

# Intergroup Relations: The Role of Racial Socialization, Racial Identity, and Racial Stereotypes on Intergroup Contact between Asian Americans and African Americans

Author: Maggie Chen

Persistent link: <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/bc-ir:107099>

This work is posted on [eScholarship@BC](#),  
Boston College University Libraries.

---

Boston College Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, 2016

Copyright is held by the author. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>).

# BOSTON COLLEGE

Lynch School of Education

Department of Counseling, Developmental, and Educational Psychology

Counseling Psychology

INTERGROUP RELATIONS: THE ROLE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, RACIAL  
IDENTITY, AND RACIAL STEREOTYPES ON INTERGROUP CONTACT  
BETWEEN ASIAN AMERICANS AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

Dissertation  
By

MAGGIE CHEN

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation Committee: Dr. Anderson J. Franklin, Chair  
Dr. Janet E. Helms, Dr. Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, Dr. Elizabeth Sparks, Readers

August 2016



## ABSTRACT

### Intergroup Relations: The Role of Racial Socialization, Racial Identity, and Racial Stereotypes on Intergroup Contact between Asian Americans and African Americans

Maggie Chen, M.A.

Anderson J. Franklin, Dissertation Chair

Previous research on intergroup relations between racial groups primarily focused on relations between Whites and various ethnic minority groups, studies on relations between ethnic minorities have been neglected and underexamined (Bikmen, 2011). Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory suggested that when the groups in contact are perceived to have similar status, contact could lead to reduced prejudice and improved intergroup relations. Asian Americans and African Americans occupy different status positions on the U.S. racial hierarchy. Although their relative status positions are important factors to consider in understanding their evaluations and interactions with each other, the influence of racial psychological factors are also important to consider because they may influence how status is perceived. Thus, the current study investigated how racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes influence contact between Asian Americans and African Americans.

U.S.-born Asian American ( $N = 190$ ) and African American ( $N = 304$ ) adults completed an online survey containing a demographic information sheet, the Racial Socialization Influences Scale (Harrell, 1997), the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1995), the Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale (Ho & Jackson, 2001), the Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988), the Intergroup Contact Measure (Stathi & Crisp, 2010), and the Behavioral Intentions Scale (Esses & Dovidio, 2002).

Results from multivariate multiple regression analyses suggested that racial socialization, particularly exposure to racially diverse environments, was positively related to the frequency and quality of contact, as well as willingness to engage in future contact for both Asian Americans and African Americans; whereas race-related discussions was associated with African Americans' endorsement of Asian stereotypes. In addition, the study showed that racial identity schemas partially mediated the relationship between racial socialization and intergroup contact, and the relationship between racial socialization and racial stereotypes. Finally, findings revealed that African Americans reported more willingness to engage in future contact with Asian Americans than Asian Americans reported with African Americans. Discussions included methodological limitations, and implications for research and practice.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Appendices.....	vii
Acknowledges.....	viii
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Post-1654 Demographic Shift and Interracial Relations.....	2
Research on Racial and Ethnic Minority Intergroup Relations.....	3
Black-Asian Relations.....	6
Research on Relations between Blacks and Asians.....	9
Racial Psychological Factors and Contact.....	11
Purpose of the Study.....	12
<b>Chapter 2: Review of Literature.....</b>	<b>13</b>
The Status of Asian Americans.....	13
Population Statistics.....	13
History of Immigration.....	14
A Model Minority.....	15
The Status of African Americans.....	15
Population Statistics.....	15
History of Immigration.....	16
Racial Disparities and Inequalities.....	17
Black-Asian Dynamics.....	17
Racial Socialization.....	18

Reducing Effects of Racism and Maintaining Culture.....	19
Racial Socialization in African Americans.....	20
Racial Socialization in Asian Americans.....	21
Promote Positive Racial Identity Development.....	22
Influence Intergroup Behaviors of Ethnic Minority Youths.....	25
Contextual Characteristics.....	25
Racial Identity Theory.....	28
Influences on Racial Stereotyping and Intergroup Contact.....	30
Racial Stereotypes.....	32
Black and Asian Racial Stereotypes.....	32
Racial Socialization Influences Racial Stereotypes.....	34
Intergroup Contact Theory.....	36
Contact and Positive Intergroup Relations.....	37
Contact-Prejudice Effects and Societal Status.....	37
Statement of the Problem.....	40
Hypotheses.....	42
<b>Chapter 3: Method.....</b>	<b>47</b>
Participants.....	47
Measures.....	50
Demographic Data Sheet.....	50
Racial Socialization Influences Scale.....	50
People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.....	52
Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale.....	54

Anti-Black Scale.....	56
Intergroup Contact Measure.....	57
Behavioral Intentions Scale.....	58
Procedure.....	59
<b>Chapter 4: Results.....</b>	<b>62</b>
Data Preparation.....	62
Check of Multivariate Assumptions.....	63
Normality.....	63
Homoscedasticity.....	64
Multicollinearity.....	64
Preliminary Analyses.....	65
Test of Hypotheses.....	70
Hypothesis 1.....	70
Hypothesis 2.....	76
Hypothesis 3.....	81
Hypothesis 4.....	81
Hypothesis 5a-c.....	84
<b>Chapter 5: Discussion.....</b>	<b>86</b>
Does Racial Socialization Influence Intergroup Contact.....	87
How is Racial Identity Related to Racial Socialization and Intergroup Contact.....	90
Does Racial Socialization Influence Racial Stereotypes.....	93



How is Racial Identity Related to Racial Socialization and Racial	
Stereotypes.....	96
Are There Group Level Differences in Intergroup Contact.....	98
Limitations.....	100
Research Design.....	101
Measurement.....	103
Sampling.....	105
Research Implications.....	106
Counseling Implications.....	109
References.....	114

## List of Tables

Table 1	Demographic Characteristics.....	48
Table 2a	Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (Total Sample, <i>N</i> = 494) .....	67
Table 2b	Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (Asian Americans, <i>N</i> = 190) .....	67
Table 2c	Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (African Americans, <i>N</i> = 304) .....	68
Table 3	Summary of Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Criterion Variables.....	69
Table 4	Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict Asian Americans' Intergroup Contact.....	74
Table 5	Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict African Americans' Intergroup Contact.....	79
Table 6	Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict African Americans' Negative Asian Stereotypes.....	83

## List of Figures

Figure 1	Conceptual framework for proposed relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, racial stereotypes, and intergroup contact.....	42
Figure 2	Environment was positively related to all three intergroup contact variables in both Asian Americans and African Americans.....	88
Figure 3a	Internalization mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions in Asian Americans.....	91
Figure 3b	Immersion-Emersion mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions in African Americans.....	92
Figure 4	Immersion-Emersion mediated the relationship between Discussion and African Americans' Negative Asian Stereotypes.....	94

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix A: Demographic Data Sheet.....	135
Appendix B: Racial Socialization Influences Scale (Black/ African American Version).....	137
Appendix C: Racial Socialization Influences Scale (Asian American Version).....	139
Appendix D: People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale.....	141
Appendix E: Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale.....	143
Appendix F: Anti-Black Scale.....	144
Appendix G: Intergroup Contact Measure (Black/African American Version).....	145
Appendix H: Intergroup Contact Measure (Asian American Version).....	146
Appendix I: Behavioral Intentions Scale (Black/African American Version).....	147
Appendix J: Behavioral Intentions Scale (Asian American Version).....	148
Appendix K: Sample Consent Form.....	149

## **Acknowledgements**

As I look back at my long and at times winding journey, the quote “it takes a village” kept coming back to me. I am forever grateful to the families, friends, colleagues, and mentors who have supported me and believed in me. I would not be where I am today without their encouragement.

To my mentor and adviser, Dr. Anderson J. Franklin. Thank you for your support and guidance all these years. I had the incredible opportunity to work with you, to learn from you, and to get to know you very early on in my career, and it has been an honor and a privilege. Our relationship has meant so much to me. I am forever grateful for your continuous patience, trust, and investment in my growth whether I was in Boston, Eugene, or San Francisco.

To my reader and mentor, Dr. Janet E. Helms. Thank you for your support and feedback throughout the dissertation process. Thank you for hanging in there with me, and for working tirelessly to ensure that I have a finished product that I am proud of. I have learned so much from you both through your work as well as through our interactions. It was an incredible journey and I am grateful to have you as a mentor.

To my readers Drs. Elizabeth Sparks and Usha Tummala-Narra. Thank you for your help, flexibility, feedback, and support through out this process. Dr. Sparks, you’re an amazing mentor and human being. It was such an honor to get to know you and work with you. Dr. Tummala-Narra, thank you so much for providing me with ideas and getting me off the ground when I was struggling. Your work with immigrants and multicultural psychology continues to inspire me.

To my fellow BC classmates, colleagues, and confidants, I could not have made it through the program without your incredible support and camaraderie. Thank you, Drs. Hammad N'Cho, Uma Millner, Sophie Nam, Marcia Liu, Cynthia Chen, Dana Collins, Nicole Duffy, Faedra Dagirmanjian, Sarah Backe, and Ethan Mereish. It was an once-in-a-lifetime journey, and I am so grateful we were there together cheering each other on.

To the Boston College LSOE Counseling Psychology Department. Thank you for your investment in my growth and competence as a multicultural psychologist and a social justice agent. In particular, I am grateful to my professors and mentors, Drs. Blustein, Mahalik, Goodman, Liang, Nicolas, and Walsh, for teaching me and inspiring me to serve the under-served, and for introducing me to feminist values which I continue to embrace both personally and professionally.

To my clinical supervisors who have taught me empathy, patience, and to “trust in the process”, I would not be the clinician I am today without your encouragement and guidance. In particular, I am grateful to Drs. Alisia Caban, Brooks Morse, Brian Parks, Ann Whelan, Jon Edwards, and Louise Christian. You have shown me how to be a better clinician, and more importantly, how to be a more compassionate human being.

I am grateful to my close friends outside BC, who have been my support network and motivated me throughout my journey. Special thanks to Helen, Carol, Dee, Lindsay, Chelsey, and Kelly. You have each touched me in significant and meaningful ways, and I am a better person because of you.

To my families, it takes a village, and you are a large part of that village. To my brother Ken, I am so grateful to have grown up with you, and I am so proud of the man that you have turned out to be. I look forward to sharing with you many of the incredible

moments life has to offer. To my aunt Li-Yun, thank you for being such an extraordinary sister to my mother. I am forever grateful for your unrelenting support. To my cousins Jamie, Cindy, Aaron, Tommy, and Stacy, I am so lucky to have you in my life, and I look forward to spending many more years enjoying your company.

To my amazing parents Chak Man Chen and Lai Mui Chen Tam. Words cannot express how much gratitude I have for your love, kindness, sacrifice, and patience. You have inspired me to live a grounded, humble life with dignity and compassion. You have taught me the importance of valuing family, relationships, and interdependence. I am where I am because of you. I hope to repay you by living a life you're both proud of.

Last but not least, to my wonderful husband Jason Wong. You have been my rock and my joy. You were there for me in life's most difficult and most joyous moments. Your love and support have been steady and consistent. Thank you for being in my life.

## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Much of the research literature on intergroup relations has focused on a White versus non-White paradigm that was predominantly anchored in the Black and White experience (Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Plant & Butz, 2006). This was in large part due to a long and traumatic history of slavery, institutional racism, and discrimination against Blacks (e.g., race riots, Jim Crow laws; Jones, 1997), as well as the subsequent Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's demanding political, social, educational, and economic equality. Moreover, African Americans were the largest ethnic minority group in the US prior to the early 2000's. Therefore, the substantial Black population, combined with a deep history of Black-White division, are important reasons underlying the predominate focus on Black-White racial dynamics in intergroup relations research.

Emphasis on the Black and White binary paradigm in mainstream social and political discourse in general, and in psychology literature in particular, neglects the interracial experiences between White Americans and other non-Black ethnic minority groups (e.g., Asian/Asian American, Latinos/as, and Native Americans), with intergroup interactions between Whites and non-Black ethnic minority groups presumed to mimic Black-White racial dynamics (Segura & Rodrigues, 2006). Moreover, emphasis on the Black-White binary paradigm overlooks unique intergroup dynamics between ethnic minority groups. Given recent demographic trends projecting a minority-majority nation in the US in coming decades, it follows that more research efforts should be devoted to



understanding how different ethnic minority groups perceive and interact with each other, and the consequences of their interracial interactions.

### **Post-1965 Demographic Shift and Interracial Relations**

The paucity in psychological research examining interracial relations between ethnic minority groups is especially poignant given demographic changes since 1965 that led to the emergence of a substantially more diverse and multiracial population in the US (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act made significant changes to the U.S. immigration policy by replacing a European-focused origin quota system to a system emphasizing family reunification and skilled immigrant labor (Keely, 1971). Consequently, the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act led to large numbers of immigrants from non-European regions gaining unprecedented entrance into the US. For example, since 1965, half of the total number of immigrants has come from Latin America, and one-quarter came from Asia. By comparison, immigrants that arrived in the US prior to the passage of the 1965 law were almost entirely of European origin (Pew Research Center, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008; 2011a).

This profound demographic transformation is reflected in the latest population statistics. A recent report by the Pew Research Center (2015) stated that although 84% of Americans were non-Hispanic Whites in 1965, that proportion had dropped to 62% by 2015. Meanwhile, the Hispanic share of the U.S. population increased from 4% (8 million) in 1965 to 18% (nearly 57 million) in 2015, the Asian share increased from less than 1% (1.3 million) in 1965 to 6% (18 million) in 2015, followed by the Black share that saw an increase from 11% (22 million) in 1965 to 14.3% (45.7million) in 2015. According to the latest figures released by the U.S. Census Bureau (2015b), people of

Hispanic origin are the nation's largest ethnic minority group, with a population projected to constitute 28.6% of the total population by 2060. Blacks are the second largest racial group of Color, with a projected proportion of the population of 17.9% by 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Followed by Asians as the third largest racial group of Color, with a projected population of 14% by 2065 (Pew Research Center, 2015).

The impact of these demographic shifts has been especially striking in urban centers across the country, where Asians and Latinos live and work alongside Black natives and immigrants and Whites (Oliver & Wong, 2003). These new waves of immigration led to a substantially more diverse population that encompasses new groups with different languages, nativity, culture, religion, education level, as well as reasons for immigration (e.g., family- or occupation-related immigrants versus political or economic refugees), thus transforming the scope and complexity of interracial relations within the United States. In particular, potential conflicts are likely to arise between different racial and ethnic groups due to competition for employment and living space, as well as the clashing of cultural values (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Johnson & Oliver, 1989). Concomitantly, opportunities also exist for interracial marriage, cross-racial coalition, cooperation, and building solidarity between ethnic minority groups who share similar struggles or experiences (E. H. Kim, 1998; Suyemoto & Fox Tree, 2006). For these reasons, it becomes increasingly important for social science researchers and mental health professionals to understand the unique intergroup dynamics between ethnic minority groups, and the many social and mental health implications associated with the emergence of a more multiracial society.

### **Research on Racial and Ethnic Minority Intergroup Relations**

My recent literature review on the subject of racial and ethnic minority intergroup relations indicated a paucity of research in this area, with a small number of relevant studies employing multiracial samples. In three studies that did use a multiracial sample, Mallett, Akimoto, and Oishi (2015) assessed affect during everyday intergroup interactions of White, Asian American, and African American college students. Their results suggested that, as compared to same-race encounters, all three racial groups reported less positive affect and felt understanding in everyday cross-race interactions. *Felt understanding* refers to the feeling of being understood by others during these interactions. In addition, they reported no difference in negative affect between cross-race versus same race encounters. The authors concluded that positive emotions are likely reserved for racial ingroup members, whereas hostile attitudes are expressed toward outgroup members.

Given the higher likelihood of ethnic minorities encountering daily cross-race interactions, Mallett et al. (2015) further speculated that their daily encounters are generally less positive compared to racial-majority White Americans. However, given that White students accounted for a large proportion of the general student population on the campuses where the studies took place—with one campus having as high as 78.83% White undergraduate students—results from Mallett et al.'s study are most likely generalizable to Asian-White and Black-White, but not Black-Asian cross-racial interactions.

Mallett et al.'s (2015) work examined more general patterns of affective experiences associated with intergroup contact. In contrast, Huo and Molina (2006) investigated subgroup respect, which are affective experiences specifically associated

with one's racial group membership, and how these experiences influence group evaluations. *Subgroup respect* was defined as "feelings that one's subgroup is recognized, accepted, and valued by members of a common group" (Huo & Molina, 2006; p.359). *Common group* refers to the social category that the subgroups share, such as being American. By analyzing survey data from a diverse adult sample, the researchers reported that greater perceived subgroup respect was associated with more positive affect toward Americans (common group), and lower levels of ingroup favoritism among African American and Latino but not White adults. That is, for Blacks and Latinos, their perceptions of others' acceptance and valuations of their own subgroup influenced their evaluations of both the common group and subgroups within it.

Huo and Molina's (2006) findings were corroborated in a subsequent study involving a multiracial high school student sample. In the latter study, Huo, Molina, Binning, and Funge (2010) reported that higher levels of subgroup respect were associated with more positive racial outgroup evaluations among ethnic minority (i.e., Asian American, Latino, and African American) but not White students. Together, the two studies suggested that a key predictor of positive racial outgroup evaluation in ethnic minorities is greater perceived subgroup respect, or the feeling that one's own racial/ethnic subgroup is being favorably evaluated by outgroup members.

Contrary to Huo and colleagues' work on subgroup respect that emphasized the importance of outgroup evaluations of one's own racial group, Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva (2007) studied ethnic identity, which emphasized the importance of one's own evaluation of his or her own racial group. Phinney (1992) defined *ethnic identity* as an individual's sense of identification with and belonging to his or her ethnic group and

other members of that group, based upon shared histories, language, traditions, and other cultural characteristics. In Phinney et al.'s (2007) study on the relationship between ethnic identity and intergroup attitudes, their findings revealed that compared to ethnic minority youths who endorsed a diffuse ethnic identity, those who endorsed an achieved ethnic identity reported significantly more positive attitudes toward racial outgroups as well as demonstrated more mature intercultural thinking. An *achieved* ethnic identity was defined by the presence of commitment and a clear sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, whereas a *diffuse* ethnic identity was characterized by the absence of commitment and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group (Phinney et al., 2007). Similar to previous findings (Huo & Molina, 2006; Huo et al., 2010), this relationship was not found in their White counterparts, suggesting the salience of racial and ethnic group membership to ethnic minority individuals.

### **Black-Asian Relations**

Despite the evidence that a number of studies on intergroup relations have included ethnic minority samples, very few specifically examined the intergroup attitudes and behavior between Asian Americans and African Americans (Bikmen, 2011; Guthrie & Hutchinson, 1995; Kohatsu et al., 2000). Although both are disadvantaged minorities in the US, a few crucial points of distinction characterize the two groups.

The majority of Asian Americans immigrated to the US after 1965 (Pew Research Center, 2015), the recency of their immigration experiences contrasts with African Americans' involuntary immigration to the US, dating back to a time prior to the nation's founding, as well as the post-1965 immigration of African descent populations. Although both groups face segregation and discrimination, racial hostility toward Asian Americans

often has been masked in xenophobic, anti-immigration language, rendering the perception of them as “permanent aliens” who are not entitled to the rights and protections of this country (Segura & Rodrigues, 2006; Sue, Bucci, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). African Americans, on the other hand, have been stereotyped for their perceived lack of intellectual abilities and general lower social economic status (Steele, 1997).

Black-Asian relations have been complicated by Asian Americans’ designated “in-between” position between Blacks and Whites in U.S. race relations (E.H. Kim, 1998), and also by their “model minority” status. The model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans as a highly successful, problem-free group, able to overcome the racial social inequities of the country despite evidence to the contrary (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Takaki, 1989). When compared to Asian Americans’ relative success, which White Americans have deemed to be an example of fairness of the U.S. education and economic systems, Blacks are evaluated even more negatively for their perceived failure (Ho & Jackson, 2001). Thus, when Black-Asian relations have been discussed in mainstream media, the discourse usually has painted an antagonistic picture between the two groups. In fact, a much applied framework for describing Black-Asian relations is the conflict thesis, which asserts that competition for scarce social and political resources makes rivalry and hostility between ethnic minority groups inevitable (C. J. Kim, 2004; K. C. Kim, 1999; Lie, 2004; Norman, 1998).

Scholars in support of the conflict thesis between Blacks and Asians often have cited the 1992 Los Angeles Uprising, which involved a series of riots that occurred after the acquittal of White police officers who were accused of brutality against Rodney King,

an African American (C. J. Kim & T. Lee, 2001). The news media was quick to sensationalize the riots as a confrontation between Blacks and Koreans, emphasizing Blacks' intolerance of Koreans, often by vandalism of their business establishments, while also portraying negative stereotypical images of Blacks, thus reinforcing and intensifying hostilities on both sides (Park, 1996). What the news media failed to mention was the lack of public policy addressing the structural issues of economic, political, and social inequalities in urban, working-class Los Angeles neighborhoods (Norman, 1998; Park, 1996). Norman (1998) argued that the primary factor was economic struggles, or "class" issues, exacerbated by racial tensions stemming from White supremacist doctrines, that contributed to the Black-Korean dissent in South Central Los Angeles. As evidence to the contrary, he noted the lack of conflicts between middle-class Blacks and Koreans, or Black professionals and Korean professionals, who were on more equal grounds with respect to class.

Given that racial minorities from poor urban backgrounds often do live and work within the border spaces of each other, racial tension and friction between different groups are likely and often exist. However, the predominately antagonistic portrayal of Black-Asian relations by the media often has overlooked a history of intergroup coalition and collaboration. For example, the Black-Korean Alliance (BKA) formed in 1983 was Los Angeles' oldest organization dedicated to easing tensions by holding intergroup dialogues (Diaz-Veizades & Chang, 1996). Elsewhere in the country, a multiracial political coalition consisting of Asian Americans, Latinos, and Blacks was formed in New York City in the early 1990s, with the primary goal of promoting redistricting plans linking Chinatown to the predominately Puerto Rican and Black Lower East Side (Saito,

2001; Park & Saito, 2000). Similarly, in the late 1990s in Houston, Texas, a multiracial coalition that included Asian Americans, Latinos, Blacks, and Whites was instrumental in defeating Proposition A, an anti-affirmative action measure (Park & Saito, 2000).

Evidence for both conflict and cooperation suggests that contrary to the polarized view presented by mainstream media, Black-Asian dynamics are complex and nuanced. The dichotomous depiction of Black-Asian relations (i.e., conflict versus consensus) negates their heterogeneity and within-group diversity, with members who are also capable of peaceful coexistence (Lie, 2004). In short, there appears to be conflicting views on Black-Asian relations from media portrayal and from a number of scholars and historians. In order to gain more clarity on the subject, a brief review of empirical studies on Black-Asian intergroup relations follows.

### **Research on Relations between Blacks and Asians**

There is a paucity of research that has examined Black-Asian intergroup relations (Bikmen, 2011; Kohatsu et al., 2000). One of the few exceptions is an earlier study by Y. T. Lee (1993), who examined ingroup preference and perceived homogeneity among Chinese American and African American college students. By administering surveys that included scenarios involving a Chinese American and an African American roommate, Lee (1993) found that both racial groups evaluated themselves more favorably, and perceived ingroup members to be more homogeneous (i.e., more similar to each other) compared to outgroup members. Lee theorized that minority students tended toward ingroup favoritism and perceived ingroup homogeneity as a way to uphold a positive racial group identity. It was unclear from the study, however, the underlying mechanism



of how ingroup favoritism and perceived ingroup homogeneity affected relations between the two groups.

Cummings and Lambert's (1997) study found variables that had been shown to influence White Americans' attitudes toward minority groups, such as educational level, proximity to or contact with minority groups, and perception of economic deprivation, did not influence African Americans in the same way. Instead, their findings indicated a relationship between African Americans' own group perception and their perceptions of Asian Americans and Latinos. Specifically, African Americans who held the most negative views of their own group also reported the most negative evaluations of Asian Americans and Latinos, suggesting the important role own group perception plays in influencing outgroup evaluations for minority groups such as African Americans. In addition, their findings suggested that results from research on relations between Whites and various minorities should not necessarily be extrapolated to intergroup relations between various racial/ethnic groups.

More recently, Bikmen (2011) examined the effect of interracial friendship on outgroup attitudes between Black and Asian American college students. Her findings showed that the more contact Asian students had with Black students, the more positive their attitudes were toward them. For Black students, however, contact with Asian students was associated with positive attitudes, but only for those who also endorsed favorable attitudes toward Whites. Bikmen speculated that Blacks perceived Asian Americans as "honorary Whites" (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), and thus reacted to Asians and Whites similarly. In addition, for Black students who reported higher public regard with respect to their own group, contact with Asian students was associated with more positive

attitudes toward them. That is, when Black students felt that their own group was being valued and respected, their contact with Asian students led to more positive intergroup relations.

