical aggression. Though EDS produced negative long-term effects on their emotional and physical health, they also identified positive outcomes like heightened pride in themselves, and enhanced collective identity and strengthening of bonds.

King (2005) in their quantitative study of 115 African-American female students found that the cognitive appraisal of the impact of discrimination on their personal

wellbeing as members of an oppressed group determined the degree of distress they experienced. Borders and Liang (2011) in their quantitative study involving a sample of 170 ethnic minority and 134 White American participants reported that angry rumination on discriminatory experiences partially mediated the relation between perceived ethnic discrimination and psychological distress including depression, hostility and aggression. In this context, the findings of Karoly (1999) may be significant. He suggested that high-functioning people have the capacity for reorienting their focus on their goals in the face of failures without ruminating on the reasons for those failures. Alvarez and Juang (2010) in their quantitative study of 199 Filipino Americans found a negative correlation between active coping and distress but a positive correlation between support seeking and avoidance behaviors and distress. Active coping was associated with positive self-esteem and avoidance with negative self- esteem. Active coping involved positive reframing, and task-focused problem solving. Dowden et al. (2014) reported that the way African-American males coped with invisibility was by creating and affirming a strong sense of self built on African-American history and culture, maintaining a religious or spiritual connection, developing resilience and cultivating a supportive relationship with African-American community.

Jackson, Wolven, and Aguilera (2013) in their study involving 24 multiethnic Mexican American using the qualitative narrative method identified internal strengths, interpersonal skills and support systems as strategies used to cope with EDS. Pride in one's ethnicity helped one to be more connected and less isolated. Interpersonal processes included adapting cultural elements of the majority community to get greater acceptance, defending one's cultural identity using sarcasm as well as passive and active

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aggressive behaviors. They also indicated that discriminatory encounters also helped them to creatively develop protective forces thus enhancing their resilience. The generalizability of the findings is enhanced by the presence of larger number of participants, and the use of strict credibility checks such as structured codebook, respondent validation and evaluation of inter-rater reliability.

In a study following the grounded theory approach and in-depth interview involving 11 high achieving African-American women and 11 high achieving White women who were exposed to racism and/or sexism, Richie et al. (1997) noted strength and perseverance, internal standards of judgment, passion for work, relational orientation as the core story behind their success. Some of the actions that supported this core story were commitment to work, high standards, collective/connective approach, dedication to social change, and support for others to achieve their goals. The study revealed that a sense of a global or collective identity and connection to their historical past as well as support from other African-American women played a very influential role in their career advancement. It was also found that helping an individual to identify and articulate oppressive elements of one's larger sociocultural context can normalize one's experience and help gain new perspectives in coping with the barriers of racial discrimination.

The survey reveals both positive and negative strategies to cope with EDS. Allison (2010) speaks of professional Black women's "re-imaging the Afrocentric self" (p. 89) by shifting mindsets, speech, behaviors and even appearance as a strategy to adapt and to survive the stereotyped image of being professionally inferior. The challenge is to identify and develop strategies that will help to proactively confront discrimination without having to sacrifice one's cultural identity.

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Ethnic Discrimination Stress among High-Achieving Minority Group Members

Often members of majority community tend to dismiss claims of discrimination as imaginary arising from the victim mindset of those discriminated against. Often it is assumed that incompetence and lesser intelligence, as well as lack of motivation and quality performance are responsible for their feelings of discrimination. Collins (1997) suggested affirmative policy as contributing to "human capital deficits" arising from "deficits in on-the-job-training and experience" that affect career advancement (p. 64). With regard to discrimination at workplace, there are also a few studies that indicate no direct association between racial identity and discrimination in promotion or mentoring (Gaddis, 2012; Nkomo & Cox, 1990; Powell & Butter-field, 1997; Sheridan et al., 1997; Shenhav, 1992; Thomas, 1990; Ward et al., 2014).The above position is challenged by studies on high-achieving minority group members who continue to experience discrimination in spite of their academic and professional excellence. For example, Wilson and Mossakowski's (2009) study revealed that in comparison to their White peers, African-American and Latino men and women experience greater fear of job termination regardless of their human capital credentials, positions of authority and union protection.

Jay's (2009) phenomenological study reconstructed the experience of racial discrimination of African-American educators with the help of three 60–90 minute phenomenological life history and focused in-depth interviewing conducted with one male and four female African-American educators. Jay identified seven major thematic experiences: (a) hyper-visibility/invisibility, (b) confusion from multiple identities, (c)

challenging discriminatory assumptions, (d) facing challenges to one's legitimate authority due to prejudices, (e) being pigeonholed in prejudiced allocation of responsibilities, (f) presumptions of failure, and (g) coping with fatigue from the cumulative effect of microaggressions. She also suggested that the educational system served as a medium for maintaining a marginal status for racial minorities.

Torres et al.'s (2010) mixed study revealed that even highly achieving African-Americans suffered from microaggressions such as assumptions of criminality/second-class citizen; underestimation of personal ability, and cultural/racial isolation. The results concur with Sue et al.'s (2008) finding that an assumption of intellectual inferiority was a major theme endorsed by ethnic minority individuals; and with Lewis et al.'s (2004) conclusion that cultural and racial isolation was a key challenge for African-American doctoral students. Similarly, Roscigno et al. (2012) found that even African-American executives were subject to higher standards than their White peers. After comparing the vulnerability of 190 unskilled African-American workers with 135 middle class higher category African-American workers using verified data from court cases indicated that unskilled workers were more vulnerable in the fields of hiring and firing whereas the middle class workers were more vulnerable in mobility, harassment and wages. They argued that the unjust discrimination injuries of harassment and mobility are "a formidable component of social closure itself" (p. 706) and suggested the need for systemic changes. In support of this view, Mong and Roscigno (2010) maintain that more highly skilled Black men are often left behind in the process of promotion because (a) the criteria for promotion are unclear, (b) the criteria are invoked in a discretionary manner in the course of interviewing, or (c) promotion opportunities are not widely known or

advertised at all. Greenhaus et al. (1990) suggest that it is the discriminatory treatment of minorities that creates difference in job performance.

Maddox's (2013) study on the role of discrimination for professional women's wellbeing highlighted the importance of reducing discrimination in the workplace for positive mental health. An analysis of the data from a sample of 72 Black and 74 White professional women and subsequent comparison of these data with the data from 1995 Detroit Study involving 533 White and nonprofessional Blacks, indicated that discrimination was positively correlated to psychological distress and job dissatisfaction but not with life dissatisfaction. Whereas the correlation between perceived discrimination and psychological distress was larger for white women, the correlation between perceived discrimination and job satisfaction was greater for Black women. The study emphasized the need for further research on discrimination and mental health among minority members of higher socioeconomic status.

Ethnic Discrimination Stress and Adivasis

Adivasis, meaning earliest inhabitants, is the collective name coined in the 1930s to refer to the many indigenous peoples of India comprising of over 705 distinct groups speaking more than 100 languages and many more dialects (Dutta, 2006; Census of India, 2011). They differ in ethnicity and culture and are scattered throughout the country. The legal and constitutional term used to refer to them is Scheduled Tribes (ST). According to the Census of India (2011), there are about 104 million Adivasis who form about 8.6% of India's population, and spread across the country. In the Eastern India, there is a concentration of Adivasis in the States of Jharkhand (where Adivasis form 26.2% of the

state's population), Chattisgarh (30.6%), Orisssa (22.8%), and West Bengal (23.5%). Adivasis have suffered from economic exploitation and social discrimination from dominant communities for centuries leading to their underdevelopment as well as economic, political, educational and social marginalization (Dutta, 2006; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2010; World Bank, 2011).

Ethnic discrimination of Adivasis. Discrimination of Adivasis should be situated in the traditional caste system in India. Hindus form 80.5 % of Indian population (Census of India, 2011) and the Hindu stratification of society based on caste system has tended to have a dominating influence in Indian society as a whole (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). Hinduism classifies society into four varnas or castes on the basis of their function and hierarchy: Brahman (priests, scholars and teachers), Kshatriya (rulers, aristocrats and warriors), Vaishya (traders, businessmen) and Shudra (artisans, peasants) with their numerous subdivisions (Haq, 2012). Adivasis and Dalits (meaning those suppressed, crushed) are outside these four major castes and are considered lowest in the social hierarchy (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). Adivasis are referred to as Scheduled Tribe (ST) and Dalits as Scheduled Caste (SC) in the Indian Constitutions since lists of those considered Adivasis and Dalits are contained in two schedules of Indian Constitutions.

Adivasis did not suffer from untouchability, the most abject type of discrimination by upper caste Hindus (Bijoy, 2003; Desai & Kulkarni, 2008; Xaxa, 2008). SCs were subject to untouchability for centuries since they were engaged in menial jobs like janitorial services and scavenging that were of a polluting nature (Haq, 2012). However, Adivasis generally lived in geographically remote concentrated areas of forest and hilly regions following a nature-centered life style. This secluded them from other

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communities which earned them the name Vanvasis or forest dwellers. As a result of their limited contact with caste Hindus in the earlier times, the Adivasis were not subject to untouchability like scheduled caste people (Bijoy, 2003; Desai & Kulkarni, 2008; Xaxa, 2008). Hence, in comparison to SC people, Adivasis face lesser prejudice that is embedded in caste-based Hindu society. However, because of their geographical seclusion, they were not able to participate in the mainstream social activities.

Govinda and Bandyopadhyay (2010) highlight the prevalent social discrimination of the tribal groups in education and development on the basis of the National Sample Survey (NSS) data, 2006, according to which 45.86 % of Scheduled tribes live below poverty line (BPL) in the rural areas and 34.75 % in the urban areas. Report of International Labor Office (ILO, 2011) indicates that poverty rate of SC/ST was 65.8% in comparison to the rest of India (33.3%). According to Census of India (2011), only 59% of tribal people were literate compared to the 73% literacy rate at the national level. Similarly only 19.2% of the tribal workforce was employed in non-agricultural non-household-industry-work whereas 41.6% of the nation's workforce are employed in the same works.

Singh et al., (1999) note that in spite of the Indian Constitutional guarantees the tribal people have lowest status in health, education and income. Although affirmative action has contributed to a progressive increment in the proportional representation of SC/ST in government jobs, their underrepresentation is conspicuous in professional and managerial jobs (Jain & Venkata-Ratnam, 1994). According to the report of National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (NCSCST, 2001), only about 3.52% of total A-grade officers in Services in central government ministries and

departments, in all public sector enterprises, banks and financial institutions belong to STs whereas they form 8.2% of the Indian population. In a study based on the data from National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), Singh, Das, and Agarwal (2013) report that contrary to claims of inclusive growth (Bhalla, 2011), Indian growth process between 1993-94 and 2004-2005 was skewed in favor of the privileged sections. Singh et al.'s study revealed that the employment disparity between the most advantaged and the most disadvantaged group increased from 43.9 percentage point in 1993-1994 to 44.5 percentage point in 2009-2010.

Thorat and Aryama (2010) emphasize the need for reservation in private sector since 90% of the job market falls outside the current reservation policy which applies only to employment in government civil service. Haq (2012) in his qualitative study reports that reservation for SC/ST/OBC (Other Backward Classes) in private sector is met with stiff opposition by multinational companies. In fact the diversity management efforts of these companies are solely focused on the inclusion of women. They have a meritocracy mindset and do not allow any relaxation in the qualifying criteria for SC, ST, and OBC unlike public sector that has to comply with the positive discrimination policies of the government. ILO (2011) in its follow-up report on the *Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* noted: "The chances of a qualified applicant with a Dalit name being invited for an interview was about two-thirds of that of a high-caste Hindu applicant" (p. 44). Thorat, Aryama, Negi, and Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (2005) challenge the meritocracy mindset of MNCs on the ground that private sector indulges in discriminatory practices in order to further their preference for

employing those associated with their own social networks based on religion, social class and status.

International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN, 2008) points out that caste discrimination at workplace is endemic in India and continues with impunity. It has developed *The Dalit Discrimination Check (*IDSN, 2008), a tool to help companies to streamline its policies, procedures and practices at workplace to avoid human rights violations. The checklist based on human rights-related national and international laws signed by India contains 27 questions that help to identify indicators of employment related discrimination in areas including hiring, education and training, job allocation, dismissal, remuneration and benefits, training and career development, harassment and abusive treatment, mechanism for addressing grievances, segregation and exclusion in the workplace.

Affirmative action in favor of Adivasis. Provisions in the Constitution of India (1950/2012) against discrimination and for affirmative action in favor of minority groups (arts. 15, 16, & 17) as well as laws passed for their protection (e.g., *Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955, The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes [Prevention of Atrocities] Act of 1989*) have contributed much to the protection and advancement of the Adivasis. In fact, 7.5% of seats in public sector and seats in government aided educational institutions and 8.66% of parliamentary seats are reserved for the STs. Desai and Kulkarni's (2008) analysis of the data from National Sample Survey, India, found a declining gap between Dalits, Adivasis and others in completing primary school but little reduction in inequality at college level. The analysis of the survey data indicates that the percentage of Adivasi college graduates between the ages of 24 and 29 increased from

1.6% in 1984 to 6.08% in the year 2000. About 5.7% of Adivasis were engaged in

professional employment in the year 1999-2000. About 3.52% of total A-grade officers in

Services in central government ministries and departments, in all public sector

enterprises, banks and financial institutions belong to STs (NCSCST, 2001). Higher

education has given rise to a small group of high-achieving Adivasis including civil

service officers, corporate managers, church leaders, doctors, lawyers, and educators.

      Indian research on EDS among Adivasis. Contemporary psychological

research studies in India have heavily been dependent on concepts, theories and methods

developed by the west (Mishra, 2006) although ancient classical Indian philosophical and

theological writings have rich psychological content (Akhilananda & Allport, 1999; Dalal

& Misra, 2010; Paranjpe, 1984; Sinha, 1997). A review of the available research revealed

that there are limited research on Adivasis in the field of psychology and no specific

study on ethnic discrimination stress among them. In fact, a search with the word *Adivasi*

using the scholarly research search engines PsycARTICLES and PsychINFO together

brought up only three results. However, the available research findings on ethnic-

discrimination-stress-related-constructs across disciplines with regard to tribal groups in

India are discussed here under (a) acculturation and marginalization, (b) socioeconomic

status, academic and career achievements and self-esteem, and (c) coping with stress.

      Acculturation and marginalization. Originally Adivasis were concentrated in

geographically remote areas of forest and hilly regions following a nature-centered life

style. This seclusion from other communities has reduced over the years due to their

socioeconomic development in independent India. The increased interaction with other

communities can lead to acculturation. According to Berry (1997), when two independent

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groups interact with each other acculturation occurs and they carry different attitudes toward how they want to relate to each other. Mishra and Chaubey (2002) conceptualized these attitudes in a fourfold model comprised of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization and conducted a quantitative study on the acculturation attitudes of Kharwar and Agaria tribal communities in Uttar Pradesh. They found that integration was their strongest orientation; and education, urban exposure and outside contact were important factors for developing the integration attitude in acculturation. However, they noted that education could also lead to high marginalization, that longer cultural contact did not necessarily lead to stronger integration and that marginalization was associated with more traditional groups and people of lower status.

The above findings are in conformity with Mishra, Sinha, and Berry's (1996) study that showed that Birhor, Asur and Oraon tribal groups also manifest attitudes of coexistence and integration and with Ram's (1990) finding that higher education and social mobility can also lead to higher marginalization of tribal groups. Using the Rorschach test, de Kertanguy and Andronikof (2004) studied the reaction of the tribal people of Kerala to the loss of sociocultural environment and reported that the interpersonal relationship of the tribal people could be understood only in relation to their cultural environment, traditional symbolic means of communication and sociological structure. They further suggested that the avoidant style employed by tribal people was to protect themselves from being despised and rejected by dominant cultures.

Socioeconomic status, academic & career achievement and self-esteem. Biswas and Pandey (1996) indicated that caste membership significantly affected perception of economic condition and quality of life and that socioeconomic mobility did not improve

perception of status for SC/ST groups. In contrast to this finding, Howard and Prakash (2011) showed that the reservation policy affected the occupational choices of SC/ST population and contributed to socioeconomic status. However, they also noted that ST members tended to choose more low and middle skill occupations in contrast to SC people who tended to choose more high-skill occupations. Jhaj and Grewal (1976) found that levels of occupational aspirations were correlated in a hierarchical order to socioeconomic status (SES) and that SES and occupational aspirations of the Adivasis were the lowest.

Bharsakle (1995) indicated that in comparison to non-tribal students, the tribal students had lower levels of aspiration and achievement motivation. Some studies found that in spite of the affirmative action in their favor, the tribal students had lower academic achievement in comparison to non-tribal students (John et al., 2011; Mohanty, 2000, Sharma 1991). Other studies indicate that tribal students show less intelligence than non-tribal students (Chaudhari & Bindal, 1986; Gupta & Jahan, 1989; Rangari, 1987). However, such conclusions are questionable due to the relevance of the employed instruments for rural tribal population as they may not be adequate to measure their intelligence or their skills (Hutnik, 2004).

In fact, Sinha and Mishra (1997) dispute the mental deficiency theory and argue that the achievements of tribal students should be understood as on a different domain from those of non-tribal students. Basing on Sternberg's theory of thinking styles, John et al. (2011) examined the thinking styles and academic performance of tribal and non-tribal students in Bastar district in Chhattisgarh and found that the tribal children had a stronger tendency for thinking styles that were monarchic (focus on a single activity until

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completion) and anarchic (resistance to rules, systems and singular approach to problems) which had negative effect on academic achievement. On the contrary, non-tribal students' better academic performance pointed to thinking styles which were hierarchic (capacity for simultaneous attention to multiple goals and prioritization) and local (focus on specific concrete problems).

There are studies that indicate that the people belonging to the scheduled castes in India were inclined to devalue their own caste background and were subject to low self-image and aspiration level, feelings of incompetence, powerlessness, alienation, loneliness and apathy (Majeed & Ghosh, 1989) and that tribal people had lower self-esteem than non-tribal groups (Parikh & Patel, 1989). This may be due to internalized oppression (Duran, Firehammer, & Gonzalez, 2008). Sharma (1991) indicated that though tribal pupils lacked positive self-concept they had higher occupational aspirations in comparison to their self-concept. However, the results of these studies are skewed to arrive at a scientific conclusion regarding the self-esteem of tribal people (Hutnik, 2004).

Coping with stress. Sahu and Rath (2003) argue that the personal and social resources needed for adequate coping with life situations are intrinsic to self and social identities. Shared social identity of stigmatized group provides emotional, mental and material resources to cope with and challenge discrimination. According to Haslam and Reicher (2006), identity-based processes have an effect on one's experience of stress. In their study they found that an increase in prisoners' sense of shared identity led to increased social support and increased capacity to cope with the negative effects of situational stressors. In their mixed study of Asian Indians' response to discrimination Tummala-Narra, Inman, and Ettigi (2011) found that racial identity mediated the

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relationship between racial discrimination stress and self-esteem and collective coping. Collective coping strategies included active interactions with family and ethnic community members, a sense of forbearance and fatalism.

Carson, Chowdhury, Choudhury, and Carson (2002) studied what made SC/ST adolescents in Orissa resilient in the face of adverse socioeconomic conditions. They reported that adolescent's perceptions of their relationship with family members and teachers, family environment and socioeconomic conditions were closely linked to vulnerability and invulnerability. Perceptions of high family protection was linked to invulnerability as well as better academic performance, higher perceived competence and higher self-esteem and vice versa. Family protection included variables like (a) social, emotional and educational climate at home, (b) effectiveness of family members in meeting one another's needs, (c) perceived feelings of parental acceptance and rejection, (d) positive sibling behavior such as friendliness and cooperation against aggression and rivalry, and (e) nurturing grandparents. In spite of the use of a large sample of 400 students and 11 teachers and multiple measures, the validity of the findings may be limited due to the absence of a random sampling selection from a wider population as well as the use of measures based on self-reports.

The survey indicates a dearth of research on ethnic discrimination stress among Adivasis. The present study aims to fill this gap in scientific research by examining the lived experience of EDS and coping with EDS at workplace among high-achieving Adivasis.

Evaluation of Viable Research Designs

The review reveals that most research designs have focused on Blacks/Whites and women and they have been used to generalize for other groups. Brooks and Clunis's (2007) review of literature on racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace between 1980 and 2005 emphasized the need for designs that fit the needs of other racial and ethnic groups around the world. Moreover, most quantitative studies on the topic use measures that are developed from the categories that incorporate Black/White and women perspectives. Hence, more qualitative studies may be necessary to explore and understand perspectives of other racial/ethnic groups and to formulate measures that include constructs that are more relevant for them. There are also concerns about validity and reliability of the many studies that are based on research designs that rely on data from self-report and selective recall and emphasize the need for developing psychometrically validated instruments (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

A controversy that surrounds studies on racial/ethnic discrimination is about salience of race in assessment of discrimination stress (Williams et al., 2003). According to them, what is generally reported as racial discrimination stress need not necessarily be due to racial or ethnic identity but could be due to other factors. They report of studies that use approaches that downplay salience of race by assessing experiences of unfair treatment first and then determining its source by selecting from multiple social groups including race and ethnicity.

Mishra (1987, 2006) deplored that contemporary psychological research studies in India have been heavily dependent on concepts, theories and methods developed by the

west and emphasized the need for developing research designs that incorporate the rich psychological content of ancient classical Indian philosophical and theological writings. The current phenomenological study may help to understand, validate and express the subjective experience of ethnic discrimination stress in the context of the Indian philosophical, cultural, socioeconomic, and political realities. It can also help to identify constructs to develop psychometric measures that are more relevant for Indian context.

The review indicates the presence of qualitative studies on racial/ethnic discrimination stress that employ grounded theory (Richie et al., 1997), longitudinal mixed method (Torres et al., 2010) and phenomenological method (Jay, 2009; Gardner, 2005; Harper et al., 2011). However, to date no study has been cited that addresses ethnic discrimination stress following Giorgi's phenomenological research model though some use it partially to study related topics involving minority communities (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Jose, 2011; Lucero, 2010; Omeri & Atkins, 2002; Thomas et al., 2007). The present study attempts to address this gap.

Synthesis and Critique of Research Findings

The above literature review indicates that minority groups experience overt and covert racial/ethnic discrimination during social interactions in educational institutions, workplaces and other centers of public service in spite of guaranteed constitutional and legislative protection in most countries including India (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Brooks & Clunis, 2007; Mong & Roscigno, 2010; Roscigno et al., 2012). Workplace discrimination manifests itself in the areas of firing, mobility, harassment, hiring and wages in the order of severity. Harassment injuries included unfair disciplining, social

isolation, antagonistic attitudes and disparate terms and conditions of work. Even high-achieving minority group members like executive officers were subject to unfair scrutiny and were held to higher standards than their peers from the dominant community while denying them equal protection.

With the advent of the human rights movements, overt discrimination has been replaced by microaggressions which are brief, subtle intentional or unintentional putdowns that communicate a message of depreciation and even hostility and have a negative psychological impact on the targeted person or group (Solorzano et al., 2000). Sue et al. (2007) identify three forms of microaggressions: microassault (explicit actions like taunting or social exclusion), microinsult (involving rudeness, insensitivity and belittling) and microinvalidation (dismissing acts of discrimination as trifles) in the order of their covertness and severity.

There is strong research evidence for an association between EDS and mental/physical outcomes such as decreased self-esteem, increased depression and anxiety, increased blood pressure and hyper tension (Ahmed et al., 2007; Bhui et al., 2005; Branscombe, 1998; Brown et al., 2006; Clark et al., 1999; Dion et al., 1992; Panchanadeswaran & Dawson, 2011; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2002). But to date no research on the effects of discrimination stress on the Adivasi community has been done. The evidence does, however, cut across many minority groups including African-American, Latino/Latina, Native American, Asian, and Aboriginal Australian people (Chae & Walters, 2009; Gee & Ponce, 2010; Mellor et al., 2009; Shrake & Rhee, 2004). Though the majority of these studies are on the African-

American population, the review finds an increasing number of studies on victimized groups across the globe.

The cognitive appraisal of the impact of discrimination on personal wellbeing as members of an oppressed group determined the degree of distress experienced (King, 2005). Negative strategies used to cope with EDS included reinterpreting the discriminatory acts as not intentional on the part of the discriminator, suppressing the discriminatory feelings, accepting the discriminatory situation as normal and engaging in defensive behaviors of verbal or physical aggression (Mellor et al., 2009), rumination leading to depression, hostility and aggression (Borders & Liang, 2011), and substance abuse (Paradies, 2006). Active coping was associated with positive self-esteem and avoidance with negative self-esteem. Active coping involved positive reframing, and task-focused problem solving (Alvarez & Juang, 2010), reliance on internal strengths, interpersonal skills and support systems such as defending and taking pride in one's ethnicity, adapting to majority community cultural values for greater acceptance (Jackson et al., 2013), commitment to excellence in one's work, efforts at social change, and supporting others to achieve their goals (Richie et al., 1997). Discriminatory encounters also helped some to creatively develop protective forces thus enhancing their resilience.

The EDS experience of high achievers from minority groups with excellent academic and professional records challenges the claims of some majority community members who tend to dismiss EDS as imaginary arising from a victim mentality, inferior competence and intelligence, as well as lack of motivation and quality performance (Maddox, 2013; Mong & Roscigno, 2010; Roscigno et al., 2012; Sue et al., 2008; Torres et al., 2010). Some studies show no relation between racial identity and discrimination

(Nkomo & Cox, 1990; Powell & Butter-field, 1997; Sheridan et al., 1997; Thomas, 1990).

Review of Indian research does not indicate any study on EDS involving Adivasis or other minority groups. However, studies on related topics show that discrimination exists at the socioeconomic level (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2010; Xaxa, 2008). In spite of the Indian Constitutional and legislative protection the Adivasis have the lowest status in health, education and income (Singh et al., 1999). There is a vast disproportion in their presence in public and private sector jobs (Haq, 2012; Singh et al., 2013) and they are heavily underrepresented in professional and managerial jobs (Jain & Venkata-Ratnam, 1994). Affirmative action by governmental and nongovernmental agencies has increased their representation in education and employment (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008; NCSCST, 2001). Higher education has given rise to a small group of high-achieving Adivasis including civil service officers, bank managers, church leaders, doctors, lawyers, and educators.

Studies also indicate that tribal communities possess acculturation attitude of integration with other communities (Mishra & Chaubey, 2002; Mishra et al., 1996). However, their interpersonal relationship can be understood only in relation to their cultural environment, traditional symbolic means of communication and sociological structure and that the avoidant style employed by them is often to protect themselves from being despised and rejected by dominant cultures (de Kertanguy & Andronikof, 2004). Moreover, higher education and social mobility can also lead to higher marginalization of tribal groups (Mishra & Chaubey, 2002; Ram, 1990).

There is research evidence to show that though the government's affirmative action contributed to the socioeconomic status (Howard & Prakash, 2011), socioeconomic mobility did not improve perception of status for Adivasi groups (Biswas & Pandey, 1996). It was also found that levels of occupational aspirations were correlated in a hierarchical order to socioeconomic status (SES) and that SES and occupational aspirations of the Adivasis were the lowest (Jhaj & Grewal, 1976).

Studies also indicate that in comparison to non-tribal students, tribal students had lower levels of aspiration and achievement motivation (Bharsakle, 1995), lower academic achievements (John et al., 2011; Mohanty 2000, Sharma, 1991), and lower intelligence (Chaudhari & Bindal, 1986; Gupta & Jahan, 1989; Rangari, 1987). However, such conclusions are questionable due to the relevance of the employed instruments for rural tribal population (Hutnik, 2004) and the need to understand the achievements of tribal students as on a different domain from those of non-tribal students (Sinha and Mishra, 1997). John et al., (2011) found that tribal children's stronger tendency for monarchic and anarchic thinking styles (Sternberg & Grigorenko, 1997) had negative effect on their academic achievement in comparison to non-tribal children's predominantly hierarchical and local thinking styles. Though some studies indicate that tribal people had lower self-esteem than non-tribal groups (Parikh & Patel, 1989; Sharma, 1991), and were subject to low self-image and aspiration level, feelings of incompetence, powerlessness, alienation, loneliness and apathy (Majeed & Ghosh, 1989), results of studies are skewed to arrive at a scientific conclusion regarding self-esteem of tribal people (Hutnik, 2004). It was also found that perceptions of high family protection was linked to invulnerability as well as

better academic performance, higher perceived competence and higher self-esteem and vice versa (Carson et al., 2002).

Brooks and Clunis (2007) in their survey of literature from 1980-2005 reported that most studies were quantitative and were focused on identifying discriminatory indicators rather than understanding the complex relation between discrimination and institutional and social structures. The reviewer underlined the need for qualitative studies that address the complexity of workplace discrimination that affect the training, performance appraisal, and promotion. The current study aims to address that complexity by trying to understand the phenomenological reality of the experience of EDS and of coping with EDS. Moreover, the review of Indian research reveals that there is no study on EDS among Adivasis or among any other minority groups in India. Finally though there are phenomenological studies on EDS, no study was identified that used Giorgi's psychological descriptive method. The current study aims to address these gaps.

Summary

A conversation with the theories and literature related to the research topic was presented in this chapter. The focus was on presenting what has been studied so far in regard to the research question and how the present study fills a gap in the knowledge base on the topic. In the next chapter the research methodology that was used in answering the research question will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the present study is to examine and describe scientifically how high-achieving Adivasis experienced and coped with ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in their workplace. The study is significant due to the absence of research that addresses the EDS among this population although in India ethnic discrimination in the workplace is systemic and rampant with impunity (Nilson, 2012; Shah, 2010) resulting in mental health deficits. There is need for such research that is capable of examining the subjective experience of EDS elaborately and scientifically in order to expose and challenge its perpetration as well as to create a knowledge base for mental health workers and policy makers.

