MULTICULTURAL
PSYCHOLOGY

FOURTH EDITION

Gordon C. Nagayama Hall

"*Multicultural Psychology* is a must read for anyone interested in culture, ethnicity, race, gender, and sexual orientation; as well as the intersection of these human variables. Grounded in a balance of psychological theory and research, Gordon C. Nagayama Hall expertly applies these concepts to People of Color. The book's fourth edition actualizes multicultural psychological topics such as multiracial individuals, Americans of Middle Eastern and North African heritage, research on Covid-19 and ethnic minorities, in addition to valuable teacher and student resources. I highly recommend this excellent resource."

Lillian Comas–Díaz, Ph.D., *Clinical Professor, George Washington University Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences*

Multicultural Psychology

The new edition of this bestselling textbook, *Multicultural Psychology*, helps students gain an understanding of how race, ethnicity, and culture shape their beliefs and behavior as well as those of people around them. Giving a voice to people underrepresented in psychology and society, this book introduces multicultural research in biological, developmental, social, and clinical psychology. The book reviews histories, gender roles, and LGBTQ intersectionality of African Americans, Latinx Americans, Asian Americans/Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, Americans of Middle Eastern and North African heritage, and Americans with Multiple Racial/Ethnic Heritages to provide in-depth coverage of the largest groups of color in the United States. It provides the perfect balance of careful presentation of psychological concepts, research, and theories, and a sensitive, expertly rendered discussion of their applications to people of color.

This book is ideal for a course on Multicultural Psychology and a must read for all psychology students as well as for everyone interested in multiculturalism. It is accompanied by a full, updated set of resources for students and lecturers.

Content new to this edition includes:

- A chapter on Emerging Groups covering Americans of Middle Eastern and North African heritage, and Americans with Multiple Racial/Ethnic Heritages
- Up-to-date research on a rapidly growing multicultural literature
- Review of research on cultural responses to COVID-19
- Coverage of White privilege and Whiteness
- Expanded coverage of qualitative research methods
- Recent neuroscience research on personally relevant interventions
- Expanded coverage of LGBTQ intersectionality
- A glossary
- Updated instructor and student resources, including PowerPoint lecture slides, video resources, and classroom exercises and activities

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Multicultural Psychology

Fourth Edition

Gordon C. Nagayama Hall

To Emiko

Contents

Foundations of Multicultural Psychology

WHAT IS MULTICULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY?

The police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020 brought worldwide attention to racial justice. Mr. Floyd was the latest in a long string of unarmed African Americans killed by police (A. Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016). Thousands turned out for Black Lives Matter demonstrations following the killing despite the health risks of the COVID-19 pandemic. The United States House of Representatives passed the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act in response, but the Senate did not pass the Act.

The public focused its attention on anti–Asian discrimination in March 2021. A White gunman targeted three spas in Atlanta run by Asian American women and murdered eight persons. As with the George Floyd killing, this was part of a pattern of discrimination and
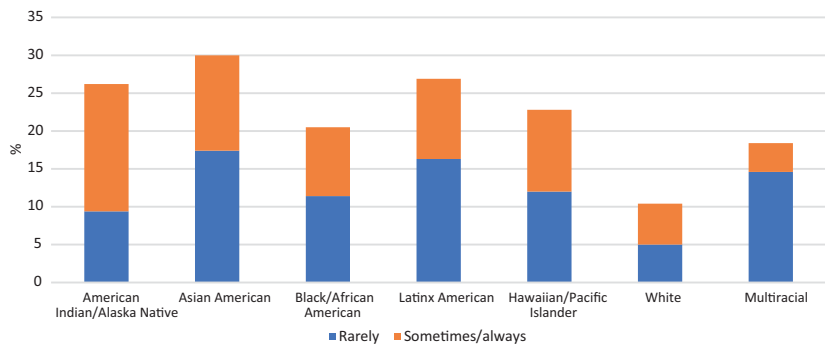
Figure 1.1 COVID-Related Discrimination

Source: Strasse et al., 2022

violence against Asian Americans (Yip et al., 2021) heightened when President Trump scapegoated China for the COVID-19 virus. In a nationally representative survey ($N = 5500$) conducted between December 2020 and February 2021, 30% of Asian Americans experienced COVID-related discrimination (Strassle et al., 2022). This was higher than any other group (Figure 1.1). COVID-related discrimination involved: (a) being called names or insulted; (b) being threatened or harassed; or (c) heard racist comments because people thought they belonged to a group that contracts COVID-19 more often. President Biden signed the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act into law in response to anti-Asian discrimination and violence.

The Minneapolis and Atlanta killings brought attention to communities whose needs have been overlooked. The 2020 Census revealed 42% of the U.S. population is not White (Jin, Talbot, & Wang, 2021). Thus, the issues of Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC) are the whole country's issues, not those of a small minority. Yet, regardless of their numerical size, BIPOC communities have been minoritized by exclusion and lack of attention. Similar to the public, psychology has overlooked the needs of BIPOC. Less the 5% of the psychology literature has focused on BIPOC (G. Hall, Yip, & Zárate, 2016). This book shifts the narrative with attention to the growing body of psychology research on BIPOC. You can shift the narrative, too, by reading this book and by calling out these issues in situations where they are not addressed.

DEFINITIONS

To have a shared language, it is useful to define several terms. *Culture* has been defined as involving attitudes, beliefs, norms, roles, and self-definitions shared and practiced by

particular ethnic groups (Betancourt & López, 1993). Culture creates meaning that facilitates social interaction and innovation (Oyserman, 2017). It allows us to predict everyday events. Psychology has assumed a universalist perspective, in which phenomena identified in the United States and other Western countries are assumed to apply worldwide (G. Hall et al., 2016). But people are not interchangeable. The study of culture helps us understand differences that may occur not only cross-nationally but within a single nation.

One's own culture may seem like reality. But to view one's own reality as objective and to assume other realities do not exist is *naïve realism* (Griffin & Ross, 1991). If a naïve realist acknowledges a view other than their own, they may regard it as inferior (Oyserman, 2017). For example, if a person sees thinking for oneself as important, they may regard someone who consults their parents for advice as overly dependent. If the alternative view becomes salient, the naïve realist may defend the legitimacy of their values (Mourey, Lam, & Oyserman, 2015). For example, a liberal person who moves from a liberal state to a conservative one may seek liberal national media to confirm others share their values. But for many naïve realists who live in bubbles of similar others who do not challenge their cultural views, there is no need to consider their own reality as not objective. Social psychologist Floyd Allport (1924) identified the assumption of the universality of one's own beliefs as *pluralistic ignorance*.

In order to understand cultural differences, one must step outside one's own culture (Oyserman, 2017). If you have traveled to another country and noticed people are different from you, you may have realized the United States has a culture, at least a mainstream one. Yet, you do not have to leave the United States to step outside your culture. The goal of this book is to step outside one's own culture by understanding different cultural groups in the United States. Learning about different cultural groups is also similar to learning a new language. Often you need to put aside what you think you know for new learning to occur.

Race is the categorization of oneself or others to a specific racial group (Richeson & Sommers, 2016). It is not a biologically determined category. Race is *socially constructed* based on target characteristics. These include physical appearance, ancestry, social class, religion, language, and behavior. The social construction of race is also based on perceiver characteristics. These include racial attitudes, racial identity, and political ideology. The perceiver's characteristics are shaped in societal contexts of racial diversity, intergroup relations, economic conditions, and government policies. Perceptions of race are used as a marker to determine which groups have access to resources in society, such as education, healthcare, and political power, and which groups do not (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Although race is not a marker of biological variation, it is a social category with social consequences (American Sociological Association, 2003). We discuss race as a social construction in Chapter 12 in the context of multiracial Americans.

Race is often conflated with socioeconomic status because of the media's disproportionate emphasis on poor people of color (Wilkerson, 2020). Yet, a minority of people of color are in poverty. U.S. Census Bureau data indicate in 2019 that 7% of European Americans, 19% of African Americans, 16% of Latinx Americans, and 7% of Asian Americans were in poverty (Creamer, 2020). Of those who were in poverty, 42% were European Americans, 24% were African Americans, 28% were Latinx Americans, and 4% were Asian Americans. Thus, the group with the largest number of people in poverty was European Americans. Although African Americans and Latinx Americans had disproportionately high rates of poverty, over 80% of these groups was not in poverty. The conflation

of race and poverty is part of the social construction of race as hierarchical. The goal of this book is a representative portrayal of BIPOC, so racial-ethnic economic disparities will be addressed but will not be the sole focus. Moreover, the research findings in this book cannot be explained by socioeconomic status. As we will see, BIPOC have different experiences than European Americans throughout the socioeconomic strata.

An *ethnic group* has a unique cultural and social heritage and practices (G. Hall, 2010). Japanese Americans and Mexican Americans are examples of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups may or may not share the same race. For example, some Mexican Americans have African ancestry and others have Spanish ancestry. Yet, all are ethnically Mexican American because of a shared culture. *Cultural diversity* is defined as the cultural differences within and between cultures of ethnic groups.

Multicultural means multiple ways of knowing or multiple worldviews. *Multicultural psychology* is the study of the influences of multiple cultures in a single social context on behavior (G. Hall & Barongan, 2002). Its goal is to give a voice to populations underrepresented in research (G. Hall et al., 2016). A related term is *diversity science*, that considers "… how people create, interpret, and maintain group differences among individuals, as well as the psychological and societal consequences of these distinctions" (Plaut, 2010a, p. 77). Victoria Plaut coined the term diversity science to address the complex racial and ethnic issues, as well as majority-minority group perspectives, of the 21st century. Diversity science can address many dimensions of difference. These include gender, disability, class, sexual orientation, and religion (Plaut, 2010b). Yet, some applications of the term exclude the racial and ethnic issues that were the basis for the approach. In contrast, the emphasis in multicultural psychology is squarely on race, ethnicity, and culture.

Multicultural psychology differs from *cultural psychology*, which focuses on cultural influences on behavior usually across two separate national contexts (e.g., U.S. vs. Japan). Yet, when two or more groups are in a single social context, their interactions affect behavior. A social context in which there are multiple cultural groups is a *sociocultural context*. In sociocultural contexts, powerful cultural groups typically subordinate other cultural groups. This results in minority status either numerically or in terms of power.

One effect of cultural group interaction is *bicultural orientation* in which a person internalizes two cultures, such as learning two languages (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). The cultural group in power is more influential than groups in the minority, so minority groups may find it more necessary to become bicultural (e.g., learn English) than the group in power (e.g., learn Spanish). Moreover, a mismatch between a person's culture and the predominant culture may result in low life satisfaction (Fulmer et al., 2010). Thus, a bicultural orientation may be optimal for people of color in the United States (see Chapter 2).

There can be negative effects of intergroup contact in a sociocultural context. *Prejudice* is a negative bias toward a social category of people that may be experienced as anger, disgust, or fear (Earnshaw, Bogart, Dovidio, & Williams, 2013). For example, some people were prejudiced against Asian Americans because they viewed them as responsible for the COVID-19 virus. A *stereotype* is an attribution of particular characteristics to a whole group of people. Examples include impulsivity, low intelligence, or even high intelligence. Stereotypes are inaccurate because not all members of a group are alike. Prejudice and stereotypes are often difficult to change even if a person is exposed to people who are counter-stereotypical. People who are counter-stereotypical (e.g., African American astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson) may be viewed as exceptions to the rule. Prejudiced people

may attend more to information that confirms their stereotypes (e.g., Black criminals) than information that disconfirms it (e.g., Black CEO).

Discrimination is unfair behavior based on prejudice or stereotypes. It involves two components: (a) overt discrimination; and (b) invalidation microaggressions (D. Lee et al., 2020). Overt discrimination involves race-related interactions that include being laughed at, being harassed or insulted, and overhearing an offensive joke. *Microaggressions* involve "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (D. Sue et al., 2007). Invalidation microaggressions involve being talked down to, minimized, not taken seriously, and ignored (D. Lee et al., 2020). For example, asking an employee of color, "How did you get your job?", could convey the assumption the person got the job for some reason other than ability (e.g., racial quota). Because microaggressions are subtle, perpetrators may deny they are racial. Although anyone can engage in prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, and microaggressions, those in the majority often have more power to exclude others (e.g., hiring) than those in the minority.