### **Racial Psychological Factors and Contact**

Despite the small number of studies on intergroup relations between Blacks and Asians, existing research still provides evidence for the uniquely important role race and racial group membership play in affecting intergroup contact for racial minorities (Bikmen, 2011; Huo & Monlina, 2006; Huo et al., 2010; Phinney et al., 2007). The central role racial psychological factors play in shaping interracial interactions is not unexpected, given that a large body of literature has already documented the salience of race and race-related experiences shaping many aspects of the lives of racial and ethnic minorities in the US (Franklin, 1999, 2006; Helms, 2007; Tummala-Nara, Inman, & Ettigi, 2011). However, the link between racial psychological factors and interracial interactions, particularly between diverse non-White ethnic groups, has largely been unexamined in the intergroup contact literature. Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory provides a conceptual framework for examining the relationship between racial psychological factors and intergroup contact. Specifically, the contact hypothesis states that under favorable conditions, contact between different racial group members could improve intergroup relations and reduce hostility and prejudice. Considerable research has shown the effects of contact on intergroup prejudice reduction and improving intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). However, virtually none of the studies have included racial psychological factors in examining contact and none has focused on Asian Americans' and African Americans' racial socialization and attitudes

toward the outgroup. Racial socialization, which includes discussions and other communications with parents that emphasize the centrality of race and racism to ethnic minority children and youths (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006), may shape the manner in which Asian Americans and Blacks perceive their own group as well as each other. What they learn from their racial socialization may influence their intergroup interactions or contact, their differential valuing or devaluing of the other group through racial stereotypes, as well as their racial identity development. Contact theory might suggest that positive intergroup contact should occur to the extent that both groups can resist negative socialization regarding the other.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Given the centrality of race and race-related experiences in the lives of Asian Americans and African Americans, and the paucity of research in the intergroup contact literature incorporating such racial psychological factors, the purposes of the current study were to extend contact theory to incorporate racial psychological factors by investigating how racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes influence contact between Asian Americans and Blacks.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand how race-related experiences influence Black-Asian intergroup relations, it is important to first have a better understanding of (a) different histories of immigration of the two groups, (b) their group-specific sociocultural, educational, and economic statuses, and (c) their experiences with racism and discrimination. These factors influence why they might have different experiences that might shape how the two groups view each other. With respect to the psychological factors that are the focus of the current study, the review will then cover literature on racial socialization, racial identity development, racial stereotypes, and intergroup contact with emphasis on the experiences of Asian Americans and African Americans.

#### **The Status of Asian Americans**

**Population Statistics.** As the fastest growing minority group in the United States, Asian Americans totaled 19.4 million or 5.4% of the total population as of 2013 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a). Although Chinese contract laborers began arriving on the Hawaii sugar plantations in large numbers in the 1830's—followed by Japanese, Korean, and Filipino laborers—the majority (98%) of the growth in the Asian American population took place after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (Leong & Okazaki, 2009; Pew Research Center, 2015).

As of 2012, the largest ethnic groups were Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, followed by Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese, respectively. Together these groups comprised approximately 83% of the total U.S. Asian population (Pew Research Center, 2013). With respect to geographical distribution, a large proportion of Asian Americans

reside in California (5.6 million) followed by New York (1.6 million), and close to 75% live in metropolitan cities across the US. The proportion of US born citizens (31.1%), foreign-born naturalized citizens (34.4%), and foreign-born non-citizens (35%) are approximately equal, with four-fifths of Asian Americans reported speaking a language other than English at home (Castaneda, Broadbent, & Coleman, 2010; Pew Research Center, 2013). A little over half (51.3%) of all Asian Americans over the age of 25 years hold a bachelor's degree or high level of education; their poverty rate is about 12.7%, with an approximate medium household income of \$72,000 (U.S. Census, 2015a).

**History of Immigration.** Despite generally being perceived as a successful minority group in recent decades, early waves of Asian immigrants experienced a host of anti-Asian sentiments, along with the execution of race-based immigration policies that systematically discriminated and excluded various Asian groups, as well as limiting the rights of Asians who were already in the US (e.g., 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, 1913 Alien Land Law of California, 1924 Immigration Act; Leong & Okazaki, 2009; Takaki, 1989). It was not until the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which replaced longstanding national origin quotas favoring Europe with a new system granting preferential entry to high skills workers and family reunification, that the Asian American population began to grow at faster rates. Additionally, new laws in the 1970s and early 1980s separated refugee admissions from the overall quota system, enabling entry for a growing number of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos after the Vietnam War and the fall of Saigon in the 1970s (Leong & Okazaki, 2009; Pew Research Center, 2015).

**A Model Minority.** Contrary to mostly negative and denigrating characterizations (e.g., yellow perils, inferior race) of Asians in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, they have been touted as a “model minority” with high educational and economic success in recent years (Chou & Feagin, 2008). The model minority stereotype dominated discourses in both mainstream media and in research literature when Asian Americans were the subject of discussion, giving rise to a subset of research studies dispelling its validity and cautioning the negative consequences such a stereotype had on Asian Americans and other racial minorities (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy & Polifroni, 2008; Takaki, 1993; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005).

The term “model minority” was first coined in the 1960s at the height of the civil rights movement. Within this sociopolitical context, Asian American scholars and activists argued that the model minority label had been used to invalidate and silence demands for justice and equality by other racial minorities, namely African Americans and Latinos (Suzuki, 2002). When contrasted with the success story of Asian Americans that reinforced the notion of a just society free of racial discrimination, any perceived shortcomings in other minority groups were attributed to their own failure. By continually pitting Asian Americans against other racial minorities, they have become the target of envy and resentment by Whites and other racial minorities (S. J. Lee, 1996; Lin et al., 2005; Maddux et al., 2008).

### **The Status of African Americans**

**Population Statistics.** Blacks or African Americans according to the U.S. Census Bureau refers to individuals with origins tracing back to any of the Black racial groups of Africa (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011b). As the second largest ethnic minority

group in the US, African Americans comprised 14.3% (45.7 million) of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). With respect to geographic distribution, the latest census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016) indicated that New York (3.8 million), Texas (3.6 million), Florida (3.6 million), Georgia (3.3 million), and California (3 million) are the top five states with the largest Black populations. The majority (55%) of African Americans live in the South, with the highest proportion residing in Mississippi (38%). Those Black Americans residing outside of the South have tended to concentrate in metropolitan areas such as Chicago, IL, Detroit, MI, San Francisco, CA, and Sacramento, CA (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011b).

**History of Immigration.** Although the majority of the nation's 45.7 million Black population trace their roots back to the involuntary immigration in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, recent changes in immigration policies (e.g., Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Refugee Act of 1980, Immigration Act of 1990) allowed a modern wave of Black mostly voluntary immigration to the US beginning in the 1960s (Anderson, 2015). Currently, Black immigrants account for 8.7% of the total U.S. Black population, with approximately half immigrating from the Caribbean. Nevertheless, much of the recent growth in the Black immigrant population has been driven by African immigration. Between 2000 and 2013, for example, the number of African immigrants rose 137%, comprising over one third (36%) of the total foreign-born Black population in the US (Anderson, 2015). The majority (82%) of the Black immigrant population is concentrated in just two regions: 41% of them live in the Northeast and 41% in the South. The Midwest and the West each are home to 9% of the Black immigration population.

Although recent work indicated African Americans and Black Caribbeans characterized their mutual relationships as being close (Thornton, Taylor, & Chatters, 2013), a number of studies have documented the substantial social and economic advantages foreign-born Blacks have over U.S.-born Blacks. Compared to U.S.-born Blacks, recent Black immigrants have higher levels of education and employment attainment, higher median household income, lower poverty rates, and self-reported higher physical and emotional well-being (Alex-Assensoh, 2009; Kalmijn, 1996; Wheeler, Brooks, & Brown, 2011).

**Racial Disparities and Inequalities.** Despite having attained unprecedented gains in political, educational, economic, and social arenas after a long and violent history of racial oppression (Pew Research Center, 2010), African Americans as a group still lag behind other racial groups in many indices of well-being. Compared to their White and Asian counterparts, African Americans are disproportionately over-represented in the criminal justice system, under-perform in the education system, are more likely to have lower incomes and to come from single-parent households, and have higher mortality rates (Alexander, 2010; Morial et al., 2015). In 2009, 25.8% of Black households lived in poverty, compared to 9.4% of Whites and 12.5% of Asians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). With respect to educational achievement, 19% of Blacks over the age of 25 had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 51.3% of Asian Americans and 29.6% of all Americans 25 and older (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a; 2016).

### **Blacks-Asian Dynamics**

Despite a history of policy-level systematic discrimination and exclusion, contemporary White Americans portray Asian Americans as a successful, highly



educated, and problem-free model minority. African Americans, on the other hand, continue to endure social, economic, and educational setbacks as a result of racism, discrimination, and structural barriers. The stereotype of Asian Americans as a model minority is problematic to both Asians and Blacks, it: (a) implicitly puts Asians and Blacks in direct contrast and competition with each other, (b) makes cross-racial alliance efforts challenging, and (c) justifies the equity status quo by falsely claiming a fair U.S. opportunity structure using Asian Americans' relative success as examples. Although there is a body of literature (e.g., Castaneda, Broadbent, & Coleman, 2010; Segura & Rodrigues, 2006) documenting how such a complex set of racial relations might influence intergroup perceptions and interactions between Asians and Blacks, very little empirical research efforts has been devoted to the subject matter. Despite this limitation, existing research still provides clues for hypothesizing how contact between Blacks and Asians might be affected by race-related factors. Therefore, the following sections will include a review of racial socialization, racial identity, racial stereotypes, and intergroup contact in Asian Americans and African Americans.

### **Racial Socialization**

In Allport's (1954) theory, two racial groups' perceptions of their statuses relative to each other are critical factors in determining the quality of intergroup contact. Parental racial socialization, which emphasizes discussions and other communications about the centrality of race and racism to ethnic minority children and youths, may shape the manner in which outgroups as well as one's own group are perceived (Hughes et al., 2006). Through socialization practices, such as discussing racial and ethnic issues, promoting cultural knowledge, values, and customs, and providing opportunities for their

youths to learn about other cultures and traditions, parents prepare their youths for interracial and interethnic interactions. Sociocultural communications and practices have been studied for their potential to (a) reduce the effects of racism, (b) promote positive racial identity development, and (c) influence intergroup behaviors of ethnic minority youths (Hughes & Chen, 1997; 1999).

### **Reducing Effects of Racism and Maintaining Culture**

Historically, research on racial socialization stemmed from efforts to understand the processes by which African American parents helped maintain their children's self-esteem, and prepare them to navigate racial barriers within a racially hierarchical social structure in which Whites were at the top of the hierarchy (Boykin & Toms; 1985; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Thomas & Speight; 1999). As such, greater emphasis was placed on themes pertaining to preparation for bias in racial socialization research (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). *Preparation for bias* refers to parents' efforts to facilitate children's awareness of racial prejudice and help them develop coping skills. Thus, messages about potential racial hostility, microaggressions, and race-related barriers were communicated from parents to children, who were also taught coping strategies in order to navigate and succeed in mainstream (i.e., White) society.

Research on ethnic socialization has been focused more on the experiences of Asian, Latino, and to a lesser extent, recent Black immigrants with African or Caribbean roots (Hughes et al., 2006). These studies emphasized children's identity achievement, cultural retention, and ingroup affiliation in the face of competing pressure to acquire and assimilate into the dominant culture (Ou & McAddo, 1993; Quintana & Vera, 1999). In

cultural socialization, the socialization messages reflect cultural pride and emphasize the history, customs, traditions, and knowledge of a particular cultural group (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Compared to racial socialization, which has an outward orientation emphasizing interactions with systems of racial stratification and structural oppression, cultural/ethnic socialization has a more inward orientation that strives to retain and enhance one's own-group identification. Although some scholars (e.g., Jones, 1997) would argue that cultural socialization practices take place in reaction to cultural racism and a cultural hierarchy that necessitate the need for people of Color to protect their culture. In short, racial and ethnic/cultural socialization emphasize a process of knowledge transmission from parents to children, with the transmitted messages focusing on preparing for bias, developing coping skills, and preserving and honoring their cultural heritage and connections (Hughes et al., 2006).

**Racial Socialization in African Americans.** Studies on racial socialization often examined a combination of racial and ethnic/cultural socialization practices. For example, Hughes and Chen (1997) investigated cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust with a sample of African American parents. *Promotion of mistrust* refers to parents cautioning their children to be wary when interacting with racial outgroups. They reported that although parents in general engaged in more cultural socialization (i.e., teaching about African culture, history, and heritage) than preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages increased with children's age. Hughes and Chen hypothesized that as children get older, their understanding of racial knowledge became more evident to the parents,

who might in turn engage in more proactive discussions about racial issues with them. Alternatively, the researchers suggested that children were more likely to encounter racial discrimination and prejudice as they got older, therefore, parents' increased discussions about racial issues were in reaction to their children's experiences with racial bias.

In another study that examined the sociocultural context of the home environment as a measure for racial socialization in African American families, Caughy et al. (2002) reported that higher income families were more likely to provide a more Afrocentric home environment compared to lower income families. They also reported that compared to children coming from less Afrocentric home environments, children from home environments that were more enriched with African American culture possessed more developed problem solving skills and greater factual knowledge. Their findings were consistent with other studies (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1999) demonstrating a consistent link between cultural socialization and better academic outcome in African American youths.

**Racial Socialization in Asian Americans.** In contrast to the abundance of research on racial socialization in African Americans, research in this area among Asian Americans and their families remain sparse (Tran & Lee, 2010). In one of a small number of studies examining cultural socialization practices among Asian Americans, Ou and McAdoo (1993) reported that Chinese parents stressed the importance of maintaining their Chinese traditions and pride in their culture, as well as the benefit of speaking Chinese. Similarly, Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that the majority of the Japanese parents surveyed in their sample reported engaging in cultural socialization practices with their children. In a more recent study that investigated preparation for bias, cultural

socialization, and promotion of mistrust with a sample of late adolescent Asian Americans, Tran and Less (2010) reported that the majority of their respondents endorsed experiences with all three racial socialization practices. Their findings were contrary to previous studies (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001), suggesting that racial socialization was a less salient part in Asian American parenting practices compared to African American parenting practices (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Tran and Lee (2010) argued that such claims regarding the role racial socialization plays in Asian American families might be premature given the general lack of research with this population.

In sum, the racial, ethnic/cultural socialization literature has highlighted those parenting socialization practices that prepare ethnic minority youths to cope with and thrive in a racially and culturally stratified society. It is important to underscore that the conceptualization and development of racial socialization research emerged from scholars' efforts to promote ethnic minority youth development within the context of a White majority society. In other words, ethnic minority children are conveyed messages and strategies of how to prepare for and cope with discrimination in general but with White racism in particular (see Sue, 2003, for a discussion of the difference between racism and discrimination); while cultural retention practices are also encouraged in the face of competing pressure to assimilate into White culture. One way to cope with racism and the pressure to assimilate into White culture is via healthy racial identity development.

### **Promote Positive Racial Identity Development**

Racial socialization practices have been studied for their effects on positive racial identity development. Racial identity pertains to the manner in which people of Color

perceive, adapt to, and cope with a racially hierarchical society, and their understanding of their own groups in relation to other racial groups in that society. Helms (1990) theorized that an individual's racial identity is shaped both directly and indirectly by sociocultural influences in his or her environment, such influences include parents and other important adults, peers, schools, social media, and other institutions of society. These influences convey race-related messages (i.e., racial socialization) that govern one's behavior as a person of color.

In line with other general identity development theories (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980), Helms suggested that the salience of particular types of sociocultural influences is dependent upon the particular life stages throughout an individual's life span. For instance, while parents and family might be the initial racial socialization agents, peers, school, social media, and other non-familial sociocultural communicators gradually replace them as an individual reaches different developmental milestones (Helms, 2003). Negative communications about one's racial group can result in the internalization of negative racial stereotypes, while positive communications can foster strength and pride in one's identity as a person of color. Both types of communications, or racial socialization messages, promote racial identity development and potentially influence how a person of color associates and interacts with others (Harrell, 2000; Helms, 2003).

Substantial research has documented a significant relationship between racial socialization and its influence on racial identity development (Thomas, 2000; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2010; White-Johnson et al., 2010). For example, in a study that examined the relationship between racial socialization attitudes and racial identity stages, Stevenson (1995) found that African American adolescents

who believed in the importance of racial socialization practices were more likely to score higher on the more mature dimensions of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (i.e., Immersion and Internalization; Helms & Parham, 1991). To the extent that the participants' racial socialization attitudes reflected their own socialization experiences, this study served to capture Black families' child-rearing practices from their children's perspectives and the resulting racial identity outcome.

In another study on parental racial socialization as a predictor of African American adolescents' identity status (Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Seller, 2012), their findings showed that adolescents who reported receiving parental racial socialization messages were also more likely to report being in the Achieved status of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). Phinney's Achieved ethnic identity construct is roughly analogous to the Immersion-Emersion status from Helms's POC racial identity model, characterized by having a secure sense of self as member of one's own racial and ethnic group, and commitment to that group. Seaton et al.'s (2012) results were corroborated by other findings indicating a correlation between increased parental racial socialization and more achieved ethnic identity development in their adolescents (Marshall, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

Alvarez, Juang, and Liang (2006) conducted one of few studies that explored the role of racial socialization on racial identity schemas in college-aged Asian Americans. They found positive correlations between the discussion of race and racism and the utilization of Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion identity schemas. In other words, explicit discussion of race-related material with parents and other important adults seemed to influence the utilization of certain racial identity schemas beyond that of

Conformity, the least sophisticated schema. Hence, their results provided further support for a positive relationship between racial socialization and more sophisticated racial identity development using an Asian American sample.

In short, a body of research supported a link between racial socialization practices and identity outcomes, such that children and adolescents who experienced more racial socialization were more likely to be further along in their racial identity development. Given that one of racial socialization's primary goals is to maximize optimal racial identity development and functioning for people of color, these findings are theoretically and empirically consistent with the functions of racial socialization.

### **Influence Intergroup Behaviors of Ethnic Minority Youths**

A central goal for parental racial socialization practices is to prepare children to overcome racial barriers and interact successfully with other racial groups. Although most racial socialization research has only inferred its role in affecting interracial interactions, especially when preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages were communicated (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1999; Tran & Lee, 2010), few studies explicitly investigated the relationship between parental racial socialization and actual contact between groups. Nevertheless, existing racial socialization literature documented different contextual characteristics shaping the level of socialization practices, giving clues to hypothesize how race-related communications impact interracial interactions.

**Contextual Characteristics.** Research has shown that parents' education level and socioeconomic status shaped their perceived importance to incorporate racial socialization in child rearing practices. For example, findings from Hughes and Chen's (1997) study with African American parents indicated that those who were in



professional, managerial, and technical occupations reported more cultural socialization and preparation for bias than parents in service, machine trades, and processing occupations. The study also indicated older parents, and parents with higher educational attainment, reported higher frequency of cultural socialization than their younger, less educated counterparts. Similarly, in examining patterns of racial socialization practices in African American mothers, White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010) reported mothers with higher levels of education endorsed more frequent racial socialization practices than their less educated counterparts.

These findings suggested that minority parents who are more educated may be more likely to recognize the historical inequality and oppression faced by people of color; this recognition may lead them to emphasize certain parenting practices, such as promoting racial pride and developing coping strategies for racism, in order to help their children succeed. However, it is also likely that education and socioeconomic status are proxy indicators of other contextual characteristics, such as the level of neighborhood racial diversity, and by extension, potential contact with other racial groups. That is, educated parents of color are more likely to reside in predominately White neighborhoods, where their children are more likely to encounter racial barriers and intergroup conflicts, making racial socialization a necessary part of their child rearing practices (Tatum, 2000; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Indeed, the neighborhood racial composition has been shown to play important roles in shaping familial racial socialization practices, and by extension, interracial interactions.

In a study examining how sociodemographic and environmental factors influence African American parents' racial socialization practices, Thornton, Chatters,

Taylor, and Allen (1990) found that while mothers in general were more likely than fathers to educate children about racial issues, fathers who resided in the Northeast were more likely to report racial socialization practices than their Southern counterparts. In addition, their findings suggested that mothers who lived in racially integrated neighborhoods (i.e., equal ratio of Black and White residents) endorsed more racial socialization practices compared to mothers who lived in all-Black communities. Other studies also reported similar findings (e.g., Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005). Compared to parents who lived in predominately Black neighborhoods, African American parents who lived in racially integrated neighborhoods reported engaging in more preparation for bias with their children.

In sum, research consistently showed higher levels of racial socialization in Black families who lived in racially integrated neighborhoods compared to those who lived in predominately Black neighborhoods, suggesting these sociocultural communications and practices served to enable children and youths to cope with potential interracial contact and conflicts. For the most part, socialization practices have mostly focused on potential intergroup interactions involving Whites and White culture. Whether the same relationship between neighborhood racial composition and racial socialization practices found in Black families can be generalized to Asian American families is unclear, due to very limited racial socialization research in this population (Tran & Lee, 2010).

Although their racial and cultural histories in the US suggest that the racial groups must often be in contact with each other (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), virtually none of the literature has examined parental socialization practices as they pertain to intergroup relations

between Asian Americans and African Americans. Nevertheless, to the extent that intergenerational transmission of knowledge and values are an important aspect of parenting practices, Asian American parents' evaluations of African Americans would likely be transmitted from one generation to the next via racial socialization practices (Helms, 2003). Therefore, one could posit that just as their African American counterparts, Asian American families who live in racially integrated neighborhoods where the likelihood of intergroup interactions are high, are more likely to engage in racial socialization practices than those who live in predominately Asian communities.

### **Racial Identity Theory**

Intergroup Contact theory research is generally missing a psychological mechanism to explain why members of Asian American and African American racial groups might differentially interact with each other. Racial identity theories examine how racial socialization or differential treatment of people of Color (i.e., Asian American, African American, Latina/Latino American, and Native American) leads to their internalization of negative race-related messages of societal racial groups, and themselves as members of those groups (Helms, 1995a). Healthy racial identity development involves people of Color replacing negative societal messages of their racial inferiority with positive perceptions of their own group, and themselves in relation to other racial groups.

Helms's (1990; 1995a) People of Color (POC) racial identity model captures the underlying psychological mechanisms people of color experience in response to and coping with societal conditions of racism and oppression. The POC racial identity model is a developmental model with the primary task of overcoming internalized racism in its

various forms to develop a positive self-affirming collective identity. Development occurs by ways of an individual negotiating successive racial identity statuses in a sequential fashion, these statuses are defined as cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes used by an individual to interpret and navigate complex racial information in a given environment. The behavioral manifestations of these underlying statuses are called schemas, which can be assessed by racial identity attitude measures (Helms, 1995a).

The POC racial identity model consists of five racial identity statuses or schemas (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Integrative Awareness), each of which may have different implications for how a person reacts to stereotypes and stereotyping as well as how the person interacts with members of other groups.

*Conformity* is the least sophisticated status characterized by a “color-blind” outlook that minimizes or rejects the significance of race in society. Individuals in this status tend to identify with and idealize White culture and denigrate non-White cultures. *Dissonance* is marked by a sense of confusion, disorientation, anxiety, and ambivalence about one’s racial affiliation and racial issues. Individuals in this status begin to acknowledge their lack of fit in the White culture; they also come to realize their lack of connection with and knowledge of their own culture. *Immersion-Emersion* describes individuals’ immersion in and idealization of their own racial and cultural group while resenting and rejecting White culture and standards. A sense of solidarity, community, and groundedness with one’s own group and racial legacy characterizes those who function from the Immersion-Emersion status. *Internalization* entails a positive commitment to one’s racial group while possessing the capacity to objectively assess and

respond to members of the dominant group. *Integrative Awareness*, the most sophisticated status, is represented by the integration of different aspects of one's identity, including racial identity. Individuals who function from this status are motivated by a globally humanistic outlook and possess the capacity and flexibility to connect and identify with other sociocultural and racial groups.

### **Influences on Racial Stereotyping and Intergroup Contact**

One consequence of individuals receiving different treatment based on their relegated racial group membership is negative racial stereotypes of the targeted groups, which can lead to negative intergroup relations. Jones (1997) defined stereotypes as beliefs held about the characteristics of a group of people regardless of their accuracy. A large body of literature has documented the detrimental effects of racially based stereotypes on minority groups (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Steel, 1997; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2003). Therefore, an essential component in racial identity theories is the process by which people of color come to recognize and overcome societal racial stereotypes and negative self- and own-group perceptions (Helms & Cook, 1999). In other words, for people of color, healthy identity development involves replacing negative internalized race-related messages with positive perceptions about one's own group and one's self in relation to other racial groups.