The study focuses on the current experiences of EDS in the workplace and not on a retrospective recall of early experiences in order not to compromise the quality of data by way of memory lapses, underreporting and bias (Mellor et al., 2009). High-achieving Adivasis are selected to ensure effective articulation of the experience as well as identification of effective coping skills assuming that their manner of coping contributed to their career success. The study is guided by the research question: What is the lived experience of EDS in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The question has two parts: What is the lived experience of stress among high-achieving Adivasis from being discriminated against in the work place on account of their ethnic identity? What is the lived experience of coping with EDS in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis?

Research Design

The present study used the qualitative phenomenological methodology because the research question it addressed demanded a methodology that was capable of answering it (Creswell, 2003). According to Giorgi (2009), "if one asks a qualitative question, then one should use a qualitative method" (p. 5). The study accepted the assumptions of qualitative methodology that (a) the reality is subjective and relative to the context, (b) knowledge is unlimited and constructed in the context of a collaborative research relationship, (c) the process of inquiry may be affected by the value judgments of both the researcher and the participant(s), and (d) methods used to collect and analyze the data should be capable of understanding and describing the complex subjective reality (Maxwell, 2012).

The research question for the present study is: What is the experience of ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The question demands a qualitative methodology since it entailed an exploration of the subjective meanings which could be described only through non-numerical data. The question does not call for an explanation of a relationship between variables or prediction of some outcome which would require numerical data and a quantitative methodology.

Phenomenological methodology was selected because the focus of the question was on understanding and describing the lived experience of EDS. Phenomenology is a scientific method, originally developed by Edmund Husserl, to help investigate first-person human experiences and meanings (Boedeker, 2005; Wertz, 2005). According to Husserl, phenomenological reduction is essential in order to understand the subjective experience. It involves two epoches or suspensions—suspension (bracketing) of previous

knowledge and suspension of our belief in an objective reality temporarily—so that reality can be seen freshly as it appears in one's consciousness. Understanding and describing the lived reality of EDS naturally called for a phenomenological approach. Lived experience refers to the spontaneous, reflexive, immediate, pre-reflective awareness of a phenomenon as it presents itself to one's consciousness "which cannot be grasped in its immediate manifestation but only as reflectively as past presence" (van Manen, 1990, p. 36). It is the awareness of a phenomenon as a presence without positing its existence (Giorgi, 2009). It is a reality that is not constructed or explained but described as it presents itself to the mind (Merleau-Ponty as cited in Giorgi, 2009).

The study employed Giorgi's (2012) descriptive phenomenological method based on Husserl's and Merleau-Ponty's philosophy since the focus of the study was on understanding the essence of the phenomenon of EDS as it was present in the consciousness of the participants and describing it as objectively as possible and not in interpreting its meaning as in van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic phenomenology based on Hiedeggerian perspective. For Giorgi, interpretation is a type of distortion of the original experience (van Manen, 1990). The perspective of Giorgi is in keeping with the study's aim of empowering the population under study by giving a scientific exposure to their unheard voice. The method which is in alignment with the ancient Indian phenomenological traditions of awareness (Chattopadhyaya, Embree, Mohanty, & Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 1992) provided an opportunity to Adivasis, as subjects of research, to listen to their own indigenous voices and to hear their values, beliefs and feelings in the context of their lives without having to accept concepts of who they should be as defined by others and often imposed on them.

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Moustakas' (1990) heuristic transcendental approach was disfavored because of his preference for transcendental phenomenological reduction which "transcends the perspectives of human consciousness" (Giorgi, 2009, p. 98) in order to arrive at a creative synthesis of the lived experiences of the participants through researcher's self-reflection. According to Giorgi, Husslerian phenomenological psychological reduction is more appropriate for psychological analysis as it does not exclude a "human mode of consciousness" (2009, p. 98) while reducing the phenomenon under study to a presence in the consciousness. Giorgi's method emphasizes psychological reduction which helps the researcher "to be freshly and open-endedly present to the expressed meanings" (Giorgi, 2006, p. 309) by bracketing temporarily preconceived notions and the belief in the objective world, leading to the construction of a psychological structure of the experiences through the "concrete analyses of the psychological meanings of specific experiences" (Giorgi, 1997, p. 254). Finally, Giorgi's research model provides tools for a rigorous scientific inquiry to make the qualitative study of the topic systematic, methodical, general and critical (Applebaum, 2012; Giorgi, 2009). The tools help to insure the trustworthiness of the research findings. In fact, the construction of the psychological structure of experience is based on rigorous analysis that is verifiable by critical others similar to the reliability verification in quantitative studies (Giorgi, 2009). The research design that was used in the study is represented in Figure 1.

Design Type	Time >>>>			
Purposeful, two measure qualitative phenomenological design	C15	O1 (Questionnaire for sample selection)	O2 (Interview)	O3 (Researcher)

Figure 1. Research design diagram. C = characteristic bound participant; O = instrument.

The study used qualitative phenomenological design involving a sample of 15 high-achieving Adivasis who had the specific characteristic (C) of experiencing EDS in the workplace and who met other inclusion and exclusion criteria that are discussed later. Three instruments were used: a questionnaire for sample selection (O1), interview for data collection (O2), and the researcher as instrument in both data collection and data analysis (03).

Target Population and Sample

Population

Male high-achieving Adivasis above the age of 24, currently working in any part of India, constituted the larger population from which the sample was selected. *High-Achieving Adivasis* is defined as Adivasis who have achieved successful careers that are high in social status and economic remuneration such as those of civil service officers, doctors, engineers, IT professionals, lawyers, and educators. The affirmative action by the Government of India, called the reservation policy, for the protection and advancement of the Adivasis (Scheduled Tribe) had contributed significantly to their higher education and career success. In fact, according to the reservation policy, 7.5% of

government jobs and seats in higher education are reserved for the Adivasis. As a result, the percentage of Adivasi college graduates between the ages of 24 and 29 from the whole of India increased from 1.6% in 1984 to 6.08% in the year 2000 (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). In the same year about 5.7% of Adivasis were engaged in professional employment. According to the report of National Commission for SC/ST (2001), Adivasis form about 3.52% of total A-grade officers in Services in central government ministries and departments, in all public sector enterprises, banks and financial institutions. The literature review contains a more elaborate discussion on this population.

Though Adivasis comprise of numerous tribes, the sample was selected from the numerically major tribes of Eastern India. Most of this population was first-generation Adivasis who were born and bought up in their own tribal regions but now settled in different parts of India. Some were second-generation Adivasis who have been raised outside tribal areas. The population under study enjoyed a higher standard of life because of their successful careers and exposure to city culture.

However, because of the caste stratification of Indian society, the Adivasis and Dalits were traditionally outside the four major castes and were considered lowest in the social hierarchy (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). In spite of constitutional and legislative guarantees for the protection of their civil rights, the Adivasis generally have been subjected to economic exploitation and social discrimination from dominant communities for centuries resulting in their underdevelopment as well as economic, political, educational and social marginalization (Dutta, 2006; Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2010; World Bank, 2011). As a result, even high-achieving Adivasis are subjected to overt and covert ethnic discrimination in their workplace. This group of high-achieving Adivasis

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formed the larger population from which a sample of 15 currently-employed male Adivasis above the age 24 was drawn for the study by purposive sampling method.

Sample Size

The sample size was consistent with the demands of qualitative methodology and requirements for the trustworthiness of the study. The representativeness of the sample in a qualitative phenomenological study is determined by the presence of the experience of the phenomenon under study in the sample and not by the number of participants who experienced a phenomenon as in a quantitative study (Giorgi, 2009). The generalizability of the results will not be in terms of facts but of meaning since the study is based on depth strategy and not on sampling strategy. According to Patton, "the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size" (2002, p. 245). Hence, the number of participants will depend on what is required for the saturation of the data in regard to answering the research question (Cohen et al., 2002; Kvale, 1996).

Giorgi suggests the inclusion of minimum three participants to distinguish individual experiences from the general experience of the phenomenon as a whole since the focus of the study is not on individual experiences per se but on the phenomenon (Finlay, 2011). Hence, the required number of participants is unknown in the beginning of the study. However, 6-12 participants are shown to be adequate for the saturation of the data especially when the samples are relatively homogenous (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). So, the sample size of 15 participants in the present study was judged to

be sufficient to reach the saturation of the data in order to answer the question

meaningfully from a descriptive phenomenological perspective (Speziale & Carpenter,

2007). It was also consistent with other published studies using phenomenological

method (e.g., Kim et al., 2011; Lucero, 2010; Thomas et al., 2007) as well as the demand

of Capella University (Capella University, 2012).

Purposive Sampling Method

The purposive sampling method was used for selecting the sample. The credibility

of a study very much depends on the sample selection since the data related to the

research question are provided by the sample. Hence, it is essential to avoid biases in

selecting the sample. However, the sampling strategy will depend on what the research

question wants to explore (Palys, 2008). Qualitative research focuses less on finding

central tendency in a larger group and more on the centrality of the varied subjective

experiences of individuals and groups. It is not interested in statistical representativeness

but in the diversity of the experience within a given population. The question is not about

how many people experienced a particular phenomenon but what was it like for human

beings to experience a particular phenomenon (Giorgi, 2009). It is essential that the

sample has experienced a phenomenon to be able to share that experience which can be

understood and described by the descriptive phenomenological researcher (Speziale &

Carpenter, 2007). This would obviously demand a sampling method that would identify

participants who meet certain criteria. Though purposive sampling is considered a

technique to add rigor to qualitative studies, Tongco (2007) warns that it can do so only if

the purpose behind the selection is reflected not only in sample selection but also data analysis.

The criteria for the selection of the sample in the present study were (a) that the participants are currently employed male Adivasi adults above the age of 24 living in any part of India; (b) that they have achieved career success as defined by high paying careers like those of civil service officers, bank managers, church leaders, doctors, lawyers, and educators; and (c) that they have experienced self-reported ethnic discrimination stress in their workplace.

The sample was limited to only male adults in order to preclude possible contamination of the data on ethnic discrimination experience by gender-based discrimination stress data. Although multicultural feminists posit that sexism and racism are directly and separately linked (Beal 2008; Nelson & Probst, 2004), Szymanski and Stewart (2010) in their quantitative study of the relations among African-American women's psychological distress, racism and sexism, found that "when race and gender were examined concomitantly, only sexist events emerged as a positive predictor of distress" (p.226). In other words, for African-American women who suffer from both racism and sexism, the latter was the greatest source of psychological stress.

The purpose of limiting the age of the participants to above 24 was to exclude young people, as defined by UNESCO (2009-2014) as those between the ages of 15 and 24, so that their developmental issues might not interfere with the discrimination stress data. Only currently employed candidates were selected in order to focus on the current experiences of EDS in the workplace and not on a retrospective recall of early experiences that can compromise the quality of data by way of memory lapses,

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underreporting and bias (Mellor et al., 2009). It was also important that such participants were selected who were capable of being positively involved in the interview process by entering into a collaborative relationship with the interviewer (Finlay, 2011). It was assumed that high-achieving Adivasis will be able to articulate their experience effectively due to their higher education and a greater global exposure.

Sample Selection Procedure

The sample for the study was identified with the help of the contact information of Adivasis in high-profile professions that was available with an NGO (name withheld), dedicated to the socioeconomic development of Adivasis. The Director of the NGO was contacted by email with a formal request for his assistance to identify Adivasis from high profile professions who meet the above mentioned criteria. Using the contact information thus received, the prospective candidates were contacted by email or phone in order to solicit their participation after providing them with the following information: (a) the aim of the study as exploring the lived experiences of ethnic discrimination stress Adivasis experience in the workplace; (b) the benefit of the study for the community in building scientific knowledge base for furthering the cause of creating discrimination-free environment in the workplace; (c) the inclusion and exclusion criteria as mentioned above; d) request for 90-minute face-to-face interview; (d) offer of an honorarium of 1500 Rupees (about $25) for participation; and (e) request for 25-minute preparatory meeting in the public library or a public institution prior to the interview.

A total of 34 probable candidates from seven cities in North India were contacted by email/phone with the help of the contact information from the NGO and through

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snowball technique with the references provided by the first contacts. Twenty-eight people responded and 16 of them expressed willingness to participate in the study. Five of those contacted declined on the ground of absence of EDS experience and three persons due to scheduling difficulties. The interview schedule regarding date, time and place was worked out together with the candidates. The final schedule had 17 candidates from five cities.

Of the 17 candidates, 16 attended the preparatory sessions preceding the interviews. One candidate cancelled the interview due to unforeseen urgent work. The candidates were welcomed and given a briefing on the nature of the study. One candidate dropped out after the introductory briefing due to absence of EDS experience to qualify him for the study. He was offered an honorarium of Rs.500 (about $9) for his participation in the preparatory meeting but it was declined by the candidate as a goodwill gesture.

The remaining 15 candidates were asked to fill in the demographic data form with information regarding age, tribe, profession and current job designation, number of years of service, yearly salary, and highest educational degree, the rationale for which is discussed below. They were then administered the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GEDS, Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Landrine et al., 2006) in order to include in the study only those who had experienced EDS (as indicated by a score from 51 through 84 in the GEDS stress scale) and to exclude from the study as a protective measure those who had experienced extreme form of EDS (as indicated by a score of 85 and above in GEDS stress scale). The results of the GEDS were reviewed immediately after the test. Those

who met the inclusion/exclusion criteria were selected for the interview. The GEDS score of the 15 participants are given in the Appendix.

None of the 15 candidates exceeded the score of 85 in GEDS. Seven candidates were within the 51-85 score range and met all inclusion/exclusion criteria. Eight candidates, who scored below 51 in GEDS, were also selected for the interview since they admitted to experiencing significant degree of EDS in their workplace. Their low GED score can be accounted for on the following grounds: (a) that some of the questions on GED scale were not applicable to them; and (b) a sense of shame/denial probably affected the way the GED questions were answered as was evident during the introductory briefing. Their selection was justified on the ground that GEDS scores were not used for primary analysis as in a quantitative study or mixed study but only for identifying participants who have EDS experience. Thus a total of 15 candidates were selected for the interview.

The rationale for seeking the following information in the demographic data form is as follows:

- age—to ensure that they are adults, above the age of 24;

- tribe—to check any indication of difference in the experience of EDS among different tribes of Adivasis;

- profession—to check any indication of difference in the experience of EDS among different professions;

- current job designation—to view the level of achievement in terms of job status;

- number of years of service—to view EDS in terms of years of experience;

- yearly salary—to view the level of achievement in economic terms;

- highest educational degree—to view the level of achievement in terms of education and to check any indication of influence of educational achievement on EDS; and

- languages spoken—to ensure that the participant is fluent in English to be able to complete the GEDS and take part in the interview.

It was assumed that during the data analysis, the above mentioned demographic information might help deeper understanding of the experience of EDS of high-achieving Adivasis as well as open up topics for further research.

The selected candidates were given the informed consent form to study. Its content included (a) information regarding the researcher and the sponsoring institution, (b) purpose of the research, (c) the method of selecting the participants, (d) what was expected of the participants, (e) benefits to participants and the Adivasi community, (f) possible risks like experience of stress when describing incidents of EDS and assurance of their protection from harm by offering counseling help if needed as well as a participant advocate capable of addressing their concerns, (g) guarantee of confidentiality, and (h) their right to withdraw at any point of the study (Creswell, 2009). After the participants read it, the various aspects of the informed consent were explained to them besides clarifying their doubts. After ensuring that they were sufficiently informed to give free consent to participate in the study, they were asked to sign the informed consent form. They were also be given a general idea of the estimated length (about 90 minutes) of the interview and a preview of the type of questions that would be asked during the interview to ensure the richness and depth of the interview data. One candidate had apprehensions regarding the interview which he clarified with participant advocate whose contact information was given in the informed consent.

Since formal ethical review infrastructure for noninvasive research on human subjects in India is very limited (Bhat & Hegde, 2006; Chatterjee, 2008), and there was no provision for a local IRB review at the study site, the IRB at Capella was made aware of it and local ethical concerns were addressed with the help of participant advocate approved by Capella IRB. The participant advocate from the NGO was a qualified person from Adivasi community, capable of understanding and addressing any concerns of the participants.

Instruments

An effective instrument for data collection in a descriptive phenomenological study is conversational semi-structured in-depth interviews using broad open-ended general questions to provide a naïve description of the experience as existing in the consciousness of the participants (Englander, 2012). Giorgi (2005) asks, "How can I learn more about the suffering of the other …? First of all, some form of expression on the part of the person undergoing the experience is necessary" (p. 80).

Semi-structured interview with open-ended questions has been found to be very apt to understand and describe the experience a person is undergoing. Hence, the researchers in qualitative research have often been acknowledged as the primary instrument (Barrett, 2007; Merriam, 2002; Pezalla, Pettigrew, & Miller-Day, 2012). By their facilitative interaction, the researchers create a safe conversational space where raw data are created (Pezalla et al.) and later analyzed through scientifically rigorous personal reflection.

During the interview, the researcher is present in a subject-to-subject relation to the participant and to the phenomenon under study and shifts between these two modes of presence in a figure-ground Gestalt-like perception in order to understand the essence of the experience of the phenomenon expressed through the description of a specific event in which the participant experienced the phenomenon (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009). The follow-up questions generally depend on the responses of the participants regarding the topic under study. From a phenomenological perspective they presuppose "the ability to shift presences within a single mode of consciousness" between being present to the responses of the participant and asking questions that are directed to the essence of the phenomenon (Englander, 2012, p. 26). Giorgi (2009) insists that the purpose of the interview questions should be for "directing the participant" to help reveal his experience and not for "leading the participant" according to one's preconceptions (p. 123). The researcher has to be "to be freshly and open-endedly present" (Giorgi, 2006, p. 309) to the phenomenon by bracketing judgment on its objectivity and any preconceived notions. Hence, the follow-up questions should incorporate the interviewee's words and use them as probes for eliciting further details and descriptions about what was already said in response to the initial open-ended questions. Consequently, in the semi-structured interview, the interview protocol will serve only as a guide and the sequence of questions and the follow-up probes will vary from interviewee to interviewee according to the flow of the interview (Roulston, 2011). This calls for high levels of listening skills on the part of the interviewer to explore the depth and breadth of the experience in a "give-and-take dialectic" following the conversational threads opened up by the interviewee

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(Polkinghorne, 2005, p.142). Roulston (2011) suggests some examples of the follow-up questions as follows:

1. You mentioned _____; tell me what that was like for you?

2. You mentioned _____; describe that in more detail for me.

3. You mentioned _____; can you give me a specific example about it?

4. You mentioned earlier that you _____; could you describe in detail what happened?

Respecting the demands of the descriptive phenomenological methodology, the sensitivity of the topic and the interests of the vulnerable population under study, interview questions were developed with the help of the mentor. A field test of the above interview questions was done with one expert in the field in order to ensure that (a) the language and tone of the questions were appropriate for the vulnerable tribal population and the sensitive nature of the topic under study; and (b) that there were no unneeded questions that may cause unnecessary distress or discomfort to the tribal participants. The questions were evaluated by a Doctor of Medicine (Psychiatry) with six years of teaching experience as the Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at a Medical College in India and who has had extensive experience of working among Adivasis. The questions that were finalized together with the rationale for selecting them are given below:

Question 1

Can you describe with as many details as possible a situation in which you experienced ethnic discrimination stress in your workplace recently? Rationale: To identify and present a specific event in which the participant experienced the

phenomenon of EDS so that the essence of EDS can be seen, examined, analyzed and described (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009).

Follow-up Questions for Question 1

1. What was this experience of discrimination like for you? Rationale: To help the participants to verbalize their unique personal subjective experience of EDS in their own words without reference to any existing theories and explanations as well as for the interviewer to bracket his preconceptions (Giorgi, 2009).

2. How would you differentiate ethnic discrimination stress from the stress you might experience in adjusting to the majority coworkers' cultural values, beliefs and behaviors which are different from your own Adivasi culture? Rationale: To help the participants to clarify and differentiate discrimination stress from acculturation stress which is a result of one's struggle to reconcile the culture of origin with the culture of host culture (Berry, 1997). This question will be asked only if and when a clarification is needed during the conversation to understand the essence of EDS.

Question 2

Please describe in detail how you coped with the ethnic discrimination stress in the event you described. Rationale: To direct the participants to explore more widely the lived experience of EDS in order to understand how they responded to that experience thus linking the interview to the second purpose of the study.

Follow-up Questions for Question 2

1. What was it like responding to the ethnic discrimination stress the way you did? Rationale: To understand the essence of the experience of a particular way of coping from the participants' unique subjective perspective and the meaning behind it.

2. What factors led you to respond to ethnic discrimination stress the way you did? Rationale: To direct the participants to explore what made the participants to respond to EDS the way they did.

Data Collection Procedure

The data were collected through face-to-face, one-on-one, in-person in-depth interview of the participants (Creswell, 2003) after the preparatory meeting. This researcher had the necessary qualification to conduct the interview on account of his six years of practical experience in mental health counseling, graduate studies in pastoral counseling, training in psychodynamic therapy at National Institute of Psychotherapies, New York as well as his involvement in educational services for Adivasi community for 19 years.

The participants were interviewed in a private meeting room in a public institution to ensure confidentiality. Prior permission was taken from the institution for conducting the interview there. The place was prepared in advance with proper sitting arrangement as well as with recording devices, note pads and writing tools for recording the data. The interview was audio-recorded on two devices simultaneously after taking the permission from the participants. The IRB-approved interview protocol was used to assist the interview process and to take field notes on nonverbal communication and other details to supplement the audio-recording. During the interview great care was taken to create a protective atmosphere and to be sensitive to the feeling of the participants.

A phenomenological attitude was maintained during the interview. It involved being focused on the phenomenon of EDS as it was present in the consciousness of the participants in a nonjudgmental manner by temporarily suspending or bracketing previous knowledge as well as not evaluating the objectiveness of the descriptions of the participants (Boedeker, 2005; Wertz, 2005). For example, during the interview with P9, when he referred to oppressive systems, the thoughts of critical race theory and of my

own experience of struggling for my rights that came up were bracketed and the

interview questions were focused on exploring further P9's experience as it existed in his

consciousness as is evident in the following excerpt:

> P9: The existing systems we have, eh, institutional systems we have, eh, it doesn't
> allow you, doesn't promote you, or does it give you anything so easily.
> JD: That makes you feel…
> P9: That we have to fight, that we have to struggle for your rights.
> JD: okay.
> P9: It gives me the feeling that I have to fight for my rights, unless I am alert and
> fight for my rights, nobody's going to give me my due or recognition I deserve.
> Otherwise I will always be looked down as good for nothing…
> JD: When they look down on you as good for nothing, what comes up within
> you?
> P9: You, (unclear audio) eh, what happens is that, (the upper caste colleagues
> would say) 'Okay we know what he would say, okay, we know what he writes, it
> is not what they would write, it is not that great or different, ah, we know what P9
> would say' (MU 9: 48).

At the end of the interview, each participant was thanked for their participation

and given an honorarium of Rs.1500 (about $25). The honorarium was in consonance

with the professional status of the interviewee and not an enticement to participate in the

study (Paycheck India, 2014). Of the 15 participants who took part in the interview, eight

participants refused to accept the honorarium as a gesture of good will toward the Adivasi

cause. Moreover, they consented to be contacted again for clarification and, if necessary,

for a second interview.

After the completion of all the interviews, the files containing the voice recording

of the interviews were marked P1 to P15 to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the

participants. The candidate with highest GEDS score was marked P1 and the lowest, P15.

The files were then encrypted with passwords and were stored in the computer and in a

separate flash drive to ensure its security.

Data Analyses Procedure

The interview data were analyzed using Giorgi's descriptive psychological method. The aim of the data analysis was to make accessible for elucidation the explicated and implied meanings of the experience contained in the interview text (Giorgi, 1985). This section will be discussed elaborately in Chapter 4.

Research Biases for Consideration

Bracketing preconceptions and biases in phenomenological research is critical for understanding and describing objectively the subjective experience of the participants. Some of these preconceptions and biases are (a) most high-achieving Adivasis experience EDS; (b) there are a number of high-achieving Adivasis who are ashamed to own their identity for fear of rejection, (c) some high-achieving Adivasis tend to judge neutral situations as discriminatory due to past conditioning, and (d) I can understand the Adivasis because I too have had EDS experiences in other contexts.

These biases can impact every aspect of the research study from the choice of the topic to recruitment, data collection, analysis and presentation. My own personal discrimination experiences could also color my understanding of the phenomenon. Hence, great care was taken to be aware of their presence and bracket them especially during data collection and analysis. Bracketing these "preconceived biases and judgments … setting aside voices, sounds and silences that so readily tell us what something is" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 60) was essential to understand what it was like for high-achieving Adivasis to experience ethnic discrimination. My training as a counselor

in empathic nonjudgmental listening has been an asset in setting aside these preconceptions and biases and in seeing the phenomenon as the participants see.

Trustworthiness of the Study

Guba (1981) proposed four criteria for determining the trustworthiness of a qualitative study: credibility (truth value), transferability (applicability), dependability (consistency), and confirmability (neutrality). Qualitative research findings are credible if they are accurate descriptions of the subjective experiences of the informants. Giorgi's descriptive phenomenological method is known for its scientific rigor and hence, selecting and following this method added to the trustworthiness of the study. Credibility of the present study may be evident in the selection of participants on the basis of GED score, in-depth interview for 90 minutes to provide thick descriptions, open-ended interview questions that direct rather than lead the informant, and detailed presentation for verification of the whole process of analysis from transcription, marking meaning units, transformation into psychological language and the formulation of the psychological structure of the experience. Credibility of the study also depends on the trustworthiness of the researcher as an instrument. The trustworthiness of the researcher was insured by (a) familiarity with the phenomenon, (b) interest in and ability to conceptualize qualitative data, (c) ability to view the data from multidisciplinary perspective, and (d) investigative skills developed through course work and practice (Miles & Huberman as cited in Krefting, 1991).

Transferability refers to the applicability of the findings to other situations which is achieved by providing adequate descriptive data for comparison. The participants

selected for the study were from varied tribes, employment situations and locations. This helped to provide rich data that allow comparison in such a way that others are able to identify with it.

Dependability is equivalent to reliability in quantitative research where following the steps in research procedures anyone will be able to get the same results. Giorgi's (2009) method spells out the steps in great detail and claims that following them anyone will be able to reach the same invariable meaning structure at the end of the study. Dependability is also increased by including in the findings explanations for variations or nonnormative situations.

Confirmability refers to the neutrality of the findings achieved by the absence of biases in the research procedures. Giorgi's use of phenomenological reduction to bracket biases and preconceptions enhances confirmability of a study. The confirmability of the present study was insured by identifying researcher biases so that they could be bracketed during data collection and analysis.

Summary

The third chapter described in great detail the research design, the instrument, and the procedures followed in sample selection and data collection. Ethical considerations were given great attention during every step of the research procedures. To ensure scientific rigor of the study, Giorgi's phenomenological method was followed scrupulously. The next chapter will describe the sample, the procedures that were followed in the data analysis as well as the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter contains the results of the phenomenological inquiry into the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) and of coping with EDS among the high-achieving Adivasis. The interview data of 10 participants, the results of the data analysis and the findings of the inquiry will follow the description of the sample and the way Giorgi's research methodology was applied in the analysis of the data. The chapter links the research question on EDS asked in Chapter 1, Giorgi's methodology presented in Chapter 3 and the gaps in literature concerning Adivasis identified in Chapter 2 as discussed below.

The Researcher

The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination stress caught the attention of the researcher during his 19 years of service among the tribal people as the principal of a higher secondary school and the founder and director of a center for youth and educational services. He has had firsthand experience of the devastating impact of ethnic discrimination on the psychological wellbeing of the people belonging to SC/ST categories as revealed in the personal stories shared by them. These stories challenged the researcher to understand the phenomenon more deeply and to make the unheard voice of the marginalized tribal people heard through a scientific research.

In phenomenological methodology, the researcher is the primary instrument (Pezalla et al., 2012) and so has a critical role to play in data collection and analysis. Completion of academic programs in philosophy, psychology and counseling, as well as training and practice in psychodynamic approaches in clinical practice has equipped this

researcher with necessary knowledge and skills to conduct the present phenomenological inquiry. More specifically, personal study of phenomenology in general and the descriptive psychological method of Giorgi in particular in addition to academic interactions with the mentors have helped to create in the researcher the necessary phenomenological attitude and aptitude for data collection and analysis following Giorgi's methodology.

The interview and the transcription of the audio recording were done by the researcher himself which helped him to be immersed in the data, to analyze the data and to arrive at the invariable meanings and psychological structure of the lived experience of EDS. Special care was taken to be aware of the researcher's own personal experiences of discrimination and to bracket them to preclude personal biases influencing the process of data collection and data analysis.

Description of the Sample

Fifteen high-achieving Adivasis were interviewed. *High-Achieving Adivasis* is defined as Adivasis who have achieved successful careers that are high in social status and economic remuneration including those of civil service officers, doctors, engineers, IT professionals, lawyers, managers and educational officers. Table 1 presents a summary of the demographic information concerning the participants in the interview. Some identifying information regarding tribe, language, profession, educational qualification have been omitted or changed to general category to safeguard confidentiality.