Some might contend everyone experiences discrimination. But do European Americans experience as much discrimination as people of color do? European Americans and people of color in the continental United States were asked if they felt excluded by others because of their race (Meyers et al., 2020). Whereas over four in ten monoracial and multiracial people of color indicated they felt excluded by others because of their race, only one in ten European Americans felt this way (Figure 1.2). Thus, people of color were four times more likely than European Americans to experience race-based exclusion. Moreover, the racial diversity of the context matters. Participants in racially diverse Hawai'i felt much less race-based exclusion than participants in the continental United States. Nevertheless, even in Hawai'i where they were the numerical minority, European Americans experienced four times less discrimination than did people of color.

Aprile Benner and colleagues (2018) conducted a meta-analysis of the effects of racial discrimination in studies of over 91,000 adolescents. A *meta-analysis* is a quantitative summary of the effects of multiple studies and determines average effects for different variables (e.g., racial discrimination, collectivism). A meta-analysis accounts for how many participants are in studies and how strong the effect is (e.g., the strength of the correlation between discrimination and depression). A quantitative meta-analytic summary can be
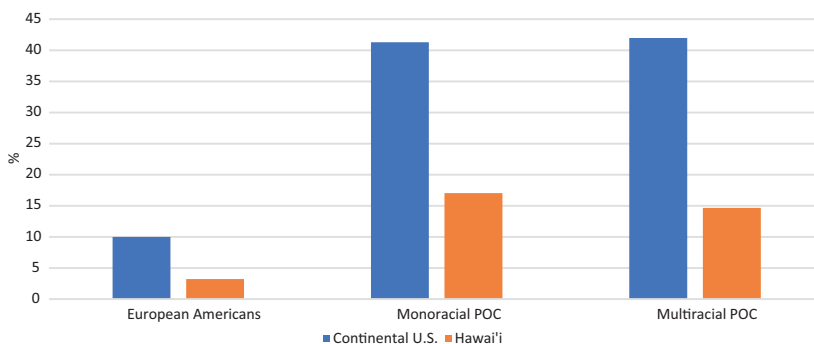
Figure 1.2 Percentages of People Who Felt Race-Based Exclusion

Source: Meyers et al. 2020

more objective than a narrative literature review, where conclusions are based on subjective impressions. Summaries of the effects of multiple studies in a meta-analysis can reduce biases of single studies (e.g., limited sample size, sample from one geographic region) or the biases of a single research team.

In the Benner et al. (2018) meta-analysis, greater perceptions of discrimination were associated with:

- Psychological distress
- Poorer self-esteem
- Lower academic achievement and engagement
- Less academic motivation
- *Externalizing behaviors* (i.e., rules violations, including disruptive behavior, aggression, behavioral dysregulation)
- Risky sexual behaviors
- Substance use
- More associations with deviant peers

Discrimination also had stronger effects on distress (depression, internalizing behavior, positive well-being, self-esteem) for Asian Americans and Latinx Americans than for African Americans. *Internalizing behavior* involves internal emotional distress (e.g., depression, anxiety, stress). Also, discrimination had more deleterious effects on academic outcomes (achievement, school engagement, motivation) for Latinx Americans than for African Americans. It is unclear if the greater distress is because Asian Americans and Latinx Americans experience greater discrimination because they include immigrants. Another possibility is African Americans are engaging in behaviors to offset the effects of discrimination (e.g., racial socialization – see Chapter 5) more than the other groups (Benner et al., 2018). Fortunately, as discussed in Chapter 2, ethnic and racial identity may buffer the effects of discrimination (Yip et al., 2019).

CULTURE AND BEHAVIOR

Individualism-Collectivism

A cultural variable that differs across groups studied by cultural psychologists is *individualism-collectivism*, also known as independent/interdependent self-construals. *Independent self-construals* involve a view of the self as unique apart from others and are common in Europeans and European Americans. Independent persons focus on expressing and promoting their own ideas and taking care of themselves (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Autonomy is the goal of development. Not framing one's experiences in terms of culture and perceiving oneself as unique are components of a culture of individualism (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). For individualists who acknowledge culture exists, culture may be seen as operative in other contexts (e.g., in Japan, among Latinx Americans) but not in their own (Oyserman, 2017). On the other hand, *interdependent self-construals* involve a view of the self in relation to others (e.g., daughter, student, partner) and is common in possibly as much as two-thirds of the world. Interdependent people focus on getting along

with others and social responsibilities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Belongingness and connection are the goals of development.

My interdependent Japanese American background influences my behavior. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, I wore protective masks on plane flights any time I had a cold. Most of the time I was the only one wearing a mask. Other passengers would stare at me, some in sympathy, thinking my mask and bald head meant I had cancer. When I explained to my seatmates I was wearing a mask to protect them, they were grateful. On one flight, I heard loud coughing a few seats behind me and donned a mask for self-protection. After the plane landed and the passengers were exiting the plane, I looked back to see who was coughing. The coughing person was not wearing a mask, but the person seated next to them was. This may illustrate self-protection is valued more than protection of others for some Americans. And prioritizing the self over others is reflective of individualism.

All national and cultural groups engage in both collectivist and individualist behaviors (Oyserman et al., 2002). Contextual cues, such as a country's economic resources, may activate these behaviors (Oyserman, 2017). Bianchi (2016) analyzed data from the annual General Social Survey, a nationally representative sample of adults in the United States, from 1972 to 1994 during which there were good and bad economic times (e.g., levels of unemployment). Participants were asked, "If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life?" During good economic times, participants were more likely to answer, "to think for himself or herself". In contrast, during bad economic times, participants were more likely to answer, "to help others when they need help". Thus, even an individualistic culture can engage in collectivist behaviors when there is a perceived need.

The effects of collectivism and individualism are not always intuitive. For example, East Asian (China, Japan, Korea) mainstream cultures are primarily collectivist, which includes respect and care for elders. Yet, in a meta-analysis of studies of 23 countries involving over 20,000 participants, East Asians had *greater* negative attitudes toward elders than did people in Western countries, including the United States (North & Fiske, 2015). Despite valuing belongingness and inclusion, many East Asians view the needs of a growing elderly population as a burden when there is conflict over how to best allocate resources (North & Fiske, 2015). Unexpectedly, individualism across countries was associated with positive attitudes toward elders. In the case of the elderly, cultural traditions that emphasize individual welfare may result in more positive attitudes than cultural traditions in which obligations to the elderly compete for resources for the whole society. When elderly persons are viewed as individuals, they may not be viewed as a burden as much as when they are viewed as part of a larger collective whose needs are great.

Among ethnic groups within the United States, differences and similarities in individualism and collectivism also are not intuitive. Vargas and Kemmelmeier (2013) did a meta-analysis of 25 studies of individualism-collectivism among European Americans, African Americans, Latinx Americans, and Asian Americans. Studies included in the meta-analysis employed Triandis' (1995) four-part model of sociality. The four parts are horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, and vertical individualism. Horizontal relationships involve peers and vertical relationships are hierarchical where status is unequal. Social harmony is valued in *horizontal collectivism* in which others in one's ingroup (e.g., ethnic group) are peers. In *horizontal individualism*, autonomy and uniqueness are valued, as well as social equality. *Vertical individualism* focuses on

competition and individual achievement. In *vertical collectivism*, the emphasis is subordinating one's personal goals for those of the group.

European Americans had higher scores in vertical individualism than African American and Latinx Americans did (Vargas & Kemmelmeier, 2013). Many European Americans strive toward excellence via competition (e.g., outperforming others) and individual achievements (e.g., awards). Yet, African Americans had higher scores on horizontal individualism than European Americans did. Although this finding might appear counterintuitive because of the communal nature of many African American communities, horizontal individualism emphasizes social equality. Horizontal individualism emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual but not at the expense of others.

African American individualism may serve a different purpose than European American individualism. Individualism for many African Americans has been a way of coping against racism that treats African Americans as if they are all alike (Whaley, 2003). Moreover, African American individualism occurs in the context of other African Americans (J. Jones, 1997). For example, improvisation is personal creative expressiveness other African Americans appreciate which enhances African American culture. Rather than separating individuals from others, the purpose of African American individualism is to serve others.

Vargas and Kemmelmeier (2013) did not find significant group differences on the collectivism measures. Asian Americans did not differ from the other groups on any of the measures. The authors interpreted the group similarities as evidence of cultural convergence because of increasing cultural exchange among groups in the United States. Yet, it is also possible that broad cultural explanations, such as individualism and collectivism, are distal to behavior and are not sensitive enough to capture nuanced group differences (cf. S. Sue & Zane, 1987). More proximal to behavior are components of these broad constructs, such as empathy (see p. 11), face loss (see Chapter 3), and familism (see Chapter 10).

Cultural Responses to COVID-19

The United States' mainstream culture of individualism has influenced its response to COVID-19. One general advantage of individualism is the ability to adapt to new situations by establishing new relationships, known as *relational mobility* (Yuki & Schug, 2020). Forming new relationships sometimes means leaving old ones behind. For example, if a person moves to a new community, they focus on establishing new friends and colleagues and may become less invested in the community they moved from.

In contrast, relational mobility is low in interdependent cultural contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). A person's primary relationships are close, lasting, and determined by social roles (parent, child, employee, teacher, etc.). A circle of friends may be relatively small and may even last a lifetime. Because of the time and investment required to establish relationships, new ones are not as satisfying as existing ones. Forming new relationships may be viewed as unnecessary when relationships already exist. I spent most of my life in the Japanese American community in Seattle until I moved to Ohio for a job when I was 32 years old. My longtime Japanese American friend in Seattle told another friend I would lose my identity when I moved to Ohio. He was right insofar as I did not have the same social roles in my Ohio community. There was not a Japanese American community in Ohio, and I did not have an existing reputation in the social circles I entered. I was no

longer somebody's son or brother or cousin. And no one had heard of my Seattle band MUSH (Mayeno Uomoto Sato Hall), that longtime friend was in.

Relational mobility may have been the undoing of the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic. It can undermine the physical distancing necessary to prevent virus spread. The United States had over 79 million COVID-19 cases and over 900,000 COVID-related deaths, which was more than any other country (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, March 20, 2022). This means nearly one in four Americans was infected with COVID-19 and nearly three per 1,000 died from it. Despite being only 4% of the world's population, the United States had 19% of the world's COVID-19 cases and 16% of the world's COVID-19-related deaths.

Relational mobility, as measured by the extent to which people perceive others in their communities as socially open and seek new friendships and leave unsatisfying ones, was determined in 39 countries (Salvador et al., 2020). Confirmed cases of COVID-19 infections and COVID-19-related deaths in the first 30 days of outbreaks in each country were also analyzed. The United States was among the highest in relational mobility and also among the highest in the spread of the COVID-19 virus and in COVID-19-related deaths. Other countries high in relational mobility and COVID-19 infections and deaths included Spain and Brazil. Conversely, countries low in relational mobility and also low in COVID-19 infections and deaths included Taiwan, Jordan, and the West Bank/Gaza. The study controlled for general individualism, strict vs. loose social norms, and government efficiency. Thus, relational mobility appears to influence COVID-19 infections and deaths and not general cultural norms or government policies.

Another aspect of individualism that has influenced the U.S. response to COVID-19 is low empathy. *Empathy* involves compassion for others and being able to consider another person's point of view. In a 63-country study of over 100,000 participants, collectivist countries were more empathic than individualistic countries, such as the United States (Chopik, O'Brien, & Konrath, 2017). Within countries, including the United States, collectivism was significantly associated with empathy. Thus, people who were relatively collectivist cared more about others, regardless of the country they were from.

Empathy was associated with mask wearing during COVID-19. Despite the politi-cization of mask wearing (e.g., an infringement on civil liberties), medical science has demonstrated masks are effective. In a review funded by the World Health Organization of 216 studies and over 25,000 patients, face masks prevented virus transmission including COVID-19 (D. Chu et al., 2020). In a sample of 3,718, mask wearing during COVID-19 in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany was associated with empathy (Pfattheicher et al., 2020). The more people cared about others, the more likely they were to wear a mask.

Pfattheicher and colleagues (2020) did not disaggregate their data by ethnicity. Yet, Hearne and Niño (2022) found European Americans were significantly less likely than people of color to wear masks in a nationally representative sample of 4,688 people in the United States. Figure 1.3 shows that compared to White respondents, Blacks were over twice as likely to wear masks, Latinx people were over 1.5 times more likely, and Asian Americans almost three times as likely. It is unclear why these ethnic differences occurred. Hearne and Niño (2022) suggested Whites were at less risk for COVID-19 than people of color who were more often essential workers or in communities with limited access to healthcare. Yet, Asian Americans were not at greater risk for COVID-19 infections and deaths than other groups (CDC, June 17, 2021). Moreover, Asian Americans who wore masks at the beginning of the pandemic were more often the targets of COVID-related discrimination than those who did not (Y. Liu et al., 2020). So, despite the high rates of mask wearing among Asian Americans, there were clear disincentives to do so. Therefore, there may be influences on mask wearing in addition to perceived personal risk.