Past work suggested a relationship between racial identity development and more positive attitudes toward racial outgroups in people of Color (e.g., Phinney et al., 2007), however, research exploring the role of racial identity in intergroup contact between Asian Americans and African Americans remain underexamined. An exception is a study by Kohatsu et al. (2000) who found that racial identity attitudes among Asian

Americans significantly predicted racial mistrust (i.e., perceived interpersonal racism) toward African Americans. *Racial mistrust* measured the extent to which Asian Americans distrust of African Americans in interpersonal relationships. In particular, Kohatsu et al. (2000) reported that Conformity and Resistance attitudes from the Visible Racial/Ethnic Group Members (VREG) Identity Attitude Scale (Helms & Carter, 1990) predicted perceived interpersonal racism. Conformity and Resistance attitudes are analogous to the Conformity and Immersion-Emersion statuses in the PRIAS, respectively (Helms, 1995a). Thus, Asian Americans who identified with White culture (Conformity) as well as those who immersed themselves into the Asian American culture while rejecting White culture (Immersion-Emersion) reported more perceived interpersonal racism from African Americans. In contrast, Integrative Awareness attitude predicted less perceived interpersonal racism from African Americans. That is, Asian Americans with the capacity to process and integrate complex cultural perspectives reported less perceived interpersonal racism from African Americans.

In addition, the study revealed that Asian Americans who held Conformity and Resistance (analogous to Immersion-Emersion status) attitudes were also more likely to endorse Black racial stereotypes, hold less favorable outgroup impressions, and experience decreased quality of contact with African Americans. One similar feature of Conformity and Immersion-Emersion statuses is their rigid and simplistic manners in interpreting racial stimuli. An individual who held Conformity attitudes would likely subscribe to prevailing White cultural norms that include negative racial stereotypes toward African Americans, someone who held Immersion-Emersion attitudes would likely to operate from a more ethnocentric worldview using his or her own cultural group

as reference, both statuses underscored ingroup and outgroup differences and negatively affected intergroup attitudes and interactions (Jones, 1997; Kohatsu et al., 2000).

### **Racial Stereotypes**

According to Allport's (1954) theory, the quality of intergroup relations is better if group members have or perceive that they have equal status in the society. One way that groups' perceptions of their relative status can be inferred is from their use of stereotypes of outgroups. A *stereotype* is "a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of members of a particular social category" (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, p. 13).

Stereotypes are problematic in our society because they are based on prejudices, which are inflexible generalizations of another person or group based on faulty information that put the object of prejudice at an unjust disadvantage. Put simply, prejudice is a negative attitude held toward others based on assumptions. The behavioral manifestations of prejudice are discrimination, which refers to those actions intended to preserve and maintain own-group advantageous status at the expense of members of another group (Jones, 1997). In *racial stereotyping*, certain assumptions are made and expectations held about the likely capacities or behaviors of individuals based solely on their racial group membership. Consequently, racial stereotyping can strongly influence how one perceives, behaves, and interacts with members of the stereotyped group (Bobo & Johnson, 2000).

### **Black and Asian Racial Stereotypes**

A number of stereotypes are associated with being members of the Asian American and African American groups. Asian Americans are stereotyped as a model minority who are intelligent, mathematical, family-oriented, quiet, obedient, and self-

discipline; however, they are also stereotyped as nerdy, unassimilated, humorless, shy, and nonathletic (Guthrie & Hutchinson, 1995; Ho & Jackson, 2001). African Americans, on the other hand, are stereotyped as poor, uneducated, criminal, lazy, musical, and athletic (Devine, 1989). It is unclear if Asians and Blacks hold stereotypes about each other in ways that mirror those held by mainstream society. However, a recent study sheds light on this subject.

In a study that examined racial stereotypes using a multiracial sample, Wodtke (2010) surveyed attitudes toward different minority groups using two datasets: the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality 1992-1994 (MCSUI; Bobo et al., 2000), a dataset limited to four metropolitan areas (i.e., Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and Boston), and the 1990–2010 waves of the General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Marsden, Hout, & Kim, 2011), a nationally representative sample. Their findings indicated that in general, Blacks were less likely than Asians to negatively stereotype racial outgroups. In addition, Blacks with high levels of education were also more likely to reject racial stereotypes of all racial minorities. In contrast, the majority of Asian respondents endorsed negative views of Blacks regardless of their education level. However, results showed that the two datasets differed in the overall level of negative stereotyping. Specifically, Asian respondents endorsed extremely high levels of negative Black stereotypes in the MCSUI dataset, but not in the GSS dataset. Close examination revealed that Asian respondents in the MCSUI dataset were almost entirely from the Los Angeles area. Wodtke speculated that the MCSUI Asian respondents' extreme negative perceptions of Blacks were related to high racial tension between these two groups following the 1992 Los Angeles Riots, which coincided with the data collection period.



Wodtke's (2010) findings illustrated how contextual characteristics such as regional racial histories, racial composition, and historic patterns of intergroup relations influence interracial attitudes and racial stereotyping. As discussed in the Racial Socialization section, these contextual characteristics may influence the sociocultural communications from parents (and other socialization agents) to children, thus shaping the perceptions and interactions between Asian Americans and African Americans.

### **Racial Socialization Influences Racial Stereotypes**

Factors such as familial and other racial socialization may influence children and youths of Color's racial stereotyping of other minority groups. To the extent that racial stereotypes are beliefs (negative and/or positive) about certain attributes shared by a group of people, then finding out the origins of racial stereotypes necessitates examining the origins of belief and concept formations. Immediate environmental contexts such as parents, family, peers, neighborhood, school, and place of worship are likely to influence a young person's values and beliefs about different societal racial groups and the different attributes associated with them (Helms, 2003; Jones, 1997). In addition, other influences such as social media (e.g., internet, television, radio, newspapers, magazines) may impact attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of those who watch, read, or listen to these various forms of information and entertainment outlets. Taken together, these various "socialization agents" impart to children and young adults of Color messages that societal racial groups and themselves as members of these groups are differently valued (Helms, 2003). Consequently, such racial socialization messages can lead them to internalize negative perceptions and racial stereotypes of themselves and others based upon their respective racial group memberships.

In a study that examined the developmental antecedents and consequences of stereotype-conscious, McKown and Strambler's (2009) highlighted the salience of parental racial socialization in children's development of stereotype-consciousness and knowledge of broadly held stereotypes. *Stereotype-consciousness* refers to children's awareness that people hold stereotypes; it influences children's interpretation of and responses to social events (McKown, 2004; McKown & Weinstein, 2003). Their findings showed that frequent parental racial socialization predicted elementary school-age children's development of stereotype-consciousness. In addition, they reported that racial socialization was associated with children's increased ability to infer stereotypes held by others and increased knowledge of broadly held stereotypes. These findings were especially poignant given evidence noting that as children acquired knowledge of broadly held stereotypes, they became more likely to interpret negative interracial interactions as reflecting discrimination (McKown & Strambler, 2009). Thus, by helping children understand and infer stereotypes held by other, racial socialization prepared children to cope with and navigate biases and barriers encountered during interracial interactions. Given that general parenting practices was not a predictor of stereotype-consciousness, their results supported the significant influence of race-related socialization practices in children's awareness and knowledge of broadly held stereotypes.

In sum, while the underlying processes of how parental, familial, and community factors influence the development of racial stereotypes remained unclear (McKown & Strambler, 2009), several themes emerged from empirical research in ethnic-racial socialization. Specifically, research literature consistently highlighted parental efforts to prepare children and youth for racial bias, emphasize cultural socialization that included

fostering ethnic pride, and promote interracial mistrust by cautioning children to be wary when interacting with racial outgroups (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006, Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). It is likely that by preparing children for racial bias and promoting interracial mistrust, parents are also teaching negative stereotypes of other racial groups. Similarly, the practice of fostering ethnic pride may lead to ethnocentrism, which involves the devaluation of outgroup members by highlighting and reinforcing negative racial stereotypes. In order to further elucidate these underlying processes, the current study aimed to explore how racial socialization influences racial stereotype endorsement, both directly and indirectly, via racial identity development, as well as interracial contact between Asian Americans and Blacks.

### **Intergroup Contact Theory**

In his classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Gordon Allport (1954) introduced the intergroup contact hypothesis. Allport's theory stated that under favorable conditions, contact between different racial group members could improve intergroup relations and reduce hostility and prejudice. The four key conditions were: (a) creation of equal status among members of different groups, (b) identification of common goals, (c) promotion of intergroup cooperation, and (d) overt sanction and support of interracial interactions from authorities, laws, and customs. Since its original formulation, Allport's intergroup contact theory has stimulated hundreds of studies for more than five decades, testing the four key conditions in various fields of applications involving a wide variety of target groups (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003).

### **Contact and Positive Intergroup Relations**

In one of the most comprehensive articles, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a rigorous meta-analysis of 515 studies involving 713 independent samples from 38 different countries to test Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis. Their findings suggested that intergroup contact typically had a positive effect on reducing intergroup prejudice. These contact effects led to reduced levels of prejudice not only for the specific outgroup members in the study, but the effects were generalizable to the entire outgroup. In addition, the same study found that intergroup contact reduced prejudice across different contexts (e.g., individuals living in housing projects, students in schools) and diverse arrays of outgroup members (e.g., racial and sexual minorities, individuals with mental or physical disabilities).

### **Contact-Prejudice Effects and Societal Status**

Even though ample empirical evidence has demonstrated the positive effects of contact on reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations, recent findings have suggested that the contact-prejudice reducing relationship factor varies significantly in relation to the societal status of groups under examination. For instance, in another meta-analytic study, Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) reported that contact was significantly less effective in improving intergroup attitudes for minority status groups compared to majority status groups (minority status groups in their analyses included racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities, in addition to people with disabilities and mental illness). This pattern held even when the four key optimal contact conditions were met. Thus, optimal conditions predicted strong contact-prejudice reducing relationships in majority but not minority status groups. Tropp and Pettigrew hypothesized that for minority status group members, the recognition of their own group's devaluation by majority group members

likely inhibits positive intergroup contact outcomes, while such an effect is unlikely to occur in majority status group members, who are privileged to enjoy mostly positive own group affirmation messages.

To elucidate the underlying processes by which perceived own group devaluation leads to weaker contact-prejudice effects, Saguy et al. (2008) examined how group-based power affected the contact experiences of disadvantaged and advantaged groups. They defined advantaged groups as those who hold more power and have higher social status as indicated by levels of education, income, and general prestige relative to disadvantaged groups. For example, the advantaged group in Saguy et al.'s study were the Askenazim Jews, and the disadvantaged group were the Mizrahim Jews. The inequities between these two ethnic groups in Israel are well documented, with the Askenazim Jews having more prestige and resources (Saguy et al., 2008). They found that members of advantaged groups preferred to emphasize commonalities (e.g., cultural or national commonalities) in intergroup interactions, whereas members of disadvantaged groups preferred to address power differences in such interactions. They also reported that these group-based differences in the desire to address power disparities were partially explained by disadvantaged groups' stronger motivation for change in the status quo. Thus, their findings showed that members of both groups brought different motivations and goals to a contact situation. To the extent that the advantaged group preferred to emphasize commonalities and neglected to address power disparities, the disadvantaged group would come away from the interaction feeling dissatisfied or even further marginalized. These different group perspectives may help explain the lessened

prejudice reduction effect of contact for members of disadvantaged groups relative to advantaged groups.

Similarly, Bikmen (2011) found that whereas Asian American students (a higher status minority) endorsed more positive attitudes toward Black students (a lower status minority) with increased contact, the correlation between contact with Asian students and attitudes toward them was not significant among Black students. Although these results should be interpreted with caution since Bikmen did not find the correlation coefficients for each racial group sample to be statistically different from each other, due to small sample size. Nevertheless, her findings suggested that due to differences in social status and the experiences associated with those differences, simply increasing contact may not result in positive intergroup relations between Asians and Blacks.

In sum, an abundance of research has documented intergroup contact and its effects on improving intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). However, more recent work suggested that the contact-prejudice reducing effects differ significantly based on the societal status of the groups involved. Specifically, the contact-prejudice reducing relationships were generally weaker for minority status group members than for majority status group members (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Although researchers have begun to extend the contact hypothesis by examining different underlying processes contributing to these group-based differences in the effectiveness of contact (e.g., power relations, public regard, and secondary transfer effect; Bikmen, 2011; Bowman & Griffin, 2012; Saguy et al., 2008), virtually none of the literature has addressed the extent to which racial psychological factors such as racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes influence interracial contact between Asian

Americans and African Americans, two minority status groups, one of which either has or is perceived to have more status than the other (Bikmen, 2011)..

### **Statement of the Problem**

Previous research on Asian Americans and African Americans has documented the centrality of race and race-related experiences in the groups' lives and their influence on interactions between the two racial groups (Helms, 2003; Herrell, 2000). In particular, researchers have theorized that racial socialization practices shape racial identity development and racial stereotype endorsement, all of which may affect the quality of intergroup contact for young adults (Helms, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). The majority of racial socialization research has focused on parental child-rearing practices intended to enable coping with racial barriers, foster racial pride, and maintain recipients' cultural values, knowledge, and practices within the context of a White majority society.

Yet there is a paucity of research that has examined whether the ways in which Asian American and Black families socialize their children about the other group's racial experiences, cultural values, and history of racism affects the quality of the interracial contact between the two groups. Furthermore, although there is evidence suggesting that children and youths of Color's racial socialization experiences influence racial identity development and racial stereotyping, it is unclear if and how these relationships hold with respect to Black families' racial socialization practices about Asian Americans, and Asian American families about Blacks. Finally, if Black and Asian American families' racial socialization practices about the other group do affect racial identity development and

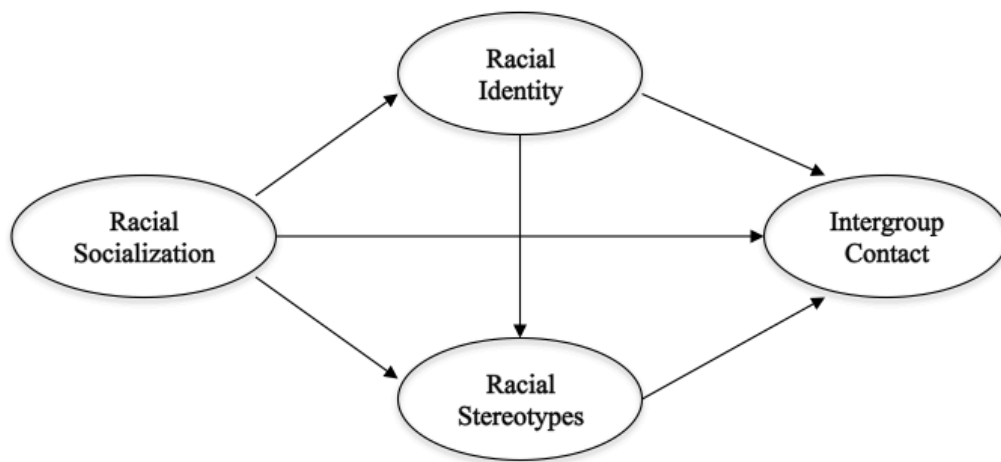
racial stereotyping of the other group, it is important to explore the resulting contact behavior between the two groups.

The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) has been studied extensively as a theoretical foundation for promoting prejudice reduction and positive intergroup contact outcomes between different racial groups (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, recent findings have suggested that whether contact reduces prejudice (i.e., the contact-prejudice effect) depends on the relative societal status of the groups in contact (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). As such, simply increasing contact between Asians and Blacks may not improve their relations with each other (Bikemn, 2012). In addition, intergroup contact research has generally lacked a racial psychological component to explain interactions between racial and ethnic minorities. Therefore, using intergroup contact theory as a framework, the current study investigated how racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes directly and indirectly influenced intergroup contact between African Americans and Asian Americans.

As diagramed in Figure 1, the main variables that were examined in the research model were racial socialization, racial identity, racial stereotypes, and intergroup contact. First, to better understand Blacks' and Asian Americans' racial socialization experiences of each other, I used a modified version of the *Racial Socialization Influences Scale* (SOC; Harrell, 1997) to assess two dimensions of sociocultural communications: (a) the frequency of race-related messages from families and other important adults about the other group (i.e., Discussion), and (b) the degree of exposure to racial/ethnic diversity in one's various relational and environmental contexts (i.e., Environment). Second, I used Helms's *People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale* (PRIAS; Helms, 1995a) to



measure racial identity. The scale assesses four different schemas or strategies Blacks and Asian Americans utilize when engaging with race-related stimuli. Third, racial stereotypes were measured by the *Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale* (Negative ATA; Ho & Jackson, 2001) and the *Anti-Black Scale* (Katz & Hass, 1988) for Asian and Black stereotypes, respectively. Both scales assess the extent to which participants endorse certain racial stereotypes about members of the other group. And fourth, I used a modified version of the *Intergroup Contact Measure* (Stathi & Crisp, 2010) to assess both the Frequency and Quality of contact, and the *Behavioral Intentions Scale* (Esses & Dovidio, 2002) to assess participants' levels of willingness to engage in future contact behaviors with members of the other group (i.e., Behavioral Intentions).



*Figure 1.* Conceptual framework for proposed relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, racial stereotypes, and intergroup contact.

The following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

**Hypothesis 1.** Asian Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationships between

**racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and intergroup contact (i.e., Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions).**

This hypothesis was based on literature suggesting that Asian Americans' racial identity was associated with interracial contact (Kohatsu et al., 2001), and also that racial identity mediated the relationship between racial socialization and perceived racism (Alvarez et al., 2006). Specifically, Kohatsu et al.'s (2001) findings suggested that certain racial identity schemas predicted Asian Americans' perceived interpersonal racism (i.e., racial mistrust) and contact with African Americans. In addition, Alvarez et al.'s (2006) findings suggested that certain racial identity schemas moderated the relationship between racial socialization and Asian Americans' perceptions (i.e., awareness) of racism. Perceptions of racism is presumed to influence outgroup evaluations and therefore intergroup contact behaviors.

Therefore, I expected a direct effect between racial socialization and intergroup contact such that more frequent race-related communications and higher degree of exposure to racial diversity would lead to more frequent and positive contact as well as more willingness to engage in future contact with the other group. In addition, I expected that racial identity schemas would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and intergroup contact. Specifically, I expected a positive relationship between racial socialization and intergroup contact to be mediated by the more sophisticated schema (i.e., Internalization), whereas a negative relationship between racialization and intergroup contact to be mediated by less sophisticated schemas (i.e., Conformity and Immersion-Emersion).

**Hypothesis 2. African Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationships between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and intergroup contact (i.e., Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions).**

Similar to Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2 will test the same relationships but for African Americans. They were based on the same research literature. The racial socialization and intergroup contact measures used in Hypothesis 2 were the same ones used in hypothesis 1, except the racial outgroup was specified as Asian American, whereas the racial outgroup was specified as African American in Hypothesis 1. Both hypotheses used the same racial identity measure.

**Hypothesis 3. Asian Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationship between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and stereotypes of African Americans.**

This hypothesis was based on literature suggesting that parental racial socialization practices (i.e., Discussion) influence outgroup racial stereotypes (Thomas & Speight, 1999), and also that neighborhood racial composition (i.e., Environment) influences levels of racial socialization (Tatum, 2000). In addition, this hypothesis was based on Helms's (1990, 1995a) theory that an essential component of racial identity development is to reject internalized negative racial stereotypes about one's own group and/or other racial groups. More specifically, past research showed that parental racial socialization included both positive and negative messages of differential values accorded to societal racial outgroups, with the positive messages involving cultural pride themes

and the negative messages involving outgroup racial stereotypes (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Thomas & Speight, 1999). It is presumed that the types of messages (positive or negative) influence the levels of outgroup racial stereotypes. Also, Helms's (1990, 1995a) racial identity theory predicts that more sophisticated racial identity schemas are associated with lower levels of outgroup racial stereotype endorsement.

Therefore, I expected a direct relationship between racial socialization and racial stereotype endorsement, such that Asian Americans' frequency of race-related discussions and levels of exposure to racial diversity would be associated with their endorsement of African American stereotypes. In addition, I expected that racial identity schemas would mediate the relationship between Asian Americans' racial socialization and their endorsement of African American stereotypes.

**Hypothesis 4. African Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationship between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and stereotypes of Asian Americans.**

Hypothesis 4 will test the same relationships as Hypothesis 3 but for African Americans. The two hypotheses were based on the same theoretical and empirical literature. Both Hypotheses used the same racial identity measure. The racial socialization measure used in Hypothesis 4 was the same one used in hypothesis 3, except the racial outgroup was specified as Asian American, whereas the racial outgroup was specified as African American in Hypothesis 3. In addition, Hypothesis 4 used the Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale (Ho & Jackson, 2001) to assess African

Americans' negative Asian stereotypes, whereas Hypothesis 3 used the Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) to assess Asian Americans' negative Black stereotypes.

**Hypotheses 5a-c. The (a) frequency of contact, (b) quality of contact, and (c) behavioral intentions will differ significantly between Asian and African American racial groups.**

Hypotheses 5a and 5b were based on intergroup contact literature suggesting the importance of measuring not only frequency but also perceived quality of contact to gauge the nature of contact (i.e., positive versus negative; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stathi & Crisp, 2010). Hypothesis 5c was based on literature suggesting behavioral intentions (i.e., willingness to engage in future contact behavior) to be a stronger and more direct predictor of a range of behaviors than general attitudes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Albarracin, Johnson, Fishbein, & Muellerleile, 2001). Due to the exploratory nature of the current study, there were no theoretical or empirical bases for any group level differences in Asian Americans and African Americans' intergroup contact. The purpose of Hypotheses 5a-c was to determine whether there were any significant differences.

## Chapter 3

### METHOD

#### Participants

Participants consisted of self-identified U.S.-born Asian Americans and African Americans over the age of 18 years. The rationale to exclude non-U.S. born adults was due to potential confounding effects of the socialization experiences these individuals might have had prior to immigration, including racial attitudes present in their countries-of-origin before relocating to the US. The initial sample consisted of 318 Asian Americans and 445 African Americans; after removing participants with incomplete and/or unengaged responses, the final sample ( $N = 494$ ) consisted of 190 Asian and 304 African Americans. Participants were given the opportunity to enter a raffle for one of three \$50 Visa Gift Cards.

Table 1 provides a summary of participants' demographic characteristics. Briefly, the Asian American sample had approximately equal percentages of women (49.5%) and men, with a mean age of 29.01 years ( $SD = 10.12$ ). The three largest mono-ethnic groups were Chinese (39.5%), Korean (14.7%), and Japanese (7.9%). The African American sample was majority women (62.5%), and had slightly older participants as compared to their Asian American counterparts ( $M = 34.68$ ,  $SD = 11.41$ ). A majority of the sample (86.8%) self-identified as African American. Racial group differences in the demographic characteristics are reported in the Preliminary Analyses section of Chapter 3.

Table 1

## Demographic Characteristics

Asian Americans ( <i>N</i> = 190)				African Americans ( <i>N</i> = 304)			
Ethnicity (%)							
Chinese	39.5%			African American	86.8%		
Korean	14.7%			Multiethnic	3.9%		
Japanese	7.9%			Multiracial	3.3%		
Filipino	7.4%			Other	6%		
Vietnamese	6.8%						
Asian Indian	6.3%						
Multiracial	4.7%						
Other	12.7%						
Gender (%)							
Women	49.5%			62.5%			
Men	50.5%			37.5%			
Education (%)							
	Participant	Maternal	Paternal	Participant	Maternal	Paternal	
Less than High School	0%	15.8%	15.3%	0%	5.6%	10.5%	
High School/GED	18.4%	30.5%	26.8%	30.9%	35.9%	40.1%	
Two-Year College	9.5%	13.7%	10.0%	19.1%	21.4%	14.8%	
Four-Year College	48.4%	24.7%	25.3%	31.6%	20.4%	17.1%	
Master's Degree	13.7%	9.5%	7.4%	12.5%	13.5%	10.2%	
Doctoral Degree	10.0%	5.8%	15.3%	5.9%	3.3%	7.2%	
Place of Residence (%)							
West Coast	50.5%			19.1%			
Midwest	14.7%			21.7%			
Northeast	29.5%			33.2%			
Southwest	4.7%			25.3%			
Other	.5%			.7%			

Table 1 (Continued)

Asian Americans ( <i>N</i> = 190)		African Americans ( <i>N</i> = 304)
Annual Household Income (%)		
Less than \$25,999	22.6%	33.4%
\$26,000 - \$50,999	28.4%	32.3%
\$51,000 - \$70,999	15.8%	13.2%
\$71,000 - \$100,000	17.4%	13.5%
More than \$100,000	15.8%	7.6%
Generation (%)		
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	87.4%	28.6%
3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	9.5%	5.9%
4 <sup>th</sup> Generation or beyond	3.1%	65.5%
Social Class Growing Up (%)		
Living in Poverty	4.2%	14.5%
Working Class	42.1%	38.8%
Middle Class	47.4%	40.1%
Upper Class	6.3%	6.6%
Primary Community Growing Up (%)		
Rural	5.3%	8.6%
Suburban	65.8%	32.6%
Urban	28.9%	58.9%

Note. Under Ethnicity, Multiracial = including at least one Asian/African American racial group and one non-Asian/non-African American racial group (e.g., Asian & White); Multiethnic = two or more ethnic groups within the same racial group (e.g., Haitian & Jamaican). The Asian American Other category included the following groups: Thai, Hmong, Cambodian, Pakistani, Afghan, Sri Lankan, multiethnic. The African American Other category included the following groups: African, Hispanic, West Indian/Caribbean, and Black American. Under Education, Maternal = mother's or female guardian's highest degree attained, Paternal = father's or male guardian's highest degree attained.