Table 1. *Demographic Information*

SN	Age	Highest Educational Degree	Profession	Years of Service	Yearly Salary	Languages Spoken
P1	52	PhD	Education - Academics	27	₹ 1.8MM	English, Hindi
P2	51	Masters	Govt. Service - Admin	22	₹ 0.7MM	English, Hindi
P3	45	Masters	Education - Admin	23	₹ 0.9MM	English, Hindi
P4	55	PGD	Govt. Service - Admin	31	₹ 1.8MM	English, Hindi
P5	62	PhD	Education - Academics	30	₹ 1.6MM	English, Hindi
P6	56	Masters	Education - Administration	21	₹ 1.3MM	English, Hindi
P7	51	MD	Medical Officer	18	₹ 2MM	English, Hindi
P8	49	Masters	Corporation - Manager	18	₹ 1MM	English, Hindi
P9	48	PhD	Education - Academics	16	₹ 1.2MM	English, Hindi
P10	54	Masters	Govt. Service – Admin	28	₹ 1.8MM	English, Hindi
P11	64	Masters	Corp - Executive Director	33	₹ 1.8MM	English, Hindi
P12	63	Masters	Govt. Service - Admin	34	₹ 1.8MM	English, Hindi
P13	58	Masters	Education - Admin	20	₹ 1MM	English, Hindi
P14	50	Masters	Govt. Service - Admin	27	₹ 2MM	English, Hindi
P15	52	Masters	Manager - Banking	28	₹ 0.7MM	English, Hindi

The participants belonged to three different Adivasi tribes. In educational qualification, 10 participants were at Masters' level and five at the Doctorate level. The age of the participants ranged from 45 to 64 with the mean being 54. Six participants were in educational services (three in academic and three in administrative posts); five in government administration, two in corporations, one in medical profession and one in financial sector. Length of service ranged from 16 to 34 years, with a mean of 25 years. Yearly salaries ranged from 0.9 million rupees to 1.8 million. All the participants except one were sufficiently fluent in English and all were proficient in Hindi.

Research Methodology Applied to Data Analysis

The analysis of the data was done using the Giorgi's (2009) descriptive psychological method. The aim of the data analysis was to make accessible for elucidation the explicated and implied meanings of the experience contained in the interview text (Giorgi, 1985). Hence, the recorded interviews, P1 to P15, were transcribed with the help of the transcription software *Dragon NaturallySpeaking* with reference to the content of the nonverbal communication registered in the field notes. The transcripts were marked P1 to P15 corresponding to the audio files that were previously arranged in descending order with P1 having the highest GEDS score and P15 the lowest. The General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GEDS, Landrine et al., 2006) was used to measure the degree of discrimination stress in the candidates in order to select for the interview only those who had significant degree of EDS. The arrangement of the transcripts according to GEDS score was to ensure that the participants with the higher degrees of EDS were analyzed first.

The transcribed data and their equivalent audio recordings were integrated into one by using the software program F4 which marks the text with timestamps for easy retrieval of the spoken text. The use of F4 was very helpful especially when a clarification of the meaning of certain texts was required during the analysis. The data were then transferred to Excel software program which provided easier maneuverability for managing the data according to Giorgi's methodology that required two or three separate columns to demonstrate the transformations of the original data. The plan to use MAXQDA software program for data management was abandoned since it could not access Excel files.

The following steps were strictly adhered to in the process of analysis. Following Giorgi's (2009) modified Husserlian method, a phenomenological attitude was first assumed by bracketing previous knowledge and biases so that the participants' experience of EDS could be seen freshly as revealed by them. In order to achieve this, efforts were made during the process of analysis to check often through introspection the continued presence of a nonjudgmental attitude as well as bracketing previous knowledge so that it will not influence the results. The concept of bracketing will be discussed later with the help of an example from the interview data.

Following Giorgi's methodology, initially the entire transcript was read while listening to the corresponding audio recordings in order to achieve a holistic sense of the data. The transcript of the interview was then delineated to show transition in meaning and to form manageable meaning units about the experience of EDS for analysis. Each meaning unit was numbered to facilitate later references during the discussion. The delineation of meaning units was done holding three perspectives together (a) phenomenological attitude, (b) psychological meanings within the data, and (c) relationship of the meanings to the topic of EDS. A specimen of the delineation of meaning units from the interview data of P4 is given below where P4 describes his experience of being posted in remote areas with no medical facilities with no regard for the health needs of his infants. The number between slashes refers to the number of the meaning units (MU).

> /30/ After this initial posting, again when the time came for the next higher level post, even at that time, I was again sent to the farthest district instead of being kept in a district, where… And all these happened between one to one-and-a- half years. So my medical needs have not come down. My children were only one-and-a-half to two years old. And keeping children without health facilities, in

remote areas can at times be very risky**.** /31/ Because of that I could not keep my family over there. I had to leave them alone. /32/ I felt that this happened primarily because, eh, the fact that I belong to, eh, the fact that I am a tribal. And had I not been a tribal, my problem would have been better appreciated and probably I would have been given a place of posting with better health facilities./33/ I felt bad, eh, but one had got used to it because I had faced it right from my teenage years. /34/ I mean these subtle ways of ignoring you. At times it is not a direct discrimination but not recognizing you, ignoring you, not looking at you when addressing the group. Suppose you are in a group of four or five people and the rest are non-tribals [sic] and you are the only tribal and the person who is talking to the group, he would probably not look at you. He will never make an eye contact with you.

The naïve descriptions (Giorgi's terminology for referring to unaltered first person narratives in the natural attitude as opposed to the phenomenological attitude) of the participants were then rewritten in the third person in order to be sensitive to the viewpoints of the participants without identifying with them and to discern those viewpoints from the perspective of the researcher's consciousness from a phenomenological perspective (Giorgi, 2009). The meaning units thus described in the third person were then transformed into general statements that explicated their psychological import. In this process, imaginative variation was used in order to ensure the eidetic status of the psychological statements. The eidetic generalization implied leaving out the particulars in the data and raising the statements to a level that can integrate findings across the participants (Giorgi, 2009). A specimen of the third person narrative of the above mentioned extract from P4's interview and its psychological transformation are presented in Table 2. The number between slashes refers to the number of the meaning units (MU).

Table 2. *A specimen of the Third Person Narrative and Psychological Transformations*

Interview Data in Third Person Narrative	Psychological Transformation
/30/After this initial posting, again when the time came for the next higher level post, even at that time, P4 was again sent to the farthest district… instead of being kept in a district where… And all these happened between one to one-and-a-half years. So P4's medical needs have not come down. P4's children were only one-and-a-half to two years old. And keeping children without health facilities in remote areas can at times be very risky.	P4 states that his first posting was to a remote area and that even for the next higher level posting he was sent to a remote area with no proper health facilities where the health needs of his children who were below two years could not be taken care of. P4 expected that his authorities would understand his needs and give him a posting with better medical facilities.
/31/Because of that, P4 could not keep P4's family over there. P4 had to leave them alone.	P4 regrets the fact that his transfer to an area without proper medical facilities forced him to remain separate from his family.
/32/ P4 felt that this happened primarily because, the fact that P4 belongs to, the fact that P4 is a tribal. And had P4 not been a tribal, P4's problem would have been better appreciated and probably P4 would have been given a place of posting with better health facilities.	P4 *believes* that if he were not a tribal his problems would be better appreciated and some considerations given to accommodate his needs by the authorities. P4 believes that he was treated so because authorities don't take the needs of Adivasi officers seriously.
/33/ When asked what the experience was like for him, P4 stated that P4 felt bad. But one had got used to it because P4 had faced it right from his teenage years.	P4 felt *neglected* and his concerns not given any importance. P4 then remembered he had been experiencing such neglect from his teenage years.
/34/ P4 means these subtle ways of ignoring him. At times it is not a direct discrimination but not recognizing him, ignoring him, not looking at him when addressing the group. Suppose you are in a group of four or five people and the rest are non-tribals [sic] and P4 is the only tribal and the person who is talking to the group, he would probably not look at P4. He will never make an eye contact with P4.	P4 experienced EDS in the subtle ways he was ignored, not noticed, and not recognized. P4 felt that when he was with a group of high caste people, they made him feel as though he did not exist, that P4's presence did not matter to anyone there. P4 perceived their not making eye contact with him to be their lack of interest in him.

The current study being a phenomenological inquiry, the Husserlian concepts of intentionality and imaginative variation were given great importance in the process of analysis. In fact, Husserl considers intentionality as "the fundamental property of consciousness" and "the principle theme of phenomenology" (as cited in McIntyre & Smith, 1989, p. 147). In keeping with Giorgi's (2009) descriptive psychological method based on Husserlian phenomenology, the analysis focused on how the intentional acts of the participants' consciousness made meaning of experiences such as the sensory-perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes in relation to ethnic discrimination. Intentionality refers to the directedness or *aboutness* of mental state in the sense that consciousness is always conscious *of* something (Siewert, 2011). Intentional act refers to what the consciousness was aware of or made meaning of. For example, what was the consciousness of P4 aware of when he was given a posting in a remote area with no health care facilities where the medical needs of his below-two-year-old children could not be taken care of and what meaning did he make of it? The psychological transformation spells that out clearly in the description above and reproduced here:

> P4 believes that if he were not a tribal his problems would be better appreciated and some considerations given to accommodate his needs by the authorities. P4 believes that he was treated so because authorities don't take the needs of Adivasi officers seriously. (MU P4: 32)

Thus, understanding the intentionality of consciousness was very beneficial in identifying the meaning and the constituents of the psychological structure of the experience of EDS.

Imaginative variation helped to identify the eidos or the essential element of the experience that made up the phenomenon of EDS and the most appropriate language that would capture the essence of that experience. Imaginative variation is a process of

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identifying the invariant constituent meaning of a phenomenon by removing one aspect of what is presented in the consciousness to see if it changes the phenomenon in an essential way (Giorgi, 2009). If it does, it is an essential part; otherwise it is only a contingent part. It helps one to see if a particular object of consciousness related to a particular phenomenon is an integral part of that phenomenon or not. For example, a triangle will cease to be a triangle if one side is removed but it will not, if only its color or size is changed.

In the above example, an element that constitutes the phenomenon of EDS is P4's belief that his upper caste authorities don't take the needs of Adivasi officers seriously. However, the meaning unit /33/ in the extract above about P4's regretting the fact that the transfer forced him to remain away from his family is not a constituent element of EDS because it refers to a specific need. P4 would have believed the same if instead of this need of wanting to be with his family, another need of P4 was not considered when he was given the second posting. The specific need mentioned is only a contingent element but the belief is a constituent element.

In fact, P4's belief is corroborated by the fact that P4 connected this experience to his teenage memory of neglect in school by his teachers as well as to another incident where his upper caste colleagues made him feel as though he did not exist and that his presence did not matter to anyone there. According to P4, not only do the upper caste colleagues neglect taking the needs of Adivasis seriously but P4 himself was not taken seriously because he is an Adivasi. It is also important to note that in the above extract, the imaginative variation helped to identify the word *believe* and *neglect* (as italicized in

MU 32 and 33 above) to convey the psychological essence of that experience as it is present in the consciousness of P4.

The extract mentioned above also contains an effective illustration of the phenomenological attitude of bracketing that was adopted during the process of analysis. P4 believed that authorities don't take the needs of Adivasi officers seriously. The researcher did not judge that belief because he adopted a phenomenological attitude that bracketed previous knowledge and any judgment on the veracity of that belief. It was natural for the researcher to question how P4 was sure that an upper caste person would have been treated differently in similar circumstances. Extreme care was taken during the analysis to describe the psychological experiences within a phenomenological attitude; in the sense that, the psychological transformation did not posit, challenge, or impeach the participant's point of view by making an ontological assertion regarding the experience (Giorgi, 2009).

The analysis was limited to the first 10 interview transcripts with the highest GEDS score after replacing P1O with P11 as P10 was not currently employed. Only 10 interviews were analyzed since the saturation of the data was achieved with the analysis of 10 transcripts covering 272 pages. This was justified on the ground that, Giorgi's method focused not on the number of participants but on the number of instances of the phenomenon present in the data, the analysis of which revealed the *eidos* or the essential structure of the phenomenon (2009).

The focus of the analysis was on the lived experience of EDS as experienced by high-achieving Adivasis in their workplace. It entailed the description of the ways the phenomenon of EDS presented itself in P's consciousness without positing its existence,

judging, evaluating or interpreting it and to arrive at the essential structure of that experience. In other words, the analysis attempted to discover what the essential psychological structure was of the mental, emotional or physical strain resulting from differential treatment of the participants by the majority community and how they coped with it.

Finally, the psychological descriptions of all the participants were reviewed to identify the invariable elements of the underlying psychological structure of the experience of EDS, common to all participants using imaginative variation. The invariable meanings of the phenomenon of EDS from all 10 interviews were then tabulated to arrive at the essential structure of the phenomenon. Psychological structure of an experience is a global description of the essential meaning of the experience by a process of synthesizing and integrating specific meaning units culled out from the interviewee's naïve account of the event using the method of imaginative variation (Giorgi, 2009).

Presentation of Data and Results of Analysis

The analysis of the data from 10 interviews produced 988 meaning units. The constituent meanings that emerged from the analysis of these meaning units and of their psychological transformations are presented in Table 3 and Table 4. These constituent meanings represent the lived experience of EDS in the workplace and of coping with EDS among the high-achieving Adivasis.

In the following presentation, the letter *P* together with a numeral 1 to 10 (e.g. P1, P2, P10 etc.) stands for the 10 participants individually and the letter *P* without any

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numeral following represents all the 10 participants taken together. The extracts from the interview are quoted verbatim without correcting the errors in grammar or syntax. At times, the context of the quotes is given in the brackets to make the meaning of the extract clear. The alphabet, XXX, is used to represent names intentionally omitted to protect confidentiality of the participants. References of the quotations are given in the brackets after each quotation. For example MU 2: 16 stands for the 16th meaning unit of the interview data of P2.

Analysis of the Lived Experience of EDS

The analysis of the psychological transformations of these meaning units using imaginative variation produced eight main constituent meanings that make up the lived experience of EDS among high-achieving Adivasis. Table 3 presents eight constituent elements of the lived experience of EDS. Each of these eight constituents is discussed below with excerpts from the interview to substantiate it.

Being judged by negative stereotypes of Adivasis. P experienced EDS as being judged by negative stereotypes of belonging to an uncivilized undeveloped community living in the forest, inferior in social status, intelligence and competence and unworthy of holding higher positions in job since they were allegedly gained through reservation quota and not on merit. In the workplace, P was exposed to overt and covert verbal and nonverbal messages from upper caste colleagues, superiors and subordinates that communicated that P was inferior in social status, intelligence and competence to those outside SC/ST category because P is an Adivasi.

Table 3. *The Constituents of the Lived Experience of EDS*

Constituents	Participants									
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10
Being Judged by Negative Stereotypes of Adivasis	x*	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Belong to uncivilized jungle tribe	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Born to be subordinate	x	x	x	X	x	x	x		x	x
Got the job on reservation quota not on merit	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x		x
Being Marginalized by Excluding Behaviors	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Being socially excluded		x	x			x	x	x	x	
Being taunted				X		x	x	x	x	
Being denied cooperation		x	x	X		x	x		x	x
Being denied equal opportunities	x	x	x	X	x	x	x		x	
Being harassed		x	x			x	x			
Being obstructed in job performance/ career advancement		x	x	X	x	x		x	x	x
Being forced to quit		x	x			x	x		x	
Being intimidated, threatened, targeted		x				x				
Believing that Social Exclusion is to Perpetuate Upper Caste Hegemony	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rejection in spite of education, character, dutifulness	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rejection to maintain upper caste hegemony		x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Feeling Dehumanized	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Feeling rejected, not wanted, not accepted, not included;	x	x	x	X		x	x	x	x	
Feeling ignored, unappreciated, taken for granted	x			X	x	x	x		x	x
Feeling used		x							x	
Feeling insulted, humiliated		x	x			x				
Feeling Disillusioned	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Feeling Angry and Combative	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Feeling Silenced into Helplessness for Fear of Harm to Job/Family	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x
Feeling Demoralized	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x

* Corresponding quotations from the data are given below.

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According to P6, upper caste people assume that Adivasis are "naked and live like that… uncivilized person…uneducated person" (MU6: 17). P5 refers to "deep-seated prejudices" (MU 5: 31) and says: "The system has branded me as inefficient which I'm not" (MU 5: 75). It is these assumptions that made P1 state:

> When I joined as a lecturer, I was not given enough assignments of teaching by my own Head of the Department. What I was worthy of teaching was given to someone else. Similarly when it came to getting associated in the research, I was neglected. (MU 1: 14)

The upper caste people think that P is born to be subordinate to them and so is unworthy of occupying positions that give power over them. P2 states:

> Brahmins are everywhere. They feel that they are made for this. We are made for small small works. Yes, they feel that these are their works. And they feel that if they give you some work to do, they have done a big favor to us. This is their feeling. (MU 2: 102)

P6 states:

> And in fact, as per rule over there, whenever the registrar or some senior officer goes, I should have been given the officiating charges of the registrar. Or the university authorities have the power to designate some of the officers as joint registrar and all that. ...authorities, whenever promoted or given some personal benefits, I have not been considered. This definitely because I belong to this ST. … I feel very bad for that. (MU 6: 81-85)

P8 states:

> I was moving to the top grade. Now I am deputy general manager. This is the highest post in the company. Then people have started saying: How can we (Adivasis) go to topmost positions? … And somebody says that they have to work under you … suddenly they are eliminated from their position. (MU 8: 13)

The upper caste people also assume that P doesn't deserve the position P is occupying because P got it only due to the government's reservation policy. P3 states:

> He (boss) used to taunt me saying, I got the job due to reservation. So I asked him once: "Sir, how many percentage [sic] of marks did your son get?" He said: "60

to 70%." I said: "I got 90 to 95%." Look at his mentality. He thinks I got the job because of reservation. (MU 3: 46)

P6 remembers how he was rejected by his upper caste colleagues on the ground of

reservation. Their thinking was: "Actually a young officer has come only because he

belongs to that category not knowing anything ... Because you belong to this scheduled

tribe…. Only for that reason you are here" (MU 6: 37). P7 states:

> But I realized ultimately, even though you got a good education, you are doing your best, still people discriminate you because of your category. They think that since you have this category status … that is how you are here; it's not because of your worth. You do whatever, but they think [so]. (MU 7: 39-40)

P8 states: "It gets stuck in the minds of others that those who are joining from

reservation quota are not capable also…. This is imprinted in their minds" (MU 8: 48).

P9 reiterates that

> There has been discrimination; there has been deprivation, rightful dues or rights…. because of the assumptions and feelings that Adivasi's cannot do. Adivasi's cannot perform. Adivasis do not have capacity; they cannot be like any other non-Adivasi intellectuals or Academicians. That stereotype or that kind of attitudes and feelings they have. (MU 9: 42)

P9 goes on to say:

> I joined as a lecturer at XXX and not as a reserved candidate. … So this position was open for general candidates and I competed with the general candidates and joined as a general candidate. … That person [previous director in the department where P9 is now the director] was from higher caste … XXX felt that coming from an Adivasi community, assuming that … "what does he know or what he can do…. and so he should contact me or take my advice"… which didn't occur.... But it was very upsetting for XXX that I never consulted XXX. (MU 9: 10, 23)

P8 states that these assumptions are communicated even nonverbally:

> Suppose you are saying I am scheduled tribe. Then immediately the response is shown on his [an upper caste person's] face. At that time I've seen his face…. Oh he's Christian… That means something… It's on his face. (MU 8: 50)

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P1 finds the negative stereotypes very disturbing because he feels that his very

identity as a human being is doubted. He states:

> So my identity as a human being is somewhat torn by the fact that I belong to a
> tribal community. This was the first realization that disturbed and disrupted my
> very conviction that I'm a human being equal to others … I have been made to
> realize that that I am different and different because I belong to that community.
> So my identity was in a big question. I would say... I was disturbed quite a bit.
> And I had to … reshape and identify a new identity. I was lost. (MU 1: 34)

P1 goes on to say:

> That's why it disturbs. When you feel so much of worth and it comes from the
> interactions and experience that other people communicate ... for example, my
> own fellowmen in my community, my own fellowmen in public places, my
> students, my colleagues in XXX that I am worth many fold but this is a very
> strong print, which shadows all my achievements and deep down the feelings of
> my colleagues that this person is a tribal. So all my achievements all my good
> work on my good relationships gets absolutely diluted and there is no ... any word
> for appreciation. That is what it disturbs. (MU 1: 40)

Being marginalized by excluding behaviors. P experienced EDS as being

marginalized in the workplace by the upper caste people through behaviors including

social exclusion, noncooperation, taunting, harassment, intimidation, microaggressions,

and/or denial of equal opportunities for career advancement and other benefits. These

behaviors were perceived as intended to make P quit his job. Marginalization involves

actions taken by the upper caste people to force P to remain at the margin or periphery of

society in order to deny him his rightful opportunities to advance to the center that has

been occupied by the upper caste people for centuries. So the experience of being

marginalized was being forced to remain at the periphery. P felt marginalized when he

was socially excluded. P7 states:

> Yes, nobody used to find anything unusual about you; or to have good
> relationship with you. Like, you might have tried on your own… approaching

people … trying to make some good friends; but you didn't find them. (MU 7: 57)

P8 recalled:

See, we are … five top officers are there including myself. But they have never included me in their cadre. They never took me anywhere with their cadre. They will say that you should work like me. Still they feel I'm not worthy of it [being included]. (MU 8: 43)

P3 states:

For example, when a committee is to be formed, someone might say: "Oh boy, he's an ST. What can he do? Make so and so a member instead." It happens like that. Though I am eligible, they will not include me. They will neglect me. I'm a senior. But it is not written anywhere that a senior must be made a member. But there is a tradition of juniors not superseding seniors. (MU 3: 84)

Taunting was another way of marginalizing. P7 states:

The HOD [Head of the Department] came to know that I have joined the department; I went to meet him. He made fun of me because I had come from a premier institute to this place. This fellow was a high-class Brahmin. This fellow had a different type of attitude with me. (MU 7: 27-28)

P7 remembers being ridiculed:

When we will sit together … And they will start talking: "So many people are coming from reservation … from your community so many are working as domestic workers. Isn't it happening?" (MU 8: 11-12)

P6 remembers being taunted by his boss on the first day of his job:

[It was like] "So you have come from that area. You don't know anything about the culture of the University. You are like Kol." Kol means lowest level of persons. They are out of the society. They are lower than the lowest caste. I still remember from my childhood. The Pundits and Banias also used to call us Kols. They used to say that Kols do not know anything. They live in the jungles. They are junglee-like uncivilized persons. (MU 6: 29-30)

P2 experienced marginalization when his authority as an officer was not respected

and the upper caste staff members refused to cooperate with him. P2 states:

Of course I was an officer. I was working as administrative officer. Openly they were not telling anything. But sometimes they were showing their noncooperation. When I gave some work to my subordinates, they used to say, "I cannot do it." So this is one kind of feeling of discrimination which I experienced. (MU 2: 18)

At times this attitude of noncooperation is subtle as P3 points out: "You see, what is happening to me is not taking place directly. Since I'm an officer, the discrimination cannot take place openly. It is based on the attitudes and thoughts of the small and big officers" (MU 3: 82).

P10 adds:

You see, since you are a senior, the formality of being a senior, will be accepted by the others. When you see similar position where a non-Adivasi is there, the behavior of the so-called junior is different vis-à-vis with you, the respect, actions, the posture, is very different. It is very difficult to explain in words, but you can see and visualize also. (MU 10: 45)

Sometimes, the discrimination can be flagrant as P6 recalls his first day in office:

Then again I went to the officer [and said]: "Sir I do not have sitting accommodation, table and chairs." He said: "You have to sit there. You have to arrange yourself. You can sit with such officer" and all that. Then I said to the concerned officer: "Sir, I have been asked to sit here." "Okay you can manage some table from…." I don't know I am a new person and how I can manage a table and a chair? Anyhow … It happened because I belonged to that category [ST category]. (MU 6: 24)

Marginalization was experienced when P was denied equal opportunities in career advancement and excluded from other benefits. P2 states: "Since I belong to this caste, they never deputed me for any training program" (MU 2: 32). For P3 it was the postponement of his promotion: "My promotion has been also due from the year XXX. I too have been suffering for the last five years. ... My promotion is not happening because I belong to ST" (MU 3: 51). For P4 instead it was being deprived of prestigious postings:

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Even though all the postings and all departments, all districts and subdivisions are supposed to be equal, but in real life, there is a kind of categorization even in the government. First posting okay I got the worst subdivision. Fine, I accepted it. No issues. My performance was as good as anyone else's or as bad as anyone else's. I had probably one of the toughest postings as SDOs. But I delivered. Same thing happened when the next posting came. I again went to the worst. (MU 4: 23)

At times marginalization was cleverly hidden as in the case of P5 who states:

Immediately during my absence that post was advertised and interview took place. And a letter was sent to me in a routine way at my residence but no one was there. Dean … calculated 15 days' notice for the candidates … very meticulously he calculated … Just to deprive me. They fixed the date looking into my leave application. (MU 5: 38 & 41)

Another covert way of marginalization was to ensure that P's yearly appraisal was

just average to purposely deny him promotion as was stated by P10:

So this discrimination is happening everywhere … Like your CR or confidential report. You hardly get *excellent* although your work may be excellent; but you will get *very good* or close to *excellent* but not *excellent*; whereas for the other people, the name connotes excellence. If you are a Singh, whatever Singh you are, you are in a better position. (MU 10: 25, 43)

P6 was denied equal benefits and conveniences:

Instead of going to my office, which was not a single room, two three of us used to sit; two officers in a room, whereas they should have given me a single room; because I was a scheduled tribe; so why should I be provided one room? I was adjusted with another person in another room. (MU 6: 117)

Harassment was another way of marginalization. It was extreme in the case of P2

and P3. P2 states: "I came to know that they have framed the charge sheet on baseless

grounds just to harm me. Their main motive was to spoil my career. And they wanted to

stop my promotion. This was their main motive" (MU 2: 52). He recalled: "So they tried

to mentally harm me, trying to victimize. Simply they want to demoralize so that we

break. And many people resign and going away" (MU2: 49). He goes on to say: "At

home also … When I was suspended, people started coming to my house, simply to issue

suspension order, and other unnecessary memos … Just to victimize me, to harass me.

They are doing on mala fide intention" (MU 2: 59).

P3 remembers:

I had a lot of conflicts with one of my bosses, lot of conflicts. … So once I wrote
an eight-page letter to him, saying that I was leaving and going to commit suicide.
You accuse me of many things because of your prejudice against me. Prejudice, I
said. (MU 3: 46)

P7 skipped an interview for residency because he felt harassed there. P7 states:

So I made up my mind that I would not work here because ... the type of
harassment I underwent that time, I thought why unnecessarily spoil and has so
much of stress. So the interview was there but I did not go. I left my room and
went home. … I just left it. That was my last day in the Institute. (MU 7: 25)

Transfer was another way to harass. P7 states:

It was most stressful, like, you are being transferred every time. So every transfer
makes hell lot of problems for you, with your family, with your kids. As a person
mentally you are most stressed because every new place you go you face new
challenges. And every time you are told to do more work compared to other
people. Like you are given those responsibilities nobody wants to take up. And
when your job is over you are thrown out to other places. (MU 7: 42)

P reveals the extent of stress involved in harassment:

As I said, during those 89 days, I still remember very vividly, like from the day
one, I didn't feel like going to work, because of such things. You are made to,
like, they posted me to the hospital in XXX for three months and then again came
back; they posted me to another place. Now these things never were done to any
of the other people working in the same hospital. There have been there
throughout the whole period. They used to tell us now that you are required in that
place because nobody is there; you go, instead of, eh, asking people from other
hospitals who can volunteer and go to that place. I was every time picked up and
sent. So I was thinking why I every time, why not the others? (MU 7: 72)

For P8 it was being denied a job in the area of his qualification and having to

report to his junior in another field: "They have put me in a position where functionally

I'm reporting to my junior, which is again very stressful for me" (MU 8: 25). At times harassment was in the form of intimidation and threat. P6 recalls:

And at that time also my senior officers told me that: "Look, Mr. P6, you have been posted in XXX. That is one of the toughest departments. There are many court cases, lot of wrangling, a lot of corruption, a lot of political ... everything is there. So we guarantee you, you will not stay more than three months." This was a kind of threatening for me (MU 6: 31).

P2 states: "They arranged an open meeting and his motive was to victimize me, to target me among all people. … They were trying to corner me" (MU 2: 121 & 125). P7 narrated the different ways of harassment:

I have also seen people coming from these backgrounds facing a lot of harassment. They will be loaded with, eh, more working hours. They will be unfair in allotment of duties, especially holiday duties. A lot of burden will be given them. If they make a small mistake they will be scolded like anything. But the other people will not be treated in the same way. If a fellow from the general category does something very gross, nothing, no action will be taken. Things I have seen during my working years. (MU 7: 85)

Believing that social exclusion is for maintaining upper caste hegemony. P experienced EDS as a tension from the gnawing belief that P is unjustly and unequally treated in order to perpetuate upper caste hegemony in spite of P's education, integrity of character and good job performance. P was made to feel that he was not worthy to hold offices that gave him power over upper caste people because of his so called inferior tribal status which supposedly destined him only for lower grade jobs at the service of the upper caste bosses. P is disturbed by the belief that his academic and career achievements and his dedication to duty with integrity are not recognized, appreciated or rewarded because upper caste people intentionally want to perpetuate their positions of power and privileges. P believed that stratification of the Adivasis as of lower social status and of

inferior intelligence and competence was intended to justify and maintain the upper caste hegemony.