Hearne and Niño (2022) did not assess empathy in their study on ethnic differences in mask wearing. But there are ethnic differences in empathy. In two studies ($N = 2481$), college students of color had higher levels of intergroup empathy, defined as empathy toward social groups different from one's own, than White students had (Yi, Todd, & Mekawi, 2020; Figure 1.4). Considering the Pfattheicher et al. (2020) finding of empathy and mask wearing and the Yi et al. (2020) ethnic differences in empathy finding, it is pos-sible ethnic differences in mask wearing in the Hearne and Niño (2022) study were the result of ethnic differences in empathy. People of color may wear masks because they care about the safety of others.
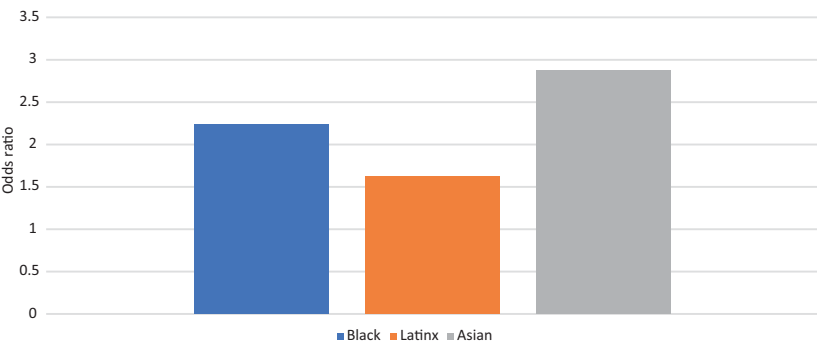
Figure 1.3 Odds of Mask Wearing by Ethnicity During COVID-19 Compared with White Respondents

Source: Hearne & Niño, 2022
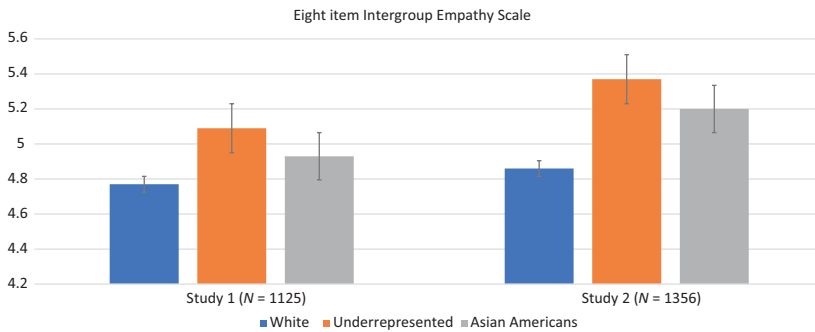
Figure 1.4 Ethnic Differences in Intergroup Empathy

Source: Yi et al., 2020

Individualism may have created risks for COVID-19 infections via relational mobility and low empathy. But independent thinking likely facilitated the innovation required to develop COVID-19 vaccines. Whereas the United States had more COVID-19 infections and deaths than any other nation, it is among the top 20 nations in percentage of its population being vaccinated (Holder, 2021). Possibly this is because the COVID-19 vaccine, which requires a few shots, is more personally convenient than masking and physical distancing which require ongoing efforts. Nevertheless, in a 24-country pre-COVID-19 study, individualist beliefs that vaccinations infringe on individual rights were associated with anti-vaccination attitudes (Hornsey, Harris, & Fielding, 2018).

Major societal crises, such as climate change and gun violence, require a cooperative response. Yet, individualism in the United States is associated with a low perceived risk of climate change (Nowlin & Rabovsky, 2019). Even in China, a primarily collectivist nation, individualism is associated with climate change inaction (Xiang et al., 2019). Climate change inaction includes denying climate change as a critical issue and a high carbon lifestyle (e.g., not using public transportation, eating a primarily red meat diet). Yet, the price of inaction is hundreds of thousands of deaths, whether it be COVID-19, climate change, or gun control.

Why are the deaths of fellow citizens not a compelling reason to change one's behavior? Multiple deaths can be overwhelming and may result in psychic numbness and inaction (P. Slovic & Västfjäll, 2010). Yet, highlighting individual suffering can get a person's attention and cause them to act. Individualism and collectivism may moderate empathy for groups of people. Israeli college students read a story of either one sick child or eight sick children in need of expensive medicine (Kogut, Slovic, & Västfjäll, 2015). Western Israeli students, who are relatively individualistic, were significantly more likely to contribute money (average contribution about 7 shekels or about $2 US) to the single sick child than to the eight children. Bedouin students, who are relatively collectivistic, were equally likely to contribute to the single child and the eight children. In another study, Western Israeli college students were asked to describe themselves using individualistic (I, me, mine) or collectivistic (we, us, ours) terms (Kogut et al., 2015). This self-description was not included in a control condition. Participants in all conditions (individualistic, collectivistic, control) read the story of either one sick child or eight sick children in need of expensive medicine. Those in the individualistic and control conditions were more likely to
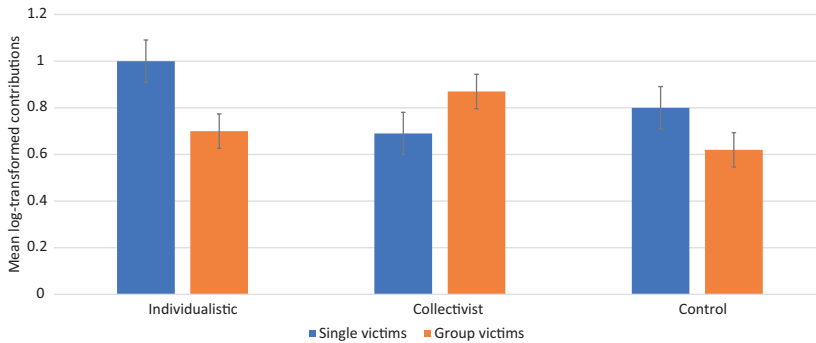
Figure 1.5 Priming Condition and Contributions to Single vs. Group Victims Among Western Israeli College Students

Source: Kogut et al., 2015

contribute money (average contribution about 7 shekels) to the one sick child (Figure 1.5). In contrast, those in the collectivistic condition were more likely to contribute to the eight sick children. The good news is compassion for many can be facilitated when one thinks of their connections to others. The bad news, however, is the default for many individualists is being more persuaded by an individual case and a psychic numbness to the needs of a group. In other words, people's arithmetic is often poor when it comes to compassion for groups of other people (S. Slovic & Slovic, 2015).

Worldwide compassion (and anger) seems to have been a reaction to the May 2020 killing of George Floyd. Possibly this is because millions viewed the excruciating video footage of Mr. Floyd being suffocated to death by police officer Derek Chauvin's knee to his throat. The salience of this individual's suffering (P. Slovic & Västfjäll, 2010) spurred thousands to participate in racial justice marches, many for the first time in their lives.

The COVID-19 pandemic also appears to have raised awareness of health disparities. Over 40% of an online U.S. sample of mostly White participants in April 2020 indicated Blacks are more at risk than other groups to die of the COVID-19 virus. Those aware of this disparity were more likely to allocate a ventilator to a Black than a White patient (Volpe, Hoggard, Lipsey, & Kozak, 2021). These data suggest people in an individualistic nation can have empathic attitudes toward a large group of people at risk for disease–related death. Nevertheless, many Americans are not aware of health disparities. The majority of the participants in the Volpe et al. (2021) study was not aware of Black/White COVID-19 health disparities. Similarly, in a nationally representative sample from April 2020, only about half of the participants were aware Blacks were more likely to die of COVID-19 complications than Whites (Gollust et al., 2020).

What happens when people first learn about COVID-19 health disparities? Unfortunately, not all Americans are as empathic in their responses to COVID-19 health disparities as the participants in the Volpe et al. (2021) sample. Beliefs about COVID-19 risk and public health were assessed in a national online sample of Americans from August and September 2020 (Harell & Lieberman, 2021). Participants were subsequently informed "Blacks are currently 2.5 times more likely to die from COVID-19 than Whites". After receiving this information, Blacks' perceptions of COVID-19 risk increased as did their support

for a strong public health response to the pandemic. In contrast, Whites' perceptions of COVID-19 risk decreased after receiving the information, possibly because they perceived the primary COVID risk to reside among Blacks. Similar to Blacks, Whites who had favorable attitudes toward Blacks favored a strong public health response to the pandemic. In contrast, Whites who had unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks became *less* likely to favor a strong public health response to the pandemic. The reasons these Whites did not favor public health resources for Blacks were not examined. But it is possible these Whites did not see Blacks as deserving of these resources.

Creating a perception that Blacks and other people of color do not deserve resources was a political strategy initially used by Richard Nixon as a backlash against the civil rights movement in the 1960s (Gabler, 2020). This strategy subsequently has been used by other conservative politicians. Yet, the reason for the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on communities of color is the poor public health resources (e.g., availability of COVID testing and vaccinations, general medical care) in these communities and not something inherently wrong with the people themselves (Yang, Emily Choi, & Sun, 2020). Thus, better public health resources would prevent COVID-19 infections and deaths in communities of color. The lack of these resources involves those in power not allocating resources to communities of color. Even if some believe communities of color do not deserve public health resources, COVID-19 infections in any community create increased risk for *all* communities. So, to protect their own health, even the most selfish person should support public health resources for all communities. Educating the public on the interdependence of the health of diverse communities may be needed to increase support for public health solutions (Coyne-Beasley et al., 2021; Gaynor & Wilson, 2020).

Even those who are empathic toward other groups may have difficulty sustaining this empathy. The goodwill toward Blacks from non-Blacks spurred by the COVID-19 pandemic and George Floyd's murder may be short-lived. A pattern of rising and falling attention to and concern for Black communities has occurred after the multiple killings of unarmed Blacks by police (A. Hall et al., 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in compassion fatigue, even among physicians whose job it is to be compassionate to others (Cheng & Li Ping Wah-Pun Sin, 2020). Compassion fatigue is also common after major disasters, such as hurricanes (Powell et al., 2020). COVID-19 certainly qualifies as a major health disaster and COVID-related compassion is likely to subside.

Self-care has been proposed to cope with compassion fatigue and may be helpful (Butler, Carello, & Maguin, 2017). Yet, individualists often seek individual solutions as a default without considering other options. The physical distance required to prevent exposure to COVID-19 became known as "social distancing", as if social distance was necessary to achieve physical distance. The term "social distancing" may have discouraged many from virtual social contact (e.g., telephone, Zoom) which is vital for well-being (Gruber et al., 2021). The term "physical distancing" more accurately describes what is needed and does not necessarily entail social isolation. Similarly, "recharging one's batteries" in response to compassion fatigue and other burnout may be similar to recharging actual batteries – external resources are necessary. Relying on a depleted self for restoration may be finite and fail to harness the resources of social support. In order to sustain compassion, drawing on the resources of communal support has been proposed as an alternative to a self-focused approach to compassion fatigue (Condon & Makransky, 2020).

IDENTITY

White Privilege and Whiteness

Viewing oneself as an individual involves seeing each person as responsible for their own welfare – every man for himself. A common belief among White Americans is *meritocracy* – an individual's hard work will lead to success, the poor are upwardly mobile, and poverty is not intergenerational (W. Liu, 2017). Whites can also justify their own privilege by claiming it is earned, ignoring unearned privilege (e.g., homogeneous hiring networks; Phillips & Lowery, 2018).

Individualists may have difficulty in perceiving and understanding systemic biases. Individualists tend not to identify as members of a group, including a racial or ethnic group. In a sample representative of the U.S. Census, individualists tended not to have any political party affiliation but tended to be Republicans if they did (Nowlin & Rabovsky, 2019). Moreover, Democrats tended to be less individualistic than Republicans. Nevertheless, the difference between strong Democrats (mean = 4.09) and strong Republicans (mean = 5.01) was less than one point on a 7-point scale, which means both groups leaned individualistic.