## Measures

**Demographic Data Sheet.** To better understand the sample characteristics, the demographic data sheet gathered the following information in a multiple choice format: (a) race, (b) ethnicity, (c) gender, (d) age, (e) education, (f) parental education, (g) place of residence, (h) annual household income, (i) generational status, (j) social class growing up, and (k) primary community growing up (Appendix A).

**Racial Socialization Influences (SOC) Scale.** The Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES; Harrell, 1997) is a comprehensive set of scales developed to measure multiple dimensions of an individual's race-related experiences. The Racial Socialization Influences (SOC) Scale from the RaLES was used in the current study to assess an individual's various racial socialization experiences. The SOC is divided into the following two subscales: (a) Social Influences (9 items), which measures the frequency and content of race-related messages from family members and other important adults (e.g., "As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life prepare you to deal with interactions with Blacks/African Americans"); and (b) Racial Composition (10 items), which measures the racial composition of one's current and past relational (e.g., "your close friends growing up) and environmental (e.g., "your current neighborhood") contexts. In the present study, the Social Influences subscale was used to assess the extent to which race-related discussions took place in one's life (i.e., "Discussion"). The Racial Composition subscale was used to assess exposure to racial diversity in one's various environments (i.e., "Environment").

The original Discussion subscale responses were provided on 4-point frequency scales ranging from 0 to 4; however, the current Discussion subscale responses were provided on 5-point frequency scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely). Similarly, the original Environment subscale responses were provided on 5-point scales ranging from 0 to 5; the current Environment subscale responses were provided on 6-point scales ranging from 1 (does not apply to me) to 6 (mostly or entirely White). Scores for each subscale were summed, with higher scores on Environment indicating more exposure to racial and ethnic groups other than one's own. For the purpose of this study, Discussion items were modified to reflect participants' racial socialization experiences with the other group. For example, an original item asked Asian American participants to what extent their parents and other important adults talk to them about the traditions, values, or customs of "your racial/ethnic group", this item was modified to reflect discussions pertain to traditions values, or customs of "Black/African Americans." Therefore, high scores on Discussion indicated more race-related discussions with parents and other important adults about perceptions of, knowledge about, and interactions with African Americans for Asian Americans, and, conversely, more race-related discussions about perceptions of, knowledge about, and interactions with Asian Americans for African Americans (Appendixes B & C).

Harrell, Merchant, and Young (1997) investigated the psychometric properties of scores on the SOC scale and the RaLES using three multiracial validation samples that included both Asian and African Americans. In their studies, Harrell et al. (1997) obtained the following Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients for the SOC scale scores: .70 (Discussion), and .77 (Environment). In Alvarez et al.'s study (2006) with

Asian Americans, the authors reported the following alpha reliability coefficients: .80 (Discussion), and .80 (Environment). In another study, Tummala-Narra et al. (2011) reported alpha reliability estimates ranges from .77 to .79 for the two subscales. In the current study, alpha reliability coefficients for Asian Americans were .81 (Discussion) and .76 (Environment), and alpha reliability coefficients for African Americans were .87 (Discussion) and .76 (Environment), suggesting that 77% to 81% of the variability in the SOC scale could be attributed to consistent responding of the participants.

With respect to construct validity, Harrell et al. (1997) reported that the Racial Composition (Environment) subscale was negatively correlated with cultural mistrust, whereas the Social Influence (Discussion) subscale was positively correlated with racial identity salience and negatively correlated with cultural mistrust. Cultural mistrust refers to one's level of mistrust of Whites (Terrell & Terrell, 1981) and racial identity salience refers to the importance of race to one's identity and self-concept. The relationships stated above are consistent with literature in racism-related stress (Harrell, 2000), such that increased frequency of racial socialization would lead to increased perceived importance of one's racial identity, while increased racial diversity in one's environment leads to decreased levels of racial mistrust. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the SOC is valid for use with the current sample.

**People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PRIAS).** The PRIAS (Helms, 1995b) was designed to assess four different schemas people of color utilize to assess their thoughts and feelings about their own racial group, and themselves as members of that group, in response to racial information communicated by a White majority society.

There are a total of 50 items and are structured along 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The four subscales assess attitudes related to the five racial identity schemas as described in Helm's POC racial identity theory (1995a). The subscales are: (a) Conformity (12 items), which measures the extent to which one subscribes to White culture and values while negating the salience of race and denigrating non-White cultures and values (e.g., "In general, I believe that Whites are superior to other racial groups"); (b) Dissonance (14 items), which measures the sense of ambivalence and confusion one experiences when he or she becomes aware of societal racial dynamics (e.g., "I'm not sure where I really belong"); (c) Immersion-Emersion (14 items), which measures one's physical and psychological commitment to and immersion in his or her own racial group (e.g., "I limit myself to activities involving people of my own race"); and (d) Internalization (10 items), which measures the expression of positive racial self-conception with the capacity and cognitive flexibility to process, redefine, and integrate racial information that reflects a globally humanistic worldview (e.g., "People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations"). The Internalization scale combines themes representing both the Internalization and Integrative Awareness schemas. Scores for each subscale were summed, with high scores indicating higher utilization of the respective racial identity schema (Appendix D).

The PRIAS has been used extensively in both Asian American and African American populations, and has demonstrated acceptable reliability estimates with these groups (e.g., Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Tummala-Narra et al., 2001). For instance, Alvarez and Helms's (2001) study reported the following alpha reliability coefficients in the

responses of their Asian American sample: .75 (Conformity), .78 (Dissonance), .83 (Immersion-Emersion), and .61 (Internalization); Carter and Reynolds' (2011) used theta-coefficients and reported the following reliability coefficients in their African American sample: .59 (Conformity), .79 (Dissonance), .82 (Immersion-Emersion), .91 (Internalization). In the current study, the following Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients were obtained for Asian Americans: .67 (Conformity), .85 (Dissonance), .70 (Immersion-Emersion), .85 (Internalization), and for African Americans: .75 (Conformity), .74 (Dissonance), .86 (Immersion-Emersion), .77 (Internalization), demonstrating acceptable to good reliability estimates.

With respect to construct validity of the PRIAS with Asian American and African American samples, a number of studies have shown that the PRIAS was correlated with perceptions of racism (Alvarez & Helms, 2001), collective self-esteem (Alvarez & Helms, 2001), and confusion (Carter & Reynolds, 2011) in a manner that was consistent with racial identity theory (Helms, 1995). Thus, evidence suggests that the PRIAS is reliable and valid for use with the current Asian American and African American samples.

**Negative Attitude Toward Asians (ATA) Scale.** The Negative ATA Scale is a subscale from the Attitude Toward Asian Scale (ATA; Ho & Jackson, 2001). The ATA was the first of its kind that was developed to measure respondents' endorsement of stereotypes (both positive and negative) specifically targeting Asian Americans. The Negative ATA Scale (17 items) in particular was designed to measure participants' endorsement of negative Asian stereotypes (e.g., "Asian Americans are overly competitive"). Responses are measured on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Scores of the scale were summed, with higher

scores indicating stronger endorsement of negative Asian American stereotypes (Appendix E).

Ho and Jackson (2001) developed and validated the ATA in three stages using multiracial samples of college students (i.e., Whites, African Americans, Hispanics, and “others”) with the majority of which (over 90%) were White. No Asian/Asian American participants were included in their validation samples as their goal was to develop a scale that assesses non-Asians’ attitudes toward Asian/Asian Americans. Reported internal consistency reliability on the Negative ATA Scale was .88 (Ho & Jackson, 2001). In the present study, Cronbach alpha reliability estimates for the Negative ATA Scale was .94 for responses of the African American sample.

Validity was supported by demonstrating the Negative ATA Scale’s positive correlation with negative general attitudes, acceptance of negative stereotypes, reports of hostility, and greater social distance. General attitudes were assessed by a semantic differential scale that asks participants to respond to five 7-point bipolar semantic differential items such as “good-bad”, “pleasant-unpleasant”, and “awful-nice”. Stereotypes were measured by asking respondents the degree to which they believe Asian Americans possess certain personality traits such as “intelligent” and “nerdy.” Hostility was measured by respondents’ endorsement of certain emotion words about Asian Americans, such as “resentment”, “disgust”, “anger”, and “distrust.” Finally, social distance was measured by the social distance scale (Bogardus, 1925) and indicates respondents’ preferred social distance toward Asian Americans. Interestingly, the authors also reported that individuals who believed Asian Americans possessing the model minority characteristics (e.g., hardworking, intelligent, mathematical, obedient,

ambitious) were also more likely to believe they possessed negative stereotypic traits (e.g., antisocial, cunning, deceitful, nerdy, sly). This relationship between both the endorsement of model minority traits and negative stereotypes toward Asians is theoretically consistent with the model minority problem and its potential in triggering unfavorable intergroup comparisons, lending further validity to the scale.

**Anti-Black Scale.** The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) is a 10-item questionnaire that was designed to measure respondents' endorsement of negative stereotypic attitudes toward Blacks (e.g., "On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training"). Responses are measured on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Scores for the scale were summed, with higher scores indicating stronger endorsement of negative African American stereotypes (Appendix F).

The Anti-Black Scale was developed and validated using samples of White college students. The reported Cronbach's coefficient alpha was .80 (Katz & Hass, 1988). In the current study, an alpha reliability coefficient of .87 was obtained for scores of the Asian American sample demonstrating acceptable reliability for use. With respect to validity, Katz and Hass (1988) found the scale to be positively correlated with the Derogatory Beliefs subscale ( $r = .64, p < .001$ ), the Protestant Ethic Scale ( $r = .40, p < .001$ ), but not with the Interracial Contacts subscale ( $r = -.02, ns$ ). The Derogatory Beliefs subscale and the Interracial Contact subscale were both part of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI; Brigham, Woodmansee, & Cook, 1976). The Derogatory Beliefs subscale assesses the degree to which respondents believed Blacks to be lacking in self-control, hypersensitive to racial slights, pushy, and inclined to blame

Whites for their problems. The Racial Attitude Inventory measures respondents' willingness to publically associate with Blacks and accept them in close relationships such as friendship and marriage. The Protestant Ethic Scale (Mirels & Garrett) measures Protestant ethic values such as self-reliance and self-discipline, it has been shown to correlate with conservatism and with negative attitudes toward minority groups (Bahr & Chadwick, 1974; Feather, 1984). In sum, these correlations provided support for the convergent and discriminate validity for the Anti-Black Scale.

**Intergroup Contact Measure.** As with many previous studies (e.g. van Dick et al., 2004), contact is measured by participants' reported frequency and quality of contact with outgroup members. The Intergroup Contact Measure is a modified version of the contact measure used by Stathi and Crisp (2010; see also Islam & Hewstone, 1993). It consists of survey items that measure both the quantity and quality of contact with outgroup members. The Quantity subscale includes 4 items that asks respondents to indicate the frequency of contact in a number of social and relational contexts (e.g., "at workplace", and "among your friends").

Responses to the Quantity subscale items are measured on 7-point frequency scales ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (very often). Scores of the subscale items were summed, with higher scores indicating higher frequency of contact (Appendix G). All items were modified to specify contact with Asian Americans if the respondents were African Americans and African Americans if the respondents were Asian Americans. The last item in the original measure assessed how frequently participants speak to a particular outgroup member. This item was modified to assess frequency of personal contact "at social events" (Appendix H). Stathi and Crisp (2010) reported a Cronbach



alpha coefficient of .81 on Quantity. The current study obtained alpha coefficients of .86 on Quantity for responses of the Asian American sample, and .80 for the African American sample, suggesting that 80% to 86% of the variability in the Quantity subscale responses could be attributed to consistent responding of the participants.

The Quality subscale asks respondents to characterize their contact with racial outgroup members on scales consisting of five adjectives pairs: superficial/deep, forced/natural, unpleasant/pleasant, competitive/cooperative, and distant/intimate. Responses are measured on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (“superficial”, for example) to 7 (“deep”, for example). Scores of the subscale items were summed, with higher scores indicating more positive contact. Stathi and Crisp (2010) reported an alpha coefficient of .62 on Quality. The current study obtained alpha coefficients of .87 on Quality for Asian Americans, and .84 for African Americans, demonstrating good internal consistency for use with this sample.

**Behavioral Intentions Scale.** The Behavioral Intentions Scale (Esses & Dovidio, 2002) is an updated version of the Social Distance Scale (SDS; Bogardus, 1925, 1928). It is a 12-item measure designed to assess participants’ willingness to engage in future contact with people from a different racial/ethnic group (Appendixes H & I). Participants were asked to indicate their level of willingness to engage in a range of contact behaviors with racial outgroup members if given the opportunity, such as befriending, confiding in, and/or marrying a racial outgroup member. For the purpose of this study, the scale was modified to indicate level of willingness to engage specifically with Asian Americans for African American participants (e.g., “Accept a Black person as a work colleague”), and African Americans for Asian American participants (e.g., “Have an intimate relation with

an Asian American”). Responses were provided on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (not at all willing) to 7 (extremely willing). Scores of the scale were summed, with higher scores indicating more willingness to engage in a range of future contact behavior with the other group (Appendixes I & J).

Esses and Dovidio (2002) reported an alpha reliability estimate of .89. In comparison, the current study obtained alpha reliability estimates of .93 for both Asian Americans and African Americans, suggesting that 93% of the variability in respondents’ responses to items could be attributed to consistent responding of the participants. With respect to construct validity, studies (e.g., Dion, 1985; Triandis & Triandis, 1960) have shown race to be a significant determinant on social distance norms for White American and Canadian college students, providing support for the validity of the scale.

### **Procedure**

The Boston College Institutional Review Board approved the study prior to survey administration. Participants were recruited via internet sampling methods; survey instruments were made available via the secure online website Qualtrics. Participants were informed of the inclusion criteria: U.S.-born Asian American and African American adults over the age of 18 years. After giving their informed consent, Asian American participants were directed to fill out an anonymous and confidential survey about their knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of as well as experiences with African Americans; African American participants were instructed to fill out an identical survey, but with regards to Asian Americans. Surveys were completed in approximately 15-20 minutes; participants had the option to withdraw at any time.

The following recruitment approaches were taken in order to attain a diverse sample. First, advertisement of the study was made via email announcements to various local and national Asian and African American organization listservs, such as the National Association of Asian American Professionals, the undergrad and graduate Asian and African American student associations, and the Bay Area Black Professionals. A snowball sampling method was also used by involving initial participants to recruit more participants via word of mouth in addition to forwarding the online survey link to other potential participants who meet inclusion criteria. Second, a Facebook ad was created with recruitment information and access to survey links. Third, Craigslist ads were posted on a number of metropolitan areas with large Asian and African American populations (e.g., New York, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco, Los Angeles). Lastly, recruitment flyers were handed out in local libraries, community centers, and coffee shops.

All of the aforementioned recruitment material included a short paragraph detailing the purpose of the study, IRB approval information, access to survey link, informed consent, as well as information regarding a prize raffle in order to appeal to a wider range of potential participants who were either interested in the subject matter or are looking to be compensated for their time spent. Participants were informed that once they reached the final page of the survey, they are eligible to enter into a raffle for one of three \$50 Visa gift card. They were instructed to provide their email addresses if they choose to enter into the raffle so that the principal investigator could contact them if they were to win. Participants were informed that their email addresses would not be linked with their survey responses.

The survey measures were administered in the following order: Demographic Data Sheet, SOC Scale, PRIAS, Negative ATA Scale, Anti-Black Scale, Intergroup Contact Measure, and Behavioral Intentions Scale. In order to minimize error of measurement and increase reliability, all participants were administered both the Negative ATA and Anti-Black Scales, which assessed participants' levels of negative racial stereotype endorsement about Asian Americans and Blacks, respectively. Given that I was only interested in studying how racial socialization and racial identity influence "outgroup" racial stereotyping and intergroup contact, Asian Americans' Negative ATA Scale survey items and African Americans' Anti-Black Scale survey items were not used in the data analyses. That is, only racial stereotype scale scores pertaining to racial outgroup members for the participants were included in the final data analysis.

## Chapter 4

### RESULTS

#### Data Preparation

The variables used to test hypotheses in the present study were (a) racial socialization as measured by the Racial Socialization Influences (SOC) Scale, (b) racial identity statuses as measured by the People of Color Racial Identity Scale (PRIAS), (c) racial stereotypes as measured by the Negative Attitude Toward Asians (ATA) Scale for Asian Americans and the Anti-Black Scale for African Americans, and (d) intergroup contact as measured by the Intergroup Contact Measure and the Behavioral Intentions Scale.

Data were screened for missing values using descriptive statistics. An initial sample of 763 participants ( $N = 318$  Asian Americans,  $N = 445$  African Americans) responded to some of the survey. Survey items were set up in a forced response format, which required respondents to answer all items in a given section before they were able to proceed to the next section. Research showed that compared to a check-all-that-apply question format which allows for unanswered questions, the forced response format promotes deeper processing time, it also allows for finer differentiation of meaning by virtue of the fact that participants were asked to consider every response option (Smyth, Dillman, Christian, & Stern, 2006). This format yielded 501 respondents with completed surveys ( $N = 196$  Asian Americans,  $N = 305$  African Americans). In order to identify unengaged responses—responses answered in obvious unengaged patterns (e.g., entering all 1's, or all 5's), the direction of reverse-coded questions and standard deviation of

responses were examined. The final sample was 494 ( $N = 190$  Asian Americans,  $N = 304$  African Americans) after removing aberrant responses.

Multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRAs) were conducted to test the main hypotheses. MMRA is an extension of the multiple regression concept that allows for multiple predictor and outcome variables, from which follow-up tests can be used to determine the unique contribution of each predictor variable(s) to the set of outcome variables collectively and separately (Lutz & Eckert, 1994). In addition, simultaneously testing the multiple outcome variables can control for possible intercorrelations between predictor and outcome variables while reducing Type I error. Before testing the main hypotheses, the variables of interest were tested for violations of the multivariate assumptions of normality, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity.

### **Check of Multivariate Assumptions**

**Normality.** To test the assumption of normality, histograms of variables were plotted and their skewness statistics inspected. Over half of all variables appeared to be skewed upon visually examining their histograms. This was confirmed by checking the standardized skewness value ( $z_{\text{skewness}}$ ) of all variables. An absolute  $z_{\text{skewness}}$  value that is greater than 1.96 indicates significant skewness of the respective variable at the .05 probability level. In the Asian American dataset ( $N = 190$ ), of the 10 measured variables, 3 were positively skewed (Discussion, Environment, and Conformity), and 2 were negatively skewed (Internalization, Behavioral Intentions). In the African American dataset ( $N = 304$ ), of the 10 measured variables, 4 were positively skewed (Discussion, Environment, Conformity, and Negative Asian Stereotypes), and 3 were negatively skewed (Internalization, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions).

In order to mitigate the effects of skewness, a data editing technique called winsoring, whereby an outlier was manually replaced by a less extreme value adjacent to it, was employed. Winsoring allows the researcher to preserve the sample size without having to discard data. A z score of 3.29 or greater is considered an outlier and was used as the value above which winsoring was performed (Field, 2012). Winsoring outliers by this criterion helped improve the skewness statistics of 3 out of the 5 variables in the Asian American sample, and 6 out of the 7 variables in the African American sample, but their distributions remained skewed. Square root transformations on the skewed variables in the two data sets reduced some skewness of the variables, but not all of it. Therefore, given the difficulty of interpreting transformed data, I used the winsored datasets without transformed variables in all analyses.

**Homoscedasticity.** Homoscedasticity refers to the assumption that the variance of the predictor variable(s) and the outcome variable(s) is the same for all levels of the outcome variables. Previously described normality analyses and examination of residuals from regression analyses of predictor-outcome pairs did not reveal serious violations of this assumption with the exception of Internalization, which showed heteroscedasticity in both datasets. As previously described, transformed data did not yield statistically significantly different results from non-transformed data and created difficulty with data interpretation. Therefore, I decided not to transform Internalization despite slight bias from heteroscedasticity.

**Multicollinearity.** The presence of multicollinearity, or highly correlated predictor variables, may lead to unreliable and unstable estimates of regression coefficients, and is therefore important to address in multivariate multiple regressions.

Multicollinearity was examined by checking tolerance values and variance inflation factors (VIF), none of which were significant. Also, Pearson correlations among predictor variables were not unusually high (Tables 2a-c). In sum, examination of tolerance values, VIF, and Pearson correlations did not indicate a high degree of multicollinearity among predictor variables.

### **Preliminary Analyses**

Preliminary analyses were conducted to assess whether the demographic variables differ between Asian Americans and African Americans. A between-groups one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed for age, a continuous variable; chi square tests of independence were performed for the remaining categorical variables.

Significant group differences were found for all ten demographic variables: age ( $F = (1, 492) = 31.51, p < .001$ ), gender ( $\chi^2 (1, N = 494) = 8.12, p = .004$ ), education ( $\chi^2 (4, N = 494) = 25.45, p < .001$ ), residence ( $\chi^2 (4, N = 494) = 69.11, p < .001$ ), income ( $\chi^2 (6, N = 494) = 17.49, p = .008$ ), generation ( $\chi^2 (3, N = 494) = 192.18, p < .001$ ), maternal education ( $\chi^2 (5, N = 494) = 21.82, p = .001$ ), paternal education ( $\chi^2 (5, N = 494) = 22.27, p < .001$ ), social class growing up ( $\chi^2 (3, N = 494) = 13.46, p = .004$ ), primary community growing up ( $\chi^2 (2, N = 494) = 52.32, p < .001$ ).

Preliminary analyses with the demographic variables and the outcome variables were also conducted to determine whether to include the demographic variables in subsequent analyses. Pearson correlation analyses were used if the demographic variables were continuous, and one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted if the predictors were categorical. For Asian Americans, significant relationships between age and quality of contact ( $r(188) = .16, p < .05, r^2 = .026$ ) and education,



behavioral intentions ( $F(4, 185) = 2.52, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$ ) did not account for enough variance to merit further analyses.

For African Americans, education was correlated with the frequency of contact ( $F(4, 299) = 7.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ) and behavioral intentions ( $F(4, 299) = 2.60, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$ ), no further analyses were conducted due to the small effect size and also to ensure both Asian and Black models are equal. Age was not correlated with any outcome variables in Blacks. None of the other demographic variables was significantly correlated with any outcome variables in either the Asian or Black samples. A summary of the descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and range of responses, are presented in Table 3 for each racial group separately and combined.