P2 affirms that "Now I am working in a good government job. I'm intelligent … with good knowledge. But these people victimize me because I belong to a particular caste" (MU 2: 76). P7 states:

> But I realized ultimately, even though you got a good education, you are doing your best, still people discriminate you because of your category, even though this is a professional line which I'm holding. People with very good academics join here; [but] they think that since you have this category status, that is how you are here; it's not because of your worth. You do whatever, but they think (so). (MU 7: 39-40)

P4 feels that in spite of his qualification he is sidelined:

> Having specialized in XXX I wanted to go to XXX specialization. But he didn't recommend my name; so I went and asked them: "Why? I have all the qualifications. Why, not me?" The obvious reason was his son was also in the same cadre, somewhat senior to me; his name was recommended and my name was not recommended. So I felt bad. He gave a wishy-washy answer. A lot of good people [are] sidelined and not being rewarded. (MU 4: 19)

P5 makes the same point:

> When I sent in my papers for publication, the immediate response I got from my colleagues from the editorial board, they said, "No, there is problem, problem of English. There's a problem with the arguments." Not a single article was published. But then let me challenge. I sent the same articles, after revision of course, I sent it to US, I sent it to UK, and I sent it to Australia. After rigorous evaluation I get a positive response. I worked hard, revised it and the articles were published. And the editor who publishes the article after my revision mentioned: "This is an article that I will certainly ask my students to read." Then after a month or so another letter comes to me saying: Can you accept the membership of editorial board in that journal? (MU 5: 26)

P3 argues poignantly:

> I feel sad because I have been deprived of that which I deserve just because I belong to ST. What type of justice is that? People lecture that there is no discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, language in our democracy. That which one deserves democratically will be given to them. Then why don't you give me what I deserve? Because I am ST; so I feel these rules and regulations

should be thrown into the fire. Today those who have money power and muscle power, they get everything. I feel like that. I feel like that. Sometimes I feel what a life it is, [I] feel defeated, feel tired. (MU 3: 62)

P3 continues:

I'm not happy. Actually they have this impression that we are not efficient. But it is not so. We are able to do work better than them. But only when we are given opportunities… They have made themselves believe that we are like this and like that. (MU 3: 74)

P1 points out:

A lot of change has happened and unimaginable work [done] by tribal colleagues in XXX. …This is what we could count to being treated as equals and given more opportunity. If you are not doing well we take it and face the consequences. When we have all these potentialities and achievements and we are not recognized, [it] is very disturbing. Disturbing means, you count yourself worthless. What do we live for? We don't live for money. We live for being equals and being perceived as equals and have the same status. (MU 1: 44-45)

P9 states that there is a method in discrimination:

Why do I say blocked [from being promoted]? See, if I become a professor, I can become a part of the key committee, key bodies of decision-making. I could argue [that] I could bend some of the rules and regulations of the Institute which might be unpleasant for them, for the management. (MU 9: 41)

P9 goes on to say:

It is not only with me, across the Institute one could say that there has been discrimination, there has been deprivation, [of] rightful dues or rights because of the assumptions and feelings that Adivasis do not have capacity. So they feel that if they give an opportunity to an Adivasi person in to that senior level, that can put … the process a bit haywire. That will create opportunities for many other Adivasis. (MU 9: 42)

P2 states that low appraisal rating has a purpose:

There is a rating system. For them it will be *'very good... very good'* and for us it will be simply '*good*'. So this is a feeling that this person, he will simply earn *very good* in CR rating and he will get that position. (MU 2: 50)

P5 points to the "sublime sophisticated form of discrimination in reservation. You know, reserving some jobs where you know that tribals [sic] will not be available" (MU 5: 25). P6 states that "when some ST candidates is [sic] controlling the University, naturally the other people cannot digest that" (MU 6: 43). P8 states that "if you're in a clerk's position, the situation is different. After all he is only a clerk. Then there is no problem" (MU 8: 39).

Feeling dehumanized. P experienced EDS as feeling dehumanized by not being accepted like others with equal status, ignored, not taken seriously, not respected, taken for granted, used, insulted, humiliated or intimidated. Dehumanization involves depriving people of their identity as individual human beings related to others in the human family and being denied their psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness (Christoff, 2014). One feels dehumanized when one is subjected to overt or covert disrespect, to condescending attitudes that consider one inferior, to social rejection, neglect and/or being used as a means to an end rather than valued as a person on one's own right.

P experienced EDS as being dehumanized. P felt dehumanized when he was socially excluded and not accepted on an equal footing. P2 expresses this feeling in these words: "Though they were accepting me, internally they were not so; in appearance they were interacting a lot. When they were sitting among themselves their way of talking and interaction were [sic] something different" (MU 2: 8). P5 admits that social exclusion affected him. P5 says: "Because you see if you have been left out for no reason … it takes [a] toll on you, or your psyche, or your own temper of work. It really restrains you" (MU 5: 60). P6 laments the fact that "We have never been accepted. We have been

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appointed only because government has made some policies. But the upper caste have not

changed their mind" (MU 6: 79). P7 describes this feeling in these words: "Even though

you are in the best place, you don't feel at home [where], eh, you are at ease and you are

doing your things at ease. Most of the time you are stressed" (MU 7: 55). P9 states:

> Eh, see within me, it feels, eh, sometimes it feels, eh, lonely… because your professional fraternity, your academic fraternity looks at you and you are not considered. And, eh, very few people will come and say: 'It has not happened what should have happened.' (MU 9: 52)

> P1 does not feel accepted and at ease in his workplace. He states:

> That is because you know you are always watched. What you are saying, with whom you are associating. And how do you have your interpersonal relationship with your colleagues, with your bosses and students? So much of restrictions on interpersonal relationships … very calculated approach… not like free and frank [where] you talk anything and you will be accepted and not taken as negative. So you had to be very fine in order to get your place and not get branded. So I do not find that kind of free and frank sharing and mingling and going through this enriching life experience. We are very much compartmentalized. Utmost you can share is the official things. And nothing personal and personal sharing of your emotions, psychological feelings, your burdens, your happiness, sorrows. (MU 1: 56)

> P's experience of dehumanization included being ignored and neglected. P4

presents this experience thus:

> I mean these subtle ways of ignoring you. At times it is not a direct discrimination but not recognizing you, ignoring you, not looking at you when addressing the group. Suppose you are in a group of four or five people and the rest are non-tribals and you are the only tribal and the person who is talking to the group, he would probably not look at you. He will never make an eye contact with you. (MU 4: 32)

> P1 did not feel recognized for his achievements: P1 states: "I got a PhD. It was

not even circulated. … Congratulations, anything like that … [unlike] their own Brahmin

colleagues … And here is a person (laughs) who has finished his PhD and not even a

word of congratulations" (MU 1: 73).

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P7 experienced this sense of dehumanization when he was not taken seriously and treated as a pushover. P7 states:

HOD [Head of the Department] ... just put me in one of the units where there was practically no work. For five months I had no work. Simply sitting at table and seeing some patients, that was my job. Not regular rotation, duties or things like that. Nothing was given to me. Only after five months, did he allow me to get into one of the units and work there. (MU 7: 29)

P10 spoke of being taken for granted:

Like many people, as I was telling, they have myths vis-à-vis Adivasis. Either they must have read it or they must have heard it. They think something like: "They are very casual about many things; so they can be taken for granted." (MU 10: 56)

For P9 it was a sense of being used. P9 states:

So I felt that I was used and I was asked to do so much of work and contributed so much; but my contribution was never considered. So I felt cheated; I felt that I was just used. When it was required I was asked to do that job. So I feel that sometimes we are too simple, too hardworking, not very calculative … not strategic. And that puts us in the disadvantageous positions. (MU 9: 38 - 39)

P2 refers to a feeling of being insulted. P2 states:

During meeting also or for any purpose as and when we met … they showed us that we belong to this caste or that caste. So, as far as the cooperation is concerned, I did not get much cooperation from them because of my status …because I belong to this caste and my fellow workers who were my subordinates they belong to the upper caste. So while talking also they were feeling… only because of this reason… Sometimes insulting talk was prevailing in the workplace also. (MU 2: 19)

Feeling disillusioned. P experienced EDS as feeling disillusioned from the awareness that P's academic and career success has not changed the mindset of the upper caste people who continue to marginalize him on the basis of his ethnic identity. P felt disillusioned from the realization that educational qualification or high-profile successful

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careers had not freed him from the tentacles of ethnic discrimination and given him the social equality and acceptance that he craved for from within.

P6 sees no end to ethnic discrimination even after 23 years of his service "they [the upper caste officers] have not changed their mindset" (MU 6: 73) and "that we have seen this situation from childhood and I have completed 55 years. Still we are facing. Our forefathers may also have faced the situation which we are facing; so may be our children" (MU 6: 107).

P4 decries the fact that though he had been taught about objectivity and fair play in school: "[I] had not expected this [discrimination] coming from people who were supposed to have received such high standards of education. I am telling you: this is happening because I am a tribal" (MU 4: 45). P5 highlights his disappointment at the gap between ideal and the real:

> And in the University system they speak about great things about democracy and standing for the weaker sections; lower classes have always the first right and this type of big talk. All through we have been hearing from our teachers this type of arguments in public lectures, in their writings. But this is the dualism. (MU 5: 34)

P6 finds his disillusionment bitter:

> Bitterness is still... bitterness and the bad feeling is this, sir, that this is an educational institution. The higher authorities and officers, all are well qualified, well mannered, civilized. Some of them got excellent awards from the government and other organizations. So when I was selected in XXX University, I felt that really it is a very great honor to work in the University. And this is a kind of (audio unclear) of personal worth. But the mindset of these educated people (sarcastic tone) … not changed their mindset… which might have divided the society, dividing in four groups of caste. (MU 6: 73)

P3 laments the fact that

> Till five years ago my thinking was that I will reach a higher post and develop institution to a high degree. But that ambition could not take off; before the bud could blossom it got withered … just because I am an Adivasi. (MU 3: 70)

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P7 states:

But I realized ultimately, even though you got a good education, you are doing your best, still people discriminate you because of your category … even though this is a professional line which I'm holding. People with very good academics join here. (MU 7: 39)

Feeling angry and wanting to retaliate. P experienced EDS as feeling angry at those who marginalize P leading to thoughts and desires of retaliating against the injustice done. P1 acknowledges his anger and desire to retaliate against those who discriminate against him: "Well I have a very strong feeling against and feel like retaliating" (MU 1: 36). P2 describes what goes on within him:

Sir, at that time a lot of feelings come up. There is a struggle within me. I feel like revolting, rebelling. I'm doing the work….there is frustration from work… On the one hand the boss is scolding, and on the other, the subordinates are not supporting. (MU 2: 80)

P2 goes on to say: "Yes, there is some level of tolerance. Above all we are human beings. You keep doing. You keep on tolerating but at some point you will burst out. So I spoke out what I wanted to say" (MU 2: 120).

For P3 the anger is related to contradiction between the professed values and the reality:

What type of justice is that? People lecture that there is no discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, language in our democracy. Then why don't you give me what I deserve? Because I am ST; so I feel these rules and regulations should be thrown into the fire. (MU 3: 62)

P4 refers to revengeful thoughts:

Oh, I felt bad and felt like, eh, I possibly couldn't revenge on the administration. I knew it would be futile. How do I take revenge? … See, I say to myself: "Why this is happening to me? And why does this happen to me again and again?" (MU 4: 42 & 44)

For P7 the anger is intense:

Like, sometimes you really feel that you just go and throttle him. So at times, you tell them that this is the situation. They wouldn't agree with you. And they do just the opposite of what you have suggested. You become angry. (MU 7: 82-83)

P7 goes on to say: "Somehow I have not been able to really, say, forgive them about that situation I had in those three months. Still it pinches me at times" (MU 7: 98).

P1 feels this anger as uncontrollable:

It disturbs me. I get very angry and volatile and whenever I have an opportunity … indirectly expressed I tried to answer them ... when it direct comes [sic], I get into arguments directly. And there is nothing that can stop me. (MU 1: 43)

The anger at being excluded makes P8 want to take legal actions:

I have done a lot of things for the organization. But when it is a time for taking things they have excluded me. A lot of anger comes out there. Should I go to court? Should I go to SC/ST commission? Or should I go to complain to super boss? Or what should I do? (MU 8: 40)

Feeling silenced by powerful forces into helplessness. P experienced EDS as feeling silenced by the powerful system due to internalized oppression, fear of consequences on job and family leading to helplessness and powerlessness. P felt helpless and trapped in a system where P has to suffer humiliations in silence, feeling disempowered to retaliate against powerful oppressive forces due to lack of support in the workplace and fear of negative consequences that will affect his job and family. Often he experienced helplessness arising from having no tools to fight subtle discriminations that cannot be proved illegal like not superseding seniors in appointments to committees.

P3 states with bitterness: "Even now ST people are working with bitterness inside because you can neither say much nor write much; because I myself have suffered so much" (MU 3: 53). P2 recognizes the absence of support system behind his powerlessness and silence:

We belong to the lower class. People know that we do not have enough support system. Our society is scattered here and there. People are not organized. They pretty well know that (in Hindi) they can do whatever they want and we will not be able to do anything against them. That is the main thing. (MU 2:70)

P3 laments the fact that there is no one to cover his back:

Because I know if I become aggressive, I will have to suffer a lot of losses because there is no one to cover my back. Suppose I become aggressive by saying or writing about my experience. But all the offices are filled with their people. So who will listen to my complaints? So ultimately I will be the loser. So I just listen. And remain like a rock. (MU 3:76)

For P4 silence is a survival strategy:

I chose to be an introvert. Yes, as a survival strategy because it would have an effect on my health, you know. Every other day someone could pass a remark or behave in a manner which, eh, would be triggered because of my ethnicity, because his derogatory assessment of my community. Then I, I also as a person will, I also have my self-pride. Well, I may belong to a particular ethnic group but I am also proud of my ethnicity. So once my pride gets affected, I cannot fight it out with them. I cannot beat them up. I cannot bash them up. Within the confines of civilized behavior, I have to react. I thought the best reaction was to, kind of building defensive mechanism, one of which was: [I] started being aloof. (MU 4: 54)

P5 acknowledges a sense of helplessness in confronting the powerful oppressive

system:

Okay. They [Adivasis] don't accept that [discrimination]. They don't agree to that but they can't fight the system. There is a helplessness because you can't fight the system, because who will support you; and for how many cases. That's the situation. (MU 5: 18)

P5 goes on to say: "I was saying that you need a godfather in the system. I did not have

any, just because I belong to a category" (MU 5: 48).

P6 explains this silence as arising from fears of retaliation from the oppressive

structure and the losses he may have to suffer:

Sir, see we have a kind of genes in our body, that to some extent we fight; but after thinking so many things because we have responsibilities and all that.

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Maybe in case I pursue more, they are the higher authorities. I don't have any support from any corner. So may be in any allegations, there are so many, because I have so many responsibilities. Maybe I may also have committed some mistakes, maybe due to oversight and all that. And it is very easy for the authorities to issue some charges, or allege some charges, frame inquiry committee and all that. So it is very easy for them. (MU 6: 69)

P6 goes on to explain further:

However, my conscience did not allow that [fighting for his own rights] because I am at the retiring age; I have so many responsibilities and I don't have any support in case of filing under Atrocities Act. Who will support me? Because I don't have any support, maybe my whole career will be washed out by these people and maybe I will not get my retirement benefit all that. There are so many things, so I kept quiet. (MU 6: 56)

P8 explains survival as the reason for not opposing the oppressive structure:

Because of that factor also I always cooperate. This was the biggest factor: my family. I have another 10 years of service. Ten years is not a small period. It means you are to be very careful, for survival. So you have to find out some ways. This is a major factor that is helping me to cope with the stress. (MU 8: 62)

P10 explains fear as the reason for the silence:

Accepting the situation… See, one or two colleagues, not tribals, but scheduled caste, they have reacted and instead of improving their situation, their situation has deteriorated more or rather they have been discriminated more. They have been identified and they are now in the periphery. So in the system, the present system, it becomes very difficult to react and survive also. (MU 10: 42)

P1 reveals the inner world of being silenced as internalized oppression where P1

begins to doubt himself and his abilities:

And that apart, tribals [sic], Dalits, and me, being a tribal… So often it keeps me silent. I withdraw. I don't express unless I make a little personal effort … that what I am doing consciously or subconsciously, eh, I keep quiet. So it is only when I am conscious that what am I doing, is it my own self-made mindset, that I'm feeling just because of few experiences in my life and therefore I'm not getting outside of myself here, or what I need to say or what I need to do. So I can't tell because of this feeling. Immediately I start reacting. But often there are losses. Because I may have a beautiful opinion, expressions or ideas or ideology which gets suppressed and subdued because of the feelings, because of the feelings that I am a tribal that I'm not considered good enough to be expressed or

to be accepted, because of the past experiences that I have gone through. (MU 1: 52)

P1 goes on to explain further:

See right from the childhood, I have internalized that I am a tribal. Tribal would mean forest dweller, so you are not supposed to get education. You're not supposed to be in public domain. You are not worth contributing anything to the world. So that has affected so much our entire community, by outside world and hence, it comes to a verge of internalization. It is how we grow up. It is not only getting from my parents; it's from the community. So that gets reiterated. And you become possessed with this feeling that you are a tribal, worthless, good for nothing; you can't get education you don't have brains; you don't have good opinions, ideology and all that, which gets suppressed and it doesn't come out, despite having so much to share to the world. (MU1: 53)

P10 explains this internalized oppression as his hesitation to confront for fear of appearing over-reactive:

Yes, that's it actually, that makes you, means, makes you, or rather there is an inherent contradiction also. How will I show him? Obviously or openly he has not done anything. It might be my overreaction; it might be considered [so]. It hurts personally because it is not, means, you are seeing it, facing it; definitely it hurts. (MU 10: 52-53)

Feeling demoralized. P experienced EDS as feeling demoralized due to his inability to change the oppressive system and having to suffer under it leading to depression, lethargy, loss of interest in job and work-to-rule mentality. P's hopes and dreams for social equality and acceptance are unfulfilled in spite of his academic and career success and years of service. This led to hopelessness, lethargy, loss of interest in his job and finally to despair and meaninglessness. P6 explains this feeling of demoralization in these words:

Demoralization, by this I mean that, I feel why to work? Why to perform your duties? Why to give more time to the office? And in case there is some happiness or festival is there, why to celebrate? (MU 6: 101)

P6 goes on to describe his loss of interest in life itself:

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You know, sir, life is full of activities and when a person is sad due to various reasons, these activities are nothing for you, whatever is…. See, the garden is full of flowers and it is attractive. But for him it is nothing. So the situation comes and these feelings, that when you have everything, you are competent, but you are discriminated against only because you belong to [ST]. And you can't fight. (MU 6: 99)

P6 describes his experience as being dead though alive:

I can say that a living person is going on. We are sitting here but maybe he is not alive, like that. One feels that … what is this life? When you have everything … you are qualified, you are selected but even then you are not permitted. So, eh, what is this life? Like that I feel. (MU 6: 80)

P1 loses the drive to achieve in the absence of recognition and appreciation:

"Disturbance in the sense that it kills your initiative; kills your motivation; kills your

inclination and you don't find any recognition, acceptance and existence" (MU 1: 39).

P9 states: "And when I came back from XXX [abroad] after six months, I had come back

with such enthusiasm with regard to my academic work and that just fizzled out" (MU 9:

53). Demoralization forced P4 to reduce his aspirations and settle down to do the

minimum:

I cut down my aspirations. I stopped aspiring for, heading the XXX department, or heading some other important departments. So much so that I started telling them: "Give me XXX, whatever where there is no work. I would come and work for half an hour. And my work for the month will be over. I get the same thing." If the system does not want to extract work out of me why should I go out of the way to contribute to that system; when the system itself does not want to take work out of me because I belong to a particular ethnic group? Then I never lobbied for any posting; never. [I] cut down my aspirations. (MU 4: 50)

P9 regrets his working sincerely for an institution that did not support him:

That made me feel very sad…. See even my family feels that, feel so bad about my sincerity, I should not have been sincere so much; I shouldn't have put in my heart and my mind into this office so much…. In fact I could not give enough attention to my family also because I was so busy with these and that affected my time with my family. I could not give time to my family. (MU 9: 60)

P1 experiences a sense of futility and meaninglessness as he states:

I mean, there is the meaning to live in the world. I could have lived in my own village. If I'm contributing so much to my people and these people don't even count what I am worth of. So it means that I exist for futile. It destroys my identity. I'm not recognized ... I don't need recognition but at least I must be respected for what I am. Negated and looked down and despised and discriminated, these I do not expect. (MU 1: 46-47)

Demoralization drives P2 to want to quit his job:

So you feel that the whole system is going against you. At that time different thoughts come to me, you did not feel like surviving there; you sometimes think that you should quit this job, leave this environment and go away. (MU 2: 83)

P3 describes his loss of interest:

Let me tell you. Now I have no interest in doing my work. Really, I've lost my interest and the energy. Now you cannot contribute to the institution … that which you want to contribute because I have lost that energy and enthusiasm. (MU 3: 66)

The depth of P3's sense of hopelessness is described in these words:

I had a lot of conflicts with one of my bosses, lot of conflicts. So once I wrote an eight page letter to him, saying that I was leaving and going to commit suicide. You accuse me of many things because of your prejudice against me. Prejudice, I said. (MU 3: 83)

P8 felt depressed:

That was my, eh, toughest part of my life. At least for one, one month, I was not in the position to talk to anyone. Simply I was very upset. And I was hospitalized also at that time and then I had very bad [silence]; then I slightly came out. (MU 8: 23)

P7 states:

Most of the time you are very low; sometimes you thought, eh, it will be a very difficult time for you. You're not, eh, very at home with, really. Even though you are in the best place, you don't feel at home, you are at ease and you are doing your things at ease. Most of the time you are stressed, mentally, eh, I will not say physically, but mentally definitely. (MU 7: 55)

P6 experiences deep sorrow that keeps "pinching" him from within:

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It pinches in my heart that I'm [sic] not been allowed, only because I am ST. [It] pinches … If you lose something or your very close friend departed or your family member has expired, like that a person has feeling, a person is sad from the bottom of his heart. But he cannot do, due to various reasons; so the same situation happens with me also. (MU 6: 88-89)

P6 goes on to reveal the depth of this feeling of demoralization:

Burning within, affects the mind. When it affects the mind, thinking; then definitely it will affect your function, your behavior, and may be your family; or one can go on. A person may commit suicide also. So this kind of feelings comes [sic] in my mind. (MU 6: 108)

P9 refers to the same in these words:

So I felt a sense of betrayal, eh, that made me go through kind of melancholic kind of (laughs) feelings and I shared only with very close friends. It took me some time to come out of that. (MU 9: 54)

Psychological Structure of the Lived Experience of EDS

P experienced EDS as being judged by the negative stereotypes of Adivasis as forest dwellers, inferior in social status, intelligence and competence in spite of his academic and career achievements which were dismissed as gained due to government's reservation policy and not on personal merit. These assumptions led to P's experience of being marginalized in the workplace by his upper caste colleagues through behaviors including social exclusion, noncooperation, taunting, harassment, threat and intimidation, microaggressions as well as denial of opportunities for career advancement and for other benefits. EDS was related to P's belief that social exclusion was not due to absence of quality but a ploy to devalue and exclude him in order to perpetuate upper caste hegemony. EDS involved a feeling of being dehumanized by not being accepted like others with equal status, being ignored, taken for granted, used, not respected, humiliated and/or intimidated. EDS further involved a sense of disillusionment that P's academic

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and career success achieved through hard work did not change the mindset of the upper caste people or his social status. The resulting anger and desire for retaliation were suppressed due to fear of consequences to his career and family leading to a sense of helplessness and demoralization.

Analysis of the Lived Experience of Coping with EDS

Coping with EDS involved attempting to resolve the conflict among three experiences: (a) being judged and treated as inferior to non-tribal people because of P's tribal identity, (b) P's belief that he is marginalized not because of lack of education or competence but as a strategy to perpetuate upper caste hegemony, and (c) P's helplessness to change the oppressive situation for fear of negative consequences that can affect his job and family. P's response to this conflict entailed (a) resentful submission to the oppressive situation by accepting it as fate, and (b) realistic acceptance of the current situation together with change-oriented proactive behaviors. Table 4 presents the elements of the experience of coping with EDS in the workplace of P1 to P10.

Resentful submission to the oppressive situation involved accepting ethnic discrimination (ED) as fate, engaging in avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors as well as ruminating. Realistic acceptance of the discriminatory situation together with change-oriented proactive behaviors included (a) disproving prejudices by self-improvement, devotion to duty and integrity of character; (b) reframing negative situations positively; (c) taking initiatives to reach out and interact with non-tribal colleagues; (d) refusing to be defined by the prejudiced labels by affirming one's tribal identity; (e) focusing on present work rather than on past grievances; (f) being assertive

and using legal means to redress grievances; (g) using social support of family and friends as buffer; (h) using religious beliefs and practices to find peace and strength; and (i) caring for fellow Adivasis/Dalits.

Table 4. *The Constituents of the Lived experience of Coping With EDS in the Workplace*

Constituents	Participants									
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10
Resentful Submission	x*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Accepting the situation as fate			x			x	x		x	x
Engaging in avoidant behaviors			x			x	x	x		
Engaging in passive-aggressive behaviors	x			x			x			x
Ruminating	x				x	x	x	x	x	x
Change-Oriented Proactive Responses	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Accepting situations realistically while trying to change it		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Disproving negative stereotypes through self-improvement, dedication to duty, integrity of character	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Reframing negative situations positively	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	
Taking initiatives to reach out to non-tribal colleagues and to interact with them to gain their acceptance	x	x				x		x		
Refusing to be defined by negative labels and taking pride in tribal identity	x	x		x			x		x	
Focusing on the present jobs; not on past hurts	x				x		x	x	x	
Being assertive to stand up for rights; using legal means to redress grievances	x	x	x				x	x	x	
Using support from family and friends as buffer		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Using religious beliefs and practices to find peace and strength	x	x	x			x	x			
Caring for fellow Adivasis/Dalits	x			x	x	x	x			

* Corresponding quotations from the data are given below.

Resentful submission. When faced with the bitter reality of ethnic discrimination and powerlessness in combatting it, P began to accept it as an unchangeable reality to which initially he submitted with resentments in his heart. P coped with this stressful situation by accepting it as fate, by engaging at times in maladaptive avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors and ruminating.