Many Americans have been taught *color blindness* as a way of treating everyone equally. But far from being democratic or benign, color blindness is an ideology intended to maintain the racial status quo (Neville et al., 2013). Color blind ideology involves two components:

- *Color-evasion*, involving denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness
- *Power-evasion*, involving denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities

Contemporary racism is more subtle than historic forms of blatant racism. It involves the perception that individuals rather than the system are responsible for their successes and failures, and attention to race is itself discrimination. By claiming everyone is the same and Whites are not superior, Whites feel they distinguish themselves from White supremacists. Many Whites may view themselves as exceptions to the rule – some Whites are racist, but I am not one of them (Langrehr, Watson, Keramidas, & Middleton, 2021). Racism is not seen as systemic, institutions are not seen as biased, and those who say they experience racism are seen as responsible for their own problems (Neville et al., 2013). If institutional racism exists, it is reverse racism – the idea that minority groups receive unfair benefits in society. In other words, contemporary racists deny *White privilege*, the idea of inherent advantages because of the color of one's skin.

Color blind racial ideology is not limited to Whites. People of color can also adopt it because they are socialized in a mainstream culture that may value color blindness (Neville et al., 2013). Among people of color, the internalization of stereotypes and belief that race is unimportant is a form of internalized racism (Speight, 2007). A person of color may become self-critical when they fail in academic or employment contexts, overlooking the possibility of systemic forces that might interfere with success (Neville et al., 2013).

I have frequently encountered faculty members who equate color blindness with fairness. They view everyone as having an equal opportunity when it comes to faculty hiring and student admissions. The quality of the university should attract the best faculty and students. No special efforts to recruit faculty or students from diverse backgrounds are seen as necessary. I have even heard a faculty member claim it is "illegal" to consider a

person's race or ethnicity in faculty hiring and student admissions, despite Supreme Court decisions that allow such considerations to achieve institutional diversity (see Chapter 8). Color blind faculty believe the least biased approach is to treat everyone the same. A reflection of this belief is a student course evaluation question – "The instructor did not treat students differently based on their gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or other background." In other words, the instructor did not act in an overtly racist manner.

The color blind approach ignores the consistent evidence in social psychology of *intergroup bias* (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Intergroup bias involves preference for ingroup members over outgroup members. Ingroup members are those who are emotionally, attitudinally, and behaviorally similar to oneself. In hiring, admissions, and other evaluative contexts, people tend to favor those who are similar to themselves. The default mode is ingroup favoritism. Deliberate efforts are needed to change the default. Thus, color blindness is likely to result in homogeneity. Homogeneity is likely to result in naïve realism, in which other views are invisible or considered inferior. Diversity promotes the consideration of multiple points of view and thus, academic excellence (Hurtado, 2001).

Institutions that want to diversify must make deliberate efforts to do so, such as being aware of intergroup bias and reaching out to faculty and students from diverse backgrounds. They cannot expect their institution to naturally attract diversity. Treating everyone the same is likely to exclude those who are not the same as the White majority. Evaluating instructors on their proactive efforts to include students from diverse backgrounds, such as making sure everyone is included in class discussions or covering topics relevant to diverse groups, creates a more welcoming environment for diversity. A passive goal of not being overtly racist is a low bar.

Some view color blindness as a non-racist strategy. From this perspective, to see color is to be racist. Nevertheless, color blindness is strongly associated with *modern racism*. Modern racism posits Blacks' poor work ethic as being responsible for a lack of success, Blacks demand too much, Blacks receive undeserved advantages, and racism no longer exists (Mekawi, Todd, Yi, & Blevins, 2020). The good news, however, is being aware of one's race can have positive benefits in intergroup contexts. For example, an ambiguous situation was presented in which Black and White men bumped into each other (Karmali et al., 2019). When instructed to describe the people in the photograph in one sentence and what you think they are doing in a second sentence (standard instructions), non–Black participants tended not to mention race and tended to perceive the bumping as a conflict. In contrast, when non-Black participants were instructed to use race when describing the two men, they were much more likely to mention race and much less likely to perceive conflict (Figure 1.6). Color blindness increased the perception of interracial conflict and color awareness reduced it. Consistent with the Karmali et al. (2019) findings, undergraduate diversity courses that focus on race and ethnicity reduce students' racism (Neville et al., 2013).

When Whites are in the majority, Whiteness becomes a default mode that is invisible. Most Whites do not perceive themselves as White (Helms, 1995). Not talking about race with their children maintains the invisibility of Whiteness (Phillips & Lowery, 2018). This may be a byproduct of individualism and not identifying with a group. Nevertheless, Whiteness is a social identity. Janet Helms (2017, p. 718) defined *Whiteness* as "the overt and subliminal socialization processes and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences which favor the White racial group over all others." Attempts to expunge *critical race theory*, the idea race is a social construct and racism is systemic, from academic
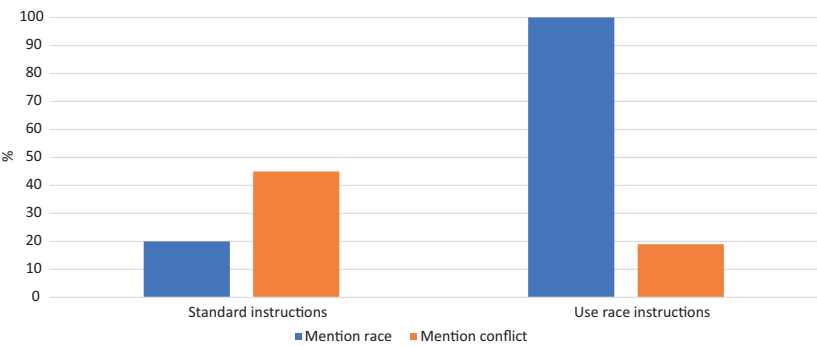
Figure 1.6 Frequency of Mentioning Race and Conflict in Ambiguous Interracial Interaction Among Non-Blacks

Source: Karmali et al., 2019

curricula are an example of keeping Whiteness invisible (Sawchuk, 2021). A course that uses a textbook in which race and ethnicity in the United States are addressed might be threatening to some who want to keep Whiteness invisible. They might instead choose a course that examines cultures in other countries to fulfill a multicultural university requirement, rather than face the diversity within their own country.

Being White entails White privilege, even if it is not personally perceived. William Ming Liu (2017, p. 352) defined White privilege as "…an entitlement and unearned authority of White men to engage in attitudes, beliefs, and practices in any place and time, to perpetuate the status quo of White supremacy, social and racial segregation, and systemic inequality." Despite White men not perceiving racism as systemic, White privilege is maintained by a system of institutions. These institutions include schools, banks, law enforcement, and government. The institutions are interconnected and offer White men multiple pathways to success (scaffolds). In contrast, the path to success for women and men of color is narrower (ladder; W. Liu, 2017). Inherited wealth and nepotism in organizations are some scaffolds commonly afforded to White men. The singular, narrow ladder to success for other groups typically is education. If a woman or a man of color fails in the educational system, there may not be many viable options. Academic environments are predominantly White and insular, which makes it challenging for many people of color to succeed in these environments. For White men, education is one of many options for success.

Cultural beliefs (e.g., color blindness) and scientific research that upholds White men as the norm also maintain White privilege. When a scientist's world is almost exclusively White, the default is to assume the White world is the standard or even that other worlds do not exist (G. Hall et al., 2016; Oyserman, 2017). Although poor White men may have less power than wealthy White men, poor White men still have privilege relative to women and non–White men. Poor White men may be invested in a system of meritocracy because they believe powerful White men can deliver rewards and punishments.

White women, by virtue of their connections with White men (e.g., wives, mothers, sisters, friends), often have *proxy privilege*, when White men share their privilege (W. Liu, 2017). People of color sometimes experience proxy privilege, as well, but White women are more often connected with White men in social circles than people of color

are. The benefits of proxy privilege may result in *internalized racism* for some people of color, believing in meritocracy and not believing systemic racism exists (Speight, 2007). Nevertheless, proxy privilege is ultimately controlled by White men and does not occur without White men (W. Liu, 2017). And gains for non-Whites are viewed as losses for Whites, particularly if these gains do not uphold White privilege.

When faced with discomfort concerning racial issues, White fragility may be expressed (DiAngelo, 2011). *White fragility* involves emotional, cognitive, and behavioral strategies used to restore White racial comfort. It recenters Whiteness and prevents dialogue, often at the expense of people of color (Applebaum, 2017). Kimberly Langrehr and colleagues (2021) developed a measure of White fragility and identified three components:

- Emotional Defensiveness
- Accommodation of Safety
- Exceptionalism

Emotional defensiveness is feeling annoyed and exhausted when White privilege or race is discussed. This desire to defend the legitimacy of one's values is similar to the experience of the naïve realist having their values challenged. Accommodation of safety includes avoiding discussions of race with people of color or having such discussions with other Whites. Exceptionalism involves seeing oneself as an individual and not like White racists. Not surprisingly, White fragility is significantly associated with color blindness, modern racism, and social dominance. *Social dominance* is the idea societies are group-based hierarchies with dominant groups controlling resources.

A video call by ESPN reporter Rachel Nichols that was inadvertently recorded provides a glimpse into White fragility (Draper, 2021). Nichols, who is White, suggested fellow ESPN reporter Maria Taylor, who is Black, had gotten to host "NBA Countdown" because Taylor is Black. She had called Adam Mendelsohn, who is White and an adviser to LeBron James, to request an interview with James and his Los Angeles Lakers teammate Anthony Davis. James and Davis are Black. During the call, Nichols suggested ESPN had assigned Taylor to the hosting job because it was feeling pressure because of its "crappy longtime record on diversity". She said she knew this from her experiences as a woman. Mendelsohn is a co-founder of James' voting rights group that encouraged voting access for Blacks in 2020. Yet, Mendelsohn replied to Nichols, "I'm exhausted. Between Me Too and Black Lives Matter, I got nothing left." Nichols laughed in response.

Nichols was not punished by ESPN for these remarks. But ESPN producer Kayla Johnson, who is Black and sent the video to Taylor, was suspended without pay for two weeks and given less desirable work tasks. Nichols reached out to Taylor to apologize, but Taylor did not respond.

The interaction between Nichols and Mendelsohn, which was intended to be private, illustrates all three of Langrehr and colleagues' (2021) components of White fragility. Mendelsohn's exhaustion with Me Too and Black Lives Matter is an example of Emotional Defensiveness. Nichols' laugh implies she agreed or at least did not feel strongly enough to disagree. Nichols having this discussion with another White person is Accommodation of Safety. She did not speak to other colleagues of color and did not reach out to her Black colleague Taylor until after the video was made public. Finally, Mendelsohn probably did not perceive his exhaustion with Black Lives Matter as racist because he worked with and for Blacks. Nevertheless, even someone with noble actions can privately harbor bias.

Similarly, a White woman's experience of sexism seemingly did not engender empathy for Blacks.

Although White fragility may be seen as a plea for help and may elicit sympathy in some cases, it can be a mask for racist beliefs and an effort to restore racial hierarchy. Some topics covered in this book may elicit strong reactions. But such reactions may create an opportunity for personal growth.

Intersectional Identities

People live in sociocultural contexts and culture may be one of many intersecting influences on behavior. *Intersectionality* involves the simultaneous consideration of multiple categories of identity, such as gender, race, class, and sexual orientation (Cole, 2009). Any identity (e.g., gender) cannot be fully understood in isolation. A bicultural Latina American is a woman who may also be middle class and lesbian. This intersectionality provides both similarities to and differences from others. She may be similar to other queer Latina American women, but dissimilar to Latina American heterosexual women. Her identity as a woman may make her similar to European American women but her middle-class identity may make her dissimilar to lower socioeconomic status European American women. Thus, any single identity exists in the context of other identities. Identities are characteristics of the individual as well as characteristics of the social context (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). An Asian American's lesbian identity may have strong personal relevance. This identity may or may not be validated and conditioned by those in the communities she participates in, such as lesbians, Asian Americans, women, or communities in which these identities intersect.

Inequality and power are also embedded within intersectional identities (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). For example, women of color have not always been accepted or included by European American women. Despite African American women's participation in gaining women's right to vote, some European American women attempted to restrict African American women's voting rights (National Women's History Museum, 2007). Moreover, women of color have often been marginalized by men of color in the civil rights movement.