Table 2a Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (Total Sample,  $N = 494$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. DIS	--										
2. ENV	.24**	--									
3. CON	.12**	.07	--								
4. DISS	.08	.04	.48**	--							
5. IE	.06	-.16**	-.05	.31**	--						
6. INT	.01	.06	-.21**	-.22**	-.08	--					
7. ST_ASN	.16**	-.05	.31**	.33**	.28**	-.13*	--				
8. ST_BLK	.09	-.12	.44**	.14	-.03	-.20**		--			
9. FREQ	.32**	.37**	-.02	-.05	-.11*	-.20**	-.15**	-.21**	--		
10. QUAL	.11*	.21**	-.10*	-.13**	-.05	-.30**	-.27**	-.42**	.48**	--	
11. BEH	-.04	.18**	-.23**	-.20**	-.22**	-.48**	-.46**	-.51**	.36**	.40**	--

Table 2b Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (Asian Americans,  $N = 190$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. DIS	--									
2. ENV	.14	--								
3. CON	.26**	-.02	--							
4. DISS	.12	-.07	.46**	--						
5. IE	.06	-.15*	.12	.47**	--					
6. INT	.001	.19**	-.20**	-.20**	-.09	--				
7. ST_BLK	.09	-.12	.44**	.14	-.03	-.20**	--			
8. FREQ	.27**	.25**	-.05	.02	.02	.11	-.21**	--		
9. QUAL	.09	.24**	-.17*	-.06	.06	.20**	-.42**	.53**	--	
10. BEH	-.01	.26**	-.34**	-.22**	-.18*	.34**	-.51**	.40**	.49**	--

Note. DIS = Discussion, ENV = Environment, CON = Conformity Attitudes, DISS = Dissonance Attitudes, IE = Immersion-Emersion Attitudes, INT = Internalization Attitude, ST\_ASN = Negative Asian Stereotypes (endorsed by African Americans), ST\_BLK = Negative Black Stereotypes (endorsed by Asian Americans), FREQ = Frequency of Contact, QUAL = Quality of Contact, BEH = Behavioral Intentions. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 2c Pearson Correlations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (African Americans,  $N = 304$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. DIS	--									
2. ENV	.29**	--								
3. CON	.03	.07	--							
4. DISS	.05	.05	.48**	--						
5. IE	.07	-.16*	-.14*	.22**	--					
6. INT	.03	.03	-.19**	-.19**	-.08	--				
7. ST_ASN	.16**	-.05	.31**	.33**	.28**	-.13*	--			
8. FREQ	.35**	.44**	-.02	-.13*	-.18**	.16**	-.20**	--		
9. QUAL	.12*	.20**	-.06	-.19**	-.11*	.14*	-.30**	.44**	--	
10. BEH	-.04	.19**	-.12*	-.16**	-.25**	.23**	-.48**	.35**	.35**	--

Note. DIS = Discussion, ENV = Environment, CON = Conformity Attitudes, DISS = Dissonance Attitudes, IE = Immersion-Emersion Attitudes, INT = Internalization Attitude, ST\_ASN = Negative Asian Stereotypes (endorsed by African Americans), FREQ = Frequency of Contact, QUAL = Quality of Contact, BEH = Behavioral Intentions. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 3

## Summary of Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Criterion Variables

	Asian American ( <i>N</i> = 190)			African American ( <i>N</i> = 304)			Total Sample ( <i>N</i> = 494)		
Variable	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
SOC Scale									
Discussion	18.79	5.64	9 – 37	17.65	6.69	9 – 39	18.08	6.30	9 – 37
Environment	38.64	7.57	22 – 58	34.95	7.30	12 – 58	36.37	7.63	12 – 60
PRIAS									
Conformity	26.48	6.65	15 – 47	24.52	6.38	12 – 45	25.29	6.59	12 – 47
Dissonance	37.18	9.11	15 – 64	34.39	7.81	17 – 54	35.46	8.42	15 – 61
Immersion-Emersion	35.25	8.53	14 – 57	36.01	9.58	14 – 65	35.71	9.19	14 – 65
Internalization	42.19	5.43	24 – 50	43.85	4.72	27 – 50	43.21	5.04	26 – 50
Negative ATA Scale				29.83	15.24	17 – 81			
Anti-Black Scale	30.48	10.54	10 – 57						
Intergroup Contact Measure									
Frequency	16.28	6.13	4 – 28	15.71	5.93	4 – 28	15.93	6.00	4 – 28
Quality	24.20	6.16	7 – 35	24.02	6.45	5 – 35	24.09	6.34	5 – 35
Behavioral Intentions Scale	70.23	12.88	28 – 84	73.41	12.12	32 – 84	72.22	12.39	32 – 84

Note. SOC = Racial Socialization Influences Scale, PRIAS = People of Color Racial Identity Scale, ATA = Attitude Toward Asians.

## Tests of Hypotheses

**Hypothesis 1. Asian Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationships between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and intergroup contact (i.e., Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions).**

Multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRA) were conducted to test hypotheses 1 and 2 separately for each racial group. The racial socialization predictor variables were Discussion and Environment; high Discussion scores indicated more race-related discussions about perception and knowledge of and interaction with the other group, high Environment scores indicated more exposure to racial and ethnic groups other than one's own (Alvarez et al., 2006; Harrell, 1997). Mediator variables were the four PRIAS racial identity schemas: Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization (Helms, 1995b). High scores indicated higher utilization of the respective racial identity schema. The intergroup contact outcome variables were Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions (Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Esses & Dovidio, 2002); high scores indicated higher frequency of contact, more positive contact, and more willingness to engage in a range of future contact behaviors with the other group, respectively.

The test for mediation involved a three-step process. Mediation existed if (a) in Step 1, the two racial socialization predictor variables—Discussion and Environment—together significantly predicted frequency and quality of intergroup contact and behavioral intentions; (b) in Step 2, racial socialization significantly predicted racial identity, and (c) in Step 3, previously significant relationships between racial socialization and intergroup contact disappeared (full mediation) or were lessened (partial

mediation) when both racial socialization and racial identity were used as predictors of the dependent variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

### **Asian Americans**

In Step 1, the omnibus test of the overall model indicated that the proportion of variance in the intergroup contact measures accounted for by Discussion and Environment was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .825$ ,  $F(6, 370) = 6.23$ ,  $p < .001$ . Wilk's lambda represents the multivariate proportion of unexplained variance; therefore,  $1 - \Lambda$  represents the proportion of explained variance in the full model. Thus, 17.5% of the variance in the intergroup contact variables was accounted for by racial socialization. Discussion uniquely accounted for 8.6 % ( $\Lambda = .914$ ,  $F(3, 185) = 5.77$ ,  $p = .001$ ) and Environment uniquely accounted for 9% ( $\Lambda = .910$ ,  $F(3, 185) = 6.13$ ,  $p = .001$ ) of the variance in Asian Americans' Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions toward African Americans.

Given that the overall model involving both predictors and the separate predictors independently accounted for significant variance, the unique contributions of each of the socialization variables in predicting the set of criterion variables were examined. These results indicated that Discussion significantly predicted Frequency,  $F(1, 187) = 12.42$ ,  $p = .001$ , but not Quality or Behavioral Intentions, while Environment significantly predicted all three criterion variables (See Table 4). Since there are statistically significant and direct effects between Environment and all three criterion variables and between Discussion and Frequency, the second step of the mediation analysis was conducted.

In Step 2, MMRA tested whether Asian Americans' racial socialization predicted racial identity attitudes as measured by the four scales from the PRIAS: Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. The predictor variables were the socialization variables used in Step 1.

The omnibus test of the overall model indicated that the proportion of variance in the racial identity attitude measures accounted for by the predictor variables was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .875$ ,  $F(8, 368) = 3.18$ ,  $p = .002$  and accounted for 12.5% of the variance in the racial identity attitude variables. Specifically, Discussion accounted for 7.5 % ( $\Lambda = .925$ ,  $F(4, 184) = 3.72$ ,  $p = .006$ ) and Environment accounted for 5.7% ( $\Lambda = .943$ ,  $F(4, 184) = 2.78$ ,  $p = .028$ ) of the variance in Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization.

To test Step 3, both racial socialization and racial identity attitude variables—Discussion, Environment, Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization—were used as predictors in the MMRA; the criterion variables Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions, were the same as in Step 1.

The omnibus test of the overall model indicated that the proportion of variance in the intergroup contact measures accounted for by the predictor variables was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .639$ ,  $F(18, 512.43) = 4.88$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, 36.1% of the variance in the intergroup contact variables was accounted for by the racial socialization and racial identity predictor variables. An examination of the proportion of variance in Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions accounted for by each predictor showed that Discussion accounted for 7.6% ( $\Lambda = .924$ ,  $F(3, 181) = 4.94$ ,  $p = .003$ ), Environment accounted for 7% ( $\Lambda = .930$ ,  $F(3, 181) = 4.51$ ,  $p = .004$ ), Conformity

accounted for 7.9% ( $\Delta = .921$ ,  $F(3, 181) = 5.15$ ,  $p = .002$ ), Immersion-Emersion accounted for 4.2% ( $\Delta = .958$ ,  $F(3, 181) = 2.64$ ,  $p = .05$ ), and Internalization accounted for 6.5% ( $\Delta = .935$ ,  $F(3, 181) = 4.22$ ,  $p = .007$ ) of the unique variance. Dissonance accounted for .5% of the unique variance and was not significant ( $\Delta = .995$ ,  $F(3, 181) = .33$ ,  $p = .81$ ). Evidence of mediation would be if (a) the percent of variance explained by Discussion and Environment decreased when the racial identity variables were included in the analyses as predictors and/or (b) their beta coefficients decreased or reversed signs.

Results showed that the percent of variance explained by Discussion and Environment decreased by 2.9% (from 17.5% to 14.6%) when the racial identity variables were included in the analyses as predictors. In addition, the reduction of Environment's beta coefficient (from .45 to .32; see Table 4) indicated that Internalization partially mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions. A Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) confirmed the partial mediation in the model ( $z = 2.13$ ,  $p = .03$ ). In short, results supported an indirect effect of racial socialization on intergroup contact.



Table 4

## Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict Asian Americans' Intergroup Contact

<i>CV</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>F</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> (%) <sup>a</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1					
Frequency	Discussion	12.42**	6.2	.27**	3.52
	Environment	10.12**	5.1	.18**	3.18
Quality	Discussion	.68	.4	.06	.82
	Environment	10.27**	5.2	.19**	3.20
Behavior Intention	Discussion	.49	.3	-.11	-.70
	Environment	14.05***	7.0	.45***	3.75
Step 2					
CON	Discussion	14.37***	7.1	.32***	3.79
	Environment	.69	.4	-.05	-.83
DISS	Discussion	3.20	1.7	.21	1.79
	Environment	1.47	.8	-.11	-1.25
IE	Discussion	1.13	.6	.12	1.07
	Environment	4.93*	2.6	-.18*	-2.22
INT	Discussion	.11	.1	-.02	-.34
	Environment	6.97**	3.6	.14**	2.64
Step 3					
Frequency	Discussion	14.15***	7.2	.29***	3.76
	Environment	8.76**	4.6	.17**	2.98
	CON	2.74	1.5	-.12	-1.65
	DISS	.63	.3	.05	.79
	IE	.07	0	.02	.27
	INT	.66	.4	.07	.82

Table 4 (Continued)

<i>CV</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>F</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> (%) <sup>a</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Quality	Discussion	1.87	1.0	.11	1.37
	Environment	8.81**	4.6	.17**	2.97
	CON	4.30*	2.3	-.16*	-2.07
	DISS	.02	0	-.01	-.12
	IE	2.55	1.4	.09	1.60
	INT	3.36	1.8	.15	1.83
Behavior Intention	Discussion	.38	0.2	.10	.62
	Environment	8.02**	4.2	.32**	2.83
	CON	15.46***	7.8	-.58***	-3.93
	DISS	.06	0	.03	.24
	IE	1.97	1.1	-.16	-1.40
	INT	12.15**	6.2	.56**	3.49

Note. CV = Criterion Variable, PV = Predictor Variable, CON = Conformity, DISS = Dissonance, IE = Immersion-Emersion, INT = Internalization. <sup>a</sup>*df* = (1, 187) in Steps 1 and 2, *df* = (1, 183) in Step 3. \* *p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01, \*\*\**p* < .001.

**Hypothesis 2. African Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationships between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and intergroup contact (i.e., Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions).**

MMRA mediation analyses, as described previously, were conducted to test whether African Americans' racial socialization predicted their intergroup contact with Asian Americans. The predictor variables were (a) Discussion, and (b) Environment, the criterion variables were (a) Frequency, (b) Quality, and (c) Behavioral Intentions.

The results indicated that the overall proportion of variance in the intergroup contact variables accounted for by the racial socialization variables was significant, using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .725$ ,  $F(6, 598) = 17.40$ ,  $p < .001$ , and accounted for 27.5% of the variance in the intergroup contact variables. Discussion uniquely accounted for 10% ( $\Lambda = .900$ ,  $F(3, 299) = 11.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Environment accounted for 14.8% ( $\Lambda = .852$ ,  $F(3, 299) = 17.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ) of the variance in Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions.

Discussion significantly predicted Frequency,  $F(1, 301) = 21.07$ ,  $p < .001$ , but not Quality or Behavioral Intentions, while Environment predicted all three criterion variables: Frequency  $F(1, 301) = 50.70$ ,  $p < .001$ , Quality  $F(1, 301) = 9.39$ ,  $p = .002$ , and Behavioral Intentions  $F(1, 301) = 13.43$ ,  $p < .001$  (See Table 5). Frequency of discussion was not related to the quality of intergroup contact or behavioral intentions. Since Step 1 showed significant direct effects on the intergroup contact variables, Step 2 of the mediation analysis was conducted.

In Step 2, the test of whether the racial socialization variables predicted racial identity, the four racial identity variables were entered in the MMRA as potential mediating variables. The omnibus test results indicated that the overall proportion of variance in the racial identity variables accounted for by the racial socialization variables was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .950, F(8, 596) = 1.95, p = .05$ . Examination of the proportions of variance in the mediating variables accounted for by the separate models, showed that Environment significantly accounted for 4.3% ( $\Lambda = .957, F(4, 298) = 3.32, p = .01$ ) of the variance in Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, but the variance accounted for by Discussion was not significant ( $\Lambda = .984, F(4, 298) = 1.23, p = .30$ ). Given that the overall model was significant, Step 3 of the mediation analysis was conducted.

To test Step 3, Discussion, Environment, Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization were entered as predictors in the MMRA, with Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions as criterion variables. Results indicated that the overall proportion of variance in the criterion variables accounted for by the predictors was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion:  $\Lambda = .615, F(18, 834.87) = 8.71, p < .001$  and explained 38.5% of the variance in the intergroup contact variables. An examination of the proportions of variance in Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions accounted for by each predictor showed that Discussion uniquely accounted for 10.1% ( $\Lambda = .899, F(3, 295) = 11, p < .001$ ), Environment accounted for 13.8% ( $\Lambda = .862, F(3, 295) = 15.77, p < .001$ ), Dissonance accounted for 2.9%, ( $\Lambda = .971, F(3, 295) = 2.97, p = .03$ ), Immersion-Emersion accounted for 4.6% ( $\Lambda = .954, F(3, 295) = 4.69, p = .003$ ), and Internalization accounted for 4.2% ( $\Lambda = .958, F(3, 295) = 4.33, p = .005$ ).

The unique variance accounted for by Conformity was 1.3%, but was not significant ( $\Delta = .987, F(3, 296) = 1.27, p = .28$ ).

Results showed that the percent of variance explained by Discussion and Environment decreased by 3.9% (from 27.5% to 23.9%) when the racial identity variables were included in the analyses as predictors. In addition, the reduction of Environment's beta coefficient (from 3.6 to 3.0; see Table 5) indicated that Immersion-Emersion partially mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions. A Sobel test confirmed the partial mediation in the model ( $z = 2.43, p = .015$ ). There was also a small reduction of Environment's beta coefficient (from .30 to .29; see Table 5) indicating Immersion-Emersion as a possible mediator in the relationship between Environment and Frequency. However, a Sobel test did not confirm this partial mediation in the model ( $z = 1.80, p = .072$ ).

Table 5

## Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict African Americans' Intergroup Contact

<i>CV</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>F</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> (%) <sup>a</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1					
Frequency	Discussion	21.07***	6.5	.21***	4.59
	Environment	50.70***	14.4	.30***	7.12
Quality	Discussion	1.33	.4	.07	1.15
	Environment	9.39**	3.0	.16**	3.07
Behavior Intention	Discussion	2.95	1.0	-.18	-1.72
	Environment	13.43***	4.3	.36***	3.67
Step 2					
CON	Discussion	.02	0	.01	.14
	Environment	1.44	.5	.06	1.20
DISS	Discussion	.29	.1	.04	.54
	Environment	.53	.2	.05	.73
IE	Discussion	4.42*	1.4	.18*	2.10
	Environment	10.87**	3.5	-.26**	-3.30
INT	Discussion	.09	0	.01	.29
	Environment	.19	.1	.02	.44
Step 3					
Frequency	Discussion	24.61***	7.7	.23***	4.96
	Environment	46.09***	13.4	.29***	6.79
	CON	.02	0	.01	.14
	DISS	3.82*	1.3	-.09*	-1.95
	IE	3.87*	1.3	-.07*	-1.97
	INT	5.14*	1.7	.14*	2.27

Table 5 (Continued)

<i>CV</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>F</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> (%) <sup>a</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Quality	Discussion	1.74	.6	.07	1.32
	Environment	8.99**	2.9	.16**	3.00
	CON	.18	.1	.03	.42
	DISS	7.76**	2.5	-.15**	-2.79
	IE	.39	.1	-.03	-.63
	INT	3.07	1.0	.14	1.75
Behavior Intention	Discussion	1.83	.6	-.14	-1.35
	Environment	9.91**	3.2	.30**	3.15
	CON	2.78	.9	-.20	-1.67
	DISS	.34	.1	-.06	-5.8
	IE	12.62***	4.1	-.26***	-3.55
	INT	11.08**	3.6	.47**	3.33

Note. CV = Criterion Variable, PV = Predictor Variable, CON = Conformity, DISS = Dissonance, IE = Immersion-Emersion, INT = Internalization. <sup>a</sup>*df* = (1, 301) in Steps 1 and 2, *df* = (1, 297) in Step 3. \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01, \*\*\* *p* < .001.

**Hypothesis 3. Asian Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationship between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and stereotypes of African Americans.**

Mediation analyses as previously described were also used to test Hypothesis 3 and 4. The only difference was that standard multiple regression analyses were used instead of MMRA because single measures of stereotypes of Asian Americans and African Americans were used.

In step 1 of the mediation analysis, Discussion and Environment were entered as predictors, with Asian Americans' Black Stereotypes as the criterion variable. Results from the multiple regression analysis showed that the proportion of variance in the stereotype variable accounted for by the predictors was not significant,  $R^2 = .026$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .016$ ,  $F(2,187) = 2.51$ ,  $p = .08$ . That is, neither Discussion ( $B = .20$ ,  $t(187) = 1.49$ ,  $p = .14$ ) nor Environment ( $B = -.19$ ,  $t(187) = -1.86$ ,  $p = .07$ ) significantly predicted Asian Americans' stereotypes of Blacks. Therefore, Step 1 did not satisfy the first condition for a mediation model and no further analyses were conducted.

**Hypothesis 4. African Americans' racial identity (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) will mediate the relationship between racial socialization (i.e., Discussion and Environment) and stereotypes of Asian Americans.**

In Step 1, the standard multiple regression analyses showed that the proportion of variance in Asian American Stereotypes accounted for by Discussion and Environment



was significant,  $R^2 = .037$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(2,301) = 5.73$ ,  $p = .004$ . Since the overall model was significant in Step 1, Step 2 of the mediation analysis was conducted.

Step 2 tested whether Discussion and Environment significantly predicted racial identity. Discussion and Environment were entered in a MMRA as predictors of the four racial identity attitudes. The omnibus test results indicated that the overall proportion of variance in the racial identity variables accounted for by Discussion and Environment was 5% which was significant using the Wilk's lambda criterion,  $\Lambda = .950$ ,  $F(8, 596) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .05$ . Examination of the proportions of variance in the criterion variables accounted for by the separate models showed that Environment significantly accounted for 4.3% ( $\Lambda = .957$ ,  $F(4, 298) = 3.32$ ,  $p = .01$ ) of the variance in Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, but the variance accounted for by Discussion was not significant ( $\Lambda = .984$ ,  $F(4, 298) = 1.23$ ,  $p = .30$ ). Given that the overall model was significant, Step 3 of the mediation analysis was conducted.

To test Step 3, Discussion, Environment, Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization were entered as predictors in the multiple regression analysis, and African Americans' Asian Stereotypes was the criterion variable. Results showed that the proportion of variance in the stereotype variable accounted for by the predictors was significant,  $R^2 = .235$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .220$ ,  $F(6,297) = 15.24$ ,  $p < .001$ .

An examination of the beta weights indicated that the relationship between Discussion (beta = .44) and Asian Stereotypes was partially mediated by Immersion-Emersion, as indicated by the significant reduction of the beta coefficient of Discussion from .44 to .35 (see Table 6). A Sobel test confirmed the partial mediation in the model ( $z = 1.95$ ,  $p = .05$ ).

Table 6

Multiple Regression Analyses using Racial Socialization and Racial Identity to Predict African Americans' Negative Asian Stereotypes

<i>CV</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>F</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> (%) <sup>a</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1					
ST_ASN	Discussion	5.73**	3.7	.44**	3.28
	Environment	--	--	-.22	-1.75
Step 2					
CON	Discussion	.02	0	.01	.14
	Environment	1.44	.5	.06	1.20
DISS	Discussion	.29	.1	.04	.54
	Environment	.53	.2	.05	.73
IE	Discussion	4.42*	1.4	.18*	2.10
	Environment	10.87**	3.5	-.26**	-3.30
INT	Discussion	.09	0	.01	.29
	Environment	.19	.1	.02	.44
Step 3					
ST_ASN	Discussion	15.24***	23.5	.35**	2.89
	Environment	--	--	-.16	-1.41
	CON	--	--	.67***	4.61
	DISS	--	--	.25*	2.05
	IE	--	--	.42***	4.77
	INT	--	--	-.11	-.62

Note. CV = Criterion Variable, PV = Predictor Variable, CON = Conformity, DISS = Dissonance, IE = Immersion-Emersion, INT = Internalization. <sup>a</sup>*df* = (2, 301) in Step 1, *df* = (1, 301) in Step 2, *df* = (6, 297) in Step 3. *F* and *R*<sup>2</sup> values in Step 1 are indicated for Discussion and Environment combined; *F* and *R*<sup>2</sup> values in Step 3 are indicated for Discussion, Environment, Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization combined. \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01, \*\*\* *p* < .001.

**Hypotheses 5a-c.** The (a) frequency of contact, (b) quality of contact, and (c) behavioral intentions will differ significantly between Asian and African American racial groups.

To test Hypotheses 5a-c, the Asian American and African American racial groups were the independent variables and frequency of contact quality of contact and behavioral intentions were dependent variables. High scores on the dependent variables indicating higher frequency of contact, more positive contact, and more willingness to engage in contact behavior with the other group, respectively. Three between-groups one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to compare the two groups. The significance level was set at  $p < .017$  ( $p = .05/3 = .017$ ) to reflect the Bonferroni correction.

**Hypothesis 5a.** The results indicated American and African Americans' mean scores on frequency of intergroup contact did not differ significantly ( $F(1,492) = 1.08, p = .30$ ). Therefore, Hypothesis 5a was not supported. Neither group reported having more contact with the other group.

**Hypothesis 5b.** The results indicated that there were no statistically significant differences between Asian American and African Americans' mean levels of quality of intergroup contact ( $F(1,492) = .09, p = .76$ ). Therefore, Hypothesis 5b was not supported. Neither group characterized its contact with the other group as being more positive.

**Hypothesis 5c.** Results indicated a statistically significant difference between Asian American and African Americans' willingness to engage in contact behavior ( $F(1,492) = 7.40, p = .01$ ). Therefore, Hypothesis 5c was supported. Specifically,

African Americans reported more willingness to engage with Asian Americans across a range of social and relational contexts ( $M = 73.41$ ,  $SD = 12.12$ ) than Asian Americans reported ( $M = 70.31$ ,  $SD = 12.61$ ).

## **Chapter 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

Previous research on intergroup relations between racial groups focused primarily on relations between Whites and various minority groups, the findings of which were presumed to be applicable to relations between racial minority groups (Segura & Rodrigues, 2006). Moreover, research focused on contact as an aspect of intergroup relations has not integrated psychological factors into the most frequently used theory for predicting the outcomes of intergroup contact, intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954). Allport proposed equal status as one aspect of contact that would determine whether group contact would be positive. The current investigation aimed to study intergroup contact between two neglected and understudied racial minority groups in contact literature—Asian Americans and African Americans.

Using racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes as predictor and mediator variables to explore intergroup contact, the current study was guided by the following research questions: (a) Do familial and environmental racial socialization influence intergroup contact between Asian Americans and African Americans? (b) How is racial identity related to racial socialization and intergroup contact? (c) Does racial socialization influence the endorsement of Black and Asian racial stereotypes? (d) How is racial identity related to racial socialization and racial stereotype endorsement? (e) Are there group level differences in the frequency and quality of contact as well as willingness to engage in future contact between the two groups? In the following sections, results of the findings related to these research questions will be reviewed and

discussed. In addition, limitations of the study, along with research and counseling implications will be discussed.

### **Does Racial Socialization Influence Intergroup Contact?**

Contact theory suggests that positive intergroup relations will occur if two groups perceive each other as similar in status, but Asian Americans occupy an intermediate position in the U.S. racial hierarchy that has Whites on one end, and Blacks (and Latinos) on the other end, although African Americans occupy the lowest status position (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Although their relative status positions are important factors to consider in understanding how they evaluate and interact with each other (Bikmen, 2011), the influence of racial socialization factors is also important to consider because such factors may influence how status is perceived.