Accepting the ethnic discrimination as fate. When faced with the seemingly unchangeable reality of ethnic discrimination, P tried to find peace by surrendering to it and accepting it as his fate. P6 expressed his fatalistic response in these words: "Normally I think of, what is this life? Secondly, what will I take after death. Everything will remain here. Maybe it was not written in my luck or in my future" (MU 6: 113). Referring to the microaggressions that could not be confronted directly P3 says:

> You see, what is happening to me is not taking place directly. Since I'm an officer, the discrimination cannot take place openly. It is based on the attitudes and thoughts of the small and big officers. We face it as our fate. (MU 3: 82-83)

> In the context of his failure to get justice, P7 says: "But at the end I realized

nothing is coming out. So I should take some step, like, you just accept your fate, whatever you may say, and you again joined back" (MU 7: 66). P10 is not sure if his upbringing or his personality is responsible for accepting the discriminatory situation without opposing it:

> That maybe my upbringing; or one can say, maybe my personality may have been developed in such a way that I may not be able to react immediately; or react in a verbal [sic] or in action. So, at this stage I think, now it has become just only thinking. You may say you feel bad but, okay, this is the way of life; so one accepts that. (MU 10: 40)

> P10 goes on to say:

During the college days, one felt worse and thought … that we should do something; now we only think. We are just passing time or just, well, this is the reality; we have to accept it, one can say. We have accepted, rather than reacting or may be acting against whatever discrimination is made. (MU 10: 41)

Engaging in passive-aggressive responses. P3's reaction to his inability to change discriminatory situations was passive resistance:

Now I have no interest in doing my work. Really, I've lost my interest and the energy. This is a bitter truth. Therefore I sit in my office. If the file comes I will work; otherwise I take leave. But I will keep on drawing the salary. Sometimes I feel like that. (MU 3: 66)

P6 did not want to perform his duties as a reaction to the injustice that was meted out to him: "I feel why to work? Why to perform your duties? Why to give more time to the office?" (MU 6: 102). P7 reacted against his transfer in this manner: "So there I put my foot down. I just put in writing that I did not like this transfer and I went off. For nearly 89 days I did not join" (MU 7: 34). P4 expressed his response to discrimination in these words:

I stopped aspiring for, or heading some other important departments. So much so that I started telling them: "Give me XXX, whatever where there is no work. I would come and work for half an hour. And my work for the month will be over. I get the same thing." If the system does not want to extract work out of me why should I go out of the way to contribute to that system when the system itself does not want to take work out of me because I belong to a particular ethnic group? Then I never lobbied for any posting, never. [I] cut down my aspirations. (MU 4: 50)

P10 gives vent to his frustration from EDS through cynicism:

I may not be doing, one can say consciously but many times you behave in a cynical way; maybe one way of expressing things. Many times, like, I behave very curtly and very straightforwardly with XXX. Instead of answering their questions, I ask them, like: Why should I answer you? That maybe my frustration or enough [sic] feelings which I try to express out in a different way. (MU 10: 68)

P10 goes on to say:

You feel angry also. Why should they ask? And who are they to ask? They may not be directly involved about what my feelings maybe. But, may be, they may be facing the music, one can say. Like, maybe I was unable to react to that person, but I reacted or showed my angry face to this other group of people; that I [am] not sure. Maybe unconsciously I may be expressing it. (MU10: 69)

Engaging in avoidant behaviors. Another strategy that P used to cope with EDS

was avoidance. P4 used it as a strategy to avoid getting hurt:

I had to develop my strategies for survival. And one of the strategies for survival was that I was extremely selective in the people to whom I was close; the number of people I would interact with. I was extremely selective. I started becoming an extreme introvert, extreme introvert, knowing very well that if I'm very friendly, meeting around people, the chances are that without knowing or unknowingly you will be behaving in a manner that would hurt me, that will push me further. (MU 4: 47)

P4 explains this strategy further and says:

I chose to be an introvert. Yes, as a survival strategy because it would have an effect on my health, you know. Every other day someone could pass a remark or behave in a manner which, eh, would be triggered because of my ethnicity, because his derogatory assessment of my community. Then I, I also as a person will, I also have my self-pride. Well, I may belong to a particular ethnic group but I am also proud of my ethnicity. So once my pride gets affected, I cannot fight it out with them. I cannot beat them up. I cannot bash them up. Within the confines of civilized behavior, I have to react. I thought the best reaction was to, kind of building defensive mechanism, one of which was, started being aloof. (MU 4: 54)

P7 speaks about his experience of avoidance thus:

I used to do personal studies and I never used to go in groups and study. I used to study in my hostel room and I never used to go to the library. I went there only when I had to research for something. Otherwise, most of the time, I spend up my room apart from the classes. So that feeling was there throughout. You are not considered at par with the rest and that made you slightly, eh, a backbencher you would say. (MU7: 53)

P1 speaks of withdrawal:

And me being a tribal, so often it keeps me silent. I withdraw. I don't express unless I make a little personal effort, that what I am doing consciously or subconsciously, eh, I keep quiet, because of the feelings that I am a tribal that I'm

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not considered good enough to be expressed or to be accepted because of the past experiences that I have gone through. (MU 1: 52)

P10 recalled the way he reacted to discrimination stress in his school days:

Like in school days also, I was one among the 60 students. How would you react? There is no supporter or to justify whatever you want to say. Similarly in the workplace also your voice will not be heard. So why to shout? (MU 10: 61)

Ruminating. Rumination was another negative strategy that was used to cope with EDS. Rumination is "the process of thinking perseveratively about one's feelings and problems rather than in terms of the specific content of thoughts" (Treynor, Gonzalez, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2003). P9 states: "And whenever I recollect now, it takes me back to that feeling. Whenever I remember, I get that feeling of getting cheated, being treated very, very badly by the whole administrative processes" (MU 9: 55). P5 states:

Even if I read, attention is not always there. Always I keep thinking about why it has happened to me, some kind of, no cause type of a situation. It remains centered in your heart, certain feelings. It is disturbing. I continuously do something or the other. (MU 5: 66)

P6 states that because he could not legally fight for his rights for fear of negative consequences he feels constantly troubled by it:

But I have compromised legally, morally and not, out of … due to my personal responsibilities, I did not feel comfortable. I am still not comfortable; it is burning. Still it is burning in my heart is… I still say that it pinches; it is still pinching and maybe as long as I'm alive it will pinch. (MU 6: 72)

P7 states:

Ultimately, during these three months I had to undergo a lot of mental torture; like, you are not going to your workplace.… What is your future now? Now again you will join and what things will be done against you? And things like that kept on coming to your mind. (MU 7: 65)

Change-oriented proactive responses. After using negative means to cope with EDS initially that resulted in great inner disturbance, P began to increasingly use proactive methods that increased his sense of wellbeing. These change-oriented proactive responses are discussed below:

Viewing ethnic discrimination realistically and responding proactively. After engaging in reactive behaviors initially, P arrives at a realistic view of the discriminatory situation as something that cannot be changed immediately. When P found that he could not modify the situation, he learned to adapt to it in a way that would not jeopardize his interests while trying to effect changes gradually.

P5 recognizes the need to find a practical way to cope with ED that could not easily be wished away. P5 states:

> One should find a way. Discrimination in this country is so deep-seated. It is not going to be over. It is going to continue. But how to weather it, how to find a path where people are taking a side path or something? That [sic] I am worried about. (MU 5: 54)

P2 speaks of a nonviolent strategy to change the oppressor:

> OK. But it was hard for me. But I accepted that. Because I cannot change all the people at random, because they are habituated to this I accepted that. I have learned patience. From the very beginning of our childhood, we had maintained ourselves… that I will have to express my feelings appropriately. If you do that, the other person gets an opportunity to think why I am not getting angry though he is doing this and that to me. It forces him to think. If I don't feel bad in spite of his speaking bad, how long will he keep on speaking bad? If he is quarreling and you retaliate, the quarrel will only become bigger. If you refuse to quarrel with him how long will he keep speaking? (MU2: 20 &110)

P3 looks at the situation pragmatically:

> And I tell myself… Well, be calm. It is of no use breaking your head against the wall because only my head will break, the wall will not break. Go slow, and make yourself happy, without wanting it, reluctantly. That's it. (MU 3: 84)

P3 goes on to say:

I am one that can remain like a stone and continue my work. Because I know if I become aggressive, I will have to suffer a lot of losses because there is no one to cover my back. Suppose I become aggressive by saying or writing about my experience. But all the offices are filled with their people. So who will listen to my complaints? So ultimately I will be the loser. So I just listen. And remain like a rock. (MU 3: 76)

P4 states that he learned to live with discrimination without succumbing to it:

I would convince myself that, okay, this is, this is the world for you. But even in this world you got to survive. I have to survive. And the world is like that. And I had to devise means of, keeping my emotions under control. Keeping my sanity, at times keeping my sanity. And I would say living with it, I mean, it would be better to call it, learning to live with it. (MU 4: 37-38)

P4 adds:

I would say I have not succumbed. I have not succumbed to the discriminatory… a lot of individuals would, probably, just give up the fight. I will accept whatever comes my way. I have not (audio unclear). Well, still I'm sane. And I'm not an alcoholic, eh, I'm stable, eh, I take up the cause of my people with whatever training and whatever knowledge and experience I have. I try to bring out issues before them so that they are able to develop better survival strategies. (MU 4: 66)

P6 admits: "And it cannot be abolished in one day. Thousands of years are past but still the society is divided" (MU 6: 138). P6 tries to stop negative thoughts that disturb him: "I don't allow the weakness, type of attitudes. I try to stop them and think positively that it is the situation. Maybe I have to compromise with that situation due to various reasons" (MU 6: 109). P6 goes on to say: "And that time also I thought okay: listen to him whatever he says. Listen from one ear and pass it through the other ear. And you continue in a positive way" (MU 6: 117). After a long fight with the system to get justice, P7 states: "Ultimately I had to finally say: Leave it; whatever has happened, has happened. I should move on now. I had to grow actually" (MU 7: 73-74). P7 recognized that:

Yeah, I had to actually change my ways. Getting angry, just leaving and going away, I thought that was not the answer. I should change. I accepted it. I went through all the hurdles, thinking at the end I will achieve my aim. That was my way of coping. (MU 7: 88)

P7 further realized that:

In a way, I see there is no point in, eh, (the policy that) if someone disrespects you, you should also disrespect him. At least give him that opportunity to learn, work under you in good circumstances. And that has become my focus. Yeah, you encounter people like, eh, from the same field sometimes. They might think that you know nothing. And they try to disrespect you, ultimately they realize. We become patient. We don't react, at that time only. Gradually we tell them and gradually they also learn, that your outlook is not like that of others, but different from the others. And they tried to mend their ways. (MU 7: 81)

P9 admits that:

I'm happy that if I had taken a reactive decision, things would have created quite an unpleasant situation. I could have mobilized my colleagues and friends. We could have gone and met different officials. And that would have created a different kind of situation. I think by not reacting immediately and in a different way I think that it gave me also to accept decisions as gracefully and respecting the decisions … That doesn't stop me to do my work. In terms of my academic work it doesn't stop me. So still I have opportunity and every right and every possibility to do my work as I want. (MU 9: 73)

Disproving prejudices through self-improvement, devotion to duty, and integrity of character. Another strategy P used to cope with EDS was an inside out approach. P focused on changing himself rather than changing his environment directly. P focused on improving himself so that the negative stereotypes will become irrelevant and changes will take place indirectly. P4 states:

We as members of, eh, belonging to this particular ethnic group … We will have to excel in our work. Somehow through our performance, we would have to prove to those people who stereotype us as bad workers, poor workers, lazy people, and drunkards. We have to prove them wrong by our behavior. Their stereotyping I feel is not entirely wrong. But it is not entirely correct also. Whatever iota of feelings, societal feelings are there, because of which such stereotyping takes place, I think we should work to remove it. (MU 4: 67)

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P1 recognizes that:

Retaliation is no answer, I know, but to safeguard one's own interest and to have confidence and faith in oneself … and to struggle is not a limit for me. Whatever it demands I will put myself and build up myself as much as possible and I don't need to convince people. People will get convinced by my performance and my achievements. So I never give up. So my disturbance was, eh, I mean I could take it and not to get to the extent that it destroys me. So I had that strength to protect myself, and my goals were very clear. So hard work was the only road to my success, and not to get disturbed…. (MU 1: 37)

P2 recognized the need to strengthen himself:

I take it in a very positive way. That was the only thing …To survive… They will continue to attack more and more. So their main plan will be to demoralize and to break you. So I had to strengthen myself. (MU 2: 51 & 54)

P3 states:

We made ourselves strong mentally, slowly, slowly.… As we progressed in education and improved our quality, we also became stronger mentally, emotionally and morally….We said: "let's ignore it… It is part of life." (MU 3: 15)

For P4 dedication to his job was a way to stop further negative labelling:

Probably this reaction of my being dedicated to my work also coming, apart from the training that I had in school, college and so on, apart from the building of character in school and all that.... I didn't want to give the other fellow another chance to humiliate me. He is humiliating me anyway. He has a colored view of me because of my color and my ethnicity, so why should I give him another filter to have a different view of me… Like, well, he's a tribal and he does not also do the work… I don't want to give them another opportunity. (MU 4: 81)

P6 improved his knowledge and skills to counter the stereotype of incompetency:

And that was a big challenge for me. And I accepted that challenge that I will remain here whatever happens. And if I have some weaknesses, shortcomings, definitely I will upgrade myself but I will remain here whatever happens. That I pledged after listening to all these things. (MU 6: 28).

P6 goes on to say:

So, that also I took it as a challenge. I will try my level best and try to understand whatever it is, the department is. I did not know much about that department, so I

took it as a challenge and started. I did not confront them but I thought that it was better to study more. From there only I started. I took admission in correspondence course in XXX University. (MU 6: 36 & 40)

Similarly P7 states:

I went for training for super specialization during my working years also… Completed my super specialization and I came back. So after that I became slightly more confident in my work, due to my specialization in my work. Then I used to devote lots of time for my work. And I ventured into those areas, like at my level people don't go normally. (MU 7: 77-78)

P7 goes on to say:

They think that since you have this category status, that is how you are here; it's not because of your worth. You do whatever, but they think … Now it does not affect me because working in the organization I have climbed all the levels. (MU 7: 39-40) Now I am in a position where I can, eh, like, currently there is the head of the institution and then I am there…. So I'm in a position that I can influence anything. So now that type of discrimination does not occur with me. (MU 7: 75)

P8 states he excelled in his work with integrity of character in order to prove his

worth: "And how to cope up with this, situation, the only thing is that prove yourself"

(MU 8: 37). He goes on to say:

I always used to excel. I involve in that work only [where] I prove … that I know of the job well. I do not want to give any chance to higher ups to point fingers that you do not know. Everywhere, this is my strategy in my professional life. (MU 8: 59)

About his integrity, P8 states:

The work which I have done earlier which was very quality job, very risky job…. Very risky job I have handed and nobody had doubted my integrity because the password that I was holding, from that password I could have earned a lot of money, by doing some …. But nobody had found my integrity in doubt. (MU 8: 31)

Reframing negative situations positively. Finding positive meanings in negative

situations and focusing on them was another way P coped with EDS. When faced with

discriminatory situations, P refused to succumb to negativity and reframed the situations

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in such a way that he was able to live with it. P reframed negative situations as opportunities for his growth and development.

P1 reframed his initial set back as an opportunity to build himself:

Similarly when it came to getting associated in the research, I was neglected. So I never gave up my struggle to build up myself as a researcher. Then I took up research: my own PhD. I got all the technical knowhow and way about researching and gradually one of my colleagues, not in my own department but some other department—he was a core Brahmin—recognized my potential and he included me in one of his researches. (MU 1: 15)

P1 goes on to say: "I got no remuneration; however I was aware that I was getting the skill of doing research and building my experience. And hence, I was quite confident (to do research) independently" (MU 1:15). P1 reframed the denial of opportunities to him as an opportunity to create them:

I consider myself as an individual entity with a lot of potentials and as far as potentials and actualization are concerned it is only the earth and heaven to be the end. So I could do anything, it's all up to me, if I've been given adequate opportunities. Unfortunately it doesn't come, it has to be acquired; eh, it is all through the hard way. (MU 1: 33)

P4 reframed his unfair transfer as an opportunity to help others:

So I said, let me do the job I'm supposed to do … Here I am in the midst of poor people, people who lagged behind in a lot of things like education development … Okay let me work with them, be friendly with them. I started concentrating on my work. (MU 4: 43)

P4 goes on to say: "Other thing I decided, okay, in my psyche I put it in that all jobs are important, whatever job you get is good. Perform. Forget it." (MU 4: 49). P7 reframed the taunt regarding Adivasis getting high positions due to reservation quota and not on merit thus:

We definitely are having these privileges. Somehow I feel that we are like the chosen race. We are the chosen people of India; I keep on telling my people. I used to tell my fellow-tribals [sic], "If you're given an opportunity [it is] because

you are the chosen people of India. Think like that, and you become great, like the people of Israel. God has chosen them, like … you are the chosen people of India. You should not feel that you are being …. This is a privilege given to you. You should make the best out of this privilege." (MU 7: 87)

P9 reframed his setback as a learning experience:

Whatever happened I learned a great lesson and in future I would be very careful how I should take it, eh, towards this type of responsibilities. And I felt that, eh, let me focus on my academic works. So my drive to engage with my academic works, eh, that gave me the motivation to overcome that. (MU 9: 62-63)

Reaching out to non-tribal colleagues. Reaching out to those practicing social exclusion was another way P proactively created a space for social acceptance and reduce EDS. P realized that avoidance will only widen the gap and reinforce the prejudices. Hence, P took initiatives to interact with his upper caste colleagues in spite of their rejection.

P1 states:

I don't give up the quest of reaching out to people and creating a space where I could share. And there are a few faculty members … there are many students who come to me all through day and night and I share with them. And they are filling up the gap. (MU 1: 58)

P2 responded to social isolation by working to win their friendship:

So I have to think about how to win their faith. So far they have been doing good. But now they are running away from you because of this situation; so how to win back their friendship, that relationship; that's a big challenge. (MU 2: 95)

P2 goes on to state that understanding and seeing things from the other's perspective helped him:

It is very important to find out why he (P2's boss) is doing like this to me? But I found, eh, my boss was not very well-educated compared to me. But he was holding good position because of the political support. And he used to exploit benefits from it. So I knew the situation…. but in order to calm my disturbed, mind, to still my turbulent heart, this is what I used to do…. I used to try to understand my boss so that I can bring down the level of the conflict. (MU 2: 96)

P6 reached out to his upper caste colleagues to change their negative mindset:

Because the message was given to me by the senior officer that you are scheduled tribe, you are uncivilized, you cannot remain here, you cannot complete here … that type of message I had got on the first day only. That kind of message I was determined to change, determined to change their mindset. That's why I tried to meet and sit with each and every employees of that branch … And I used to share time with each and every employee every day. (MU 6: 120 & 124)

P6 remembers the initial reaction to his mixing with his subordinates:

[They said] He might be a mad person to go into the section, having tea with them, eh, and to discuss, because, eh, the officers normally don't go to the branches, eh, [it is like] I ring the bell, the peon comes, and they bring. (MU 6: 125)

P6 admits that such behavior facilitated his social acceptance:

Yes it was appreciated; eh, later on they changed, like, eh, he is not the person what we were thinking, like that. Definitely it changed and still I'm getting that reward for that kind of action which I took in XXX. (MU 6: 127)

P8 used a similar strategy:

And trying to involve with them also…. How can I involve with them, eh, because once I felt I am scheduled tribe I should not be involved there. But I have overcome this with my ability and … intermixing with general people. That was my idea and it has helped me throughout my career. (MU 8: 9)

Refusing to be defined by others' labels and taking pride in tribal identity. P dealt with EDS by refusing to be defined by the prejudiced views about Adivasis and changing them by owning and defending his tribal identity. P2 stated this concept thus: "If you are enriched by good things within you, nothing is there that can demoralize or that can make you stray from the right path… Whatever it be the struggle you will not go the wrong way" (MU 2: 132). P1 affirmed his personal abilities and refused to be defined by others:

Yes, I personally feel I am very capable and one must know, where this person is coming [from], eh, going through all these hardships and difficulties. In itself, it

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is a big achievement. I don't want any recognition from, eh, and at the same time I do not want you to look towards me as a person worthless or, eh, futile and has no potential, eh, or all that achievement that I do and contribute is inferior just because you associate me with tribal community, eh, which I will not be able to take. Because my contribution can be much bigger than all of you, so I must have the same status. I do not require your good image towards me, eh, or appreciation. But don't disturb by giving negativity, eh, which puts me down and disturbs my career and further achievements. (MU 1:47)

P9 states: "I don't think in any way, I or some of my Adivasi colleagues are in

any way lesser than non-Adivasi colleagues" (MU 9: 51). P9 goes on to stress the

importance of redefining oneself in a world that is challenging for Adivasi community:

See, that world is, eh, very challenging. It is to redefine oneself. And also to, eh, to create space for oneself in a society which is not an Adivasi society. The world view is that you have to struggle. You have to create your own space, and if you're given an opportunity, anything is possible, eh, anything you can do. (MU 9: 72)

P2 takes pride in his ethnic identity:

It makes no difference to me now. They call me by my caste. I accept it. What is the wrong? I am an Adivasi. God has made me an Adivasi. I am proud of it. I don't say I'm not of this caste. I don't compromise with the situation. But whatever I can do, as an educated person, and whatever opportunity I got us an Adivasi, I have to make use of it. I will not allow myself to be demoralized from the start by the fact that I'm an Adivasi. If I'm an Adivasi, it is a grace of God … [I] accept it. (MU 2: 132)

P7 felt disowning his tribal identity does not help:

But somehow I felt that running away from your own identity won't solve my problem. Basically, you have to actually know your background, your own background, eh, oneself. … Though I am living here, people question me how come I am a tribal. I have been born and brought up here in this city. I said my ancestry does not change, eh, if I go from one place to another. (MU 7: 94)

P7 clarifies his thought: "I was always using my whole name. I never concealed

my surname or first name, eh, or my religious affiliation" (MU 7: 48). When asked if he

ever felt the need to hide his tribal identity, P7 stated: "Now? Never, I thought the other

way. If I have come to this particular stature it's because of my background. And why I

should hide my background" (MU 7: 48)?

P8 reiterates the same:

We do not hide ourselves, eh, [saying] that I'm not belonging to scheduled tribe or Christian. We don't hide that. … If you feel bad, that's your problem. I don't hide that. I'm a Christian, eh, but I belong to XXX tribe. This is how I manage. Many times people have said, "You come from reservation." I say, "Oh yes, I come from reservation only. What is the issue?" (MU 8: 51)

Focusing on the present jobs, not on past hurts. In coping with EDS, P moved

from ruminating on the past hurts to focusing on the present jobs. P7 states:

When I joined back I thought of being serious with my day-to-day work. So instead of concentrating on all those forms of things that had occurred the past, I just devoted my time, full time to my work. And, eh, I achieved a lot of things, like, eh, I went for training for super specialization during my working years also. (MU 7: 76-77)

Similarly P5 states:

Well, I certainly feel bad. But then I don't remain tied to that idea. What has happened has happened. That's a past experience. But that has not stopped me from moving. I don't, eh, I keep working and this is something. (MU 5: 50)

P8 says:

Then I say to myself that this will not work because I will be left in a bad situation. I started to keep myself happy and whatever job they have assigned me I get involved in that only. (MU 8: 41)

P1 created the opportunities he wanted instead of just complaining about

opportunities that he was denied in the past. P1 states:

What am I losing if my two subjects to be developed were not given? I have the rest of the things to be done. So I keep on doing. The research was never given ... for three to four years. Yes, [I focus] on what I have and keep on building and once I built up I asked my colleagues to join me. Today, nobody has to give; I am getting [research projects worth] crores of rupees today. (MU 1: 77)

P 9's satisfaction from his past achievements gaud him to view present problems

as challenges for greater achievements:

> Even if I was blocked at this stage, I had very strong sense of achievement in my past. As I was telling you, I was appointed as a general candidate [not on reservation quota] … despite coming from so remote area. And when I look back, I have come to this Institute, occupying this position now. Coming from that kind of background, it gives me a strong sense of satisfaction. … It is not going to be easy for me or for any other Adivasi to achieve, to stay on at senior level, there are challenges…. So one has to face these challenges, face the realities and move ahead… Whatever has happened, eh, based on that one has to move ahead, within our own area of work how one can flourish. (MU 9: 64)

Being assertive and taking legal assistance. P6 stood up for himself and

protested strongly when his rights were denied to him. P6 narrates this incident:

> So I took up a stand and started shouting and reacting … All of a sudden hundreds of people surrounded me ... And even the Tehsildar [Revenue Administrative Officer] heard the sound. Looking at the crowd he came and said: "Who is this person? What does he want?" So I explained to him: "I have been asked give bribe to meet you. I have been trying to pursue and get this certificate for my daughter but I have been discriminated. I see so many women with small children and elderly people waiting for getting caste certificate. Imagine a person who is so much educated is not given this opportunity. I can imagine for my brothers and sisters who are waiting here without water and food and in the scorching sun. They come all the way from villages. This is too much. I came to ask for caste certificate and this is all I want." So fortunately he allowed me and there was a collector as well, both of them came and they investigated and they gave me clearance to get the caste certificate. (MU6: 23)

P1 asserted himself in a way that would not jeopardize his welfare:

> No retaliation does not mean keeping silence. But I think those moments were not the right opportunity to react or retaliate. I use it daily calculatedly, ah, not to have so much of loss, but preserve your interest and not to get disturbed from pursuing your further goals. (MU 1: 38)

P2 stood up for his rights in a professional manner:

> I came to know that they have framed the charge sheet on baseless grounds just to harm me. So I started, eh, how to tackle this problem as a professional, because I did not leave the ground, and continued to work with them. I followed their

instruction which I find suitable and acceptable to the rule. I followed that, eh, but as and when they attacked me in other ways, so I had my answer. (MU 2: 52)

P2 clarifies what his answer was:

If I leave the service, well, that is not the solution. If I ran away like the other people, that is not the solution. I have to fight back… If I have to fight strongly I have to, because I have reached so far only by struggling relentlessly. (MU 2: 74)

P2 goes to say:

So once they realized that I had the capability to retaliate, so they also became very conscious…. Their behavior aspects also changed to some extent, because I came to know that if we are there always at the receiving end, they will continue to attack more and more. … So I had to strengthen myself. (MU 2: 53-54)

P3 confronted his officer who sidelined him: "There is nothing wrong in being lightly aggressive to get things done. Sometimes I say: 'Why did you do such a thing, sir?'"(MU 3: 84). P9 recognized the need to claim his rights:

It gives me the feeling that I have to fight for my rights. Unless I am alert and fight for my rights, nobody's going to give me my due or recognition I deserve. Otherwise I will always be looked down as good for nothing. (MU 9: 47)

P9 also insisted on creating precedence to stop loopholes in law that can be used for discrimination:

But my intention is not to challenge the decision, but on record I want to get a clarification and answer from the organization so that it becomes a record … So that whenever it comes in the future, it can be referred and can be used for future references for such decisions. (MU 9: 56-57)

P7 used the legal option to fight for his rights: "Then I put my grievances to the government agency. That time it was National SC/ST Commission. I said this transfer has been made deliberately and that it should not be done" (MU7: 36).

Using social support as a buffer. P used support of family and friends as a buffer in coping with EDS. Family and friends provided a space for sharing experiences and

venting feelings besides being a source of emotional support and guidance. P2 found

emotional support in his colleagues and his family: "There were my other colleagues…. I

shared my difficulties with them" (MU 2: 57). P2 goes on to say: "And my wife is very

supportive. This is a great strength. My son is also like that so are all my family

members … encouraged me to act righteously and to trust in God" (MU 2: 133). P3

identifies three things that helped him to cope with problems and to progress in his life: "I

tell you there are three things: Love of my parents; love, guidance and support my elder

brother and sister; and my hard work" (MU 3: 85).

P4 shared his experiences and vented his feelings with his friends to regain

balance:

> What I used to do was if I would get angry, I wouldn't express it. I would hide it; discuss it with my friends later on … especially friends belonging to the community. [I would tell them]: "This is what happened to me. You got to be alert. This would probably happen to you." (MU 4: 83)

P7 states that he got guidance from his family:

> Firstly I will definitely say, my family, my wife who helped me throughout, even though those were the difficult days. But she tried to explain and that helped me in, eh, actually in deciding what I have to do. (MU 7: 89)

Similarly P9 states that he experienced the healing of his disturbed mind by

sharing with his friends:

> So I felt a sense of betrayal, eh, that made me go through, eh, kind of melancholic kind of [laughs] feelings and I shared only with very close friends. And that time, some of my friends advised me so, and so, eh, I kept quiet; just allowed to heal my heart and mind [Laughs] in due process of time. It took me some time to come out of that. (MU 9: 54)

P9 also used tribal associations for support: "As I said we have an association of Dalit and Adivasi staff. I consulted, eh, I shared with them. They advised me what I should do or what I should not do" (MU 9: 62).

P5 states how sharing helps:

I share with a few people, a few of my friends. Then I share with my wife, talk out things with my wife. Oh, it helps. It remains centered in your heart, certain feelings; it is disturbing. And once I share I feel relieved. (MU 5: 69-70)

P6 sees family as a great shock absorber: "And then of course whenever I am troubled, eh, family is a great shock absorber I must say" (MU 6: 104). P9 states: "As I was saying my colleagues, eh, sharing with them, that helped me to overcome that. And whatever consolation they used to give me, that helped me to overcome that" (MU 9: 65).

Using religious beliefs and practices as a support system. P used religious faith and practices as a source of making meaning, gaining insights as well as gaining strength and courage to act assertively. P1 believed he could achieve anything with hard work supported by faith in God:

I had very strong faith in God. I picked up from the Christian doctrine, Christianity basically and my community, that if you want to make your career and your life you have to struggle. There are no excuses. God has given everything. You are a human and you too can achieve provided you have right direction. So that was my belief, eh, that I could do hard work. I don't care what it takes of me. …. So I kept on trying. (MU 1: 67)

P2 used his religious faith to create a peaceful space within:

When I feel like this, I tell you what I do. I had to create a different environment within me, so that you may feel good within. Sometimes I sing. … Sometimes, I pray. I ask God to support me, eh, so that I can gain more strength to fight this situation. Through this I feel strengthened. (MU 2: 90)

P6 used his religious faith to make meaning of his current situation. P6 states that focus on the blessings of God helped him to cope with EDS:

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Being a tribal, eh, I am a Christian also; okay whatever I have been given as my share, that's enough. I must be satisfied. I will not take anything when I go to heaven. So this is one kind of feeling. God has given us so many things. We had come here in XXX empty hands. Now we have everything. … See this kind of feelings come but I control these thoughts myself by allowing some time with God and some meditation. (MU 6: 85)

P3's hope for justice from God helped him to cope with the current injustice he was suffering: "I do have hope. Not for the society, not for them, but for myself; one day I will get justice from the One above; if it's not today, tomorrow" (MU 3: 78). P3 goes on to say:

I believe my time will come. How long will God test me? But as long as I live I should not lose hope whether I achieve my goal or not; whether I succeed or not we should keep hoping to extract water even from the rock. God gives even if he delays. He takes our tests. He gives more tests to those whom he loves more. (MU 3:81)

P7 found his religious teachings a source of inspiration in decision making:

Because we are from a good religious background, we had a good religious teaching, eh, that also helped me. It played a great part because all my decisions later on were based on my faith in the teachings that we were taught. (MU 7: 90)

P7 goes on to say that his religious faith kept him positive even in his dark days:

Somehow having a strong faith helps you in coping with the distressing situations. And we have experienced that thing in our work and day-to-day life, eh, like going through those difficult years, eh, those three months. So we used to pray that these things should get solved. And that helped us also, eh, strengthened us, eh, it helped us to have a more positive outlook, not very depressing or not feeling that nothing can be done even though nothing could be done that time. It helped me. It strengthened me that I should go back and start my work even though it has gone against me. It did not change my outlook, never made me negative of the whole situation. (MU 7: 97)

Caring for fellow Adivasis/Dalits. Concern for the welfare of his fellow SC/ST brethren, and concrete action on their behalf helped P to cope with EDS. It is this concern that made P1 willing to participate in this research: "I am happy, if in any way, to

contribute to the wellbeing of my fellowmen and people through your research. If

something comes out of this for policy formation I am happy" (MU 1:7). P1 becomes

protective of his fellow Adivasis and states:

> I could take it [discrimination], if it comes to me because I'm able to absorb and
> not get destroyed but I cannot tolerate when it comes to my colleagues. And they
> are affected ... to an extreme that they destroy their lives and they give up their
> ambitions and goals in life. That is what disturbs me today. I often share my own
> experience to build up their confidence. (MU 1: 41)

P4 expresses this concern in these words:

> I am able to understand the shortcomings of my community and people belonging
> to my community, and in my small small ways I take up their cause also.
> Wherever I think I can contribute, I do contribute also. It has kind of given me,
> eh, I mean, I have a drive within me, which I have not still put to practice. …How
> do I go about … [developing] tribal children, students who would, eh, because of
> their excellence, academic excellence, eh, would be able to face the world and not
> succumb to the pressures? (MU 4: 65)

P5 shares his experiences and insights with young people to motivate them:

> And then, I always talk to young people… What has happened to me should be of
> benefit to other people, be helpful to those people. I inspire them. But then
> eventually you will be a winner if you work hard continuously. Because you are a
> tribal, you need to work harder than others. This is what I advise. (MU 5: 73)

In this regard, P7 states:

> Somehow I've been able to, eh, when I narrate my experiences to my fellow
> brethren, eh, in other places, they also learn from me basically. I'm able to tell
> them how to overcome their problems also, eh, my experience sharing, of telling
> them how to approach a problem. (MU 7: 93)

P6 used his power and authority of his job to help SC/ST people:

> This happened only because I had made all the efforts and university authorities
> had empowered me to take necessary action so that Dalit people get their due in
> recruitment, admission, promotion, everywhere. So I fully implemented that
> criterion. And sometimes I even stopped the interview, selection wherein reserved
> category people were not taken, were not duly considered. (MU 6: 45)

P7 referred to getting involved in organized action for the welfare of Adivasis when he spoke about the factors that helped him to cope with EDS:

> So family, my religion plus (said more loudly) my people also I will say. I'm still a tribal activist. I do work even though I am in this job. We, eh, I have taken up this activist work way back in XXX or when I was in XXX College. So I frequently, like, eh, I work for one of the social organizations, XXX. So we have tribals [sic] from different parts of India who have collaborated with this big group. We have done a few things; so this has helped us. (MU 7: 91)

Psychological Structure of the Lived Experience of Coping With EDS

The analysis of the interview data of the lived experience of coping with EDS indicated that all the 10 participants were engaged in both positive and negative coping behaviors. However, the data show that P engaged in 10 specific proactive coping behaviors in comparison to four specific negative responses. When all the coping responses were totaled, P engaged in 65 positive and 23 negative responses.