Intersectional identities also influence discrimination. As an example of how race and gender interact, African American men may be perceived by police as threatening. The New York City stop-and-frisk policy allowed police officers to stop, interrogate, and search citizens on the basis of "reasonable suspicion". An analysis of New York Police Department stop-and-frisk data from 2006–2012 indicated a disproportionate percentage of African American men stopped and frisked (Hester, Payne, Brown-Iannuzzi, & Gray, 2020). Figure 1.7 indicates 78% of all stops involved African American men. Yet, African American men and women were only about 25% of the New York City population at that time (NYC 2010: Results from the 2010 Census, 2010). Only 14% of the stops involved European American men. Stops of women, whether African American or European American, were uncommon.

Intersectional identities that are culturally devalued or stigmatized may have negative, cumulative effects. Stigmatized identities include being non-White, a woman, non-heterosexual, and having lower social status. A person having multiple stigmatized identities has multiple domains in which to experience oppression. Thus, an African American
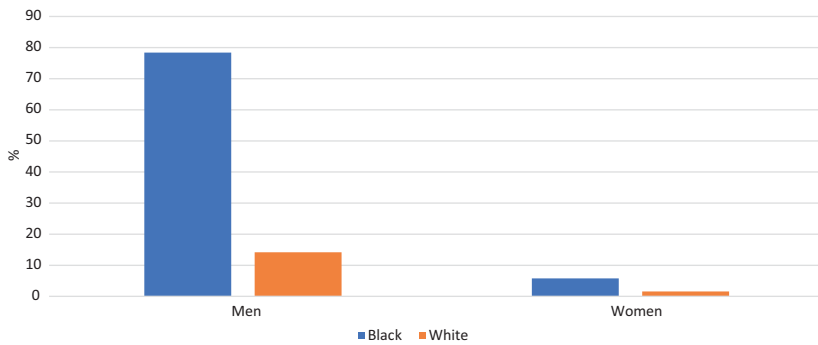
Figure 1.7 Percentage of Total Stops by the New York City Police Under the Stop-and-Frisk Program, 2006 to 2012

Source: Hester et al., 2020
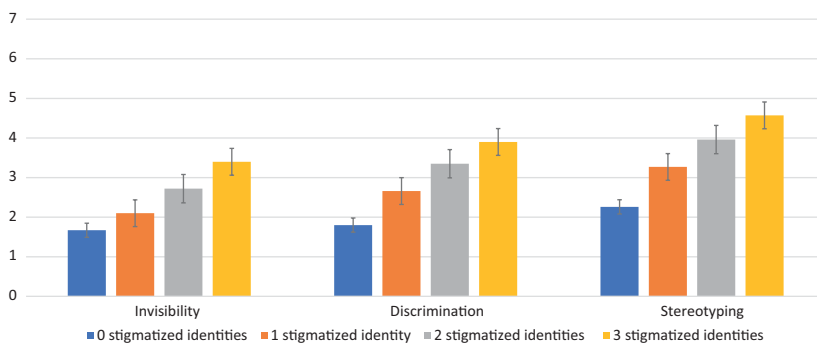
Figure 1.8 Number of Stigmatized Identities and Perceived Oppression Among College Students

Source: Remedios & Snyder, 2018

woman who is heterosexual and middle class may experience less oppression than an African American woman who is lesbian and poor. In a multiethnic sample of college students, the number of stigmatized identities a person had was associated with feeling invisible, receiving unfair treatment, and feeling negatively stereotyped because of these identities (Remedios & Snyder, 2018; Figure 1.8).

Although stigmatized identities may have cumulative effects, stigmatized identities are not equally devalued. Being a man generally is not a stigmatized identity, but African American men were stopped and frisked far more than other groups, including women (Hester et al., 2020). Being non-heterosexual is generally a stigmatized identity. But Americans may be more accepting of gay people than of Asian Americans, who are often viewed as foreign. Asian Americans who were described as gay were viewed as more American than Asian Americans whose sexual orientation was not specified (Semrow, Zou, Liu, & Cheryan, 2020). In general, race and ethnicity carry disproportionate weight in determining life outcomes for people of color. And this is why race and ethnicity are the foci of this book.

CONCLUSION

The COVID-19 pandemic and the killing of George Floyd had a profound societal impact and took place in sociocultural contexts. Aspects of individualism, including relational mobility and low empathy, may have contributed to the United States having more COVID-19 cases than any other country. Viewing everyone as an individual who is not affected by societal systems is another aspect of individualism that can result in White privilege. Nevertheless, people from individualistic cultures can demonstrate compassionate behavior, as in the case of the widespread support in the United States of George Floyd and racial justice. This chapter is a glimpse at the complexity of multicultural psychology. Culture is but one aspect of people's intersectional identities. Different identities may be valued or devalued depending on sociocultural contexts in which people live.

RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION

Members of a racial or ethnic group are not all the same. There is much diversity within each group. Sources of diversity include how individuals identify with their group and how acculturated they are to mainstream culture. The first part of this chapter is on racial and ethnic identity. The second part is on acculturation.

MODELS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

Identities based on race, ethnicity, culture, and minority status serve as the framework for this book. *Racial identity* focuses on the meaning and importance of race, and responses to racism (Helms, 2007). *Racism* assumes group differences are biologically based, one's own race is superior, and practices that formalize the domination of one racial group over another are justifiable (J. Jones, 1997). *Ethnic identity* involves the strength of identification with one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1996). Components of ethnic identity include self-labeling, a sense of belonging, positive evaluation, preference for the group, ethnic interest and knowledge, and involvement in activities associated with the group. The distinction between racial and ethnic identity is often arbitrary depending on which groups are studied (e.g., African Americans, multiple ethnic groups) and which measures of racial or ethnic identity are used (Yip, Douglass, & Sellers, 2014).

A person is not born with a fully formed racial or ethnic identity. Racial and identity develop and change over time (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In general, the development of racial and ethnic identity is beneficial. Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2014) conducted a meta-analysis of 46 studies of African American, Latinx American, Asian American, and Native American adolescents and found positive feelings about one's racial or ethnic group (e.g., I feel good about the people in my ethnic group) were significantly associated across studies with:

- Positive social functioning (e.g., social competencies, peer acceptance)
- Academic achievement
- Fewer depressive symptoms
- Lower health risks (e.g., risky sex, substance use)

These findings did not vary by age, gender, or ethnic group of the participants. The Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) findings in the United States may apply elsewhere. Cultural pride among Roma youth, the largest ethnic minority group in Europe, in Bulgaria was associated with self-reported school achievement (Dimitrova, Johnson, & van de Vijver, 2018).

   The Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1947) doll studies were some of the earliest and most influential work on BIPOC identity in the United States. The Clarks found that when presented with white and brown dolls, most African American 3- to 7-year-old children preferred to play with the white doll, considered it to be nice, and regarded the brown doll to be bad. These studies were the basis for the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision to end school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

   Tiffany Yip and colleagues (2014) have traced the roots of racial/ethnic identity research to ego identity and social identity theories in psychology. *Ego identity* theory is a developmental approach proposed by Erik Erikson (1968). Adolescents and young adults begin an internal process of stages of exploration, crisis, and resolution. This process lasts for a lifetime and moves toward a coherent sense of identity. The Cross (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) Model of Racial Identity, the Helms (1990) Model of White Racial Identity, the Phinney (1989) Model of Ethnic Identity, and the Poston (1990) Biracial Identity Development Model, that each involve stages of identity development, are in the ego identity tradition.

   In contrast to the internal struggle of the ego identity approach, the social environment is more influential in the *social identity* approach (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory posits that individuals desire positive self-evaluations, social group membership involves self-evaluations via ingroup and outgroup comparisons, and positive self-evaluations result from favoring the ingroup over the outgroup (Yip et al., 2014). When one's social group is devalued by society, membership in the social group is reinterpreted to maintain positive self-evaluations. Social identity theory influenced the Robert Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. In this section, I will highlight influential models of racial and ethnic identity.

Cross Nigrescence Theory

One of the earliest models of racial/ethnic identity which has influenced subsequent models was the nigrescence theory developed by William Cross, Jr. (1971). *Nigrescence* is a French term that means "the process of becoming Black" (Yip et al., 2014). Afro-Caribbean psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, who wrote about Black oppression and liberation, influenced Cross. Cross (1971, 1991) initially developed his model with African American college students during the civil rights era. This model has implications for life-span development and for other ethnic groups. Although the model was developed during the civil rights era, attention to race and ethnicity was extremely limited in psychology, which makes the development of this model remarkable. Cross conceptualized racial identity as a process involving four stages:

- Pre-encounter
- Encounter
- Immersion/Emersion
- Internalization

In the *Pre-Encounter* stage, African Americans view the world as non–Black or anti–Black. Because African Americans in this stage view European Americans as superior to African Americans, the goal is assimilation into European American society. African American identity is devalued. Such an assimilationist identity might be likely among African Americans who grow up isolated from other African Americans. Cross' (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) revised model includes three identity clusters in the Pre-Encounter stage. *Pre-encounter assimilation* identity involves a low salience of race and a strong identification with being American. *Pre-encounter miseducation* identity involves internalization of negative stereotypes of African Americans (e.g., lazy, criminal). *Pre-encounter self-hatred* identity involves negative views about African Americans and oneself. An example of an African American in the Pre-Encounter stage would be someone in a primarily European American organization who does not identify as African American and believes they can fit in and succeed as well as anyone else. Such a person may not perceive barriers to fitting in or to success because of their race or discrimination.

In the *Encounter* stage, African Americans become aware of what it means to be African American and begin to validate themselves in terms of this ethnic identity. Movement into this stage is often precipitated by some encounter with discrimination. For example, an African American who is attempting to succeed in a corporation realizes there are no African Americans in upper management. Moreover, they may see themselves passed over for an upper management position by a European American with the same credentials and seniority. Because the person cannot escape that their status as an African American makes them different from others, they actively search for new interpretations of their identity.

Encounters, that involve a racialized experience and a reinterpretation of race, occur for Blacks in contexts outside the United States. Helen Neville and William Cross, Jr. (2017) interviewed Blacks in Australia, Bermuda, and South Africa about encounter or awakening experiences regarding racial identity. Most participants had these experiences. Examples of encounters included seeing Whites throwing away food in a supermarket when Blacks did not have enough food, not being allowed in the White section of a theater, and participating in boycotts. These encounters resulted in increased racial activism, racial pride, perceived life possibilities, and racial identity exploration.

African Americans in the *Immersion-Emersion* stage immerse themselves in African American culture and may reject all values that are not African American. Rejection of European American values may be viewed as necessary to prove one is African American. Such a person on a college campus might be an activist in African American student organizations and be considered a "radical" or a "militant". A person emerges from this stage with a strong African American identity. Cross' (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) revised model includes two Immersion-Emersion identities. *Immersion-emersion intense Black involvement* identity views everything African American or Afrocentric as good. *Immersion-emersion anti-White* identity views everything European American or Eurocentric as bad.

In the final *Internalization* stage, African Americans develop a self-confident and secure African American identity and are also comfortable expressing interests and preferences for experiences from other cultures. Anti–European American feelings decline. Persons in the Internalization stage identify with the oppression of all people and often become involved in social activism. Malcolm X moved from the Immersion-Emersion stage to the Internalization stage when he became a Muslim and began to accept and become involved in the struggles of persons of multiple ethnic backgrounds. Cross (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) proposed two internalization identities in his revised model. *Black nationalism* involves an Afrocentric identity that is not reactionary to other identities. *Multiculturalist inclusive* involves an African American identity as well as at least two other identities (e.g., gender, sexual identities).

Racial identity may intersect with other identities. The Pre-Encounter and Encounter stages were associated with traditional attitudes toward women among African American women in New York City (Martin & Hall, 1992). The Immersion–Emersion stage was not associated with attitudes toward women. However, the Internalization stage was associated with feminist attitudes.

Models similar to the Cross model have been developed for White racial identity, African American racial identity, ethnic identity, and biracial identity. These models are reviewed in the following text. Table 2.1 compares the stages of these other models to the Cross model.

A strength of the Cross theory is it was one of the first to account for the diversity of African Americans' racial identity. A limitation is like all stage models, the implication is that a person cannot be in more than one stage at a time. However, the Cross Racial Identity Scale (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) measures all stages of the theory and allows the possibility of having characteristics of more than one stage. Another limitation of stage models is that some stages appear implicitly more advanced developmentally (e.g., Internalization) than others (e.g., Pre-Encounter). It is easy to value the advanced stages and devalue the less advanced stages. Another implication of the model is that each person experiences each stage of the model. Racial identity development is not necessarily a linear process, however. A person may remain in a single stage or may skip stages.