Some studies suggest that parental racial socialization influences the extent to which youths of Color engage with outgroups (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010), but the process by which this influence occurs needs to be investigated. The results from the present study suggested that racial socialization was positively associated with intergroup contact for both Asian Americans and African Americans. Specifically, Environment was significantly related to all three intergroup contact variables: Frequency, Quality, and Behavioral Intentions (Figure 2). Thus, when Asian Americans and African Americans reported more exposure to racial/ethnic groups other than their own in their social environments, they (a) reported more frequent personal contact with the other group (Frequency), (b) characterized the contact to be more positive (Quality), and (c) indicated more willingness to engage in future contact with the other group (Behavioral Intentions). Discussion was significantly related to



*Figure 2.* Environment was positively related to all three intergroup contact variables in both Asian Americans and African Americans.

Frequency, but not Quality or Behavioral Intentions. Hence, Asian Americans and African Americans, who reported engaging in more race-related discussions with parents and other important adults about perceptions of, knowledge about, and interactions with the other group, also reported having more frequent personal contact with them.

Consistent with intergroup contact theory, these results suggested that exposure to more racially diverse social environments (i.e., more intergroup contact) was a significant predictor for positive interracial contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). These findings are supported in the Asian American sample by previous research indicating exposure to roommates from different ethnic backgrounds in general and to Blacks specifically, increased Asian American college students' positive attitudes toward Blacks (Bikmen, 2001; Van Laar, Levin, Sinclair, & Sidanius, 2005). However, contrary to Van Laar et al.'s (2005) findings suggesting that exposure to Asian American roommates was associated with increased symbolic racist attitudes toward racial outgroups among Black college students, the current study indicated that for African Americans, exposure to racially diverse outgroups in their social environments led to positive intergroup attitudes toward Asian Americans.

One explanation for this discrepant finding might be related to differences in status of the groups in contact. Specifically, Van Laar et al.'s study took place at the

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), a university with a large Asian American student population (e.g., 36% of incoming freshmen) and a relatively small Black student population (e.g., 6% of incoming freshmen; Van Laar et al., 2005). The sheer number of Asian American students would make them the majority status group relative to Black students' minority status group at UCLA. Past research has shown that contact is significantly less effective in improving intergroup relations for minority status groups compared to majority status groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), which is consistent with Laar et al.'s findings. In contrast, Black participants in the current study were recruited on the internet and came from various geographical backgrounds, where they might be members of the majority group. In addition, the current sample was highly educated compared to the national average. For example, 50.7% of the African Americans in the current sample had college degrees, another 18.4% had graduate degrees, compared to 19% in the general African American population who have a bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Education level is an indicator of societal status. Perhaps due to their geographical backgrounds and high education levels, the current sample of Black participants perceived themselves as having similar group status when interacting with Asian Americans, and therefore experienced positive intergroup contact outcomes, as suggested by the current findings.

Current findings on Environment as a significant predictor for positive intergroup contact seemingly countered previous work on racial socialization. In particular, previous studies found greater preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust in Black families from racially integrated neighborhoods, compared to those who lived in predominately Black neighborhoods (e.g., Stevenson et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 2005).



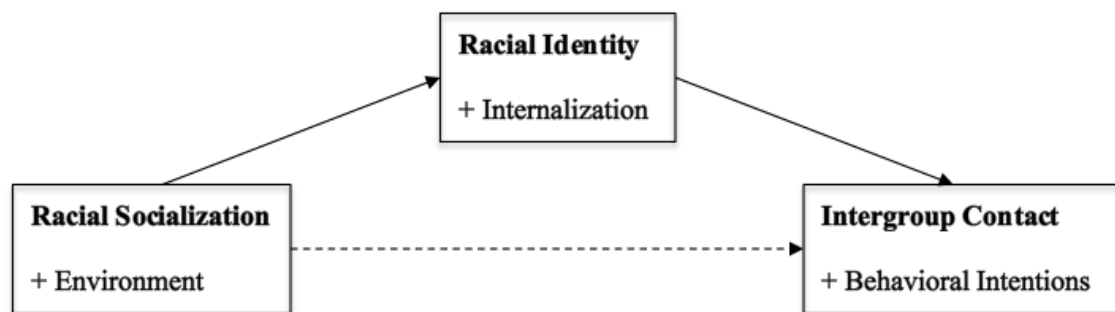
The racial socialization strategies, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, are racial socialization practices that encourage children and youths to hold more cautious and wary attitudes toward racial outgroups, which may lead to negative contact experiences. Although the current study did not study racial socialization strategies specifically, some observations about environmental contexts' influence on intergroup contact can still be drawn.

Social environment in the current study was defined more broadly and included participants' neighborhoods as did previous studies, but also extended to other contextual and relational domains such as their schools, workplaces, friendships, intimate relationships, among others. In this way, the results were consistent with directions predicted by intergroup contact theory, suggesting that exposure to diverse racial groups other than one's own leads to positive intergroup contact experiences. In addition, previous studies investigated Black families' racial socialization practices (e.g., preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust), the core functions of which were to counter and thrive in a White majority society (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). As such, results from these studies might not apply to Asian Americans' and African Americans' racial socialization experiences as much as they pertain to other racial minorities.

### **How is Racial Identity Related to Racial Socialization and Intergroup Contact?**

I found support for racial identity's mediating role in the relationship between racial socialization and intergroup contact in Asian Americans. More specifically, Internalization partially mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions (Figure 3a). Thus, more exposure to diverse racial environments helped

facilitate the utilization of the Internalization racial identity schema, which is represented by more complex and flexible cognitive approaches to processing and interpreting racial stimuli in the environment (Helms, 1995a). Further, Internalization individuals are characterized by their capacity to express a positive racial self-identity as well as to empathize and collaborate with other oppressed groups (Helms & Cook, 1999), leading to more positive interracial interactions. Hence, Asian Americans who utilized the Internalization racial identity schema were in turn more willing to engage in future contact behaviors with African Americans.

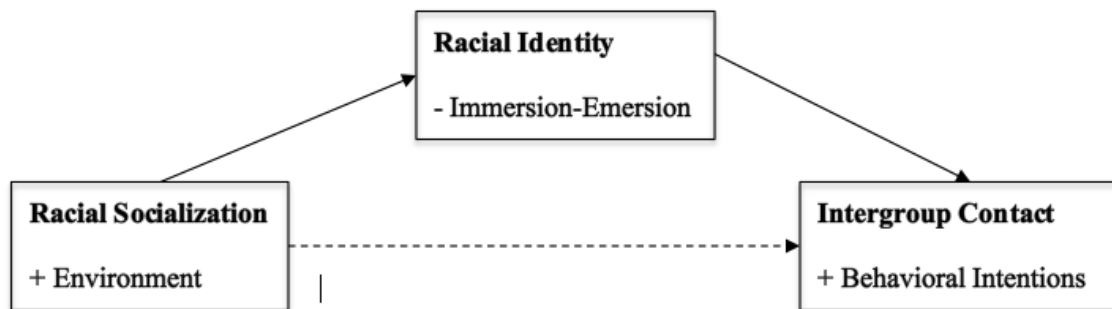


*Figure 3a.* Internalization mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions in Asian Americans.

These findings are supported by previous research (Kohatsu et al., 2001) indicating that Asian Americans who endorsed Integrative Awareness attitudes (Visible Racial/Ethnic Group Members Identity Attitudes Scale; Helms & Carter, 1990) also reported less perceived racial mistrust toward and increased quality of contact with African Americans. Integrative Awareness from the VREG Identity Attitudes Scale is conceptually analogous to the Internalization racial identity status from the PRIAS employed in the current study. In short, having the cognitive flexibility and complexity to objectively interpret racial information make Internalization status individuals more likely to hold attitudes, emotions, and behaviors that allow for positive intergroup

interactions. Thus, the finding that Internalization was positively correlated with Behavioral Intentions is theoretically consistent with racial identity theory (Helms, 1995a).

The mediating effect of racial identity on the relationship between racial socialization and intergroup contact was supported for African Americans. Specifically, Environment predicted the Immersion-Emersion racial identity status, which in turn predicted Behavioral Intentions (Figure 3b). Negative regression coefficients indicated inverse relationships between the variables. In other words, the more African Americans were exposed to racial/ethnic groups other than their own in their social environments, the less likely they were to utilize the Immersion-Emersion racial identity schema, which in turn increased their willingness to engage in future contact behavior with Asian Americans. Previous research showed that Immersion-Emersion was correlated with



*Figure 3b.* Immersion-Emersion mediated the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions in African Americans.

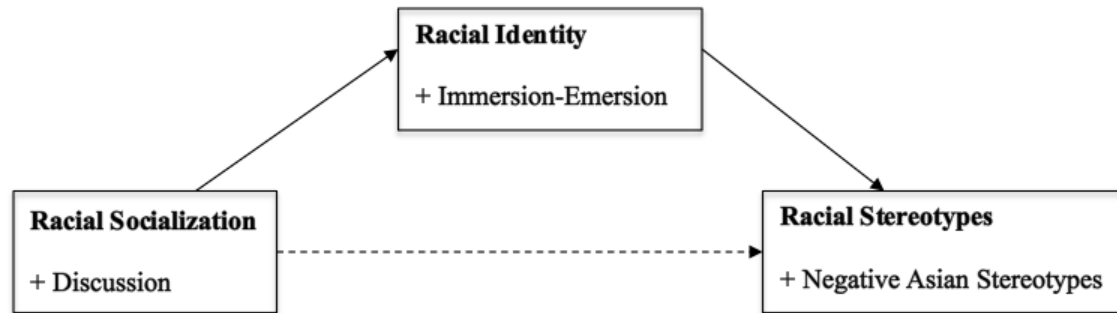
racial mistrust, perception of racism, and decreased quality of contact in interracial interactions (Alvarez et al., 2006; Kohatsu et al., 2001), therefore, the current results are consistent with previous findings in addition to highlighting Immersion-Emersion's role as mediator in the relations between Environment and Behavioral Intentions.

According to racial identity theory (Helms, 1995a), Immersion-Emersion characterizes individuals who are immersed in and idealize their own cultural group. While this status is evolved in response to the need for positive self-group affirmation, individuals using this status are also likely to develop ethnocentrism which makes ingroup versus outgroup differences more salient, leading to negative outgroup evaluations and increased interracial prejudice. The current findings demonstrated that exposure to diverse racial environments decreased the likelihood that African Americans utilize the Immersion-Emersion racial identity schema, which in turn increased their willingness to engage in future contact behavior with Asian Americans.

Previous research suggested that when ethnic minorities perceived their own group to be valued and respected by others (i.e., subgroup respect), they reported more positive racial outgroup evaluations (Huo & Molina, 2006; Huo et al., 2010). In contrast, they are likely to turn to their own group for positive self-group affirmation when they do not feel respected by the mainstream. Perhaps more exposure to racially diverse environments led African Americans to feel more valued by the mainstream, thus decreasing their needs to utilize the Immersion-Emersion schema, resulting in more positive contact experiences with Asian Americans.

### **Does Racial Socialization Influence Racial Stereotypes?**

The current findings supported a direct effect between Discussion and endorsement of Asian stereotypes. That is, the more African Americans engaged in race-related discussions about their perceptions of, knowledge about, and interactions with Asian Americans, the more likely they were to endorse negative Asian stereotypes (Figure 4). These findings are somewhat surprising, given that part of the Discussion



*Figure 4.* Immersion-Emersion mediated the relationship between Discussion and African Americans' Negative Asian Stereotypes.

subscale content involved knowledge of Asian American history, cultural values, and experiences with racism. Having such information (if reliable) about another minority group would presumably counter some of the societal-level negative stereotypes against them. However, several studies with themes of stereotype and mistrust suggested possible explanation for the findings.

Due to their model minority status that elicits feelings of competition, threat, or what some researchers called “envious prejudice” from other racial groups, Asian Americans are often stereotyped as highly competent but lacking interpersonal warmth and kindness (Fiske et al., 2002; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin et al., 2005; Maddux et al., 2008). In fact, when asked about their feelings of closeness toward other racial and ethnic groups, African Americans reported feeling especially distant toward Asian Americans compared to Whites, Native Americans, or Latinos (Thornton, Taylor, & Chatters, 2012). This contradiction of perceiving competence as negative in Asian Americans is not dissimilar to how other envied groups are perceived, such as professional women and Jews who are respected as competent but disliked because they are perceived as lacking warmth (Glick, 2002; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). Therefore, race-related discussions within the family, community, or other related social settings might

lead to negative Asian stereotyping in African Americans due to perceived competition posing threat to the welfare of their own group.

An alternative explanation for the finding that race-related discussions about Asian Americans predicted negative Asian stereotypes is via “promotion of mistrust”, a type of racial socialization practice that emphasizes the need to be weary and distrustful in interracial interactions (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Previous studies suggested that in addition to communicating promotion of mistrust messages pertaining to interactions with Whites, ethnic minority parents also relay this type of messages to children about interracial interactions with other minority groups in general. For example, a subset of immigrant parents of West Indian origins strongly believed that their children should differentiate themselves from native-born African Americans; these beliefs were accompanied by messages of caution and warning about African Americans’ negative qualities and racial stereotypes (Pessar, 1995; Waters, 1999). Although these promotion of mistrust messages by the parents were intended as protective strategies to discourage their children from being associated with other low status groups, a potential consequence of such parenting practices is teaching children negative racial stereotypes about the targeted outgroup. Thus, to the extent that race-related discussions about Asian Americans contain promotion of mistrust messages, then one potential outcome of such discussions within families would be negative Asian stereotyping.

The current findings did not support a direct relationship between Environment and negative Asian stereotypes. However, although not significant ( $p = .08$ ), examination of the results showed an inverse trend between Environment and Asian stereotypes. That is, more exposure to a diverse racial social environment marginally predicted a decrease

in negative Asian stereotypes for African Americans. Such an inverse trend between Environment and Asian stereotypes is consistent with the current study's findings indicating Environment as a consistent predictor of positive intergroup contact.

### **How is Racial Identity Related to Racial Socialization and Racial Stereotypes?**

I found support for racial identity's mediating role in the relationship between racial socialization and racial stereotypes. More specifically, Immersion-Emersion partially mediated the relationship between Discussion and the endorsement of negative Asian stereotypes. Thus, African Americans who reported engaging in more race-related discussions about Asian Americans were also more likely to utilize the Immersion-Emersion racial identity schema, which in turn led to their endorsement of negative Asian stereotypes. These findings suggested that race-related discussions about Asian Americans helped facilitate the utilization of the Immersion-Emersion racial identity schema. As noted earlier, individuals who employ this cognitive schema are also likely to develop ethnocentrism, making ingroup versus outgroup differences more salient. One consequence of operating from an ethnocentric worldview is developing negative stereotypes toward racial outgroups (Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995), in this case negative stereotypes toward Asian Americans.

Furthermore, insofar as individuals who hold negative stereotypes toward a racial outgroup are also likely to have negative intergroup contact with them, Immersion-Emersion's mediating role between Discussion and Negative Asian Stereotypes in African Americans is consistent with findings reported earlier in the study, which indicated its role as a partial mediator in the relationship between Environment and Behavioral Intentions of African Americans. Given that both Discussion and

Environment are aspects of racial socialization, the current findings supported Immersion-Emersion's role as a mediator in explaining how racial socialization influence African Americans' endorsement of Asian stereotypes and their willingness to engage in future contact with them.

Contrary to findings from African American participants, I did not find support for Discussion as a significant predictor of Asian Americans' Black stereotypes. An examination of the items on the Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1998) that measured Black stereotypes (e.g., "One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect") suggested that the Asian American participants' responses might have been influenced by social desirability. Given the heightened racial tensions in this country and non-Blacks' hypervigilance to avoid being perceived as racist toward Blacks (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010), it is possible that the Asian American participants responded in politically correct ways that did not truly reflect their stereotypes of and biases toward African Americans.

I did not find support for Environment as a significant predictor of Asian Americans' Black stereotypes, although the findings approached significance ( $p = .07$ ). Close examination of the analyses suggested an inverse trend between Environment and Black stereotypes. That is, exposure to racial and ethnic groups other than their own marginally predicted a decrease in Asian Americans' negative Black stereotypes. A similar inverse trend was also found between Environment and negative Asian stereotypes of African American participants. These findings are in line with Environment's role as a consistent predictor for positive intergroup contact for both Blacks and Asians in the current study.



### **Are There Group Level Differences in Intergroup Contact?**

I found support for significant group differences between Asian Americans and African Americans in their behavioral intentions. Specifically, African Americans reported more willingness to engage in future contact behavior with Asian Americans than Asian Americans reported with African Americans. These findings are in line with some researchers' perspective that due to their precarious intermediate position in the racial hierarchy, Asian Americans are likely to distance themselves from other nonwhite minorities so as to escape the disadvantages and stigma associated with subordinate group status (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). This perspective is also consistent with findings by Wodtke (2012) indicating that, despite education's general attenuating effect on racial stereotyping in other racial groups, Asian Americans, regardless of their education level, held negative views of Blacks (and Latinos).

Close examination of the data, however, revealed more complex dimensions in Black-Asian relations. The findings indicated that despite African Americans' higher scores on the Behavioral Intentions Scales (Esses & Dovidio, 2002), both groups on average endorsed high levels of willingness (i.e., "usually willing", a score of 6 on a 7 point scale) to engage in future contact behavior with the other group. The discrepant findings between Wodtke's (2012) findings and the current studies are likely due to differences in sample characteristics.

Although both studies involved Asian American adults, the current study only enlisted U.S.-born participants as part of the inclusion criteria, whereas 70.5% of the Asian American participants in Wodtke's (2012) study were foreign born, which was consistent with the share (i.e., 74%) of foreign born Asian American adults living in the

US (Pew Research Center, 2013). Generational status is, in part, a proxy indicator for acculturation level, English language proficiency, cultural values, attitude toward racial outgroups, and exposure to and familiarity with Blacks and Black culture, respectively. For instance, one might expect that in general, U.S.-born Asian Americans would have greater degree of interaction and familiarity with Blacks and therefore more positive relations with them, as compared to foreign-born Asian Americans.

For example, in Kohatsu et al.'s (2005) study, U.S.-born Asian Americans reported more positive overall group impressions of Blacks and greater familiarity with Black culture than foreign-born Asian Americans, whereas foreign-born Asian Americans reported higher levels of perceived racism (i.e., racial mistrust) from Blacks compared to their U.S.-born counterparts. Together, current findings and previous work suggested U.S.-born Asian Americans experience more positive interracial contact with African Americans than foreign-born Asian Americans. Although these findings do not fully capture the experiences of the 1.5-generation Asian Americans who immigrated to the US as children or adolescents, and thus spent a large portion of their developmental years in the US (Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003), they do point to the importance of examining contextual factors such as generational status when studying Asian Americans' intergroup relations with African Americans and any other racial minorities.

With respect to African Americans, previous work suggested that African Americans felt especially distant toward Asian Americans than other racial groups (Thornton et al., 2012). Generalized feelings of closeness are helpful in assessing interracial attitudes and therefore are predictors contact behavior (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). In addition, studies (e.g., Lin et al., 2005) have shown that Asian Americans'

perceived model minority status could potentially engender feelings of threat and envious prejudice from other racial groups. Both of these findings would suggest that African Americans are likely to endorse low levels of willingness to engage in future contact with Asian Americans.

Contrary to Thornton et al.' (2012) findings, the current findings showed that African Americans endorsed high levels of willingness to engage in future contact behavior (i.e., behavioral intentions) with Asian Americans. One explanation for the discrepant findings might be due to education level differences in the two Black samples. Compared to Thornton et al.'s (2012) sample of African Americans who had an average of 12.43 years of education, the equivalent of a high school diploma but not a college degree, the current study's African American participants were highly educated. About half (50.7%) were college-educated, 18.4% had graduate degrees, with the remaining 30.9% holding high school diplomas. Previous work showed that African Americans who were more educated were also more likely to reject outgroup racial stereotypes, and had more awareness of discrimination against all minority groups (Wodtke, 2012). These correlations suggest more educated African Americans, as indicated by the current study, are likely to have more positive interracial relations with Asian Americans.

With respect to the frequency and quality of contact, current findings showed that Asian Americans and African Americans reported having moderate levels of personal contact with each other, and that they perceived the quality of contact as neutral to moderately positive. The two groups did not differ in their frequency or perceived quality of contact.

## **Limitations**

Several potential limitations should be considered when interpreting the study's findings, they can be broadly categorized as the following: (a) research design, (b) measurement, and (c) sampling. A discussion of each category follows.

**Research Design.** The current study is a correlational study, relationships among study variables were deduced using statistical methods such as multivariate multiple regression analyses. Although correlational designs are helpful in explaining how these variables are related to each other, causal inferences cannot be made (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlighan, 2008).

Relatedly, despite clear theoretical support for the proposed sequence of causality in the two mediation models (e.g., racial socialization → racial identity → intergroup contact), there has not been a substantial amount of existing empirical data demonstrating significant relationships between the studied predictor and outcome variable pairs (i.e., racial socialization and intergroup contact, racial socialization and racial stereotypes), as is typically ideal for designing a mediational study (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). This paucity in prior research is in part due to how racial socialization was defined in the current study, namely, race-related discussions were referred to socialization about the racial outgroup as opposed to one's own group, the latter which was more in line with the ethnic-racial socialization literature (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson et al., 2002). Also, many racial socialization studies investigated the link between socialization and various psychological well-being indicators (e.g., Constance & Blackmon, 2002; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Caughy et al., 2002). Although racial socialization clearly influences interracial interactions (Hughes et al., 2006), few studies investigated the relationship between racial socialization and actual contact.

In addition, it is important to recognize that the relationships between racial identity and racial socialization, and racial identity and intergroup contact, are potentially multifaceted. As such, alternate directions are possible in the mediation models. For instance, a theoretical argument could be made that racial identity schemas are an outcome of interracial contact. As an exploratory study, the current investigation chose to focus on the proposed sequence of causality; however, future study should consider alternate models to better capture individuals' race-related socialization experiences, racial identity, racial stereotypes, and their relationships with interracial interactions.

A second research design issue pertains to the study's procedure and how the survey items were set up online. Specifically, the questionnaire was set up in a forced response format, which required participants to answer all items in a given section before they were able to proceed to the next section. Although a forced response format has the advantages of promoting deeper processing time and allowing participants to consider every item carefully, in addition to virtually eliminating missing data (Albaum, Wiley, Roster, & Smith, 2011; Smyth et al., 2006), this question format may also cause unnecessary frustrations in respondents, who may then either give non-truthful responses or opt for early termination due constraints of the format (Best & Krueger, 2004). The current study had recruited an initial sample of  $N = 763$  participants who agreed to the informed consent. The final count of completed surveys were  $N = 501$ , with an attrition rate of 34%. Given the relatively recent technology developed in association with internet survey design choices, and the lack of clear consensus for best practices in setting up online question format, it was difficult to assess the reasons for the 34% participants' early terminations without the benefit of exit interviews.

A final research design issue relates to the Discussion subscale of the Racial Socialization Influences (SOC; Harrell, 1997) Scale. Specifically, the subscale has an inherent assumption that participants do engage in race-related discussions about their racial outgroup indicated in the study. Evidence suggests that not all families of Color engage in racial socialization practices (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Hence, Black and Asian American families that do not engage in race-related discussions about their own history of racism, culture, and traditions, for example, are unlikely to socialize their children about each other's racial experiences, cultural values, and traditions. Future studies may utilize a mixed-methods design (Green, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989) to address this potential limitation. By using results from the quantitative study to enhance findings from the qualitative study, for example, researchers are able to represent more accurately the beliefs and practices of Black and Asian American families with respect to how they perceive and interact with each other.

**Measurement.** Due to modifications made in some of the instruments, there might be potential reliability and/or validity issues. For example, the Discussion subscale of the SOC was originally developed to measure more traditionally defined racial socialization communications (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization of one's own group; see Hughes et al., 2006 for review). However, I was interested in investigating Asian Americans' racial socialization experiences of another group, specifically in this study pertaining to African Americans, and African Americans' racial socialization experiences of Asian Americans. Since no other instrument was available to test for these specific experiences, I opted to modify the Discussion subscale to reflect race-related discussions about their respective racial outgroup among study participants. Although reliability for

the Discussion subscale in the current sample is high, this subscale has not had the benefit of being tested in other samples.