The psychological structure of the lived experience of coping with EDS may be described as follows: The lived experience of coping with EDS initially involved the resentful submission to discriminatory experiences, expressed in fatalism, rumination as well as passive-aggressive and avoidant behaviors. Gradually, P progressed to a realistic assessment of the discriminatory situation as something too deep-seated and powerful to be changed immediately and chose positive proactive responses that helped him to live with it and change it gradually. Some of these proactive responses included: viewing ED realistically and proactively; disproving prejudices through self-improvement, devotion to duty, integrity of character; reframing negative situations positively; reaching out to non-tribal colleagues; refusing to be defined by others and taking pride in tribal identity; focusing on the present jobs and not on past hurts; being assertive and taking legal

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assistance; using social support and religious beliefs as buffer; and caring for fellow Adivasis/Dalits.

Summary

Using the phenomenological method the study attempted to understand and describe the phenomenon of ethnic discrimination stress in the workplace as experienced by high-achieving Adivasis. Following Giorgi's descriptive psychological method, the study examined the phenomenon as it presented itself in the consciousness of 10 participants and revealed in their interview data. The analysis of the data revealed the psychological structure of EDS and coping with EDS which is summarized in Figure 2.

The lived experience of EDS or the manner in which EDS presented itself in the consciousness of P comprises of the experiences of being judged, being marginalized, believing that social exclusion is not due to lack of merit but for maintaining upper caste hegemony, feeling dehumanized, disillusioned, angry, combative, helpless and demoralized.
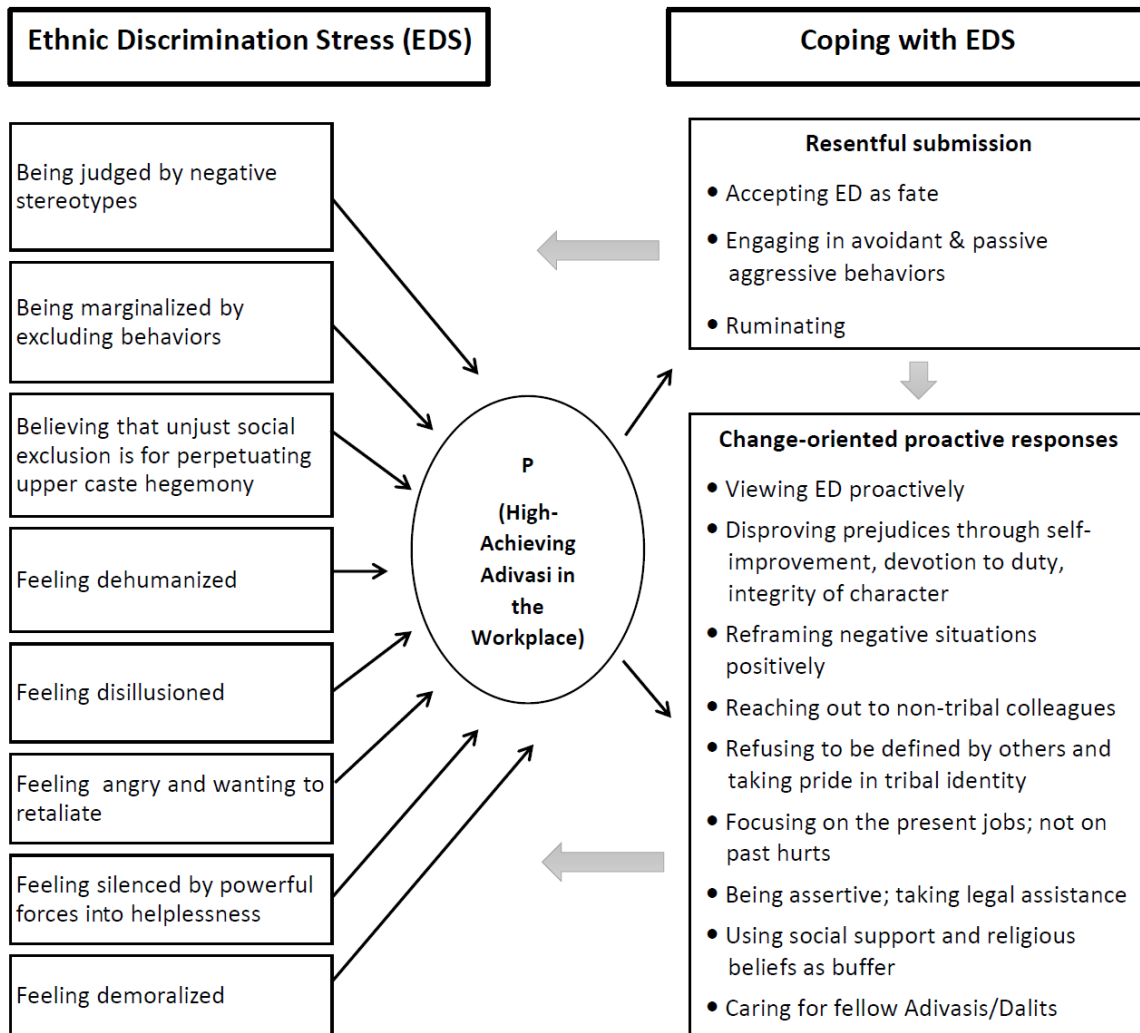
Figure 2. Lived experience of EDS and coping with EDS. This flowchart illustrates the constituents of EDS and coping with EDS in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis. Rectangles on the left with arrows denote the constituents of EDS as experienced by P. The two rectangles on the right with the two thick arrows denote the two major types of coping with EDS. The thick arrow pointing to the bottom denotes the movement from initial response to a later response.

The lived experience of coping with EDS involved P's reacting to the stress initially by resenting it but submitting to it eventually in helplessness. Resentful submission led to fatalistic thinking, ruminating, avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors. Gradually P experienced in varying degrees a movement toward a realistic

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assessment of discrimination as too deep-seated to be changed immediately and toward change-oriented proactive behaviors. Some of these proactive behaviors included disproving prejudices through self-improvement, devotion to duty and integrity of character; reframing negative situations positively; reaching out and interacting with non-tribal colleagues; refusing to be defined by the stereotypes and taking pride in tribal identity; focusing on the present duties and not on past hurts; being assertive and taking legal assistance; using support of family and friends as well as religious beliefs and practices as buffer against stress; and dedicating himself to caring for fellow Adivasis.

The results of the analysis presented above will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 will address topics such as (a) interpretation of the meaning of the psychological structures of EDS and of coping with EDS in reference to the varied experiences of the participants, (b) the theoretical and practical implications of the results, (c) linking the results to previous research and theory on EDS and coping with EDS, (d) implications for mental health counseling, (e) limitations of the study, and (f) recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the study was to examine the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis. In this concluding chapter, the results of the study (Chapter 4) will be discussed in relation to the research question and the purpose of the study (Chapter 1) as well as to associated literature in the field (Chapter 3). A brief presentation of the summary of the results will be followed by a detailed discussion on the results and the conclusions of the study that aims at interpreting their meaning and implications for mental health counselors and other communities interested in the topic. Limitations of the study will then be examined with regard to the design and methodology (Chapter 3), followed by recommendations for further research.

Summary of the Results

The lived experience of EDS among high-achieving Adivasis comprised of the experiences of (a) being judged on negative stereotypes of Adivais as uncivilized forest dwellers, inferior in social status, intelligence and competence; (b) being marginalized by excluding behaviors such as rejection, taunting, noncooperation, harassment, obstruction, forcing to quit and intimidation; (c) believing that social exclusion is not due to lack of merit but for maintaining upper caste hegemony; (d) feeling dehumanized by attitudes and behaviors that devalue, harass, ridicule or intimidate; (e) feeling disillusioned by the realization that academic and career achievements do not bring social acceptance, (f) feeling angry and combative against unjust treatment; (g) feeling silenced into

helplessness to fight against the powerful oppressive structures; and (h) feeling demoralized.

The lived experience of coping with EDS involved an initial reactive response of resentment eventually leading to submission in helplessness. This resentful submission gave rise to fatalistic thinking, ruminating, avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors. Gradually the participants experienced in varying degrees a movement toward a realistic assessment of discrimination as too deep-seated to be changed immediately and toward change-oriented proactive behaviors. Some of these proactive behaviors included (a) disproving prejudices through self-improvement, devotion to duty and integrity of character; (b) reframing negative situations positively; (c) reaching out and interacting with non-tribal colleagues; (d) refusing to be defined by the stereotypes and taking pride in tribal identity; (e) focusing on the present duties and not on past hurts; (f) being assertive and taking legal assistance; (g) using support of family and friends as well as of religious beliefs and practices as buffer against stress; and (h) caring for fellow Adivasis/Dalits.

Discussion of the Results

The research question the study addressed was: What is the lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress (EDS) in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The question entailed two parts: the lived experience of EDS and the lived experience of coping with EDS. The immersion in the large interview data of 272 pages from 10 participants and the identification of the psychological meanings of the experience of the phenomenon have revealed the constituent elements that make up the experience of EDS

and coping with EDS. The psychological structures of EDS and coping with EDS made up of their constituent elements were described in the previous chapter following Giorgi's (2009) descriptive psychological method. Giorgi (2009) states that the psychological structure, described at the end of the analysis, is not the final step in the research process. The structure should be used as the basis for further discussion and deeper understanding of "the unified dynamics taking place across varied experiences" (p. 200). Hence, in the following section, the structure of EDS and of coping with EDS will be discussed to further the understanding of the varied experiences of the participants.

EDS as a Progressive Movement Toward Demoralization

The findings indicate that there is a pattern in P's experience of EDS. In the EDS experience of all the participants, there is a progressive movement from exposure to discriminatory messages and behaviors toward demoralization as is evident in Table 3. Exposure to judgmental stereotypes of Advasis and the accompanying marginalization led to a belief that social exclusion by the upper caste people was not because of P's lack of education or competence but because they wanted to perpetuate their positions of superiority and power by subjugating the Adivasis. This belief, reinforced by dehumanizing experiences, led to the feelings of disillusionment, anger and combativeness. However, when faced with powerlessness and helplessness to change the unjust oppressive structures, the underlying belief led P to demoralization. This pattern is found in the EDS experiences of all the participants. Delineation of this pattern in one participant (P6) can help illustrate this progression from the starting point of being exposed to negative stereotypes to the final point of demoralization.

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Delineation of the pattern of progression to demoralization in P6.

P6 is first exposed to discriminatory messages.

Because the message was given to me by the senior officer that you are scheduled tribe, you are uncivilized, you cannot remain here, you cannot complete here… function is different, that type of message I had got on the first day only. (MU 6: 124)

P6 is exposed to discriminatory excluding behaviors.

And in fact, as per rule over there, whenever the registrar or some senior officer goes, I should have been given the officiating charges of the registrar. … I have not been considered. This definitely because I belong to this ST. … I feel very bad for that but, eh, because being a tribal. (MU 6: 81-85)

P6 believes that he is competent but marginalized to maintain upper caste hegemony.

We have never been accepted. We have been appointed only because government has made some policies. But the upper caste [people] have not changed their mind. … When you have everything, you are competent, but you are discriminated against, only because you belong to [ST]. And you can't fight. … When some ST candidates, eh, controlling the University, naturally the other people cannot digest that. (MU 6: 79, 99, 43)

P6 feels dehumanized.

And at that time also my senior officers told me that: "Look, Mr. P6, You have been posted in the faculty of XXX. That is one of the toughest faculties in the University. So we guarantee you, eh, you will not stay more than three months." [It was like] "So you have come from that area. You don't know anything about the culture of the University; you are like *Kol*." *Kol* means lowest level of persons; they are out of the society. (MU 6: 31)

P6 feels disillusioned.

Bitterness is still, eh, bitterness and the bad feeling is this, sir, that this is an educational institution. The higher authorities and officers, all are well qualified, well mannered, civilized. Some of them got excellent awards from the government and other organizations. So when I was selected in XXX University, I felt that really it is a very great honor to work in the University. And this is a kind of (audio unclear) of personal worth. But the mindset of these educated people (sarcastic tone), eh, not changed their mindset, eh, which might have divided the society, dividing in four groups of, eh, caste. (MU 6: 73)

P6 feels angry and wants to fight for his rights.

I had two-three feelings at that time, and still I have. One is, eh, was, fighting; that I should file FIR, eh, because I have been discriminated against which is covered under Atrocities Act. Because I am also a law graduate so I know that this is clearly discrimination. I know the names of the officers clearly who belong to the general category… And the University has already permitted them [to go on deputation]. Why are they not permitting me? It's only because I belong to this scheduled tribe. (MU 6: 61)

P6 feels silenced into helplessness.

Sir, eh, see, we have a kind of genes in our body, that to some extent we fight; but after thinking so many things because we have responsibilities and all that… And it is very easy for the authorities to … allege some charges ... frame inquiry committee and all that. Because I don't have any support… maybe my whole career will be washed out by these people and maybe I will not get my retirement benefit all that … There are so many things, so I kept quiet. (MU 6: 56, 69)

P6 feels demoralized and depressed.

Demoralization, by this I mean that, eh, I feel, eh, why to work? Why to perform your duties? Why to give more time to the office? And in case there is some happiness or festival is there, why to celebrate? … So the situation comes and these feelings that when you have everything, you are competent, but you are discriminated against… only because you belong to [ST]… And you can't fight. … It is burning; still it is burning, eh, in my heart … Burning means.... From childhood I have seen this discrimination; it hurts me and I feel that one should fight for this social cause. … But again it comes that at this stage if I fight everything will be ruined. There are family responsibilities and everything. … But I still feel and, eh, I controlled myself to go beyond this sadness or … I still say that it pinches; eh, it is still pinching and maybe as long as I'm alive it will pinch. … Burning within affects the mind, eh, when it affects the mind, thinking; then definitely it will affect your function, your behavior, and maybe your family. Or one can go on, eh, a person may commit suicide also. So this kind of feelings comes in my mind. … I can say that a living person is going on. We are sitting here but may be, he is not alive, like that. (MU 6: 101, 99, 72, 108, 80)

Some significant differences within the pattern. Though the above mentioned pattern is found in all the participants, the number of the elements within the constituents of this pattern and the degree of stress they caused varied from participant to participant. For example, the data indicate that all the participants felt judged by the negative

stereotypes. However, the stress it caused varied in degrees. P9 felt shocked by a statement that denigrated the tribal people:

> One professor asked to me how come you can speak English. That was a very shocking statement to hear. How I can speak English, I mean, was it expected that I should not be able to speak English being an Adivasi? I mean that was a shock and that triggered me… That has stuck in my mind and heart… that how people perceived about an Adivasi. (MU 9: 13)

Similarly, P4 felt so much stressed if someone made a derogatory comment about his tribal community that to protect his health he avoided such situations:

> Because it would have an effect on my health, you know. Every other day someone could pass a remark or behave in a manner which, eh, would be triggered because of my ethnicity; because of his derogatory assessment of my community. Then I also as a person will, eh, I also have my self-pride…. Well, I may belong to a particular ethnic group but I am also proud of my ethnicity. So once my pride gets affected, I cannot fight it out with them. I cannot beat them up; I cannot bash them up. Within the confines of civilized behavior, I have to react. I thought the best reaction was to, kind of building defensive mechanism, one of which was, eh, started being aloof (MU 4: 54).

If it was the belittling of the tribe that made P9, and P4 feel very much stressed, what made P3 feel very humiliated and angry was his being told that he got his job due to reservation quota whereas he had worked hard and had gained excellent results both academically and in competitive exams. For P1 it was the ignoring by the upper caste colleagues of his achievements solely due to his Adivasi identity and for P2, P5, P6, P7, P8 and P10 it was unfair transfer or denial of well-deserved promotion.

Assertiveness reduced excluding behaviors from others. The findings indicate that all the participants experienced being marginalized by excluding behaviors. It was found that P6 experienced all the eight excluding behaviors identified. However, P1 mentions only one such behavior; P5, two; and others four and above. The analysis of the

data indicates that what distinguishes P1 and P5 from others is their assertiveness. Their assertiveness reduced the number of marginalizing behaviors from others.

P1 had been exceptionally assertive in fighting for his rights. For example, he had challenged the officers in the Tehsil office when they asked for a bribe to get a caste certificate; and confronted bus conductors when they made a poor Adivasi get up to give her seat to a better dressed person. When P was not included for research projects, he pursued and completed his PhD so that he could continue research independently. Similarly P5 searched for and found foreign journals to get his research articles published when the institution that he was working for refused to publish them because there is "problem of English…. There's a problem with the arguments" (MU 5: 26). He even succeeded in getting membership in the editorial board of a foreign journal.

A study of the Table 4 further indicates that P1 had engaged in one negative coping behavior and eight of the 10 positive coping behaviors. P1 also introspected to identify what is objectively discriminatory behavior and what is not. When P1 was not included in a committee he considered himself as a natural choice, he tried to reason with himself in order to find out whether the feeling of discrimination was justified:

> Then I start reasoning with myself: Is it my feeling or is it his (boss's) feeling? … Then I start looking around. Of course these people are there equal to me and much better than me. They are also not party to it. … So why still can [this] be discrimination? Will he have a feeling that I have enough in my plate; therefore he is not engaging me. And there are many other things in which he is very supportive especially with the problems with students. So it may be the result of my own self-created, eh, so I don't get disturbed. I go to a bit of reasoning, eh, and find it out. (MU 1: 72)

Similarly, P5 engaged in seven proactive behaviors and only one negative behavior. He too introspected to cope with EDS: "I always do some kind of introspection,

type of self-evaluation. Am I really deficient? This kind of reevaluation of myself, eh, I'm convinced I'm not inferior to anyone" (MU 5: 62). In the cases of both P1 and P5 one notices an inverse relationship between assertive mindset and decreased marginalizing behaviors from others. One also notices an inverse relationship between assertive mindset and decreased negative coping behaviors and increased proactive behaviors. Similarly there appears to be also an inverse relationship between healthy introspection and negative coping. Further quantitative research is needed to establish these relationships.

In the case of P7, the results indicate no relationship between increased proactive behaviors and decreased excluding behaviors from others and decreased negative coping behaviors. In fact P7 was exposed to eight marginalizing behaviors but was engaged in all four negative coping behaviors and nine positive coping behaviors as well. This may be due to the fact that P7 had made a significant shift from resentful submission to change-oriented proactive behaviors in coping with EDS during his career journey. The data, in fact, reflect his responses both before and after the shift: "Ultimately I had to finally say: Leave it; whatever has happened has happened; I should move on now" (MU 7: 73). It is also noticed that he was able to achieve great career advancement as a result. The relationship between positive coping and career success is a topic for further research. This phenomenon will be discussed in greater detail in a later section.

Assertiveness that threatened the status quo was met with stiff resistance. Though in the case of P1 and P5 assertiveness helped to reduce excluding behaviors from the upper caste people, the same pattern is not indicated in the case of P2. Though P2 was very assertive, he experienced seven of the eight marginalizing behaviors from his

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workplace colleagues. He was also engaged in seven of the 10 proactive coping

behaviors and reported no negative coping behaviors. This may be due to the insecurity

he created in his upper caste bosses by his integrity of character and unrelenting stand

against injustice done against SC/ST employees.

> Honesty and cooperation and hard-working: this is the main strength for me
> because I cannot change all the people at random; because they are habituated to
> this [ethnic discrimination] I accepted that. That I belong to this [ST]; but work
> wise, I never compromised. And I did not; eh, I always tried to maintain this
> difference that this is not the way of talking. In the workplace and outside the
> workplace, eh, and this limitation I had always maintained. (MU 2: 20)

P2 explains further that he was opposed because he had become a threat and a

hindrance to his bosses in their goal of using the system to further their selfish interests:

> So on that point, instead of issuing the fresh order, they issued me a suspension
> order. So this was, eh, with mala fide intentions. Their aim was to keep me away
> from this workplace so that they can get more and more out of this position. And
> once I was away, what they did… They re-employed the other person as
> administration in-charge and the work which I had stopped because of the bad
> motive was implemented that time. (MU 2: 35)

Dehumanization From Marginalization—Central Element of EDS

Though the lived experience of EDS involves all the eight elements, the central

factor that has most impact on P seems to be the feeling of dehumanization from being

marginalized. What creates the feelings of disillusionment, anger, muted submission and

demoralization is the experience of being marginalized and the feeling of being

dehumanized by not being accepted like others with equal status, ignored, not taken

seriously, not respected, taken for granted, used, insulted, humiliated or intimidated. As

stated earlier, dehumanization involves depriving people of their identity as individual

human beings related to others in the human family and being denied their psychological

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needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness (Christoff, 2014). Faced with discriminatory behaviors, P1 questions, "How do I associate or how do I integrate with the rest of the world while it does not recognize [me]?" He goes on to say:

> So my identity as a human being is somewhat torn by the fact that I belong to a tribal community. This was the first realization that disturbed and disrupted my very conviction that I'm a human being equal to others, which was not the case. I have been made to realize that; that I am different and different because I belong to that community. So my identity was in a big question. I would say, eh, I was disturbed quite a bit. And I had to … reshape and identify a new identity. I was lost. (MU 1: 34)

Since P1 was not recognized by his colleagues in the workplace, he felt deprived of his identity as an individual human being related to others who are similar and equal to him. His needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness were not fulfilled in his workplace. Consequently, he turns to his religious faith, to his own community and to his benefactors to be his role models to construct a new identity:

> Who is my role model? Are my colleagues the role model? No. I think for me Jesus Christ is a role model and all the people who came to my rescue, they are my role models. And not these people who look upon us as, eh, and discriminated against us, eh, they are never our role models. So my identity, eh, I would consider, eh, the people who helped. (MU 1: 34)

When P9 was deprived of his rightful promotion on so-called procedural grounds with no consideration given to his committed service to the institution he served, he felt used as an object and not recognized as a human being. He felt betrayed. This feeling of dehumanization makes him want to redefine himself:

> See, that world is, eh, very challenging. It is to redefine oneself. And also to create space for oneself in a society which is not an Adivasi society. The world view is that you have to struggle. You have to create your own space, and if you're given an opportunity, anything is possible; eh, anything you can do. (MU 9: 72)

Faced with the dehumanizing experience of social exclusion, P2's response was to befriend his oppressor by understanding him and his perspectives:

So I have to think about how to win their faith. So far they have been doing good. But now they are running away from you because of this situation. So how to win back their friendship, eh, that relationship; eh, that's a big challenge. Secondly, I tried to find out what the boss expects from me. It is very important to find out why he is doing like this to me? (MU2: 95)

EDS and Internalized Oppression

The feeling of dehumanization is related to the concept of internalized oppression and internalized domination. Pheterson's (1990) description of internalized oppression is beneficial in understanding this relationship.

Internalized oppression is the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of the prejudices against them within the dominant society. Internalized oppression is likely to consist of self-hatred, self-concealment, fear of violence and feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Internalized oppression is the mechanism within an oppressive system for perpetuating domination not only by external control but also by building subservience into the minds of the oppressed groups (p. 35).

P1 clarifies this relationship between EDS and internalized oppression thus:

See right from the childhood, I have internalized that I am a tribal. Tribal would mean forest dweller. So you are not supposed to get education. You're not supposed to be in public domain. You are not worth contributing anything to the world. So that has affected so much our entire community…. and hence, it comes to a verge of internalization. It is how we grow up. It is not only getting from my parents. It's from the community. So that gets reiterated. And you become possessed with this feeling that you are a tribal, worthless, good for nothing; you can't get education; you don't have brains; you don't have good opinions, eh, ideology and all that, eh, which gets suppressed and it doesn't come out, eh, despite having so much to share to the world. (MU 1: 53)

The experience of internalized oppression is evident in P6's feeling of "burning within" due to his helplessness to go to court to fight for his rights because of his fear of

personal losses and in P3's writing to his boss "saying that I was leaving and going to commit suicide" because "You accuse me of many things, eh, because of your prejudice against me" (MU 3: 46) or in his wanting to take "leave and go away… because my junior is posted above me … [and] Rules have been changed in order to block me and to oblige someone else" (Mu 3: 56). The dehumanizing behaviors by the upper caste instilled in the minds of the participants, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, images that promoted a sense of shame and subservience. It is manifested in avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors to protect one's vulnerable self and in the unconscious tendency to see everything through the lens of ethnic discrimination. It is evident in P4's "tortoise mentality" that avoided vulnerable situations rather than confronting them assertively or in P10's sense of resignation as he states: "your voice will not be heard… So why to shout?" or in his aggressive approach to media people to protect his vulnerable self:

> I behave very curtly and very, eh, straightforwardly with XXX… Instead of answering their questions I ask them. Like: why should I answer you? That may be my frustration. I may not be doing, one can say consciously, eh, but many times, eh, you behave in a cynical way. (MU 10: 68)

EDS and Internalized Domination

The EDS that the participants experienced is associated not only with internalized oppression but also internalized domination. According to Pheterson (1990), internalized domination is:

> the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within a dominant group of prejudices against others. Internalized domination is likely to consist of feelings of superiority, normalcy, and self-righteousness, together with guilt, fear, projection, denial of reality, and alienation from one's body and from nature. Internalized domination perpetuates oppression of others and alienation from oneself by either denying or degrading all but a narrow range of human possibilities. One's own humanity is thus internally restricted and one's qualities

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of empathy, trust, love, and openness to others and to life-enhancing work become rigid and repressed. (p. 35)

Internalized domination in India is the result of the caste system that was perpetuated for centuries. The caste system is generally perceived as a hierarchical stratification of the society based on the various functions of the society with those who performed more important roles to appropriate to themselves all the power (Jeffrey, 2001). Whereas the Brahmins, Kshatrias and the Vaishyas appropriated to themselves religious, political and economic power in different degrees, the Sudras were relegated to manual labor and menial jobs (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). The Dalits and the Adivasis who were considered to be the lowest in the hierarchy were reduced to the status of untouchables not worthy of interacting with the upper classes. Mahatma Gandhi called them *Harijans*, which means the beloved of God. The underlying belief of the caste system as it was practiced is perceived to be a mistaken notion of the inequality of human beings—that some were born to rule and others to serve.

The results of the study indicate that P was subject to attitudes and behaviors that arose from internalized domination of the upper caste coworkers. Presence of the phenomenon of internalized domination in P's upper caste colleagues, superiors and subordinates is evident in the belief of the participants that they were educated and competent and that complaints of incompetency and the mocking reference to reservation quota were a ploy to perpetuate upper caste hegemony. P1 believes his achievements were ignored to maintain the myth of upper caste superiority. P2 believes his annual appraisal was graded low to stop his promotion so that the upper caste colleagues don't have to work under an Adivasi. P3 believes that rules were changed to give undue

advantage to an upper caste coworker to promote him. P4 believes that plum government postings were reserved for the upper caste colleagues. P5 believes that ingenious ways are used by the upper caste bosses to block the Adivasis from progressing. P6 believes: "Ah, when some reserved persons or ST candidates are controlling the University, naturally the other people cannot digest that" (MU 6: 14). P7 thinks that his application for teaching post was not taken up because "They don't like a category fellow to be amongst them. That's how our applications have never been taken up" (MU 7: 70). P8 believes he was given a transfer order "Because I am in a commanding position and not taking order" like a clerk (MU 8: 39). P9 believes that the upper caste seniors blocked his promotions because they were afraid that "I could bend some of the rules and regulations of the Institute which might be unpleasant for them, for the management" (MU 9: 41). P10 believes that the upper caste people irrespective of their competence and work performance will always get better postings as he states: "If you are a Singh, whatever Singh you are, you are in a better position" (MU 10: 43).