Table 2.1 Comparison of the Cross Model of Racial Identity to Other Models

Cross	Pre-Encounter	Encounter	Immersion-Emersion	Internalization
Helms	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration, Immersion/emersion	Autonomy
Sellers	Assimilationist, Humanist	Oppressed minority	Nationalist, Oppressed minority	Humanist
Phinney	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
Poston	Personal Identity	Choice of group categorization	Enmeshment/Denial, Appreciation	Integration

Helms Model of White Racial Identity

Do European Americans develop a racial identity? European Americans are typically taught to ignore or minimize the meaning of their racial group membership (Neville et al., 2013). Nevertheless, some European Americans do develop a racial identity. Janet Helms (1990) has developed a model of White racial identity analogous to the Cross (1971) model. As with the Cross model, there are a series of stages.

The *Contact* stage in the Helms (1990) model is one in which race is not a distinguishing factor in development. A person in this stage sees all people as having much in common. This stage is analogous to the Cross (1971, 1991) Pre-Encounter stage. The second stage in the Helms (1990) model is *Disintegration*, involving confusion about being White. A European American in this stage may face moral dilemmas about being White in a society that denigrates being non-White. The Disintegration stage is analogous to the Cross (1971, 1991) Encounter stage. The encounter for European Americans is a recognition that European Americans perpetrate discrimination. This differs from the Encounter stage for African Americans in which they recognize they are the targets of discrimination.

The third stage in the Helms (1990) model, *Reintegration*, is an attempt to deal with disintegration by asserting racial superiority. Persons in this stage view African Americans and other minorities as inferior. The Reintegration stage is analogous to immersion in the Cross (1971, 1991) Immersion-Emersion stage.

Pseudo-independence is the fourth stage of the Helms (1990) model, in which a person gains a broader understanding of the impact of race and ethnicity on development. Yet, race issues become important only during interactions with persons of color. A person in the Pseudo-independence stage may develop generalized, sometimes stereotypical, assumptions about various ethnic groups.

The next stage, *Immersion/emersion*, is an attempt to develop a personal and moral definition of Whiteness. A person in this stage may encourage other Whites to redefine Whiteness. The Immersion/emersion stage is analogous to emersion in the Cross (1971, 1991) Immersion-Emersion stage. This person realizes European Americans have a culture that differs from other groups.

The final stage of the Helms (1990) model, *Autonomy*, involves the development of a nonracist White identity. A person in this stage gains an awareness of both the strengths and weaknesses of European American cultures. This stage is similar to the Cross (1971, 1991) Internalization stage. This person is comfortable with their own identity as well as with the identities of others who are not European Americans.

A strength of this model is that it defines White racial identity in a manner that corresponds to some extent with models of African American identity. Many European Americans have not thought about having an identity based on race. A limitation of the concept of White racial identity is whether a healthy White racial identity can exist (Roediger, 1999). It is difficult to disentangle Whiteness from societal privilege.

Sellers Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

A model of racial identity influenced by social identity theory is the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1998). Sellers and colleagues (1998) contended that mainstream perspectives emphasized the stigma of belonging to a racial minority group. In contrast, the underground perspective emphasized the unique experiences of African Americans in a sociohistorical context. The purpose of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity was to reconcile the mainstream and underground perspectives. The Cross (1971, 1991) model places an individual in sequential stages. In contrast, the significance and meaning of racial identity in the Sellers et al. (1998) model may vary across time and situations. The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity assesses the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1997). This measure has been used in studies discussed in other chapters of this book. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity focuses on race and was developed for African Americans. But many aspects of the model are relevant to other ethnic groups (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Racial identity in the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1998) involves:

- The importance of race in the individual's perception of self
- The meaning of being a member of a racial group

Race is one of many identities, such as gender and occupational identity. Sellers and colleagues proposed four dimensions of racial identity:

- Racial salience
- The centrality of the identity
- The regard in which the person holds the group associated with the identity
- The ideology associated with the identity

Racial *salience* involves the relevance of race as part of one's self-concept in a particular situation. For example, race might become salient if one is the only member of a race in a social setting. It also might become salient if one experiences racist comments or behavior. There are likely to be individual differences in salience within the same situation. In the case of being the only member of a race in a social setting, race might be less salient for a person if they have commonly been the only member of their race in a setting than for a person who is not used to having solo status. Racial salience is more relevant to people of color in North America than to European Americans because European Americans typically are the majority. Race issues are not salient for European Americans unless they are in situations in which they are the minority.

Racial *centrality* is the extent to which persons normatively identify themselves with race. Unlike racial salience, racial centrality is relatively stable across situations. Racial centrality also involves the importance of race relative to other identities, such as gender. Race would be the most important identity for someone for whom race is central. Yet, race is not the central identity for all members of a group. Thus, upon meeting an African American, one cannot assume the person strongly identifies with their race.

Regard involves the positive and negative feelings a person has about their race. *Private regard* involves positive or negative feelings about being a member of one's racial group. *Public regard* involves perceptions of the positive or negative feelings of others in society toward African Americans. Private and public regard are not necessarily positively correlated. One could have positive private regard about one's race despite perceptions of negative public regard.

Ideology is a person's beliefs about the way African Americans should live and interact with society. A *nationalist* ideology emphasizes that African Americans should control their own destiny with minimal input from other groups. An *oppressed minority* ideology emphasizes the similarities between oppression faced by African Americans and by other minority groups. The *assimilationist* ideology emphasizes similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society, particularly the mainstream. The goal is to become an indistinguishable part of American society. The *humanist* ideology is more global than the assimilationist ideology and emphasizes similarities among all humans. It de-emphasizes the importance of race and other distinguishing characteristics such as gender.

These ideologies correspond to the Cross (1971, 1991) stages. A nationalist ideology is similar to the Immersion-Emersion stage. The oppressed minority ideology has similarities to the Encounter and Immersion-Emersion stages. The assimilationist ideology corresponds to the Pre-Encounter stage. The humanist ideology is similar to the Internalization stage, but is also similar to the Pre-Encounter stage insofar as race is de-emphasized.

A strength of the Sellers et al. (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity is it captures the complexity and nuances of racial identity by simultaneously considering multiple dimensions. The focus has been on African Americans but components of the model, such as salience and centrality, are applicable to other groups. A limitation is that the model focuses on racial discrimination and less on cultural heritage, which is an important component of racial identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Phinney Model of Ethnic Identity

Models of racial identity have primarily focused on African Americans and to some degree on European Americans. Models of ethnic identity have focused on multiple ethnic groups. Jean Phinney (1989) based her influential model of ethnic identity on Marcia's (1980) model of personal identity, which did not focus on ethnic identity. Marcia (1980) conceptualized identity formation as involving:

• Exploration of identity issues
• Commitment, or a sense of belonging

Exploration includes efforts to understand the role of race and ethnicity in one's overall identity. For example, a student may take an Ethnic Studies course to understand their

identity (Yip et al., 2019). *Commitment* is a resolution of ethnic or racial identity issues, involving acceptance and satisfaction with one's ethnic or racial identity.

Unlike personal identity, ethnic identity involves a shared sense of identity with others in one's ethnic group and is less determined by individual choice (Phinney & Ong, 2007). For example, one's appearance may cause others to associate them with an ethnic group even if the individual does not strongly identify with the group. Phinney (1993) was more interested in the process by which individuals come to understand the implications of their ethnicity and make decisions about its role in their lives than the behaviors and attitudes associated with being a member of an ethnic group. The development of ethnic identity moves from ethnic identity *diffusion* (low exploration and low commitment), to either *foreclosure* (commitment without exploration) or *moratorium* (exploration without commitment) to ethnic identity *achievement*, involving a clear understanding of ethnicity based on exploration and commitment (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989). The Phinney (1989) model spawned the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), the most widely used measure of ethnic identity.

How might ethnic identity affect how a person of color responds to discrimination? Tiffany Yip and colleagues (2019) conducted a meta-analysis of 26 MEIM studies of over 18,000 adolescents and adults. Yip and colleagues examined both the detrimental and protective effects of ethnic and racial identity in coping with discrimination. Similar to results of the Benner et al. (2018) meta-analysis (Chapter 1), discrimination was associated with poorer adjustment in physical health (e.g., illness, sleep problems), mental health (e.g., depression, anxiety), and school (e.g., lower grades), and more risky behavior (e.g., delinquency, substance use). The possible buffering effects of ethnic and racial identity on adjustment were as follows (Yip et al., 2019). For those who were experiencing discrimination, exploration was associated with *poorer* adjustment, particularly negative mental health, and risky behaviors. On the other hand, commitment protected against the negative effects of discrimination, particularly for physical health and school outcomes. Why would exploration, a search to understand one's racial or ethnic identity, make a person vulnerable to the effects of depression? Exploration involves uncertainty and a lack of clarity about racial or ethnic identity. As they become aware of their racial or ethnic identity, a person may be particularly sensitive to incidents of discrimination. In contrast, a person with a commitment to their ethnic or racial identity may feel secure in their identity and realize discrimination targets the group they belong to and not only them as an individual (Yip et al., 2019). A person with commitment to their racial or ethnic identity may also understand they are not personally responsible for racism. For example, after hearing anti-Asian comments in public (e.g., "take your virus back to China"), an Asian American woman's mother said, "It's because we're Asian." The woman replied to her mother, "No, it's because they're racist." Thus, simply searching for or understanding ethnic or racial identity is not sufficient protection against discrimination. A commitment to ethnic or racial identity is necessary for such protection.

The beginning and end points of the Phinney (1989) model are analogous to Cross' (1971, 1991) Pre-Encounter and Internalization stages. Foreclosure is somewhat similar to the Encounter stage, although exploration characterizes the Encounter stage. Moratorium is also somewhat similar to the Immersion/Emersion stage, although commitment characterizes the Immersion/Emersion stage. In a study of African American adolescents and adults using the Marcia (1980) and Sellers et al. (1998) identity models, Yip, Seaton,

and Sellers (2006) found racial centrality scores were higher for persons having achievement status than for persons having other statuses. Moratorium and foreclosed individuals also had higher scores on racial centrality than did diffused individuals. Achievement individuals had higher private regard than did moratorium and foreclosed individuals, who had higher private regard than diffused individuals did.

A strength of the Phinney (1989) Model of Ethnic Identity is that the ethnic identities of multiple groups can be directly compared. Yet, there are unique aspects of individual ethnic groups (e.g., group-specific cultural values) that this general model does not address (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Moreover, the use of the terms diffusion, foreclosure, and moratorium is somewhat counterintuitive. Diffusion typically means pieces of something are dispersed or scattered, whereas diffusion in the Marcia (1980) and Phinney (1989) models means identity is not yet developed. Foreclosure and moratorium typically mean inactivity, but in the Marcia (1980) and Phinney (1989) models, these stages involve activity with respect to identity.

Poston Biracial Identity Development Model

The preceding models have focused on individuals of a single race or ethnicity. They do not account for the possibility of identifying with multiple racial or ethnic groups (Poston, 1990). There is much less empirical research on multiracial identity than there is on the monoracial models discussed earlier.

Poston (1990) proposed a stage model of biracial identity development. The *personal identity* stage involves a sense of self that is independent of racial or ethnic background, involving such factors as self-esteem or self-worth. Persons in this stage are often very young. The personal identity stage is analogous to the Cross (1971, 1991) Pre-Encounter stage.

Choice of group categorization is the second stage in which individuals choose one ethnic group (Poston, 1990). This choice is sometimes forced and influenced by the status of the ethnic groups to which one belongs, social support for acceptance and participation in a culture, and other factors, such as physical appearance and cultural knowledge. A choice of a multiethnic identity is unusual at this stage because it requires knowledge of multiple cultures and acceptance of multiple identities within a single individual. Choice of group categorization has some similarities to the Cross (1971, 1991) Encounter stage. Awareness of ethnic group differences and hierarchies may occur earlier for biracial children than for monoracial children of color because biracial children are exposed to different ethnic groups within their own families (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

The third stage of the Poston (1990) model is *enmeshment/denial*. This stage involves confusion and guilt over choosing one identity over the other. Inherent in this stage is a sense of disloyalty and guilt over rejecting the identity of one parent. There may also be perceptions of a lack of acceptance from other groups. Enmeshment/denial is similar to the Immersion/Emersion stage of the Cross (1971, 1991) model.