Similar cautions also applied to the Frequency subscale of the Intergroup Contact Measure, which again was modified to reflect contact with the specific racial outgroup in this study. Additionally, one item was modified from frequency of speaking to an outgroup member to frequency of personal contact “at social events”. This was done in an attempt to capture a broader social-environmental context in which personal contact took place for the participants. In light of these modifications, perhaps the development of new interracial contact measures that are racial group specific is warranted, as individuals tend to hold racial-group specific attitudes, emotions, and behavioral intentions that differentially shape their interracial interaction experiences.

Another measurement concern pertains to an item on the Discussion subscale of the SOC, which asked about participants’ racial socialization experiences at “your place of worship”. When participants answered “not at all,” it was unclear if they meant racial socialization did not take place at their religious gatherings, they did not practice organized religion, or they were atheists and hence these items did not apply to them. Having the option to answer “do not apply” for these items might help better represent the range of participants’ racial socialization experiences. In addition, the Environment subscale assessed participants’ racial composition in their various environments, with higher scores indicating more exposure to diverse racial/ethnic groups. One of the scale options provided was “does not apply to me”. The values from participants who answered this option should not be used in calculating their scores, since they were

essential missing data. However, I included these values in totaling participants' scores as indicated by the scale author (Harrell, 1997), rendering the scale less valid.

A final measurement concern relates to Racial Socialization's construct validity and whether it can be meaningfully applied across different Asian American and Black populations. In particular, the Discussion subscale of the SOC is valid for use with U.S.-born Asian and Black adults, as demonstrated in the current study. However, it is unclear whether Discussion is valid for use with Black and Asian immigrant populations. Discussion measures race-related discussions about perceptions of, knowledge about, and interactions with members of the racial outgroup in the study. Given their first-generation status, Asian and Black immigrant parents may be less likely to engage in this type of discussions with their children due to lack of knowledge in the subject matter, or different conceptualization and ascribed salience of their racial versus ethnic selves, compared to their U.S.-born counterparts. Given this potential limitation, future researchers may examine between-group differences in racial socialization practices between a sample of first-generation Asian Americans, for example, and a sample of second-generation Asian Americans to elucidate how generation difference may or may not influence racial socialization practices in their studied populations.

**Sampling.** The last potential limitation pertains to sampling bias. Since the questionnaire was available on the internet, it allowed participants from all geographical backgrounds to partake in the study, which contributes to generalizability. However, it is possible that educational bias was introduced due to the online nature of the survey. For example, participants in the current study were highly educated compared to the general population: 72% Asian Americans and 50% African Americans reported having a



bachelor's degree or higher (plus 9.5% Asian Americans and 19.1% African Americans with two-year college degrees), compared to their national racial group averages of 51.3% and 19.7% with a bachelor's degree or higher, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a, 2016). One explanation for the current sample's high education attainment may be that individuals who are more computer-savvy are also likely to be more educated.

In addition, the self-selection format of the survey may also be bias toward individuals who were interested in the subject matters of race, racial stereotypes, or Black and Asian relations. Participants who felt ambivalent or anxious about these themes may elect to opt out of the study before completion. Therefore, results from the completed surveys may or may not reflect the experiences of the general Asian and Black population. Furthermore, the Asian American sample was overwhelmingly (62.1%) represented by East Asians (i.e., Chinese, Korean, Japanese) and were all U.S-born due to the study's inclusion criteria. Given the ethnic heterogeneity within the Asian American community, and also the fact that nearly three-quarters of Asian Americans living in the US were born abroad (Pew Research Center, 2013), the current findings should not be generalized to the entire Asian American population.

### **Research Implications**

A number of research implications can be inferred from this study. First, intergroup contact research has generally not included racial psychological variables in examining contact between different racial groups. This underexamined area in the contact literature is surprising, given substantial research has documented the centrality of race and race-related experiences in the lives of ethnic minority groups affecting their interracial interactions. The current study showed the merit of research on intergroup

contact between two underinvestigated minority groups, Asian Americans and African Americans. Specifically, racial socialization and racial identity variables were used to assess their influence on contact. In addition, race-specific stereotype measures (i.e., Negative ATA Scale, Anti-Black Scale) were used to better capture the unique experiences of prejudice and discrimination experienced between Blacks and Asian Americans in the US, and their potential influences on how the two groups perceive each others' status. Given the relative minimal empirical efforts devoted to understand the contact experiences between African Americans and Asian Americans in the contact literature, additional research with these and other racial minorities is encouraged.

Second, evidence suggests some racial group differences in racial identity between Asians Americans and African Americans as measured by the People of Color Racial Identity Scale (PRIAS). Racial identity's role as mediator in the two proposed mediation models was generally supported by the findings and was consistent with the directions predicted by racial identity theory. However, the findings also indicated that different racial identity statuses were shown to mediate the same relationships in Blacks and Asians. For example, Internalization partially mediated Environment and Behavioral Intentions in Asian Americans; however, Immersion-Emersion was shown to mediate the same, but inverse, relationship in African Americans. In addition, while Immersion-Emersion mediated the relationship between Discussion and African American's endorsement of racial stereotypes, the same relationship was not found in Asian Americans.

Preliminary analyses of the demographic variables suggested that the two racial groups significantly differed in all sample characteristics (e.g., gender, age, education). It

is unclear if their group level differences in the PRIAS scores were related to their different sample characteristics. Previous work on cluster analyses using the PRIAS suggested that Asian Americans might experience race differently from African Americans (Chen et al. 2006). Therefore, more research is needed to tease out what factors might contribute to the racial group differences in Asian Americans and Blacks' racial identity as captured by the PRIAS.

Finally, the current findings highlighted the importance of conducting racial socialization research as a way to better understand interracial relations between minority groups. With respect to African Americans, although a large number of previous studies investigated Black families and their racial socialization practices, few studied these practices as they relate to the development of racial stereotypes and intergroup contact with other minority groups. For example, one aspect of racial socialization—Environment, or the racial composition of one's current and past relational and environmental contexts—consistently predicted positive intergroup contact as measured by all three contact variables in both Asians and Blacks; in contrast, engaging in frequent discussions about Asian Americans' race-related experiences was associated with the endorsement of negative Asian stereotypes in African Americans, which would likely lead to more negative contact. As such, racial socialization practices do not appear to be consistently beneficial to intergroup contact. Therefore, additional research is warranted to understand the ways in which racial socialization practices either promote or hinder interracial contact between minorities.

With respect to Asian Americans, although there is a general lack of racial socialization research focusing on this population, findings from one of few studies on

the subject suggested that a broad range of racial and ethnic socialization practices might be prevalent among Asian families (Tran & Lee, 2009). The current findings showed that discussions of African Americans' experiences with race and racism predicted more frequent personal contact with them for Asian Americans. However, whether they perceived such contact as positive or negative remained unclear and required further investigation. In addition, more research is warranted to elucidate the manner in which themes related to race and racism are discussed and transmitted in Asian American families and communities.

### **Counseling Implications**

The current study's findings have several implications for mental health counseling when working with U.S.-born Asian Americans and African Americans. First, the results indicated that Environment, or exposure to racially diverse individuals in one's social and relational environments, to be a consistent predictor for positive intergroup contact. In addition, both groups were shown to endorse high levels of willingness to engage in future contact with each other. Given that students on college campuses are typically afforded more opportunities to interact with individuals outside of their race, these results suggested universities to be ideal environments in which to foster more positive connections between Asian Americans and Blacks, and mental health counselors are at a unique position to facilitate such processes.

As a starting point, counselors and university counseling centers can direct their outreach efforts to hold intergroup dialogue workshops (Nagda & Zuniga, 2003) with Black and Asian American students, with the goals of building multiracial support networks and decreasing potentially hostile interracial interactions, both of which lead to

better mental health outcomes. One way to engage minority students is to enlist the help of student leaders from various Black and Asian student cultural clubs. When facilitated by a skilled and culturally-competent counselor, intergroup dialogue workshops allow for a safe space and provide opportunities for Black and Asian students to ask questions, and to counter negative racial stereotypes about each other. The workshops can also serve as a common ground for its participants to share both commonly shared and racial-group specific experiences with racism and microaggression; in addition, the groups' different status positions on the racial hierarchy and its associated advantages and disadvantaged can be acknowledged (Wiley & Bikmen, 2012). These dialogues may help Black and Asian American students better recognized their shared challenges but also increase appreciation for their ethnic cultural difference, both of which help promote racial identity development, build solidarity, and decrease interracial conflicts.

In addition to college campuses, results from the current study also have implications for improving intergroup relations at the community level as well as within the workplace. At the community level, creating multicultural centers where community members have the opportunity to gather and interact would help increase their exposure to racially diverse individuals and encourage more positive intergroup interactions. Similarly, company-sponsored team building events at the workplace also help increase exposure to racial diversity and foster better relations between co-workers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Past research has indicated that in addition to increasing actual contact, the creation of a common ingroup identity among members of different ethnic backgrounds may decrease intergroup conflict and prejudice and promote more positive intergroup relations (Levin et al., 2009). At the multicultural center, for

example, staff can help create and facilitate different groups such as a cancer support group, or a working parent social group, where these superordinate group identities may serve as effective common in-group identities that unite members across different racial/ethnic groups.

Second, exploration of racial identity attitudes may help counselors and mental health practitioners to better anticipate and understand how Asian Americans and Blacks interpret racial information and behave in different racial contexts. In particular, racial identity profiles (Chen et al., 2006), which give a more comprehensive and complex picture of an individual's four racial identity statuses simultaneous, can be useful as a psychological tool to help facilitate more positive own-group evaluations, decrease race-related stress, and promote more positive interracial interactions.

For example, the current findings showed that Asian Americans who occupied the Internalization status reported more willingness to engage in future contact with Blacks. In contrast, Blacks who occupied the Immersion-Emersion status endorsed negative Asian stereotypes; in addition, low scores in the Immersion-Emersion scale were related to more willingness to engage in future contact with Asian Americans. These are helpful information for mental health practitioners to incorporate into the racial identity profiles when conducting case conceptualization and treatment planning, especial when interracial conflicts are part of the presenting concerns. Moreover, facilitating racial identity maturation (e.g., progressing from Immersion-Emersion to Internalization) may lead to reduction in racial stereotyping and prejudice, and increase in psychological flexibility and functioning for African Americans and Asian Americans in different racial contexts.

Finally, the findings have implications for the dynamics of Black-Asian dyads in therapy. In particular, racial differences between the therapist and client can sometimes impeded the therapeutic process. For instance, therapist and client may attribute racial classifications and the stereotypes associated with those classifications to each other, contributing to relationship barriers and may even lead to early termination (Helms & Cook, 1999). In the current study, findings in African Americans showed that race-related discussions was associated with negative Asian stereotypes in part due to their Immersion-Emersion racial identity status. Therefore, if an Asian American therapist were to work with an African American client and determined that the client endorses primarily Immersion-Emersion attitudes, it may be helpful for the therapist to acknowledge the possibility of the client's negative Asian stereotypes. More importantly, the therapist should having an understanding that the Immersion-Emersion racial identity status was evolved in response to the client's need for a self-affirming collective identity, in order to counter internalized negative societal racial stereotypes about his or her own group (Helms, 1995a). Having such awareness and knowledge about her African American clients' racial and psychological profile enables the Asian American therapist to practice with greater cultural sensitivity.

In the case that the client is Asian American and the therapist African American, first and foremost, it is important for the therapist to consider factors such as ethnic group differences, generational status, language proficiency, and levels of acculturation in case conceptualization and treatment planning. While the current study did not find a significant relationship between Asian Americans' racial identity and anti-Black stereotypes (which may be due to the fact that this Asian American sample was all U.S.-

born), Kohatsu et al. (2001) showed that Asian Americans who endorsed Conformity and Resistance attitudes (Visible Racial/Ethnic Group Members Identity Attitudes Scale; Helms & Carter, 1990), were more likely to report racial mistrust against Blacks.

Therefore, Black therapists working with Asian American clients may incorporate this information in their work to build trust and help establish stronger therapeutic alliances.



## References

- About, F. E., & Skerry, S. A. (1984). The development of ethnic attitudes: A critical review. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 15*, 3-34.
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Albarracin, D., Johnson, B. T., Fishbein, M., & Muellerleile, P. A. (2001). Theories of reasoned action and planned behavior as models of condom use: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 127*, 142-161.
- Albaum, G., Wiley, J., Roster, C., and Smith, S. M. (2015). Visiting item non-responses in internet survey data collection. *International Journal of Market Research, 53*(5), 687-703.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: The New York Press.
- Alex-Assensoh, Y. (2009). African immigrants and African-Americans: An analysis of voluntary African immigration and the evolution of black ethnic politics in America. *African and Asian Studies, 8*, 89-124.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Alvarez, A. N., Juang, L., & Liang, C. T. H. (2006). Asian Americans and racism: When bad things happen to “model minorities.” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(3), 477-492.
- Alvarez, A. N., & Helms, J. E. (2001). Racial identity and reflected appraisals as influences on Asian Americans’ racial adjustment. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*, 217– 231.

- Anderson, M. (2015). *A rising share of the U.S. Black population is foreign born, 9 percent are immigrants; and while most are from the Caribbean, Africans drive recent growth*. Pew Research Center, Washing, D.C.: April.
- Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F.K. (1981). Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In D. L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior* (pp. 1-35). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Bahr, H. M., & Chadwick, B. A. (1974). Conservatism, racial intolerance, and attitudes toward racial assimilation among Whites and American Indians. *Journal of Social Psychology, 94*, 45-56.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 1173-1182.
- Bentley, K. L., Adams, V. N., & Stevenson, H. C. (2009). Racial socialization: Roots, processes & outcomes. In H. Neville, B. Tynes & S. Utsey. (Eds.), *Handbook of African American psychology* (pp. 255-267). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bergsieker, H. B., Shelton, N., & Richeson, J. (2010). To be liked versus respected: Divergent goals in interracial interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99*, 248-264. doi:10.1037/a0018474
- Best, S. J., & Krueger, B. (2004). *Internet Data Collection*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bikmen, N. (2011). Asymmetrical effects of contact between minority groups: Asian and Black students in a small college. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*(2), 186-194.

- Bobo, L., & Hutchings, V. (1996). Perceptions of racial group competition: Extending Blumer's theory of group position to a multiracial social context. *American Sociological Review*, 61(6), 951–72.
- Bobo, L., & Johnson, D. (2000). Racial attitudes in a prismatic metropolis: Mapping identity, stereotypes, competition, and views on affirmative action. In L. Bobo, M. Oliver, J. Johnson, & A. Valenzuela (Eds.), *Prismatic metropolis: Inequality in Los Angeles* (pp. 81–166). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bobo, L., Johnson, J., Oliver, M., Farley, R., Bluestone, B., Browne, I., ... Charles, C. C. (2000). *Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, 1992–1994: Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Los Angeles Household Survey Data (Computer file—3rd ICPSR version)*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.
- Bogardus, E. S. (1925). Measuring social distances. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9, 299-308.
- Bogardus, E. S. (1928). *Immigration and race relations*. Boston: D. C. Heath.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 931–50.
- Bowman, N. A., & Griffin, T. M (2012). Secondary transfer effects of interracial contact: The moderating role of social status. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 18(1), 35-44.
- Bowman, P. J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three- generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, 24, 134–141.

- Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (Vol. 72, pp. 33-51). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brigham, J. C., Woodmansee, J. J., & Cook, S. W. (1976). Dimensions of verbal racial attitudes: Interracial marriage and approaches to racial equality. *Journal of Social Issues, 32*, 9-21.
- Britt, T. W., Boniecki, K. A., Vescio, T. K., Biernat, M., & Brown, L. M. (1996). Intergroup anxiety: A person  $\times$  situation approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*, 1177–1188.
- Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255-343). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Carter, R. T., & Reynolds, A. L. (2011). Race-related stress, racial identity status attitudes, and emotional reactions of Black Americans. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*(2), 156-162.
- Castaneda, M. E., Broadbent, M. A. & Coleman, B. (2010). A national overview of the status of inter-ethnic relations in the urban United States. *Democracy and Multicultural Education, 73-98*.
- Caughy, M. O., O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. *Child Development, 73*, 1611–1625.

- Chen, G. A., LePhuoc P., Guzman, M. R., Rude, S. S., & Dodd, B. G. (2006). Exploring Asian American racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(3), 461-476.
- Chou, R. S., & Feagin, J. R. (2008). *Myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Cummings, S., & Lambert, T. (1997). Anti-Hispanic and anti-Asian sentiments among African Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 78*(2), 338-353.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotyping and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*, 5-18.
- Diaz-Veizades, J., & Chang, E. T. (1996). Building cross-cultural coalitions: A case-study of the Black-Korean alliance and the Latino-Black Roundtable. *Ethnic & Racial Studies, 19*(3), 680-700.
- Dion, K. L. (1985). Social distance norms in Canada: Effects of stimulus characteristics and dogmatism. *International Journal of Psychology, 20*, 743-749.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past, present, and the future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 6*(1), 5-21.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*(2), 88-102.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Esses, V. M., & Dovidio, J. F. (2002). The role of emotions in determining willingness to engage in intergroup contact. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 1202-1214.

- Field, A. (2012). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of often mixed stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 878–902.  
doi:10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the “burden of ‘acting white’”. *The Urban Review*, 18(3), 176-206.
- Frazier, P. A., Tix, A. P., & Barron, K. E. (2004). Testing moderation and mediator effects in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51, 115–134.
- Franklin, A. J. (1999). Invisibility syndrome and racial identity development in psychotherapy and counseling African American men. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 27, 761-793.
- Franklin, A. J. (2006). Gender, race, and invisibility in psychotherapy with African American Men. In J. C. Muran (Ed.), *Dialogues on difference: Diversity studies of the therapeutic relationship* (pp. 117-131). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Books.
- Glick, P. (2002). Sacrificial lambs dressed in wolves’ clothing: Envious prejudice, ideology, and the scapegoating of Jews. In L. S. Newman & R. Erber (Eds.), *Understanding genocide: The social psychology of the Holocaust* (pp. 113-142). London: Oxford.

- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 1323-1334.
- Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy analysis*, 11, 255-274.
- Guthrie, P., & Hutchinson, J. (1995). The Impact of perceptions on interpersonal interactions in an African American/Asian American housing project. *Journal of Black Studies*, 25(3), 377-395.
- Harrell, S. P. (1997). *The Racism and Life Experiences Scales—Revised*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70, 42–57.
- Harrell, S. P., Merchant, M. A., & Young, S. A. (1997, August). *Psychometric properties of the Racism and Life Experiences Scales*. Paper presented at the 105th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.
- Helms, J. E. (1990). *African American and White racial identity*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Helms, J. E. (1995a). An update of Helms's White and people of color racial identity development models. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 181-198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Helms, J. E. (1995b). *The People of Color (POC) Racial Identity Attitude Scale*.  
Unpublished manuscript, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Helms, J. E. (2003). Racial identity and racial socialization as aspects of adolescents' identity development. In R. Learner, F. Jacobs, & D. Wertilef (Eds.), *Handbook of applied developmental science: Promoting child, adolescent, and family development through research, policies, and programs* (Vol. 1, pp. 143-163). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Helms, J. E., & Carter, R. T. (1990). *Preliminary overview of the Cultural Identity Attitude Scale*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Helms, J. E., & Cook, D. A. (1999). *Using race in counseling and psychotherapy: theory and process*. Needham, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Helms, J. E., & Parham, T. A. (1991). The development of the racial identity attitude scale. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Handbook of tests and measurements for Black populations* (Vol. 1-2, pp. 245-247). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry.
- Heppner, P. P., Wampold, B. E., & Kivlighan, D. M. (2008). *Research Design in Counseling* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Brooks/Cole.
- Ho, C., & Jackson, J. W. (2001). Attitudes toward Asian Americans: Theory and measurement. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31, 1553–1581.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1, 200-214.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1999). The nature of parents' race-related communications to children: A developmental perspective. In L. Balter & C. S. Tamis-LeMonda



- (Eds.), *Child psychology: A handbook on contemporary issues* (pp. 467–490). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 981–995.
- Hughes, D., Smith, E. P., Stevenson, H. C., Rodriguez, J., Johnson, D. J., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 747–770.
- Huo, Y. J., & Molina, L. E. (2006). Is pluralism a viable model of diversity? The benefits and limits of subgroup respect. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 9, 359–376.
- Huo, Y. J., Molina, L. E., Binning, K. R., & Funge, S. P. (2010). Respect, social engagement, and well-being: A field study of an ethnically diverse high school. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16, 427–436.
- Islam, M. R., & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup anxiety, perceived out-group variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19, 700–710.
- Iwamoto, D. K., & Liu, W. M. (2010). The impact of racial identity, ethnic identity, Asian values, and race-related stress on Asian Americans and Asian International college students' psychological well-being. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57(1), 79–91.
- Jones, J. M. (1997). *Prejudice and racism*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Judd, C. M., Park, B., Ryan, C. S., Brauer, M., & Kraus, S. (1995). Stereotypes and ethnocentrism: Diverging interethnic perceptions of African American and White

- American youth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 460-481.
- Kalmijn, M. (1996). The socioeconomic assimilation of Caribbean American blacks. *Social Forces*, 74, 911-930.
- Keely, C. B. (1971). Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965 on selected population characteristics of immigrants to the United States. *Demography*, 8(2), 157-169.
- Kim, B. S. K., Brenner, B. R., Liang, C. T. H., & Asay, P. A. (2003). A qualitative study of adaptation experiences of 1.5-Generation Asian Americans. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9(2), 156-170.
- Kim, C. J. (2004). Imagining race and nation in multiculturalist America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(6), 987-1005.
- Kim, C. J., & Lee, T. (2001). Interracial politics: Asian Americans and other communities of color. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 34(3), 631-637.
- Kim, E. H. (1998). "At least you're not Black": Asian Americans in U.S. race relations. *Social Justice*, 25(3), 3-12.
- Kim, K. C. (1999). *Koreans in the Hood: Conflict with African Americans*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kochhar, R. Fry, R., & Taylor, P. (2011). *Wealth gaps rise to record highs between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics*. Pew Research Center, Washing, D.C. Retrieved from <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/07/26/wealth-gaps-rise-to-record-highs-between-whites-blacks-hispanics/>
- Kohatsu. E. L., Dulay, M., Lam, C., Concepcion, W., Perez. P., Lopez, C., & Euler, J. (2000). Using racial identity theory to explore racial mistrust and interracial

- contact among Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 78, 334-342.
- Lee, J., & Zhou, M. (2015). *The Asian American Achievement Paradox*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lee, S. J. (1996). *Unraveling the "Model Minority" stereotype: Listening to the Asian American youth*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lee, Y. T. (1993). Ingroup preference and homogeneity among African American and Chinese American students. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 133, 225-235.
- Leong, F. T., & Okazaki, S. (2009). History of Asian American psychology. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(4), 352-362.
- Lie, J. (2004). The Black-Asian conflict? In N. Foner, & G. M. Fredrickson (Eds.), *Not just black and White: Historical and contemporary perspectives on immigration, race, and ethnicity in the United States* (pp. 301-314). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S. Y., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 34-47.  
doi:10.1177/0146167204271320
- Lutz, J. G., & Eckert, T. L. (1994). The relationship between canonical correlation analysis and multivariate multiple regression. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 56, 666-675.

- Maddux, W. W., Galinsky, A. D., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Polifroni, M. (2008). When being a model minority is good . . . and bad: Realistic threat explains negativity toward Asian Americans. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 74–89.
- Mallett, R. K., Akimoto, S., & Oishi, S. (2015, March 16). Affect and understanding during everyday cross-race experiences. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnicity Minority Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000032>
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). *Identity in adolescence*. In J. Adelson (ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159–187). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24, 377–396.
- McCormack, A. S. (1995). The changing nature of racism on college campuses: Study of discrimination at a northeastern public university. *College Student Journal*, 29(2), 150-156.
- McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., & Swanson, D. P. (2006). Mothers' and fathers' racial socialization in African American families: Implications for youth. *Child Development*, 77, 1387-1402.
- McKown, C., & Strambler, M. J. (2009). Developmental antecedents and social and academic consequences of stereotype-consciousness in middle childhood. *Child Development*, 80(6), 1643-1659.
- Mirels, H. L., & Garrett, J. B. (1971). The Protestant ethic as a personality variable. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 36, 40-44.

- Morial, M. H., Bowser, M., Chase, D. M., Crump, B. L., Foxx, A., Freeman-Wilson, K., ... Tabron, L. M. (2015). *2015 State of Black America: Save our cities, education, jobs & justice*. National Urban League.
- Norman, A. J. (1998). Managing conflict: Building a multicultural collaborative. *Cities*, 15(3), 209-214.
- Oliver, J. E., & Wong, J. (2003). Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(4), 567–582.
- Ou, Y.-S., & McAdoo, H. P. (1993). Socialization of Chinese American children. In H. P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity* (pp. 245–270). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Park, E. J. W., & Saito, L. T. (2000). Multiracial collaborations and coalitions. In P. M. Ong (Ed.), *The state of Asian Pacific America: Transforming race relations* (Vol. 4, pp. 435-474). Los Angeles, CA: LEAP Public Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center.
- Park, K. (1996). Use and abuse of race and culture: Black-Korean tension in America. *American Anthropologist*, 98(3), 492-499.
- Pessar, P. (1995). The elusive enclave: Ethnicity, class, and nationality among Latino entrepreneurs in Greater Washington, DC. *Human Organization*, 54, 383–392.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65–85.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–783.

