

RACE AND ETHNICITY: REEXAMINING GROUP SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

CHAPTER

3

MODULE 1 Diversity of Perspectives on Race

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As stated in the introduction to this text, a large number of fields study different aspects of the human species. Therefore, it would make sense that those who have studied their fields at the highest levels (i.e., those who have advanced degrees in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and biology) should know the difference between *race* and *ethnicity*. Markus (2008) points out that most professionals are still not unified on the definitions of these words and that research for race is published in completely separate journals from research on ethnicity and culture. In other words, research pertaining to race and ethnicity run on parallel roads in the research world, rarely intersecting. If researchers are still confusing these terms, then it makes sense that those who don't research these concepts, such as the general public, are confused, too. Despite the interchangeable use of race and ethnicity, they are two words with two distinct definitions.



President-elect Barack Obama (and family) in Chicago, IL just before his first victory speech on November 4, 2008.

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Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, a first generation American, attended Princeton University for her undergraduate education and then Yale Law School.

race

the arbitrary categorization of the human species based on observable physical differences

The term *race* is thrown about everywhere. It's used in politics, entertainment, academia, and social settings. For example, in 2008, Senator Barack Obama made headlines and national history when he became the first African American man to be elected to the highest public office in the United States. In another example, Latinos and women celebrated as Sonia Maria Sotomayor was nominated and confirmed as the first Hispanic and only the third woman to serve as a Supreme Court Justice. Few people know that, after finishing her undergraduate work at Howard University, Dr. Mamie Phillips Clark was the first African American woman to graduate from Columbia University with a PhD in psychology (her husband, Kenneth Clark, was the first African American person to graduate from Columbia). Yes, we label people as “black,” “white,” or “Hispanic,” but do we really understand what we are saying?

So *what is race?* Most people, when asked to define *race*, believe that it has to do with heritage or lineage. Some people ask about race, but they are really interested in understanding your nationality. Race is a very confusing term partly because everyone has his/her own definition about what another person's race is. Just ask Maddie Jagger, a former student at Trinity University. She described herself as “lightly tanned year-round” and pointed out the ambiguity in her complexion as she was too light to be considered African American, and “not the right shade” to be classified as Latina (Jagger, 2008, p. 1). Obviously, people ask questions and make assumptions about race, but really, what is race? **Race** is the arbitrary categorization of the human species based on observable physical differences. Race is a loaded term and Module 1 discusses race from three different perspectives—the biological, sociological, and psychological perspectives.

MODULE 1

DIVERSITY OF PERSPECTIVES ON RACE

Biological Perspectives of Race

One of the most important words in the definition of *race* is “arbitrary,” which means random or by chance. Therefore, this definition highlights the randomness of racial categories. In fact, biologists have researched this term for many decades, and they have never been able to find any genes that are directly linked to race. If you look at the genes of two people who come from two different races, such as a Japanese American woman and a European American woman, you can't find any indicator of racial difference. There is no gene that gives you darker or lighter skin. There is no gene that indicates whether you will have coarse or fine hair. In 1998, the American Anthropology Association (AAA) developed a contemporary

statement on race confirming that, “. . . human populations are not unambiguous, clearly demarcated, biologically distinct groups” (aaanet.org, para 1). Although it was once thought that race was rooted in the biology of human beings, that idea has not been supported by biology research (Manly, 2006). Simply put and biologically speaking, there are no racial groups.

Would you be surprised to know that racial groups have more variation, or difference, *within* the group than between other groups? Markus (2008) noted that some of our country’s most notable educational leaders believed in the notion that some races are just superior to others. However, studies indicate that about 94% of the physical characteristics that we think help determine differences *between* racial groups actually occur *within* racial groups more frequently (aaanet.org). That means that African Americans have more differences *within* the African American “race” than between African Americans and other “races” such as European Americans or Chinese Americans, for example.