The *appreciation* stage is when individuals begin to appreciate and explore their multiple identities (Poston, 1990). Yet, they still tend to identify with one group. Appreciation has some similarities to Cross' (1971, 1991) Immersion/Emersion stage. In the *integration* stage, biracial persons recognize and value all their ethnic identities. Their identity is secure and integrated. This stage is similar to the Cross (1971, 1991) Internalization stage.

A strength of the Poston (1990) Biracial Identity Development Model is that it incorporates aspects of other stage models for biracial persons. Unlike the other models, though, this model has not stimulated much research interest. Part of the reason for the lack of research was that the U.S. Census did not allow multiple race classification until 2000. Also, multiracial populations have not been a priority for funding agencies because their needs have been relatively invisible. Multiracial Americans are discussed more in Chapter 12.

MODELS OF ACCULTURATION

The previous models of racial and ethnic identity address issues of persons who presumably already live in a single multicultural context. Accessing and developing one's racial or ethnic identity may be challenging if one is removed from it by generations (e.g., one's family has been in the U.S. for several generations) or geography (e.g., living in an area where there are no others with the same racial or ethnic background). In contrast, models of acculturation address movement from one culture to another. These models involve immigrants who come to the United States from other countries, as well as their children. The balance between the culture of origin and the host culture is central to the identity of immigrants and their children. Contact between a cultural group and a host culture that changes either or both groups is *acculturation* (Berry, 2003). Acculturation affects cultural values and behaviors, media use, language use and preferences, ethnic identity, and family obligations (Telzer, 2010). The host culture usually has more power than other cultural groups and exerts this power to change the other cultural groups. For example, there is strong pressure for immigrant groups in the United States to learn English. Some Americans want English to be the official language of the United States.

Immigrant adults are the first generation and their children born in the United States are the second generation. Children who come to the United States with their parents are *1.5-generation* immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Learning a new culture and language is more challenging for first-generation immigrants than for their children (Birman &

Simon, 2014). The challenge for the second generation is to integrate or choose between their culture of origin and mainstream culture. Differing rates of acculturation may also create conflicts between immigrant parents and their children. For example, different choices between parents and children in language, food, and ethnicities of friends may spur conflict.

Acculturation is not necessarily a linear process in which a person smoothly transitions from one culture to another. Indeed, the acculturation process may be stressful (Berry, 2003). There are different strategies individuals adopt in the process of acculturation.

Berry Model of Acculturation

Berry (1974) proposed *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalization* as modes of acculturation that involve attitudes and behaviors in intercultural encounters. When a cultural group does not wish to maintain its cultural identity, it may seek to assimilate. This is the "melting pot" model of acculturation. The assimilation model may be more relevant for European immigrants, whose race and cultures are more similar to those of European Americans, than for immigrants of color. Moreover, some persons of color may seek to assimilate into the European American mainstream but may be prevented by the mainstream from doing so. For example, because of their appearance, many Asian Americans may be viewed as foreigners regardless of how many generations they have been in the United States (Tuan, 1998). Language barriers or discrimination in the United States may bar immigrants from the jobs or positions that they had in their countries of origin (e.g., teacher). This results in "downward assimilation" to a lower social class (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). In an international study of over 5,000 adolescent immigrants from 26 cultural backgrounds who immigrated into 13 White majority countries (U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, European countries, Israel), less than one-fifth of the sample had an assimilation profile, in which identity with the host nation was strong and ethnic identity weak (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Assimilation corresponds to the Pre-Encounter stage in the Cross (1971, 1991) model of racial identity and to the assimilationist ideology of the Sellers et al. (1998) model.

Separation occurs when a group wishes to maintain its culture and does not wish to interact with the host culture. For example, transnationalists who travel back to and from their country of origin (Vertovec, 1999) or sojourners who intend to return to their culture of origin may not adopt the customs of the host country. Other separatists may believe the host culture's values are detrimental or may be reacting to rejection by the host culture. Separatists are often segregated from the host culture, voluntarily (e.g., choosing to live in a particular community such as Little Saigon) or involuntarily (e.g., exclusion from a particular community). A separatist group would need to be large and powerful to successfully maintain an identity. In the international study of adolescent immigration, about one-fourth of the respondents had a strong ethnic identification and weak national identification, which could be a separatist orientation (Berry et al., 2006). Separation generally corresponds to the Cross (1971, 1991) Immersion–Emersion stage and the Sellers et al. (1998) oppressed minority ideology.

The integration strategy involves maintaining one's culture while interacting with the host culture. Integrationists seek to participate in the host culture as members of their culture of origin. Integration can occur only when the dominant group is open to and

inclusive of diverse groups. Such a multicultural society in which power is shared and in which integration is possible is difficult to achieve in practice (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). The United States has been characterized as relatively assimilationist and Canada as relatively integrationist (Berry, 2003). Yet, in both countries, persons of European ancestry are in power and there is limited evidence of willingness to share power. Until 2008, all the chief political leaders of both countries had been men of exclusively European ancestry. In the international study of adolescent immigrants, ethnic identity and identity with the host country co-occurred among about one-third of the respondents (Berry et al., 2006). This was an integration strategy. It is unclear how strongly the members of the host countries identified these immigrants as part of their country and culture, however. Integration corresponds to Cross' (1971, 1991) Internalization stage and the Sellers et al. (1998) humanist ideology.

Marginalization involves not being interested in maintaining one's culture of origin or in interacting with the host culture. As with separation, marginalization may be voluntary or involuntary. Those having low ethnic and national identities were the smallest group in the international adolescent immigration study (Berry et al., 2006). Marginalization does not exactly correspond with any of the Cross (1971, 1991) stages or Sellers et al. (1998) ideologies. But a person in the Encounter and Immersion-Emersion stages or having an oppressed minority ideology could feel marginalized.

In reading about these four acculturation strategies, you are probably thinking they affect a person's mental health. Yoon and colleagues (2013) studied the effects of these acculturation strategies on the mental health of immigrants in a meta-analysis that included 325 studies and 72,013 participants. Mental health outcomes were negative and positive mental health. Negative mental health included depression, anxiety, psychological distress, and negative affect. Positive mental health included self-esteem, satisfaction with life, and positive affect. As shown in Figure 2.1, the Integration strategy was negatively correlated with negative mental health symptoms (meaning the Integration strategy was associated with fewer negative symptoms) and was positively correlated with positive mental health symptoms. Marginalization was positively correlated with negative mental health symptoms
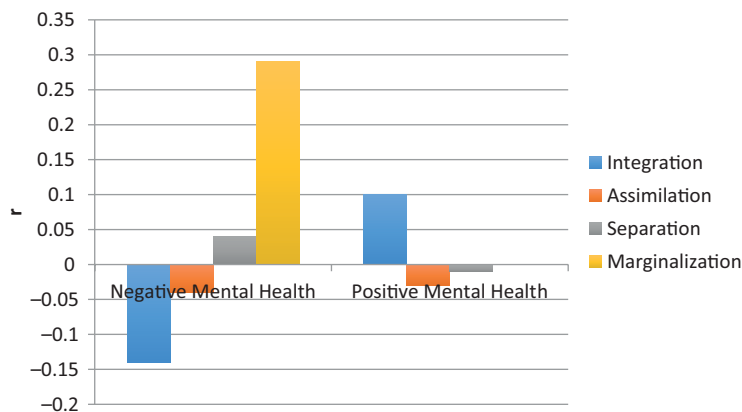

Figure 2.1 Correlations Between Acculturation Strategies and Mental Health: Meta Analysis

Source: Yoon et al., 2013

(meaning it was associated with more negative mental health symptoms) but the correlation between Marginalization and positive mental health symptoms was near zero. The other acculturation strategies were weakly correlated with negative and positive mental health symptoms.

Table 2.2 offers guidance on how to interpret the correlations in Figure 2.1. Most of the correlations in the Yoon et al. (2013) study are very small to small. This means most acculturation strategies are modestly associated with mental health and there may be other influences that are more powerful, such as trauma history. Yet, these correlations are in the range of the correlations between taking aspirin and preventing heart attacks and between taking ibuprofen and pain relief. So, modest correlations are not unimportant. On the other hand, the correlation between Marginalization and negative health is close to large, which means being culturally disconnected has a substantial impact on mental health.

You may have heard correlation does not mean causation. Some events that are correlated, such as ice cream consumption and murders, are not causal but coincidental. Ice cream consumption and murders both increase during hot weather. So, it is the hot weather that causes more murders (and ice cream consumption) rather than ice cream consumption causing murders or vice versa. Yet, some events that are correlated are also causal. For example, an intervention that addresses the cause of a problem is correlated with improvement. Psychotherapy that increases a person's ability to solve problems may decrease a person's stress or depression. A vaccine that stimulates antibodies may increase a person's immunity to a virus. These interventions are both correlated with and cause improvement.

The results of the Yoon et al. (2013) study suggest Integration is the most adaptive strategy and Marginalization the least for mental health. Integration may be adaptive

Table 2.2 How to Interpret Correlations

Correlation	Description	Examples
Very small $r = .05$	Potentially important	$r = .03$ – correlation between taking aspirin and preventing heart attacks
Small $r = .10$	Potentially more important, especially in the short-term	$r = .14$ – correlation between ibuprofen use and pain relief $r = .19$ – average psychology study correlation
Medium $r = .20$	Potential practical use in the short-term	$r = .26$ – tendency of men to weigh more than women
Large $r = .30$	Potentially powerful use in the short- and long-term	$r = .30$ – psychotherapy intervention that is effective 65% of the time $r = -.34$ – correlation between geographic elevation and temperature
Very large $r = .40$ or greater	Rare in psychology research	$r = .44$ – correlation between height and weight in U.S. $r = .80$ – COVID-19 vaccines that are effective 90% of the time in preventing infection

Source: Funder & Ozer, 2019

because the individual can access resources from two cultures. For example, the support of a cohesive family and ethnic community is offered by the culture of origin, which is less emphasized in the host culture. At the same time, seeking help for mental health problems may be viewed with less stigma in the host culture than in the culture of origin.

A strength of the Berry Model of acculturation is that it accounts for the possibility of maintaining a culture of origin while adapting to a new culture. Missing from the model is the new identity that immigrants may develop in a new culture that is unlike their culture of origin or the new culture. For example, most immigrant adolescents from China and Mexico in a study in Los Angeles considered themselves to be Chinese Americans and Mexican Americans rather than Chinese, Mexican, or American (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). Berry's Integration model involves alternating between two cultures rather than fusing them as many immigrants, particularly children, do. Moreover, similar to other acculturation models, Berry's does not fully address the experiences of the children of immigrants.

LaFromboise Models of Acculturation

Teresa LaFromboise and her colleagues (LaFromboise et al., 1993) proposed models of acculturation that are applicable to North American ethnic minority groups. These models offer alternatives in addition to the four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (2003). The LaFromboise model describes five models of acculturation:

- Assimilation
- Acculturation
- Fusion
- Alternation
- Multicultural

Assimilation is absorption into the dominant or more desirable culture. Immigrants who voluntarily come to the United States are more likely to desire to assimilate than those forced to immigrate (e.g., slaves, refugees; Ogbu, 1986). Similarly, you are more likely to identify with a college you are attending if you have chosen it than if your parents have chosen it for you. You are an "involuntary immigrant" if your choice of college is restricted for economic or geographic reasons. You are a "voluntary immigrant" if you can attend the college of your choice. Yet, not all who desire to assimilate into a culture are able to assimilate.

The cultural distance between one's culture of origin and the second culture may affect ability to assimilate (C. Williams & Berry, 1991). An Asian Indian, who is Hindu, will probably have a more difficult time assimilating into mainstream American culture than a person from England who is a Christian. The dangers of assimilation involve loss of original cultural identity and rejection by the members of one's culture of origin (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Each ethnic group has its pejorative terms for persons of color who are trying to assimilate. These persons are "White on the inside" but not on the outside. Terms include "oreo" (African Americans), "coconut" (Latinx Americans), "banana" (Asian Americans), and "apple" (American Indians). The assimilation model is analogous to Berry's (2003) assimilation strategy.