Pew Research Center, (2010). *A year after Obama's election: Blacks upbeat about Black progress, prospects*. Retrieved from

<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2010/10/blacks-upbeat-about-black-progress-prospects.pdf>

Pew Research Center, (2013). *The rise of Asian Americans*. Retrieved from

<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/04/Asian-Americans-new-full-report-04-2013.pdf>

Pew Research Center, (2015). *Modern immigration wave brings 59 millions to the U.S., driving population growth and change through 2065: Views of immigration's impact on U.S. society mixed*. Washington, DC: September.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156–176.

Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 5, 31–54.

Phinney, J. S., Jacoby, B., & Silva, C. (2007). Positive intergroup attitudes: The role of ethnic identity. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31(5), 478–490.

Plant, E. A., & Butz, D. A. (2006). The causes and consequences of an avoidance-focus for interracial interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 833–846.

Quintana, S. M., & Vera, E. M. (1999). Mexican American children's ethnic identity, understanding of ethnic prejudice, and parental ethnic socialization. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 21, 387–404.

- Saguy, T., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2008). Beyond contact: Intergroup contact in the context of power relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 432–445.
- Saito, L. T. (2001). Asian Americans and multiracial political coalitions: New York City's Chinatown and redistricting, 1990-1991. In G. H. Chang (Ed.), *Asian Americans and politics: Perspectives, experiences, prospects* (pp. 383-408). Washington, DC, and Stanford, CA: Woodrow Wilson Center and Stanford University Press.
- Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., Morgan-Lopez, A., & Sellers, R. M. (2012). Racial discrimination and racial socialization as predictors of African American adolescents' racial identity development using latent transition analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, 48(2), 448-458.
- Segura, G. M., & Rodrigues, H. A. (2006). Comparative ethnic politics in the United States: Beyond Black and White. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 375-395.
- Sidanius, J., Levin, S., Van Laar, C., & Sears, D. O. (2008). *The diversity challenge: Social identity and intergroup relations on the college campus*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Smith, T. W., Marsden, P. V., Hout, M., & Kim, J. (2011). *General Social Surveys, 1972–2010 (MRDF)*. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.
- Smyth, J. D., Dillman, D. A., Christian, L. M, and Stern, M. J. (2006). Comparing check-all and forced-choice question formats in web surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 70, (1), 66-77.

- Sobel, M. E. (1982). Asymptotic confidence intervals for indirect effects in structural equation models. In S. Leinhardt (Ed.), *Sociological Methodology* (pp. 290-312). Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.
- Spencer, M. B., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child Development*, 61, 290-310.
- Stathi, S., & Crisp, R. J. (2010). Intergroup contact and the projection of positivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34, 580-591.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotype shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52, 613-629.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2003). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 102-115). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Stevenson, H. C. (1995). The relationship of racial socialization and racial identity in African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21, 49-70.
- Stevenson, H. C., & Arrington, E. G. (2009). Racial/ethnic socialization mediates perceived racism and the racial identity of African American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(2), 125-136.
- Stevenson, H. C., Cameron, R., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G. (2002). Development of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization scale: Correlates of race-related socialization frequency from the perspective of Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 28(2), 84-106.



- Stevenson, H. C., McNeil, J. D., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G. Y. (2005). Influence of perceived neighborhood diversity and racism experience on the racial socialization of Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology, 31*, 273–290.
- Sue, D. W. (2003). *Overcoming our racism: The journey to liberation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American Experience. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*, 72–81.
- Suyemoto, K. L., & Fox Tree, Caludia A. (2006). Building bridges across differences to meet social action goals: Being and creating allies among people of color. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 37*, 237-246.
- Suzuki, B. H. (2002). Revisiting the model minority stereotype: Implications for student affairs practice and higher education. *New Direction for Student Services, 97*, 21-32.
- Tran, A. G. T. T., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(2), 169-178.
- Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Takaki, R. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. New York, NY: Little, Brown & Co.
- Tatum, B. D. (2000). *Assimilation blues: Black Families in a White community*. New York: Basic Books.

- Terrell, F., & Terrell, S. L. (1981). An inventory to measure cultural mistrust among Blacks. *Western Journal of African American Studies*, 5(3), 180-185.
- Thomas, A. J. (2000). Impact of racial identity on African American child-rearing beliefs. *Developmental Psychology*, 48(2), 448-458.
- Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African-American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 22, 152-170.
- Thomas, A. J., Speight, S. L., & Witherspoon, K. M. (2010). Racial socialization, racial identity, and race-related stress of African American parents. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, 18(4) 407-412.
- Thompson, C. P., Anderson, L. P., & Bakeman, R. A. (2000). Effects of racial socialization and racial identity on acculturative stress in African American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 6, 196–210.
- Thornton, M. C. (2011). Meaningful dialogue? the *Los Angeles Sentinel*'s depiction of Black and Asian American relations, 1993-2000. *Journal of Black Studies*, 42(8), 1275-1298.
- Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development*, 61, 401–409.
- Thornton, M. C., Taylor, R. J., & Chatters, L. M. (2012). African American, Black Caribbean, and non-Hispanic White feelings of closeness toward other racial and ethnic groups. *Journal of Black Studies*, 43(7), 749-772.
- doi:10.1177/0021934712456549

- Thornton, M. C., Taylor, R. M., & Chatters, L. M. (2013). African American and Black Caribbean mutual feelings of closeness: Findings from a national probability survey. *Journal of Black Studies, 44*(8), 798-828.
- Triandis, H. C., & Triandis, L. M. (1960). Race, social class, religion, and nationality as determinants of social distance. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61*, 110-118.
- Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science, 16*, 951-957.
- Tummala-Narra, P., Inman, A. G., & Ettigi, S. P. (2011). Asian Indians' responses to discrimination: A mixed-method examination of identity, coping, and self-esteem. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 2*(3), 205-218.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Fine, M. A. (2004). Examining ethnic identity among Mexican-origin adolescents living in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 26*, 36-59.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2010, September). *Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2009*. Retrieved from [http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/income\\_wealth/cb10-144.html#tablea](http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/income_wealth/cb10-144.html#tablea)
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011a, April). *Profile America facts for features: Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, May 2011 (Publication No. CB11-FF.06)*. Retrieved from [www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/pdf/cb11ff-06\\_asian.pdf](http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/pdf/cb11ff-06_asian.pdf)

- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011b, September). *The Black Population: 2010* (Publication No. C2010BR-06). Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-06.pdf>
- U.S. Census Bureau (2015a). *Profile America facts for features: Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month: May 2015* (Publication No. CB15-FF.07). Retrieved from [https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2015/cb15-ff07\\_asian\\_american-pacific\\_islanders.pdf](https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2015/cb15-ff07_asian_american-pacific_islanders.pdf)
- U.S. Census Bureau (2015b). *Profile America facts for features: Hispanic Heritage Month 2015* (Publication No. CB15-FF.18). Retrieved from [http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2015/cb15-ff18\\_hispanic\\_heritage\\_month.pdf](http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2015/cb15-ff18_hispanic_heritage_month.pdf)
- U.S. Census Bureau (2016). *Profile America facts for features: Black (African American) History Month, February 2016* (Publication No. CB16-FF.01). Retrieved from [www. http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2016/cb16-ff01\\_black\\_history\\_month.pdf](http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/facts-for-features/2016/cb16-ff01_black_history_month.pdf)
- van Dick, R., Ulrich, W., Pettigrew, T. F., Christ, O., Wolf, C., Petzel, T., Castro, V. S., & Jackson, J. S. (2004). Role of perceived importance in intergroup contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(2), 211-227.
- Van Laar, C., Levin, S., Sinclair, S., & Sidanius, J. (2005). The effect of university roommate contact on ethnic attitudes and behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41, 329-345. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2004.08.002
- Waters, M. C. (1999). *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Wheeler, E. A., Brooks, L. J., & Brown, J. C. (2011). "Gettin' on my last nerve": Mental health, physiological and cognitive implications of racism for people of African descent. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4, 81-101.
- Wiley, S., & Bikmen, N. (2012). Building solidarity across difference: Social identity, intersectionality, and collective action for social change. In S. Wiley, G. Philogene, & T. A. Revenson (Eds.), *Social Categories in Everyday Experience* (pp. 189-204). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/13488-010>
- Wodtke, G. T. (2012). The impact of education on intergroup attitudes: A multiracial analysis. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 75(1), 80-106.

## Appendix A

### Demographic Data Sheet

1. Race/Ethnicity:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>a. Asian American</p> <p>_____ Chinese</p> <p>_____ Vietnamese</p> <p>_____ Japanese</p> <p>_____ Korean</p> <p>_____ Asian Indian</p> <p>_____ Filipino</p> <p>_____ Thai</p> <p>White) _____ Malaysian</p> <p>_____ Hmong</p> <p>_____ Cambodian</p> <p>_____ Multiethnic/Two Asian American Groups (e.g., Chinese &amp; Vietnamese)</p> <p>_____ Biracial/Multiracial (e.g., Asian &amp; White)</p> <p>_____ Other (Specify _____)</p> | <p>b. Black</p> <p>_____ African American</p> <p>_____ West Indian/Caribbean</p> <p>_____ Hispanic</p> <p>_____ African</p> <p>_____ Multiethnic/Two Black Groups (e.g., Haitian &amp; Jamaican)</p> <p>_____ Biracial/Multiracial (e.g. Black &amp; _____)</p> <p>_____ Other (Specify _____)</p> |
|--|--|

2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Gender: M / F

4. Highest level of education completed:

- \_\_\_\_\_ Less than high school
- \_\_\_\_\_ High school/GED
- \_\_\_\_\_ Two-year college degree (Associates)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Four-year college degree (BA, BS)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Master's degree (MA, MS)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Doctoral degree/Professional degree (MD, JD)

5. Place of Residence:

- \_\_\_\_\_ West Coast (e.g., California, Oregon)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Midwest (e.g., Illinois, Michigan)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Northeast (e.g., Massachusetts, New York)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Southwest (e.g., New Mexico, Texas)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Southeast (e.g., Florida, Georgia)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Hawai'i
- \_\_\_\_\_ Alaska
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_)

6. What is the best estimate of your annual household income?

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$15,000  | <input type="checkbox"/> \$51,000 – \$70,999  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 – \$25,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$71,000 – \$100,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$26,000 – \$35,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> More than \$100,000  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$36,000 – \$50,999 |   |

7. Highest level of education obtained by your parents (or guardians):

a. Mother (or female guardian)

b. Father (or male guardian)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school                | <input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High school/GED                      | <input type="checkbox"/> High school/GED                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Two-year college degree (Associates) | <input type="checkbox"/> Two-year college degree           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Four-year college degree (BA, BS)    | <input type="checkbox"/> Four-year college degree (BA, BS) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree (MA, MS)             | <input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree (MA, MS)          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Doctoral degree                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctoral degree                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Professional degree (MD, JD)         | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional degree (MD, JD)      |

8. How would you describe your social class growing up?

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Living in poverty | <input type="checkbox"/> Upper class  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Working class     | <input type="checkbox"/> Very wealthy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Middle class      |                                       |

9. How many generations has your family been living in the U.S.?

- ☐ I was born in the U.S.  
☐ My parent(s) were born in the U.S.  
☐ My grandparent(s) were born in the U.S.  
☐ My great grandparent(s) were born in the U.S.

10. How would you describe the primary community in which you were raised?

- ☐ Rural  
☐ Suburban (near or just outside of a large city)  
☐ Urban

## Appendix B

### Racial Socialization Influences Scale (Black/African American Version)

1. As you were growing up, how much were things related to perceptions and interactions with Blacks/African Americans talked about by the people or in the settings listed below? Please circle the appropriate number.
 

	not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely
a) Your parents	1	2	3	4	5
b) Other family	1	2	3	4	5
c) Your friends	1	2	3	4	5
d) Your teachers	1	2	3	4	5
e) At your place of worship	1	2	3	4	5
  
2. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life prepare you to deal with interactions with Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely so
------------	----------	----------	-------	--------------
  
3. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life talk to you about the traditions, values, or customs of Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely so
------------	----------	----------	-------	--------------
  
4. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life talk to you about the history of Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely so
------------	----------	----------	-------	--------------
  
5. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life tell you stories about racism experiences of Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely so
------------	----------	----------	-------	--------------
  
6. Use the scale below to indicate the racial composition of each of the categories listed. Write the appropriate number on the blank line.
 

1 = does not apply to me

2 = entirely people of my race

3 = mostly people of my race (a few people from other races)

4 = racially integrated to a large degree

5 = mostly people of different racial/ethnic minority groups than mine

6 = mostly or entirely white



\_\_\_\_\_ a) your neighborhood growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ b) your current neighborhood

\_\_\_\_\_ c) your current job

\_\_\_\_\_ d) your elementary & jr. high schools

\_\_\_\_\_ e) your high school

\_\_\_\_\_ f) your place of worship growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ g) your place of worship now

\_\_\_\_\_ h) your close friends growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ i) your close friends now

## Appendix C

### Racial Socialization Influences Scale (Asian American Version)

1. As you were growing up, how much were things related to perceptions and interactions with Asians/Asian Americans talked about by the people or in the settings listed below? Please circle the appropriate number.
 

	not at all	a little	somewhat	a lot	extremely
a) Your parents	1	2	3	4	5
b) Other family	1	2	3	4	5
c) Your friends	1	2	3	4	5
d) Your teachers	1	2	3	4	5
e) At your place of worship	1	2	3	4	5
  
2. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life prepare you to deal with interactions with Asians/Asian Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all                  a little                  somewhat                  a lot                  extremely so
  
3. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life talk to you about the traditions, values, or customs of Asians/Asian Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all                  a little                  somewhat                  a lot                  extremely so
  
4. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life talk to you about the history of Asians/Asian Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all                  a little                  somewhat                  a lot                  extremely so
  
5. As you were growing up, to what extent did your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life tell you stories about racism experiences of Asians/Asian Americans? (Circle one)
 

not at all                  a little                  somewhat                  a lot                  extremely so
  
6. Use the scale below to indicate the racial composition of each of the categories listed. Write the appropriate number on the blank line.
 

1 = does not apply to me

2 = entirely people of my race

3 = mostly people of my race (a few people from other races)

4 = racially integrated to a large degree

5 = mostly people of different racial/ethnic minority groups than mine

6 = mostly or entirely white

\_\_\_\_\_ a) your neighborhood growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ b) your current neighborhood

\_\_\_\_\_ c) your current job

\_\_\_\_\_ d) your elementary & jr. high schools

\_\_\_\_\_ e) your high school

\_\_\_\_\_ f) your place of worship growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ g) your place of worship now

\_\_\_\_\_ h) your close friends growing up

\_\_\_\_\_ i) your close friends now

\_\_\_\_\_ j) your intimate relationships

## Appendix D

### People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (PRIAS)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes concerning race and ethnicity. Since different people have different opinions, there are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement according to the way you see things. Be as honest as you can. Beside each item number, circle the number that best describes how **you** feel.

Strongly Disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Uncertain (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly Agree (5)

1. In general, I believe that Whites are superior to other racial groups.
2. I feel more comfortable being around Whites than I do being around people of my own race.
3. In general, people of my race have not contributed very much to American society.
4. I am embarrassed to be the race I am.
5. I would have accomplished more in life if I had been born White.
6. Whites are more attractive than people of my race.
7. People of my race should learn to think and act like Whites.
8. I limit myself to White activities.
9. I think racial minorities blame Whites too much for their problems.
10. I feel unable to involve myself in Whites' experiences, and am increasing my involvement in experiences involving people of my race.
11. When I think about how Whites have treated people of my race, I feel an overwhelming anger.
12. I want to know more about my culture.
13. I limit myself to activities involving people of my own race.
14. Most Whites are untrustworthy.
15. American society would be better off if it were based on the cultural values of my people.
16. I am determined to find my cultural identity.
17. Most Whites are insensitive.
18. I reject all Whites values.
19. My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of my people.
20. I believe that being from my cultural background has caused me to have many strengths.
21. I am comfortable where I am.
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
23. I think people of my culture and the White culture differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior.
24. My cultural background is a source of pride to me.
25. People of my culture and White culture have much to learn from each other.
26. Whites have some customs that I enjoy.
27. I enjoy being around people regardless of their race.
28. Every racial group has some good people and some bad people.

29. Minorities should not blame Whites for all of their social problems.
30. I do not understand why Whites treat minorities as they do.
31. I am embarrassed about some of the things I feel about my people.
32. I'm not sure where I really belong.
33. I have begun to question my beliefs.
34. Maybe I can learn something from people of my race.
35. Anglo-American people can teach me more about surviving in this world than people of my own race can, but people of my race can teach me more about being human.
36. I don't know whether being the race I am is an asset or a deficit.
37. Sometimes I think Whites are superior and sometimes I think they're inferior to people of my race.
38. Sometimes I am proud of the racial group to which I belong and sometimes I am ashamed of it.
39. Thinking about my values and beliefs takes up a lot of my time.
40. I'm not sure how I feel about myself.
41. White people are difficult to understand.
42. I find myself replacing old friends with new ones who are from my culture.
43. I feel anxious about some of the things I feel about people of my race.
44. When someone of my race does something embarrassing in public, I feel embarrassed.
45. When both White people and people of my race are present in a social situation, I prefer to be with my own racial group.
46. My values and beliefs match those of Whites more than they do people of my race.
47. The way Whites treat people of my race makes me angry.
48. I only follow the traditions and customs of people of my racial group.
49. When people of my race act like Whites I feel angry.
50. I am comfortable being the race I am.

## Appendix E

### Negative Attitude Toward Asians Scale

Below are a number of statements pertaining to your thoughts and feelings about Asian Americans. Please read each statement and then indicate your level of agreement or disagreement by filling in one of the six options provided.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

1. Asian Americans should never represent the United States for anything, since they are not "true Americans.
2. Asian Americans should think in more American ways.
3. Asian Americans should have stayed in their own countries where they belong.
4. Asian Americans are buying up too much land in the United States.
5. Asian Americans are taking jobs that rightfully belong to U.S.-born Americans.
6. The number of Asian Americans on college campuses is growing at too fast a pace.
7. Asian Americans are becoming more economically successful than they should be.
8. There are too many Asian Americans in this country.
9. One should always be wary of Asian Americans, as they are too intelligent.
10. Through affirmative action programs, Asian Americans are taking jobs away from other Americans.
11. Asian Americans are out to drain American resources.
12. Generally, Asian Americans look out only for themselves.
13. Asian Americans make the job market too competitive.
14. One problem with Asian Americans is that they stick together too much.
15. It is annoying when Asian Americans speak in their own languages.
16. Asian Americans are overly competitive.
17. Asian Americans are gradually taking over the United States

## Appendix F

### Anti-Black Scale

Below are a number of statements pertaining to your thoughts and feelings about Blacks/African Americans. Please read each statement and then indicate your level of agreement or disagreement by filling in one of the six options provided.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly

1. The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.
2. Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods don't seem to have strong community organization or leadership.
3. On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training.
4. Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.
5. Blacks don't seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops and businesses.
6. Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride.\*
7. Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.
8. Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.
9. One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect.
10. Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead.\*

Note: \* Items scored in reverse.

## Appendix G

### Intergroup Contact Measure (Black/African American Version)

#### A. *Quantity Subscale*

Please indicate whether you personally have contact with Blacks/African Americans in the following areas:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Usually	Very often

1. At university/workplace
2. In your neighborhood
3. Among your friends
4. At social events

#### B. *Quality Subscale*

How do you perceive the personal contact you have with Blacks/African Americans?

1. Superficial 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Deep
2. Forced 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Natural
3. Unpleasant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Pleasant
4. Competitive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Cooperative
5. Distant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Intimate



## Appendix H

### Intergroup Contact Measure (Asian/Asian American Version)

#### A. *Quantity Subscale*

Please indicate whether you personally have contact with Asians/Asian Americans in the following areas:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Usually	Very often

1. At university/workplace
2. In your neighborhood
3. Among your friends
4. At social events

#### B. *Quality Subscale*

How do you perceive the personal contact you have with Asians/Asian Americans?

1. Superficial 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Deep
2. Forced 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Natural
3. Unpleasant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Pleasant
4. Competitive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Cooperative
5. Distant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Intimate

## Appendix I

### Behavioral Intentions Scale (Black/African American Version)

Please indicate if you would be willing to engage in the following if given the opportunity:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all willing	Rarely willing	Occasionally willing	Sometimes willing	Frequently willing	Usually willing	Extremely willing

1. Marry a Black person
2. Have an intimate relation with a Black person.
3. Accept a Black person as a family member through marriage.
4. Have a Black person as a close friend.
5. Confide in a Black person.
6. Accept a Black person as a neighbor.
7. Invite a Black person as a guest to your home.
8. Visit a Black person in his or her home.
9. Accept a Black person as a work colleague.
10. Have a Black person as a casual acquaintance.
11. Accept a Black person as your boss.
12. Attend a cultural activity sponsored by a Black organization.

## Appendix J

### Behavioral Intentions Scale (Asian American Version)

Please indicate if you would be willing to engage in the following if given the opportunity:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all willing	Rarely willing	Occasionally willing	Sometimes willing	Frequently willing	Usually willing	Extremely willing

1. Marry an Asian American.
2. Have an intimate relation with an Asian American.
3. Accept an Asian American as a family member through marriage.
4. Have an Asian American as a close friend.
5. Confide in an Asian American.
6. Accept an Asian American as a neighbor.
7. Invite an Asian American as a guest to your home.
8. Visit an Asian American in his or her home.
9. Accept an Asian American as a work colleague.
10. Have an Asian American as a casual acquaintance.
11. Accept an Asian American as your boss.
12. Attend a cultural activity sponsored by an Asian American organization.

## Appendix K

### Sample Consent Form

#### Informed Consent

Dear Participants:

My name is Maggie Chen, a doctoral student researcher at Boston College. I am currently recruiting Asian American and African American participants for a study on how certain race-related experiences influence their attitudes and behaviors toward the other group. This study is conducted under the supervision of Dr. Anderson J. Franklin, a professor at Boston College.

**Purpose:** A large body of research literature has documented the significance of race-related experiences in the lives of racial and ethnic minority individuals in the U.S. To build upon this research area, the purpose of this study aims to better understand how certain race-related factors intergroup contact between Asian and African Americans.

**Procedures:** If you are interested in participating and meet the inclusion criteria, please fill out the following survey. Inclusion Criteria: you must be U.S.-born, 18 years or older, and self-identified as either Black/African American or Asian American. The survey will ask questions relating to your knowledge, attitude, and perception of as well as experience with African Americans and Asian Americans. The survey takes approximately 30-45 minutes to complete.

**Anonymity:** Your answers will be kept anonymous and confidential. You will never be contacted by the investigator, or anyone else, because you will not be providing any identifying information, such as your name or address. When your responses have been received on the secure server Qualtrics, the data will be securely stored behind a network firewall that guards against any unauthorized persons from gaining access to the information you provided. This research may be reported or published in a scientific journal or books, but any such publications will be in an aggregated format, thus, no individual identity will be determinable via any demographic variables such as age or geographic location.

**Risk or Benefits:** There are no risks or benefits to completing this survey, but you may feel gratified knowing that you helped further the scholarly work in understanding how certain race-related factors influence the experiences of Asian and African Americans. There are no costs to you associated with your participation.

**Participation:** Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If you choose to participate, you will have the opportunity to enter into a raffle for one of three \$50 Visa gift card drawing. You may enter the raffle when you reach the final page of the survey.

**Questions or Concerns:** If you have any questions about the survey, please don't hesitate to contact me via email at [maggie.chen@bc.edu](mailto:maggie.chen@bc.edu) or Dr. Anderson J. Franklin at [aj.franklin@bc.edu](mailto:aj.franklin@bc.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office for Research Protections, Boston College, at (617) 552-4778 or [irb@bc.edu](mailto:irb@bc.edu).

**Certification of Consent:** If you believe you understand the statements addressed above, particularly regarding risks, issues of confidentiality, and what you are being asked to do, please click on the "Continue" button below to indicate that you consent to participate in this study. If you do not understand any of the issues addressed above or have questions regarding the study prior to beginning, please contact Maggie Chen at [maggie.chen@bc.edu](mailto:maggie.chen@bc.edu).

Thank you!