The second part of the *race* definition indicates that racial categories are based on “observable physical differences.” In the biology world, these observable physical differences are called “phenotypes.” A **phenotype** is a noticeable physical characteristic or feature that comes from the interaction between someone’s genes and the environment. Notably, phenotypes change easily because the environment is constantly changing and because the body changes as it ages. **Genotypes**, on the other hand, are characteristics or features that are inherited from both parents. They are the genetic code that is created after the sperm fertilizes an egg. Each person on the earth has a unique genotype even if they are siblings (unless of course, s/he is an identical twin).

Applying what you now know about genotypes and phenotypes, you should have come to the conclusion that you can’t change your genotype. It’s what you get when you were born. But, can you change your phenotype? Well, the answer is “yes” and “no.” You can change your noticeable physical characteristics through cosmetic surgery. If genetically you have a big nose, then your nose size may be expressed through your phenotype. You could get surgery to make your nose smaller; however, you actually haven’t changed your genotype (the fact that you inherited your big nose) or your phenotype (the fact that the “big nose gene” is expressed). This means that your offspring may still inherit your genes and those genes may still be expressed even though you have made changes to your face.

Examples of noticeable physical differences include complexion, eye color and shape, hair color and texture, and even bone structure. If you put all of this biological information together you will find that the term race only gets you as far as the differences that you can see between people. It doesn’t account for the differences that you can’t see between people.

It is for this reason that the AAA referred to race as “a body of prejudgments that distorts our ideas about human differences and group behavior” (aaanet.org, para. 8). When we use race to categorize and judge people, we are not entertaining what is below the surface.

phenotype

a noticeable physical characteristic or feature that comes from the interaction between someone’s genes and the environment

genotypes

characteristics or features that are inherited from both parents

Social Perspectives of Race

socially constructed term

a word that has been created and maintained for social purposes

The term *race* only gets you as far as the differences that you can see between people. It doesn't account for the differences that you can't see between people.

Because science has not been able to genetically prove that different human races exist, the term is no longer in technical use. A quick dictionary search of *race* will uncover a definition followed by one important word . . . *obsolete*. However, we still use the term socially to categorize people, and Hamby (2015) points out that it is still a very powerful social concept in society. Most social scientists (i.e., psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists, to name a few) will agree that race is a socially constructed term. A **socially constructed term** is a word that has been created and maintained for social purposes. If *race* is no longer in technical use, what “social purposes” do we still have for the term? Why are we still using the word? There are three overarching reasons that we still use the term race, despite the evidence that indicates that there is really no such thing biologically.

1. **We use *race* because we don't understand the true definition of the word and don't understand other, more accurate ways of categorizing people.**

Oftentimes we hear words and, without understanding them fully, we repeat them. Children definitely aren't born understanding the differences between races; therefore, someone has to teach them what it means to be “black” or “white.” When the wrong information is passed along, we have the breeding ground for generations of people to be misled and uninformed. Furthermore, it is not enough that we understand the definition of race. We also need to understand other important words related to *race* such as *ethnicity*, *culture*, and *nationality* so that we know when and how to use them appropriately too.

Interestingly, Drs. Kenneth and Mamie Clark led groundbreaking research in the 1940s that proved that children learn about the social impact of race sooner than we think. This husband and wife research team used dolls to research African American children's attitudes about race. In the experiment, they presented African American children with two dolls—an African American doll and a European American doll—and asked them to “point to the pretty doll,” “point to the dumb doll,” “point to the smart doll,” “point to the mean doll,” or “point to the nice doll.” Overwhelmingly, the African American children confirmed that the European American doll had all positive attributes, while the African American doll had all of the negative attributes. The Clarks then conducted an interview with each child where they requested a rationale for the child's selection. Again, overwhelmingly the African American children admitted that the African American doll was dumb because it was African American. This experiment was one of the driving forces behind desegregation in schools because the Clarks were able to prove that children were indeed being impacted by their social environment and were internalizing the negative views of their race from what they saw, heard, and felt in the larger society.