A second model of acculturation is actually known as *acculturation* (LaFromboise et al., 1993). This involves a person who is competent in a second culture but will always be identified as a member of the minority culture. This person may be relegated to a lower status within the second culture and not completely accepted. Asian Indian physicians who have had residency training in the United States are competent in medicine. Yet, many Americans view these physicians as somehow "foreign". Such an experience may result in marginalization from both cultures. One reaction to such marginalization is separatism that involves the creation of one's own group. Rather than compete for acceptance in mainstream American culture, Asian Indian physicians might form their own group and associate exclusively with other Asian Indians. A difficulty with separatism is some inter-action with other groups which is usually necessary unless one is in a large community of similar others (e.g., Chinatown). Another difficulty is that the mainstream can more easily ignore a separatist group than a group that attempts to interact with the mainstream. The acculturation model incorporates aspects of Berry's (2003) separation and marginalization strategies.

Another model of acculturation is *fusion* (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Fusion involves cultures sharing an economic, political, or geographic space fusing together until they are indistinguishable and form a new culture. This is the idea behind the "melting pot" theory. The fusion model differs from the assimilation model because it integrates aspects of mul-tiple cultures into the new culture. It differs from the multicultural model because cultures of origin are not distinctively maintained. An example of fusion cuisine in sushi is the California roll. Sushi in Japan typically includes Japanese rice, seaweed (*nori*), vegetables, and seafood. The California roll includes Japanese rice and nori plus vegetables (avocado) and seafood (crab) from California. Thus, Japanese and American cuisines are fused to create something new. Yet, what typically occurs when multiple cultures share the same space is the cultural minority groups become absorbed into the majority group at the price of their cultural identity (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Fusion is not clearly represented in Berry's (2003) model.

A fourth model of acculturation is *alternation*, that involves competence in two cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The two cultures are regarded as equal. A person maintains positive relationships with both cultures without having to choose between them. The biculturally competent individual alters their behavior to fit a particular sociocultural con-text. For example, if one's cultural background values restraint, one is restrained in contexts where restraint is valued. In other settings where free expression is valued, such as in many European American settings, a biculturally competent person can shift to a more expres-sive mode. Alternation is an optimal mode of functioning (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Yet, American society does not equally value all cultures, and alternation may be difficult to maintain in practice. A truly biculturally competent person may have to overemphasize the non-European American culture to balance the emphasis of European American culture in society. In other words, an overemphasis on a minority culture may be required to regard the minority culture as equal to European culture and to achieve positive relationships with both cultures. Alternation incorporates aspects of Berry's (2003) integration strategy.

The *multicultural* model of acculturation involves maintaining distinct cultural identities while cultures are tied together within a single multicultural social structure (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Individuals from one culture cooperate with those of other cultures to serve common needs. An example of this might be ethnic communities that have intergroup contact but at the same time maintain their culture of origin. A city might have Little

Tokyo, Little Saigon, and Little Italy neighborhoods that are in geographic proximity and work cooperatively as part of the larger city structure. Yet, in real life situations, separation of cultural groups is more common than interaction and cooperation. When there is interaction, there also tends to be mutual influence and cultures of origin tend not to be distinctly maintained. Thus, the multicultural model is difficult to achieve in practice (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The multicultural model is analogous to Berry's (2003) multicultural strategy.

Acculturation and Enculturation

Acculturation is not necessarily a linear process of transition from one culture to another. Acculturation may occur simultaneously with *enculturation*, the retention of one's culture of origin. Yoon et al. (2020) have proposed acculturation and enculturation as largely independent. The rate at which an immigrant acculturates to a new culture may not be the rate at which they move away from their culture of origin.

Yoon et al. (2020) conducted a meta-analysis of 255 studies to determine the association between acculturation and enculturation. Most of the studies involved Asian Americans ($N = 121$) or Latinx Americans ($N = 123$), the two largest immigrant groups in the United States. The overall correlation between acculturation and enculturation was low, at $r = -.18$. A correlation of $-.18$ is near the correlation of the average absolute value of all psychology studies ($r = .19$; Table 2.2). A correlation of $-.18$ is small but potentially important. This means acculturation involves some loss of ethnic culture, but the two processes are generally independent.

In some contexts, acculturation does result in substantial ethnic cultural loss (e.g., South U.S.). The stronger negative correlations in Figure 2.2 indicate the contexts in which ethnic cultural loss is strongest when one acculturates. Weaker correlations suggest greater biculturalism or integration of two cultures. The strongest negative correlation ($r = .37$) is for language and is large, meaning learning English involves significant loss of ethnic
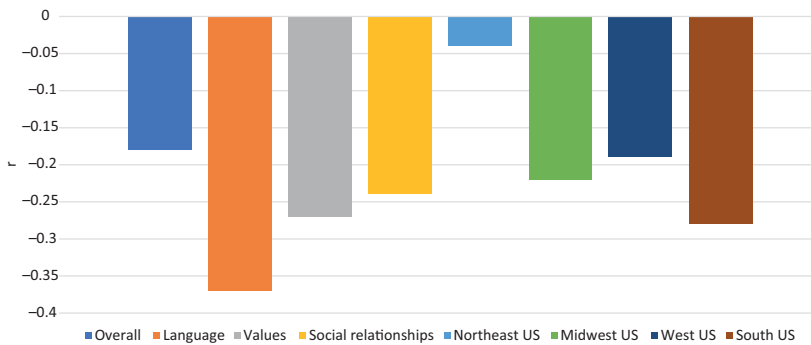
Figure 2.2 Correlations Between Acculturation and Enculturation by Context: Meta–Analysis

Source: Yoon et al., 2020

language. Similarly, adopting mainstream American values meant losing ethnic values. Social relationships with persons outside one's ethnic group meant fewer ethnic social relationships. The negative correlations were highest in the South United States and lowest in the Northeast United States. This finding suggests being bicultural is easier in areas where it may be supported (Northeast) than in areas where there may be less support (South).

CONCLUSION

Racial/ethnic identity and acculturation are shared experiences for people of color and for some European Americans. Yet, there is much diversity within racial and ethnic groups. No two members of a group are exactly alike. Individual group members vary on how much they identify with their group, how they feel about their group, and how much experience they have had with their group and its culture. Similarly, members of racial and ethnic groups vary on their levels of acculturation. Although two people from the same group may look similar, a person whose family has been in the United States for multiple generations will likely differ on acculturation from a person who is an immigrant. Thus, there is a need for an analysis of ethnic groups that is more proximal to behavior than general models of racial/ethnic identity or acculturation. In subsequent chapters, we explore more proximal influences on behavior.

MULTICULTURAL RESEARCH METHODS

Most knowledge in mainstream psychology is not based on communities of color (G. Hall, Yip, & Zárate, 2016). Mainstream researchers have developed research ideas in mainstream settings and have not paid attention to BIPOC communities. Mainstream research approaches may not adequately capture the heterogeneity in BIPOC communities. Conventional research methods are reviewed in this chapter as are alternatives better suited to BIPOC communities. A consideration of these issues will allow you to critique the research of others and to conduct culturally competent research.

THREE RESEARCH APPROACHES TO RACE, ETHNICITY, AND CULTURE

Three major research approaches to psychology are

- Generalizability
- Group differences
- Multicultural psychology

Generalizability research expects to find similarities and universalities across groups (G. Hall et al., 2016). The assumption is that race, ethnicity, and culture are not influential. *Group differences research* examines how cultural contexts might influence generalizability. Many researchers of group differences are more interested in the cultures of other countries than the cultural diversity within the United States. *Multicultural psychology research* focuses on cultural influences on behavior in ethnocultural groups underrepresented in research, including BIPOC. These groups are valued for their own merits and not in terms of how they compare to other groups.

Generalizability Research

Generalizability approaches are *etic* because they apply constructs from one cultural group to another. The generalizability approach is rooted in the natural sciences, in which phenomena are assumed to apply to the whole species. For example, brain functions are assumed to be the same for all humans. Yet, culture can condition brain functions (Chapter 4). A common (but often untested) assumption in psychological research is that findings obtained with European Americans apply to other groups. If psychological phenomena are universal and it is convenient to study European Americans, then the study of diverse groups is unnecessary. Many European American psychology researchers may not consider themselves a part of an ethnic group (e.g., White Americans). They may not view membership in an ethnic group as an important quality of the people they study. Only 17% of psychology faculty members across the United States are non-White (Bischel, Christidis, Conroy, & Lin, 2019). Psychology faculty members whose social network is primarily other European Americans may be oblivious to cultural diversity.

An advantage of the generalizability approach is its breadth. It identifies commonalities among humans and does not require a new theory for each new context. The breadth of universality is emphasized over the depth of cultural specificity. An example of a research finding with European Americans that seems to apply universally is the Five Factor personality model. The dimensions of extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience have been identified among cultural groups worldwide (Ehrhart, Roesch, Ehrhart, & Kilian, 2008).

Group differences, such as those based on culture, tend to be overlooked or treated superficially in the generalizability approach (G. Hall et al., 2016). Researchers invested in generalizability often fail to report the ethnic composition of their samples. Nearly 60% of studies in social psychology research published in 2014–2018 did not report sample ethnicity (Thalmayer, Toscanelli, & Arnett, 2021). When group characteristics are considered in psychological research, a method of minimizing variability to demonstrate generalizability is to approach group characteristics as a demographic category. Demographic categories include nationality and ethnic group. A common method of demonstrating the generalizability of a finding is to compare European Americans with a combined group of ethnic minorities in a sample. Ethnic minorities are often combined because they constitute a small proportion of the sample. But ethnic minorities may be from multiple groups (e.g., African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinx Americans) and differ from one another. So, if a researcher examines group differences between European Americans and a combined group of minorities on anxiety, there will be people who vary on anxiety levels in both groups. Because of this within-group variability, the differences between European Americans and minorities are likely to be minimal.

Although broad groupings can have meaning (e.g., African Americans generally experience more race-based discrimination than European Americans), such broad groupings are heterogeneous. For example, an older African American woman who is a leader of a non-profit civil rights organization in a large city may be quite different from a teenage African American high school student living in a primarily European American suburb with no contact with African Americans other than her own family. Yet, the demographic approach would categorize them both as African Americans. You may wonder why I use

these broad ethnic groupings in this book. These broad groupings are a source of identity for many people. But the chapters go beyond the broad groupings to address intersectional identities within each group. The purpose is not comparison but to explore variability within each group.

An additional limitation of the demographic approach is that when a group difference is inadvertently detected, the basis of the difference is unknown. Finding that Asian Americans differ from European Americans on anxiety does not reveal if this is culturally-based or is based on something else, such as minority status or history of trauma. Therefore, it is important not simply to infer the sources of difference but to conceptualize and measure them. For example, measuring loss of face could reveal whether concern about how one's behavior affects others influences one's own anxiety levels. In other words, people concerned about their impact on others may be more anxious than those less concerned about their impact. Loss of face is a prominent cultural value among Asian American groups that may explain why Asian Americans and other groups are anxious.

Group Differences Research

The group differences approach starts by attempting to determine if a theory is generalizable by comparing two or more groups. The standard in this approach is European Americans or other samples with Western European origins (e.g., England, France, Germany). If there are group differences, the second stage of the group differences approach is to determine the potential cultural reasons for these differences (Heine & Norenzayan, 2006). The advantage of this approach is attempting to understand why groups differ by identifying cultural variables that might distinguish groups.

Using the previous anxiety example, group differences researchers would attempt to explain differences between Asian Americans and European Americans in anxiety. Concern about loss of face is one possible cultural reason for greater anxiety regardless of group membership. So, European Americans concerned about loss of face would be more anxious than European Americans less concerned about loss of face. And European Americans concerned about loss of face would be more anxious than Asian Americans less concerned about loss of face. So, it is not simply group membership that determines how anxious one is. Nevertheless, the emphasis on group differences may obscure the reasons for the group differences. Because relatively few European Americans may be concerned about loss of face, the take home message for many may be the group difference – Asian Americans are more anxious than European Americans.

The group differences approach is inherently evaluative. If European Americans are the standard of comparison, it is difficult not to view variation from this standard as deviant. Higher anxiety in a group other than one's own may be viewed as excessive. Lower anxiety in a group other than one's own may be viewed as insensitivity to the environment. Of course, these interpretations are arbitrary. Higher or lower levels of anxiety may be appropriate depending on the expectations of one's context. In contexts in which it is important to be part of a group or team (e.g., a business), anxiety about one's impact on others may be appropriate. In other more individualistic contexts where one's success is less dependent on others (e.g., mechanic), anxiety about one's impact on others may be less appropriate. Yet, the emphasis on comparing one group to another may cause many to overlook such nuanced interpretation of the mechanisms of group differences.