These beliefs arose from the participants being exposed to the three negative stereotypes and eight marginalizing behaviors that were promoted by the upper caste colleagues, superiors and subordinates as discussed above. The participants perceived them as messages and behaviors from the upper caste that were intended to marginalize them and keep them under subservient positions. The participants perceive such messages and behaviors as coming from a deep-seated mindset. P6 articulates it clearly:

> So it shows that we have never been accepted. We have been accepted, eh, meaning appointed by the government agencies only because government has made some policies. There is a provision in the Constitutions of India. Only that is the reason we have been appointed. But the concept and the mindset of the people, eh, the higher caste people, may be Brahmins or Rajputs, eh, whatsoever,

eh, the upper caste have not changed their mind. They are applying or allowing to, eh, apply this rule because the government is there; Court is there. (MU 6: 79)

However, the participants also refer to the fact that the humiliating messages were not often consciously intended to offend them; they arose from an unconscious sense of internalized oppression. For example, P10 feels hurt when his upper caste batch mate of many years of acquaintance comments that "the tribals [sic] there [in XXX] are having good life" (MU 10: 31). P10 explains it further:

> Although he's my batch mate, eh, he knows that I am a tribal also. Even then he made that comment as though tribals don't need or have a right to a better life; eh, although I know him since I joined the service, he's like that only. That is one perception; eh, extreme perception one person has towards Adivasis. The perception may change, eh, rather varies from one person to another. But the perception of that scale, eh, to some extent it won't go to the other extreme, eh, where the other non-tribals or non-Adivasis will treat Adivasis equally. His assumption is always like: tribals are very simple; eh, they don't need anything; eh, why should they have everything? The tribals are like this, eh, what commonly in books one hears. That is the bookish knowledge, one can say. Although he has stayed in this area for quite a long time; but even then that perception has not changed. I know him; eh, I know him, eh, and in a good way one can say, eh, the past XXX years I know him. MU 10: 32, 34)

Tappan (2006) argued that internalized oppression and internalized domination should be conceptualized more as appropriated oppression and appropriated domination. They should be considered more as sociocultural phenomena that are appropriated and hence, can be challenged and transformed and not merely as a psychological reality that is so internalized that it is almost impossible to change. According to him, a purely psychological conceptualization ignores the role of the structural forces and cultural tools including the family, education, and the media in generating and regenerating both privilege and oppression.

Coping with EDS—From Resentful Submission to Proactive Responses

The findings indicate a progression in the way P coped with the EDS. The underlying belief that the unjust stereotyping and social exclusion is for maintaining upper caste hegemony and the gradual demoralization led to a resentful submission manifested in fatalistic thinking, ruminating and avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors. In the case of P, the story doesn't end there. What stands out in P is the progression from resentful submission to change-oriented proactive responses manifested in varying degrees. This pattern of progression is evident in all the participants as is evident in Tables 4.

P7 is a good example to demonstrate the progression in the way he coped with EDS. After being demoralized by his discriminatory experiences, P7 moves from resentful submission to change-oriented proactive behaviors. P7's story in his own words can substantiate the point:

Resentful submission.

Avoidant behavior.

"I just put in writing that I did not like this transfer and I went off. For nearly 89 days I did not join" (MU 7: 34).

Ruminating.

"You are not going to your workplace; eh, what is your future now? Now again you will join and what things will be done against you? And, eh, things like that kept on coming to your mind" (MU 7: 65).

Fatalistic Thinking.

"But at the end I realized nothing is coming out… So I should take some step; eh, like, eh, you just accept your fate" (MU 7: 66).

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Change-oriented proactive responses.

Realistic acceptance of the situation.

"Ultimately I had to finally say: Leave it, eh, whatever has happened has happened. I should move on now… I had to grow actually" (MU 7: 73-74).

Disproving negative stereotype through self-improvement.

Yeah, I had to actually change my ways. Getting angry, just leaving and going away, I thought that was not the answer. I should change … I accepted it… I went through all the hurdles…. thinking at the end I will achieve my aim. (MU 7: 88)

P 7 goes on to say:

I went for training for super specialization … after that I became slightly more confident in my work … Then I used to devote lots of time for my work. And I ventured into those areas, eh, like, eh, at my level people don't go normally. (MU 7: 77-78)

Focusing on present jobs not past hurts.

When I joined back, I thought of being serious with my day-to-day work. So instead of concentrating on all those forms of things that had occurred the past, I just devoted my time, full time to my work. And, eh, I achieved a lot of things. (MU 7: 76-77).

Reaching out to non-tribal colleagues and interacting with them.

In a way, I see there is no point in [the policy that] if someone disrespects you, you should also disrespect him. At least give him that opportunity to learn, work under you in good circumstances. And that has become my focus. … Ultimately, they realize. We become patient. We don't react, eh, at that time only. Gradually we tell them and gradually they also learn; eh, that your outlook is not like that of others; eh, but different from the others. And they tried to mend their ways. (MU 7: 81)

Owning and taking pride in Adivasi identity.

But somehow I felt that running away from your own identity won't solve my problem. Basically, you have to actually know your background, eh, your own background, eh, oneself. (MU 7: 94)

Reframing negative situations positively.

We definitely are having these privileges [reservation benefits]. Somehow I feel that we are like the chosen race. We are the chosen people of India. I keep on telling my people…. I used to tell my fellow-tribals …. If you're given an opportunity [it is] because you are the chosen people of India. Think like that, eh, and you become great, eh, like the people of Israel. God has chosen them; eh, like you are the chosen people of India. You should not feel that you are being …. This is a privilege given to you. You should make the best out of this privilege. (MU 7: 87)

Caring for fellow Adivasis.

Somehow I've been able to, eh, when, eh, I narrate my experiences to my fellow brethren, eh, in other places, they also learn from me basically. I'm able to tell them how to overcome their problems also … my experience sharing, of telling them how to approach a problem. (MU 7: 93)

In the above extracts P7's progression from fatalistic rumination and passive-aggressive behaviors to proactive thinking and productive choices is clearly evident. By accepting his situation realistically and working on himself and his mindset, P7 sidesteps negativity and proves his worth with his life. He doesn't run away from his tribal identity; nor does he buy into the negative ethnicity-related stereotypes imposed on him by the upper caste. He counters the lack-of-merit stigma attached to reservation quota by reframing it as a privilege that makes the Adivasis a "the chosen race", "the chosen people of India"— a privilege similar to that of Israelites who considered themselves the chosen people of God. He confronts meanness and disrespect with nobility and firmness and creates for himself and others a positive work environment. P7 redefines himself as an Adivasi who is inferior to none and reaches "a position [where] I can influence anything … [where] that type of discrimination does not occur with me" (MU 7: 75). However, the words "that type of discrimination" may imply that a different type of discrimination continued.

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Though this progression is evident in all the participants, the pace of progression and the level of proactive coping vary. All did not reach the level of proactive coping P7 reached. Neither P7 nor any other participants reached a stage devoid of ethnic discrimination. However, all demonstrated in varying degrees their ability to cope with the stress in a more productive way. The findings reveal that all 10 participants engaged in both positive and negative coping. They were engaged in 10 specific positive coping behaviors in comparison to four specific negative coping responses. When all the coping responses were totaled, they were engaged in 65 positive and 23 negative responses. In other words, all the participants except P10 engaged in more proactive responses than negative responses. One wonders if there is relationship between the positive coping behaviors of the participants and their career success. Further research is needed to explore this relationship.

Resilience—the foundation of proactive coping. The progression from negative coping to positive coping shows resilience on the part of the participants. Resilience refers to one's ability to learn from adverse situations and build protective factors that enable one to face future adversities with greater strength and protect oneself from being disturbed by them (Richardson, 2002). Resilience involves surviving an adversity or stress without getting destroyed by it but learning from it.

The word *survive* in its different forms was used 36 times in the interview data: one each in P1and P5; three times in P6; four times in P4; six times each in P2 and P10 and 15 times in P8. The word does not appear in P3, P7, and P9. However, the stories that all the participants narrated were narratives of survival against odds in different degrees. P1, P5 and P6 speak of survival as a tribal instinct. In fact, P5 says tribal people either

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fought to protect their settlements or shifted to other places as a survival strategy. The

word was also used in relation to survival strategies such as seeing things in a positive

way (P2), ducking and withdrawing (P4), working hard to prove one's worth to gain

acceptance and fighting for one's rights (P6), and submitting to survive (P6, P8, P10).

The analysis of the presence in the text of the word, *survive,* gives only a partial

picture of the resilience exhibited in the interview data. However, the overall sense that

emerges from the interview data of all the participants is one of constant struggle to

survive the system that was pitted against them. They survived first by submitting with

resentment and then adapting to the adverse situations proactively leading to reduced

resentment. Resilience in coping with EDS will be discussed in more detail in the next

section in relation to Richardson's resilience theory.

Cynicism—a barrier to proactive coping. The findings indicate that P10

engaged in all the four negative coping behaviors and only in two proactive coping

responses. What differentiates him from others could be his cynicism. P10 states: "I may

not be doing, one can say consciously… but many times… you behave in a cynical way"

(MU 10: 68). Dean, Brandes, and Dharwadkar (1998) define organizational cynicism as

"a negative attitude toward the organization, comprising certain types of belief, affect and

behavioral tendencies" (P. 350). It includes the belief that the organization lacks integrity

as well as attitudes and behaviors that are critical and denigrating. P10 admits that he

"may not be able to react immediately…. or react in a verbal or in action" (MU 10: 40);

but when he does "I behave very curtly and very… straightforwardly" (MU 10: 41). He

goes on to say that "we are just passing time or just, eh, well, this is the reality; we have

to accept it, one can say" (MU 10: 41) because "in the present system, it becomes very

difficult to react and survive also" (MU 10: 42) and "If you react you will be posted in a very different way and without reaction also…. But you will be given as last alternative, you may say" (MU 10: 44). He became cynical due to the futility of reacting:

> Minority, eh, because, eh, like in school days also, eh, I was one among the 60 students… How would you react? There is no supporter, eh, or to justify whatever you want to say… Similarly in the workplace also your voice will not be heard; so why to shout…. And one of the traits of the… eh, you won't get support from your Adivasi colleagues also (Laughs). (MU 10: 61)

Further research is needed to explore this relationship between cynicism and negative coping.

Discussion of the Conclusions

In this section the findings of the current study will be discussed in relation to existing literature and theories related to EDS. The results are discussed in order to further the conversation on the topic of EDS and coping with EDS among the Adivasis. Attempts will be made to identify specific contribution the current study makes to the scholarly discourse on the topic of EDS in the field of mental health counseling.

Discussion of the Conclusions in Relation to the Literature

Racial/ethnic discrimination in the workplace. Brooks and Clunis's (2007) review of literature from 1980 to 2005 underlined the need for qualitative studies that address the complexity of workplace discrimination that affects the training, performance appraisal, and promotion in relation to social structures since most studies were focused on just identifying discriminatory practices. The findings of the present study contribute to the understanding of this complex relation and the underlying dynamics. P2 and P7

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reported that their bosses objected to deputing them for training program. P2 states:

"Since I belong to this caste, they never deputed me for any training program" (MU 2:

32). P7 states that "people had objected why I was going for … super-specialization" the

completion of which later made him "more confident in his work" leading to career

advancement (MU 7: 77). Not deputing Adivasi officers for training programs had the

ulterior motive of blocking their career advancement and sharing of power.

P2 explains that the dynamics behind delaying or blocking the promotion of

Adivasis by the upper caste bosses was to promote and place their own men and continue

to exert power: " they have framed the charge sheet on baseless grounds just to harm me

... their main motive was to spoil my career… And they wanted to stop my promotion"

(MU 2: 52).

P2 further states:

Their aim was to keep me away from this workplace so that they can get more and
more out of this position. And once I was away, eh, they re-employed the other
person as administration in-charge and the work which I had stopped because of
the bad motive, eh, was implemented that time. (MU 2: 35)

P2 goes to on to say that the lower rating of Adivasi officers in the annual

confidential report was with the male fide intention of blocking their promotion: "there is

a rating system; for them it will be, *very good, very good*, and for us it will be simply

good … he will simply…earn *very good* in CR rating and he will get that position"

(MU2: 48).

P9 clarifies the motives behind these discriminatory practices was to perpetuate

the subjugation and marginalization of the Adivasis in order to perpetuate upper caste

hegemony:

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Why do I say blocked [from being promoted]... See, if I become a professor, I can become a part of the key committee, key bodies of decision-making at the Institute level... I will be a part of it... I could become a Dean of the school now.... So I will be a part of key decision-making bodies. So I could argue I could bend some of the rules and regulations of the Institute which might be unpleasant for them, for the management. (MU 9: 41)

The results indicate that the discriminatory experiences of high-achieving Adivasis of India were similar to those of African-American men as revealed in Mong and Roscigno's (2010) study. The discriminatory experiences included unfair denial of promotion, discriminatory allotment of work and disparate workload, unfair evaluations, intimidation through threats of transfer, racial slurs, taunting, social exclusion and neglect of employee needs. As in the case of Adivasis, the discriminatory actions against African-American men were justified on the assumption that recruitment through affirmative action lacked merit despite clear evidence of seniority, educational qualification and absence of negative evaluations. The current study, however, did not find evidence for discriminatory practices in remuneration probably due to the existence of strong government policies for the protection of the tribal people.

Meares et al. (2004) in their narrative study of employee mistreatment and muted voice in culturally diverse workplace showed that two ways of silencing the minority group was repetition of discriminatory practices and promoting ambiguous policies both of which were found in the current study as well. Meares et al. identified the response to the injustices as (a) muted but engaged, (b) angrily disengaged, and (c) resigned. The present study instead found that the high-achieving Adivasis progressed in varying degrees from resentful submission to muted but proactive engagement. The main strategies the Blacks used to survive and succeed in career advancement were education

and training, social networking, career self-management, and mentoring (Palmer & Johnson-Bailey, 2005). The participants in the current study also used these strategies together with community and religious support network to survive and to progress.

Microaggressions. The results of the study indicate that flagrant discriminatory practices have lessened considerably in India since the open practice of untouchability or discrimination on the basis of caste is punishable under Indian laws such as *The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989*. However, as in developed countries, open racial/ethnic discrimination has increasingly been replaced by microaggressions (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2002; Sue, 2003, 2005) which are those "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges, which are put-downs" (Hochberg, 2008, p. 20). The findings of the study indicate that P's experience of EDS was related to the microaggressions as defined by Sue et al. (2007) as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults that potentially have harmful or unpleasant psychological impact on the target person or group" (p. 72). P experienced all the three types of microaggressions identified by Sue et al. (2007): *microassault, microinsult* and *microinvalidation*.

Microassaults are explicit verbal or nonverbal conduct that is meant to hurt a minority community member by purposeful discriminatory actions including taunting, avoiding interracial interactions, and preferential behaviors towards other community members (Sue et al., 2007). It is old racism in new skin but practiced openly in safe environments or in a fit of anger without thinking. P6 experienced microassaults in not being made to feel welcome in the workplace. P3 felt alienated from interactions with

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upper caste colleagues as well as from committee membership; P8 felt excluded from social gatherings and recreational activities; P1 from research projects; P2 from voluntary groups; P5, P1, and P9 from academic fraternity.

Microinsults involve intentional or unintentional verbal or nonverbal communications that show rudeness or insensitivity to people of minority communities that belittle their culture and heritage on assumptions of inferior intelligence or capability, second class status, criminality and abnormal cultural values or communication styles (Sue et al., 2007). All the participants experienced microinsults in the negative stereotypes about Adivasis as uncivilized forest dwellers of inferior intelligence and competence. P4's and P10's upper caste colleagues congratulate them for speaking English well, which betrays their assumption that Advasis are not generally capable of speaking English well. P4 believes that when the people from the general category say that tribal people are not good in mathematics, their assumption is that tribal people are less intelligent. When P10's upper caste colleague commented that the Adivasis in XXX have a good standard of life, P10 perceived his colleague's assumption to imply that Adivasis are not entitled to have a good life as they are forest dwellers. P4 felt insulted when P4's colleague's father made a comment at a social gathering that the standard in XXX institution has deteriorated due to the increased number of tribal students there. P3 felt insulted as a student because he was called by his place name to distinguish him from the students of general category. P4 remembered feeling insulted as a young student by the teacher when a comment was made that Adivasis are like underdeveloped people of other continents. So did P2 feel insulted when his boss considered him as a Kol, meaning lowest group outside the caste system in India.

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Similarly, when P8's colleagues refuse to share P8's food, P8 is made to feel that he is inferior to his colleagues in social status.

Microinvalidations are communications that do not give importance to or take seriously the psychological experiences of a person of a minority community and dismiss them as trifles with statements like, "Don't be oversensitive" or "Don't be petty" (Sue et al., 2007). The results indicate that P was not exposed to many microinvalidations. However, this is evident in the fear P10 has of being considered over-reactive. The following lengthy extract reveals the inner struggle that goes on within as he struggles to articulate the microvalidation he faced:

> Because in our so called official atmosphere, discrimination you can't do so… Although it is an obvious thing but even then can't say you are discriminating … or making a point of discrimination would be unethical on your part… Everyone will think that being in that position you're trying to show that color, eh, rather there is an inherent contradiction also; eh, obviously or openly he has not done anything. It might be my overreaction; eh, it might be considered…It hurts, eh, personally, eh, because it is not, eh, means, you are seeing it, facing it. Definitely it hurts, eh, because it is very difficult to show that angle, eh, and as I was telling, it is inherent. Many times it is not actual discrimination; eh, it's inherent. It comes out, eh, because they have some assumptions. It is not a very conscious effort; eh, but unconsciously also it comes out; eh, means many things are unconsciously, eh, it has been assumed that, they are like that, eh, or they will react like that. Many assumptions are, eh, as if it is a fact, like a myth, eh, they have accepted it regarding Adivasis.

Research studies on African-American population indicate the presence of greater number of microinvalidations than microassaults and microinsults. The fact that the participants in the current study suffered more microassaults and microinsults than microinvalidations indicates that ethnic discrimination in India is more overt than in the US in spite of the constitutional guarantees for equality and fraternity and points to the urgency to do more to create a discrimination-free environment in the workplace in India.

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Sue et al. (2008) in their study of microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans identified five message groups: "You do not belong," "You are abnormal," "You are intellectually inferior," "You are untrustworthy," and "You are all the same." If the findings of the study were to be organized under similar message groups that high-achieving Adivasis were exposed to they will be: "You don't matter," "You are inferior," "You don't deserve," "You are born to serve and we to rule."

Jay's (2009) study of African American educators highlight reluctance on the part of the White colleagues to recognize and accept the authority of a person of color. The current study indicates that the reluctance to accept the authority of P was from a deep-seated upper caste mindset that the Adivasis were meant to serve the upper caste. In the case of P, he too had to face deliberate noncooperation from his superiors, colleagues and subordinates, that was intended to make it so difficult for P to function that he would quit. P6 articulates this experience thus: "And still I remember that one branch, they used to not to cooperate. Their objective was not to cooperate… so that the branch officer fails and goes away from here" (MU 6: 122).

The three major microaggressions identified in studies involving African-American groups are: assumptions of criminality/second class citizen; underestimation of personal ability and cultural/social isolation (Lewis et al., 2004; Sue et al., 2008; Torres et al., 2010). However, the current study indicates no assumptions of criminality in the case of Adivasis.

Coping with ethnic discrimination stress. Mellor et al. (2009) found that the members of Mapuche tribe in Chile coped with discrimination stress by reinterpreting the discriminatory experience as not intentional on the part of the discriminator and by

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accepting the discriminatory situation as normal besides using other strategies. The results of the present study indicate that the participants used proactive ways to cope with discriminatory situations but never accepted it as normal or considered it as unintentional on the part of the upper caste colleagues. They used their limited resources to assert themselves even in their helplessness.

Borders and Liang (2011) found angry rumination on discriminatory experiences partially mediated the relation between perceived ethnic discrimination and psychological distress. However, the findings of the current study on rumination corroborates those of Karoly (1999) that high-functioning people have the capacity for reorienting their focus on their goals in the face of failures without ruminating on the reasons for those failures. The participants in the present study moved on from rumination to positive thinking and proactive coping. The current study also support Alvarez and Juang's (2010) finding on Filipino Americans that active coping involved positive reframing, and task-focused problem solving. Similarly, the current study also reinforces Jackson et al.'s (2013) finding in their study of multiethnic Mexican Americans that pride in one's ethnicity helped one to be more connected and less isolated.

The findings of the present study found in high-achieving Adivasis some of the characteristics Richie et al., (1997) identified in their research involving 11 high achieving African-American women and 11 high achieving White women who were exposed to racism and/or sexism. These characteristics were strength and perseverance, internal standards of judgment, passion for work, and relational orientation. Their suggestion that helping an individual to identify and articulate oppressive elements of one's larger sociocultural context can normalize one's experience and help gain new

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perspectives in coping with the barriers of racial discrimination can be very helpful in the Indian context.

In contrast to Allison's (2010) finding about some professional Black women's "re-imaging the Afrocentric self" (p. 89) by shifting mindsets, speech, behaviors and even appearance as a strategy to adapt and to survive the stereotyped image of being professionally inferior, the present study found that the high-achieving Adivasi professionals focused on redefining themselves in the changed context without sacrificing their Adivasi identity. However, the present study corroborates Volpone and Avery's (2013) findings that workplace discrimination resulted in psychological withdrawal (manifested in burnout) leading to physical withdrawal (manifested in lateness, absenteeism and intent to quit). In the current study seven participants engaged in avoidant behavior for a period of time.

The results of the current study corroborate the findings of Birzer and Smith-Mahdi's (2006) study that the underlying core feelings in EDS were fear, frustration, anger and depression irrespective of the age of the discriminated or the type of discriminatory experiences. However, the current study has added to the findings greater scientific rigor and depth through Giorgi's Phenomenological methodology. The feelings of disillusionment, anger, demoralization and resentful submission find echo in Kübler-Ross's (1997) model of the five stages of grief when one is confronted with imminent death of oneself or another—denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. For P the experience of EDS in the beginning was like death of his sense of identity and he went through similar stages. However, what emerges in the study is more in conformity with Bonanno's rigorous research that identified psychological resilience to be the core

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factor in human beings when faced with extreme stress related to traumatic losses and consequent grief (Bonanno, 2004).

Indian research related to EDS among Adivasis. The marginalization that the participants experienced is in conformity with the earlier research finding that though the tribal people have stronger acculturation attitude of integration, their higher education and social mobility can lead to greater marginalization (Mishra & Chaubey, 2002; Mishra et al., 1996; Ram, 1990). The meaninglessness that P1 experienced in spite of his educational and career achievements and his desire to go back to his village to experience the spontaneous uncomplicated social relationships support de Kertanguy and Andronikof's (2004) finding that the interpersonal relationship of the tribal people could be understood only in relation to their cultural environment, traditional symbolic means of communication and sociological structure. In this regard, the current study also emphasizes the need to develop research methods that resonate with Indian ethos and reflect the rich psychological contents in Indian classical writings instead of blindly depending on concepts, theories and methods developed by the west (Dalal & Misra, 2010; Mishra, 2006).

The present study supports the findings of Biswas and Pandey (1996) that socioeconomic mobility did not improve perception of status for SC/ST groups and does not support Howard and Prakash's (2011) finding that reservation contributed to social status. The participants showed significant level of occupational aspirations though Jhaj and Grewal (1976) in their studies found that occupational aspirations of the Adivasis were the lowest. The present study supports Tummala-Narra et al.'s (2011) findings that racial identity mediated the relationship between racial discrimination stress and self-

esteem and collective coping through active interactions with family and ethnic community members. Carson et al.'s (2002) finding that there is a correlation between invulnerability and high family protection among SC/ST adolescents finds support in the present study since six participants reported about family encouragement and support contributing to their success.

Discussion of the Conclusions in Relation to Theories

Being a phenomenological inquiry, the current study was not framed within any particular theory. In fact, constant bracketing of theoretical considerations was done throughout the process of data collection and analysis. However, the conclusions of the study find echo in the tenets of critical race theory, social stress model, and resilience theory.

Critical race theory (CRT). The findings of the study indicate that the EDS experience of Adivasis can be better understood within the framework of CRT. CRT is a "radical legal movement that seeks to transform the relationship among race, racism, and power" (Delgado et al., 2012, p. 183).   CRT holds that racism is systemic and endemic and not just aberrational. Within this thinking, the idealists believe that race is a social construction and that racial discrimination is related to thinking patterns, mental categories, attitudes and discourse. Hence, racial discrimination can be defanged only by changing the "system of images, words, attitude, unconscious feelings, scripts and social teachings" (Delgado et al., p. 21) that support and nourish negative stereotypes to define certain category of people. The realists, on the other hand, believe that racism is more than just perpetration of negative stereotypes about a particular group but "a means by

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which society allocates privileges and status" (Delgado et al., p. 25) and advocates structural changes that increase power sharing to demolish the unjust appropriation of undeserved privileges and statuses. The findings of the present study corroborate both the idealist and realist positions.

ED as systemic and endemic and not just aberrational. The results of the study indicate that the participants experienced ED as systemic and endemic. Discrimination was not just aberrational, not an occasional deviation from the otherwise non-discriminatory work environment but a pervasive force that affected the whole workplace. It was experienced as something that was built into the system. Internalized caste mindset both of the upper caste and the Adivasis was the lifeblood that sustained the unjust social structure. P6 experienced it on the day he joined duty: "Because the message was given to me by the senior officer that you are scheduled tribe, you are uncivilized, you cannot remain here, you cannot complete here… function is different.... that type of message I had got on the first day only" (MU 6: 124). P9 states: "The people who are in power... are from the higher caste. And always they look for opportunities…. Always look for occasions where they will block the opportunities" (MU 9: 40).

ED as a system that secures privileges and status. P is disillusioned by the recognition that his educational achievements, economic advancement and the career status did not improve his social status. In other words, his advancement did not change the upper caste mindset or the disempowering dominant discourse based on the perception of Adivasis as inferior. However, P's proactive responses to the stress helped him to cope with it; they did not significantly change his status or bring about systemic changes. P's experiences indicate that structural changes are called for that will increase

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sharing of power, privileges and statuses as advocated by the realists in CRT. P was also

unable to create a counter discourse due to his minority status, powerlessness and lack of

organizational support. His change oriented proactive responses were directed more

toward survival rather than flourishing.

> The preamble of the Constitution of India pledges
>
> to secure to all its citizens: JUSTICE, social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.

The reservation policy that has been built into the Constitution of India (1950/2012) in

articles 16(4), (4A), and (4B) is a revolutionary step in bringing about systemic changes

to secure to all its citizens equality of status and opportunity. The reservation policy was

considered both as compensatory discrimination in favor of SC/ST population for the

exploitation they suffered for centuries due to the oppressive caste system as well as

affirmative action meant to ensure a level playing field for them to catch up with the

mainstream development (Galanter, 1997). It assumes that a race between those who

have been given opportunities to train themselves for centuries and others who were

denied such opportunities cannot be a fair race. It is essential first to give the latter

sufficient time to understand and to utilize the opportunities before judging their

competence by the results of an unequal race.

However, the need for a more effective implementation of the reservation policy

in order to further structural changes is also borne out by hard ground realities in India

today. Sixty-six years of affirmative action has not bridged the disparities in

socioeconomic indexes. SC/ST poverty rate is 65.8% in comparison to 33% of the rest of

India (ILO, 2011) and the SC/ST literacy rate is 59% compared to 73% at the national level (Census of India, 2011). Similarly only 19.2% of the tribal workforce is employed in non-agricultural non-household-industry-work whereas 41.6% of the nation's workforce are employed in the same works.

According to the report of NCSCST (2001), only about 3.52% of total A-grade officers in Services in central government ministries and departments, in all public sector enterprises, banks and financial institutions belong to STs whereas they form 8.2% of the Indian population. Besides in the private sector 90% of the job market falls outside the current reservation policy (Thorat & Aryama, 2010). Haq (2012) found that reservation for SC/ST/OBC (Other Backward Classes) in the private sector is met with stiff opposition from multinational corporations (MNCs) because of their meritocracy mindset. Haq further reports that discriminatory practices in MNCs are intended to further their "preferential employment based on social networks, religion or social class and status" (p. 910). In order to check discrimination in the workplace, it is recommended that MNCs follow *The Dalit Discrimination Check (*IDSN, 2008), a tool based on human-rights-related national and international laws to help companies to streamline its policies, procedures and practices at workplace to avoid human rights violations.

Opposition to reservation policy—an attempt to protect caste privileges and status. The upper caste people critique and oppose the reservation policy on the grounds of deterioration of quality and "a negative force that reinforce inequality and caste identity" (Banerjee-Dube, 2014). However, the findings indicate that the belittling attitudes, discourse and behaviors of the upper caste people toward the participants were

a desperate attempt to perpetuate upper caste hegemony. This is evident in the findings that even high-achieving Adivasis, in spite of their educational and career achievements, have been painted with the same brush of inefficient quota candidates. P9 who attained his position after competing against general candidates and not on reservation quota had been discriminated against by creating so-called procedural barriers in his promotion. In order to expose and challenge such skewed thinking, more quantitative and qualitative studies on the implementation and effects of reservation policy on the development of ST population are recommended.