2. We use *race* because we think it's the easiest way to categorize people.

Imagine that you are standing in line on Black Friday at 3 a.m. waiting for your local electronics store to open. You are in the market for a 50 in. flat screen television for only \$300 when you see a European American man running alongside the line of people. Then you notice that he snatches a woman's purse and runs off. You call 911 immediately and explain what you saw. "I just saw someone run up to a woman and snatch her purse outside of ABC Electronics." Typically, you will be asked to describe the perpetrator and your first response would most likely be to disclose the race and gender of the person (and perhaps what s/he is wearing). Telling the police officer the race and gender of the criminal is helpful because, as she is patrolling the surrounding area, she can immediately rule out people who belong to other races and gender groups.

While using racial categories can be a quick way to communicate information, they can be extremely inaccurate. The police officer's definition of a European American man and your definition, as a witness to the crime, may be two totally different things. One of the problems with socially constructed words is that they can only be used effectively when people speak the same social language. For example, your great grandmother might look at you strangely if you said, "Darn, I just broke my mouse." In her social world, mice are pests that easily find their way into your home, but have a harder time finding their way out. She may even be wondering how you can "break" a rodent. However, your best friend might naturally assume that you were referring to your computer hardware. As people, we don't just communicate with others who speak the same social language as we do. We are forced to communicate with people who function outside of our social context, which could create major communication issues. The terms "black" or "white" may seem like quick, simple words to throw out so that you can communicate information effectively, but the reality is that you may be conveying misleading and inaccurate information by using words that socially mean different things to different people.

3. We use *race* because we want to maintain the social structure of our society.

American society was born out of a caste system, a system of the haves/have-nots. Race has functioned to separate U.S. Americans into different economic and cultural groups for hundreds of years. If you think back to your former American history lessons on how and why early Americans broke away from their English rulers, you will remember that Americans believed that the English were mistreating them. Because England was America's parent country, Americans had to send a portion of their crops over to England and pay taxes to England. Simply stated, Americans were being treated as the "inferior race." How interesting it is that those same early Americans who fought so desperately to separate from the English in the American Revolution turned

around and created the same superior/inferior social system with Native Americans and Africans. There is no doubt that, from the America's inception, race has been used to exclude people from social privileges, economic growth, academic/professional development, and personal enrichment.

From the conflict perspective, one of the reasons that we still use the term *race* is to maintain the social order of our society. Despite the term's lack of a scientific foundation, we need to remain in conflict (or competition) with others so that some people can be winners, thus getting more than enough access to goods, resources, and services. In the meantime, others can be losers and not receive access to those resources. Cornel West, an African American philosopher, put it best by saying, "race matters, and matters a lot."

It is important to note that the definition of race can vary within one country, and it certainly varies when you compare countries. For example, in the United States some states historically had their own laws about who is identified as African American. Known as the "one-drop rule," states such as North Carolina contended that one was considered African American if s/he had one great-grandparent who was African American (that's one-eighth African American). Other countries, besides America, have racial categories; however, they have different social definitions.

Anderson and Taylor (2003) point out that a fair-skinned African American person of high socioeconomic status could be seen as European American. Therefore, sometimes money is connected to how you are perceived racially. When a social category, such as class or nationality, takes on race characteristics in society, it's called **racialization**. "One of the clearest examples of racialization in the history of the world was Adolph Hitler's labeling [of] Jews—a religious . . . group—as a race" (p. 231). Irish Americans were another group to be racialized. Because of their traditional Catholic beliefs, they were socially known as a "race" that was inferior to other European Americans when they first immigrated to America. As cited in Malcomson (2000), when they first entered the United States they were known as "Negroes turned inside out" or "smoked Irish" (Anderson & Taylor, 2003).

racialization

a social category such as class or nationality that takes on race characteristics in society

Psychological Perspectives of Race

Being classified into a race impacts how we feel, think, and act. These are known as the ABCs of psychology: *affect* (or feelings), *behavior* and *cognitions* (or thoughts). In other words, we are psychologically impacted by the way we categorize ourselves. For example, if you identify with being European American, you may feel guilty that you are associated with a race that has enjoyed tremendous amounts of privilege at the expense of others. On the other hand, you may feel a sense of pride in the number of contributions that European Americans have made to areas of industry (such as the automotive and weapons industries). Note that you can have these two feelings at once. If you are Native American, you

may think positively about the number of rich traditions and celebrations that the race has, but think negatively about the incidence of alcoholism among the race. Lastly, one who identifies with being Asian American may behave in ways that are typically associated with the group when around family, but not when around a more diverse group of friends.