The discriminatory behaviors of the upper caste arise from a deep-seated fear that power shared is power reduced or power lost forever. P2 states:

> Secondly, I tried to find out what the boss expects from me. It is very important to find out why he is doing like this to me? But I found; eh, my boss was not very well-educated compared to me… But he was holding good position because of the political support. And he used to exploit benefits from it. So I knew the situation. … So I did not want to confront him directly, whether you want or not you just have to accept the situation. I used to try to understand my boss so that I can bring down the level of the conflict. (MU2: 95)

The above extract point to a fear in the upper caste that the emergence of an educated and competent lower caste will deprive them of the power and privileges they have been enjoying so far. So the creation and dissemination of negative stereotypes of Adivasis as uncivilized, incompetent and less intelligent serves the purpose of retaining their power and position as the saying goes: Give the dog a name and hang it. The participants believed that the devaluation of the Adivasis based on the stigma of reservation quota is an attempt to hang on to their privileges.

Turning the reservation policy into a symbol of discredit and ridicule may be seen as a clever ploy used by the upper caste to continue the devaluation and marginalization

of the emerging group of enlightened and educated Adivasis. However, P7 reframed the reservation policy in a manner that can motivate and empower the Adivasis as a privilege to be enjoyed and celebrated and not as stigma to be endured.

 Ethnicity as social construction and the cause of silencing. CRT holds that race is socially constructed and that "a principal obstacle to racial reform is majoritarian mindset—the bundle of presuppositions, received wisdoms, and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant group bring to discussions of race" (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). Silencing of the marginalized is caused by structural determinism according to which widely held thoughts and practices determine important social outcomes, generally without conscious awareness (Delgado et al., 2012). CRT considers storytelling, counterstorytelling and naming one's own reality as a powerful means to analyze, expose, challenge and change these bedrock beliefs. It is also critical to create a new vocabulary to name one's reality and to expose and challenge the discriminatory beliefs, thoughts and attitudes that are embedded in the dominant discourse in an unconscious manner. Delgado et al. argue: "It is hard to think about something that has no name, and it is difficult to name something unless one's interpretive community has begun talking and thinking about it" (2012, p. 31). However, the Adivasis, like all marginalized people, are exposed to the limitation, for example, a child would face if in painting a scenery he/she were exposed only to three colors; or in writing a novel he/she were allowed the knowledge of only 300 words.

 The findings indicate that the caste-based stratification of society was propped up by the dominant discourse, attitudes and negative stereotypes of Adivasis as incompetent and undeserving recipients of reservation benefits unworthy of sharing the power and

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privileges that have been believed to be the monopoly of the upper caste for centuries. That paradigm has been ingrained in the thinking patterns, mental categories, images, words, attitudes, unconscious feelings, hidden scripts and social teachings. P tries to change that mindset and the discourse of incompetency by proving himself through educational pursuits, attainment of high-profile careers, dedication to work and integrity of character. But his voice is silenced because the way the society is structured and the vocabulary that exists govern the discourse. In the caste-based Indian society the dominant discourse is controlled by the upper caste people. And the marginalized feel silenced also because there is no vocabulary existing to give expression to the thoughts, feelings, experiences that they undergo and the different types of oppression and marginalization they experience. The following extract from P10 substantiates the point:

> JD: Please say something more about that badness you feel? Can you please open up that world of badness for me?
> P 10: One will have to look for the words.
> JD: I know. You may use any language, Hindi or English.
> P 10: Actually, eh, those words; eh, it is very difficult to explain.
> JD: It is very difficult. How to explain, for example, the sweetness of a mango? But please try, eh, whatever is possible.
> P 10: One also gets angry. Sometimes one feels that one should react also; eh, and sometimes we also react, eh, in a curt way or in a, eh, just to show that I am also not pleased; that also we do; eh, but in a very decent away, one can say. Not in an open way (Long Pause). (MU 10: 46)

P10 feels silenced because he cannot find words to express his lived reality. Probably, there are no words to express his reality because his reality did not matter for centuries in the dominant discourse as P10 explains: "your voice will not be heard; so why to shout?" (MU 10: 61). CRT proposes storytelling, counterstorytelling and naming one's own reality as a powerful means to analyze, expose, challenge and change the bedrock beliefs of discrimination and marginalization and to give a voice to the silenced.

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One way to make the callous world hear is to present flesh and blood stories that expose the inner struggle of the oppressed classes—stories that reveal the "contingency, cruelty, and self-serving nature" of the exploitative structures (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). Life stories, anecdotes of lived experiences can punch the conscience of people out of its self-complacent righteousness and recognize the existence of unjust caste privileges and statuses.

Research—a powerful tool to counter silencing. Research is a powerful tool to create the vocabulary required to name one's reality and to counter the phenomenon of silencing that the marginalized generally experience because silencing can be countered only by making one's voice heard. Hence, more qualitative studies using different research methods such as narrative research, ethnography, grounded theory, case studies and phenomenological research are critical in order to interpret the current reality of discrimination against the Adivasis and give it a scientific voice. The literature review indicates a plethora of research studies on racial discrimination involving African-American population that support the continuing struggle for civil rights and the dismantling of the White privilege. The current study is a germinal effort in this direction in the Adivasi context. Research studies can provide a scientific forum for Adivasis to share their stories of discrimination as well as to create powerful counter narratives capable of challenging the dominant discourse. For example, P4 invented the term *tortoise mentality* to refer to his avoiding discriminatory situations as a coping strategy to protect himself from being hurt:

> Do I have an option? Because the world, does it give me the other option? The only option is to avoid, eh, to reduce the number of interactions. You had to reduce it, eh, when I will feel hurt which will affect my health, eh, will affect my

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family. It's a kind of the *tortoise mentality*. You try to take out so much of your limbs as you feel it is safe; the moment you feel you are not safe you withdraw. (MU 4: 77)

CRT holds that the upper caste is ill-equipped to create such a language for the oppressed even if they want to because they do not have the experience to generate it and are too entrenched in the White mindset to understand it (Delgado et al., 2012). But the oppressed can understand both the mindsets. Hence, it is critical for the educated Adivasis to take up serious scientific research especially since structural determinism is evident even in the scientific community that is dominated by the upper caste.

CRT has been critiqued on many grounds such as (a) being too aggressive and negative, (b) being based more on emotions than reasons, and (c) being overly concerned with issues of identity as opposed to in-depth social analysis and economic democracy (Delgado e al., 2012). Some hold that the stories of discrimination narrated are atypical and lacking in analytical rigor, and that its claim of Whites being incapable to understand the "voice of color´ due to their entrenched racial paradigms is not factual. Others point out that the success stories of Jewish and Asian minority groups substantiate the conventional meritocracy theory as opposed to CRT tenets.

Although these critiques bring into the discourse other relevant perspectives that can help tweak the theory further, the current study finds strong evidence for the need to make the "voice of color" heard and to bring the problem of ED to the forefront in the public discourse. Blackmun's classical statement is very relevant in this context: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race; there is no other way" (as cited in Delgado et al., 2012, p. 9). However, the findings of the study also point to the power of resilience in coping with ethnic discrimination stress as discussed below.

Resilience theory. Richardson's resiliency theory (2002) finds support in the way the participants coped with EDS. Resilience refers to one's ability to learn from adverse situations and build protective resources that enable one to face future adversities with greater strength and insolate oneself from being disturbed by them. According to the resilience theory, one's biopsychospiritual homeostasis (current state of physical, mental and spiritual adaptation to one's life situations) is disturbed by internal and external life prompts in the form of adversities and stresses. Disruption occurs due to a lack of protective factors or adequate resources learned from previous disruptions to moderate the effects of stresses. Every disruption is followed by a reintegration process resulting in one of four outcomes (a) resilient reintegration where disruption brings in new protective factors and higher level of homeostasis, (b) homeostatic reintegration where disruption leads one back to one's comfort zones to heal and just get past, thus turning down opportunities for growth, (c) reintegration with loss where disruptions lead to loss of protective factors and diminished homeostasis level, and (e) dysfunctional reintegration where disruptions lead to destructive behaviors like alcoholism.

The results indicate that none of the participants in the current study were engaged in dysfunctional reintegration involving destructive behaviors. P4 says: "I would say I have not succumbed; eh, but a lot of individuals would, probably, just give up the fight…. I still I'm sane…. And I'm not an alcoholic, eh, I'm stable" (MU 4: 66). The findings also indicate that initially all the participants experienced, for a short period of time, reintegration with loss of protective factors and diminished homeostasis level. However, the negative coping that they resorted to was a means to survive; and so in a way a sign of their psychological resilience which is the core factor in human beings

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when faced with extreme stress related to traumatic losses (Bonanno, 2004). Those behaviors helped them to process their losses and adapt more productive ways of coping. P7, for example, took off from his work in anger and frustration and "during these three months I had to undergo a lot of mental torture" (MU 7: 65). Like P7, all the participants went through a phase of demoralization and depression when they found that they were helpless to change the powerful oppressive system, but they used this phase as a period to recoup. And they soon moved on to homeostatic reintegration where disruption leads one back to one's comfort zones to heal and just get past. P9 took leave for a month and stayed with his family: "I kept quiet…. Just allowed to heal my heart and mind…. It took me some time to come out of that" (MU 9: 54).

However, what stands out in all the participants is the resilient reintegration where disruption brings in new protective factors and higher level of homeostasis. When P1 was denied the courses he wanted to teach and the research projects he wanted to be involved in, he felt disturbed "in the sense that it kills your initiative, kills your motivation" (MU 1:39) but moves on to do his PhD that enabled him to do research independently. P2 feels for a time "that the whole system is going against you; eh, you sometimes think that you should quit this job …. Leave this environment and go away" (MU 2: 83) but goes on to learn:

> I did not leave the ground and, eh, continue to work with them. I cannot fight with him [his boss]. So I proved my worth with my works. If I don't feel bad in spite of his speaking bad, how long will he keep on speaking bad? (MU 2: 52, 61)

P3 felt for a time: "I feel what a life it is; eh, feel defeated, feel tired" (MU 3: 62) but then goes on to learn: "And I tell myself, 'Well, be calm; it is no use breaking your

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head against the wall because only my head will break. And make yourself happy' eh, without wanting it, eh, reluctantly. That's it" (MU 3: 84).

When P4 was given posting only in remote areas away from his family "I cut down my aspirations. I stopped aspiring" (MU 4: 50) and then he learned "to devise means of… keeping my emotions under control…. Keeping my sanity… learning to live with it" (MU 4: 37-38). P5 feels discouraged when his articles are not published but learns to look for and find "side path" (MU 5: 54) and gets his writings published in foreign journals. When he was denied opportunities for a new job on deputation, P6 feels: "A living person is going on; we are sitting here but maybe he is not alive, eh, like that. One feels that, eh, what is this life?" (MU 6: 80); but then he learns: "Listen to him, eh, whatever he says. Listen from one ear and pass it through the other ear; eh, and you continue in a positive way" (MU 6: 117).

Unable to withstand the discrimination stress in the workplace, P7 stays away from work for three months and then learns: "I had to actually change my ways. Getting angry, just leaving and going away, I thought that was not the answer. I should change…. I accepted it, eh, thinking at the end I will achieve my aim" (MU 7: 88). P8 was hospitalized for a month when he was denied the promotion and was put into a situation where he had to report to his junior. Then he learns: "Simply I ignore them. I don't bother about that. If you don't call me, don't call me. But I am here. Whenever you come, I will offer you tea" (MU 8: 60). P9 felt used and betrayed when his promotion was postponed and "I kept quiet; eh, just allowed to heal my heart and mind. … It took me some time to come out of that" (MU 9: 54) but learns: "I think by not reacting immediately … it gave me also [time] to accept decisions as gracefully and

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respecting the decisions… So still I have opportunity and every right and every

possibility to do my work as I want" (MU 9: 73).

The protective resources that the participants learned from the adverse

circumstances increased their resilience as well as their level of homeostasis. This

strategy may serve as a way forward in coping with EDS. The negative coping strategies

that the participants used seem to be emerging from an oppressed-oppressor paradigm.

The marginalizing behaviors of the upper caste people were perceived as oppressive

tactics to keep the lower caste people subdued and to perpetuate upper caste hegemony.

The resultant anger and the combativeness that were silenced into the powerlessness in

the face of the apparently unchangeable powerful structures found expression in resentful

submission and negative coping strategies.

However, the findings point to a shift from this oppressed-oppressor paradigm

leading to resentful submission to a hate-sin-not-the-sinner paradigm leading to change-

oriented proactive responses. This shift begins with a realistic understanding of the reality

of ethnic discrimination as too deep-seated in Indian psyche to be wished away easily.

P2, for example, speaks of the importance of understanding the mindset of the upper

caste people. P7 articulates this strategy thus:

> I see there is no point in (the policy that) if someone disrespects you, you should
> also disrespect him…. At least give him that opportunity to learn, work under you
> in good circumstances… And that has become my focus... Yeah, you encounter
> people like, eh, from the same field sometimes. They might think that you know
> nothing … And they try to disrespect you… ultimately they realize. We become
> patient; eh, we don't react, eh, at that time only. Gradually we tell them and
> gradually they also learn, eh, that your outlook is not like that of others, eh, but
> different from the others. And they tried to mend their ways. (MU 7: 81)

Resilience is the foundation of proactive coping. In proactive responses the focus is not on the problem but on the possibilities; not on obstacles but on the goal; not on the past but on the present in order to create a new past for the future with the learnings from the past. So instead of lamenting over or arguing against the unjust negative stereotypes of Adivasis being uncivilized and incompetent, unworthy beneficiaries of reservation quota, the participants attempted to disprove them with their life and make them irrelevant. They did so by using an inside-out approach rather than an outside-in approach. They focused on themselves and the choices they were in control of rather than attempting to change what was beyond their control currently. P3 refers to this as not breaking his head against the rock and hurting himself. Consequently, they first of all focused on recognizing and accepting their limitations and removing or reducing them by upgrading themselves through education and training. They used their innate cultural strengths of hard work and integrity of character to prove the stereotypes meaningless.

The resilience and proactive coping strategies of the participants show a way forward for realizing the principles of equality and fraternity enshrined in the Indian Constitutions and accelerating the structural changes that will promote the growth and development of all marginalized groups including Adivasi communities. P10 recognizes that equality does not entail equality in functions or roles but equality in dignity and status and opportunities.

Social stress model. According to social stress model, stressors from discrimination and prejudice lead to increased mental health problems in members of disadvantaged social statuses (Aneshensel, 1992; Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Dressler et al., 2005; Meyer et al., 2008; Miech et al., 1999; Pearlin, 1989; Schwartz & Meyer, 2010;

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Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). The findings of the study indicate the presence of reduced self-image, and some symptoms of anxiety and depression in varying degrees in all the participants as a result of their exposure to EDS. In fact, all the participants reported going through a period of mild depression. For example, P8 reported having to be hospitalized for a month and P7 reported suffering from depression for 89 days. Findings of the study also point to the presence of rumination, avoidant and passive-aggressive behaviors in most participants. All the participants reported continued stress from a feeling of being dehumanized. However, quantitative studies are recommended to establish any relation between discrimination stress and mental health problems among the high-achieving Adivasis.

The current study supports Volpone and Avery's (2013) findings of psychological and physical withdrawal due to discrimination stress. The results also corroborate Mellor et al.'s (2009) findings. According to them the indigenous people of Mapuche tribe of Chile experienced psychological wounding resulting in anger, undifferentiated bad feelings, shame and a sense of powerlessness.

Discussion of the Conclusions in Relation to the Field

Paradies (2006) in his review of 138 studies on ethnic/racial discrimination reported that though most of the studies were on African-Americans, the impact of racism exists across victimized groups such as Native Americans, Hispanics, and Aboriginal Australians. The literature review indicates the absence of scientific studies on the EDS experience of Adivasis (Jhaj & Grewal, 1976; Singh et al., 1999). Hence, the current study fills that gap in the literature.

The findings of the study can be beneficial to mental health workers in their clinical work with patients suffering from stress due to ethnic or racial discrimination. Being a phenomenological inquiry, the current study reveals the inner world of an Adivasi who is exposed to discriminatory experiences and the resultant stress it causes him. The copious quotes that are integrated in to the study reveal in the participants' own words their subjective experiences related to the experience of EDS in the workplace: their perceptions, thoughts, feelings, assumptions, bodily sensations, unconscious motives and expectations, memories and the coping behaviors. They expose the nature of the phenomenon of EDS and the extent of suffering it causes to those subjected to it. Hence, they can help the mental health worker with deeper empathic understanding of the inner world of the minority group patients in multicultural settings not only in India but around the globe.

The identification and exploration of the negative and the positive strategies used in coping with EDS can be used for the empowerment of the clients suffering from EDS both in individual and group therapy. Since the study involved only high-achieving Adivasis, the proactive strategies they used may point to a path to successful careers. It can also promote an empowerment oriented recovery model that sees recovery as a process of learning to live with limitations (Masterson & Owen, 2006). The study presents powerful stories of Adivasis who survived the onslaughts of ethnic discrimination by persevering in a trajectory that led them to varying degrees of success.

The model presented in Diagram 2 summarizes the psychological structures of the experiences of EDS and coping with EDS. This being the first research study on the EDS involving Adivasi population, the model can be a contribution to understand EDS and

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coping with EDS from a cross-cultural perspective. The study is also a first step in building up a scientific knowledge base about the psychological experience of EDS among Adivasis. It has opened up new topics in this area for further qualitative and quantitative research which will be discussed later in a separate section.

Storytelling, counter-storytelling and naming one's own reality are powerful means to analyze, expose, challenge and change the bedrock beliefs of discrimination and marginalization (Delgado et al., 2012). The current study by presenting narratives of the lived experience of EDS and coping with EDS has given a scientific voice to the unheard psychological reality of the Adivasis in their struggle for social equality. The scientific data it provides can be used as a tool to promote a critical awareness of the tribal people's experiences of marginalization and dehumanization perpetuated by the oppressive socio-politico-economic power systems and challenge and change the mode of thoughts, beliefs and practices that undergird and sustain them. Thus the findings can be a tool for social activists in their struggle for social justice and individual/community empowerment. According to Zimmerman (1995), an empowered person is one who perceives himself capable of influencing a given context (intrapersonal), knows power systems at work in that context (interactional) and chooses behaviors that can influence that context (behavioral). The study presents positive stories of empowerment that can be used for the education and empowerment of Advasi individuals and communities and more specifically in training Adivasi youth in their career development.

The findings indicate that although provisions in the Constitution of India as well as subsequent laws based on it are in place against any type of discrimination at workplace, overt and covert discrimination remains endemic in Indian society with

impunity (Nilson, 2012; Shah, 2010). The results of the study can be used to gaud the governmental and private corporations as well as the law enforcing agencies to implement existing laws strictly or to enact new ones to create a discrimination-free work environment (Turner et al., 2006). It can also be used to influence policy decisions of the government and NGOs in regard to the improvement of the quality of life of Adivasis in educational institutions and work environments.

Finally, the results of the study can be applied not only to Adivasi communities but to any minority groups that are exposed to any type of discrimination. Thus the findings can add to the global scientific data base on ethnic/racial discrimination stress and coping strategies. It can also provide Indian perspectives on issues related to multicultural counseling.

Limitations

Limitations are those weaknesses in the research design, data collection or data analysis that are beyond the control of the researcher and which may have some bearing on the results (Simon, 2011). Delimitations are those weaknesses in the study arising from the particular choices the researcher made in conducting the study and which may have some influence on the results. Identifying the limitations and delimitations can help in the evaluation of the quality of the results of a study as well as offer tips to improve the quality of the results of future research on the topic.

The study is subject to the limitations of phenomenological method that focuses on the subjective lived experiences of the participants and not on empirically verifiable objective facts. The phenomenological design also is bound to follow a purposeful

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sampling method since it is critical to ensure the presence of the experience in the participants in order to analyze it. Hence, the results are not generalizable as in quantitative studies. However, the fact that the psychological structure of the experience of EDS and coping with EDS that emerged from the analysis was applicable to each of the 10 participants does point to a generalizability of a different nature since "research based on depth strategy should not be confused with research based on sampling strategies" (Giorgi, 2009, pp. 198-199). Quantitative studies are necessary to verify empirically the presence of the elements of EDS that were identified in the present study.

The Capella University requirement of minimum 10 participants and 90 minute interview necessitated the analysis of a huge volume of data. In Giorgi's methodology the emphasis is not on the number of participants but the number of events in which the experience is present. The huge volume of data that the 10 interviews produced (272 pages in all) made its management following Giorgi's elaborate method of analysis very cumbersome. More importantly, for the presentation of the data, a method different from Giorgi's had to be devised in order to accommodate this contingency. Giorgi's method of presenting the original text with its 3rd person and psychological transformations in the text itself was substituted with tables that summarized the data substantiated with excerpts from the interview. This modified method, though a departure from the Giorgian method, was effective in making the experience come alive for the reader by making the participants speak directly to them. It was also found that the large volume of data contributed to the quality of the results.

A delimitation of the study was that the scores of the General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GEDS; Landrine et al., 2006) which was administered to identify

participants having EDS experience, did not reflect the objective reality of their experience. Only those who had moderate level of EDS (within 51-80 score range) were proposed to be selected for the study. However, the GEDS, which was developed for global application, was not totally appropriate for the Adivasi participants as it did not reflect the unique Indian context. Hence, candidates with GEDS score below 51 were also selected for the study since they accepted having significant degree of EDS. The GEDS scores, however, had no bearing on the results of the study since the scores were employed only for identifying the participants and not as data for analysis to answer the research question.

The study included only male participants and adults above the age of 35. Moreover, it included only high-achieving Adivasis. Hence, the generalizability of the findings for other populations is limited. Tribe-wise analysis and discussion of the results could have contributed to the study. However, such analysis could not be undertaken due to ethical considerations regarding the protection of privacy and confidentiality of the participants.

Recommendations for Further Research

The study used purposeful, two measure qualitative phenomenological design. Identification of the candidates with the experience of EDS was done by using GEDS. However, it was found that the GEDS was not adequate to measure the level of EDS in the Adivasi candidates since the scores did not totally reflect the degree of EDS present in the candidates. The GEDS, though is intended to be a global scale, was not totally apt to identify the presence of EDS in the Adivasi candidates as the scale was based on

African-American realities. For example, the questions on the scale assumed participants to have distinct distinguishable physical features that would make them easily identifiable as belonging to a particular group which was not the case with Adivasi candidates. Hence, the creation of a new GEDS that meets the Adivasi situations and realities will serve the purpose better. It is accepted that that denial or shame could have also interfered with the way the participants marked the GEDS. So a thorough preparation of the candidates for the administration of the scale also is recommended.

The psychological structure of EDS and coping with the EDS present the constituent elements that make up the lived experience of EDS and coping with EDS. Since the applicability of the results are limited due to the purposeful sampling method, quantitative studies with random sampling are necessary to verify empirically the constituent nature of these elements as well as to strengthen the applicability of the results to the general population. Since the study included only high-achieving male participants above the age of 35, it could be replicated with other populations such as high-achieving females or young workers below the age of 35 as well as with those engaged in medium level and lower level jobs in order to verify the generalizability of the constituents identified in this study.

The data indicated significant differences in the degree of EDS and the manner of coping with EDS depending on whether one belonged to a particular tribe. A tribe-wise analysis was not possible in the present study as it would have divulged the identity of the participants due to the limited number of participants involved in the study. Hence, a quantitative study that employs a large number of participants could identify if differences in EDS and coping with EDS existed among members of various tribes.

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Since storytelling, counterstorytelling and naming one's own reality are powerful means to analyze, expose, challenge and change the bedrock beliefs of discrimination and marginalization, more qualitative studies involving different Advasi populations are recommended to give scientific voice to their discriminatory experiences. Research on the topic of ethnic discrimination in the workplace using different research methods such as narrative research, ethnography, grounded theory, and case studies could strengthen the findings of the current study. For example, a research using ethnography method would be very useful in understanding the discrimination related dynamics that exists in the workplace of a corporation or a government department and to further explore the reality of internalized oppression and internalized domination or appropriated oppression.

The model of EDS and coping with EDS among high-achieving Adivasis revealed a pattern of engaging in more positive proactive behaviors rather than negative coping behaviors. A research question for a future quantitative study would be: Is there a relationship between the way high-achieving Adivasis coped with EDS and their career success? Further research is also necessary to explore the relationship between the presence of resilience and the career success of Adivasis as well as the factors that contributed to resilience and proactive coping. Some of these factors that have been identified in the current study are: religious beliefs, early education, and cultural values.

The study found that a few participants had good role models in their childhood who inspired them to aspire high and overcome challenges. This could be a topic for future study. A relevant research question may be: Is there a correlation between the presence of good role models in childhood and career success among the Adivasis?

Other research questions for further research are: Is there a relationship between resilience and career success among high-achieving Adivasis? What is the lived experience of EDS and coping with EDS among low-achieving Adivasis with above average academic achievement? What is the lived experience of internalized oppression among Adivasis? What is the lived experience of internalized domination among the upper caste officers in government offices? Is there a correlation between cynicism and negative coping? What is the lived experience of living with the negative stereotype about reservation quota? Is there a relationship between reservation benefits and improvement in social status? What is the lived experience of living with negative stereotypes related to ethnic discrimination? Is there a relationship between assertive mindset and feeling of marginalization? Is there a relationship between assertive mindset and negative coping behaviors? Is there a relationship between healthy introspection and positive coping? What is the effect of microaggressions on the mental health among Adivasis?

On the basis of the findings of the study, some suggestions to prepare Adivasi students and workers to cope with discrimination stress as well as to bring about structural changes are

- awareness training in themes such as caste privilege, structural determinism, silencing, internalized oppression and internalized domination;

- training in assertive behavior that helps to identify and confront microaggressions (microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations) firmly and respectfully;

- training in knowing, accepting, appreciating, and celebrating one's tribal identity to prevent oneself from being defined by the stereotypes imposed by others;

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- training in developing resilience;

- creating support networks in the workplace such as Adivasi associations for psychological, legal, and political support;

- creating a scientific knowledge base on topics related to ethnic discrimination by encouraging tribal intelligentsia to undertake scientific research in order to expose, challenge and change discriminatory practices;

- creating awareness about negative stereotypes of Adivasis in text books and in public discourses in order to expose, challenge and change them; and

- initiating social integration programs in schools that create awareness about discrimination related themes among students of all castes.

Conclusion

The study addressed the research question: What is lived experience of ethnic discrimination stress in the workplace among high-achieving Adivasis? The focus of the study was on identifying and describing the psychological constituents of the phenomenon of EDS and coping with EDS as lived by high-achieving Adivasis. It was found that the core experience of EDS was the feeling of dehumanization from marginalization leading to disillusionment, anger, helplessness and demoralization, supported by the belief that the negative stereotypes about Adivasis and the accompanying marginalizing behaviors were to perpetuate upper caste hegemony. The lived experience of coping with EDS was a progressive movement from resentful submission to a realistic acceptance of the situation leading to change-oriented proactive behaviors. It entailed efforts to make the stereotypes irrelevant by self-improvement, self-definition and self-management through positive reframing, assertive reaching out,

staying in the present, seeking community and religious support and caring for fellow Adivasis.

The core experience of EDS and coping with EDS was revealed by allowing the marginalized to tell their stories in their own words as evident in the ubiquitous quotes of the participants that the study contains. The study would have met its purpose if it has succeeded in giving a scientific voice to the unheard voices of the Adivasis suffering from ethnic discrimination stress because "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race; there is no other way" (Blackmun, as cited in Delgado et al., 2012, p. 9). And to get beyond ethnic discrimination, first its existence has to be recognized, and then exposed, challenged and eradicated.

The Indian ideal of *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*, a Sanskrit phrase meaning the whole world is one family, can be achieved not by perpetuating the divisive caste mentality or oppressed-oppressor paradigm but by living the hate-sin-but-not-the-sinner paradigm that recognizes that there can be "no peace without justice, no justice without forgiveness" (John Paul II, 2001, para. 15). Social integration cannot be achieved solely through the struggle of the marginalized; those responsible for the perpetuation of the dehumanizing structures must be made partners in this noble mission because there are no oppressed and oppressors but only human beings who are wounded. "The time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us" (Mandela, 1994, para. 15-17).

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APPENDIX. GED SCORE OF THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS
IN DESCENDING ORDER AS PER DEGREE OF EDS

SN	Frequency of EDS experience in the past year	Frequency of EDS experience in the entire life	Degree of EDS (1-102 = Not at all stressful – Extremely stressful
1	49	47	68
2	66	68	62
3	41 (N/A =1)*	52	62
4	35 (N/A=1)*	43	61
5	71	74	57
6	24	50	55
7	31	44	51
8	38	36	42
9	39 (N/A=1)*	33	41
10	02 (N/A =16)*	36	38
11	24	35	34
12	14 (N/A=6)*	26	31
13	35	35	29
14	19	22	22
15	18	23	21

*= Number of situations marked as Not Applicable (N/A) by the participant.

Scoring Key for *Frequency of EDS Experience* in GED Scale in the Past Year and in the Entire Life for 17 Different Situations

      01 – 17 = Never
      18 – 34 = Once in a while
      35 – 51 = Sometimes
      52 – 68 = A lot
      69 – 85 = Most of the time
      86 – 102 = Almost all the time

Scoring Key for *Degree of EDS Experience* in GED Scale in the Past Year and in the Entire Life for 17 Different Situations

      1 – 102 = Not at all stressful – Extremely stressful