Not only are we psychologically impacted by how we see ourselves but we are also impacted by how others see us. Just ask Susie Guillory Phipps, a “white” resident of Louisiana. Phipps said that she was “flabbergasted and sickened to learn when she applied for a birth certificate five years ago that the state’s Bureau of Vital Statistics had her down as ‘colored’” (James, 1982, para. 3). The State of Louisiana adhered to the “one-drop rule” whereby anyone who was at least 1/32 Negro blood is African American. Because Phipps had lived her entire life as a white person, she wanted her birth certificate changed and she wanted the one-drop rule declared unconstitutional. When the state traced her ancestry, they found that her great-great-great-great grandmother was a slave named Margarita, while her great-great-great-great grandfather was John Gregoire Guillory, a European American planter. After spending over \$20,000 in court fees to get her records changed, she lost her battle. Her birth certificate was never changed. In 1983 the State of Louisiana repealed its law governing how people were classified racially, but they would not hear cases retroactively. From this example it is clear that there is an impact when others label you in a way that is different from how you see yourself.

MODULE 2 | TYPES OF RACIAL GROUPS

Although there are no pure races, our country still officially uses race to classify people. The U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the office that oversees the development, preparation, and implementation of the federal budget, also determines standard policies for other federal offices such as the U.S. Census Bureau. OMB has required that the Census Bureau maintain at least five racial categories on the census. They are white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Nearly every American (97%) who provided census information in 2010 reported that they were **uniracial**, or belonging to one race, which is very interesting considering that migration has made it increasingly harder to prove that there is any pure race left in the United States. Consider the white race, for example. There are varying skin tones within that race, so much so that sometimes the “obvious physical differences” aren’t that obvious.

uniracial

belonging to one race



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Did you know that the racial category of “Negro” was on the U.S. Census until 2010? While it had been on the form since 1950, it was announced in 2013 that it would be replaced by “black or African American.”



Oftentimes, black people get lumped into one category. However, there is quite a bit of variation within the race. Most people would assume that these children are African American, but they are Haitian American. Haiti is not an African country; it's a Caribbean country.

White

Typically, when you think of a white person, you think of someone whose ancestry points towards European countries such as Italy, France, and Denmark. However, the U.S. Government defines the “white race” as anyone whose original people were from Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. Seventy-two percent of Americans (223.6 million) were identified racially as white and, according to our government, the term *white* includes people from at least 71 different countries.

It is important to note that the term “white” encapsulates a lot of people and isn’t descriptive of the rich cultures that are typically classified as “white.” Furthermore, it is as offensive to some as the term “black.” In this text, the term “European American” will be used. Because European culture varies greatly within and between regions, it is suggested that, whenever possible, a person’s ethnicity is identified as opposed to his/her race. Ethnicity is discussed later in this chapter.

Interestingly, Hamby (2015) reports that it is important to avoid using terms such as “non-white” to describe people. There are two major problems with this type of label. First, it reinforces that idea that to be “white” is to be the default. Everyone who is not white is somehow different from the norm. The term non-white seems to imply that there are two types of people in the world—whites and non-whites. Second, “No one defines [himself/herself] by [the] lack of membership in another social group. Christian people do not think of themselves as ‘non-Muslims,’ and residents of New England do not think of themselves as ‘non-Southerners’” (p. 3). She further argues that even terms such as “people of color” are not appropriate because it implies that whites don’t have a color or they are the absence of color.

Black or African American

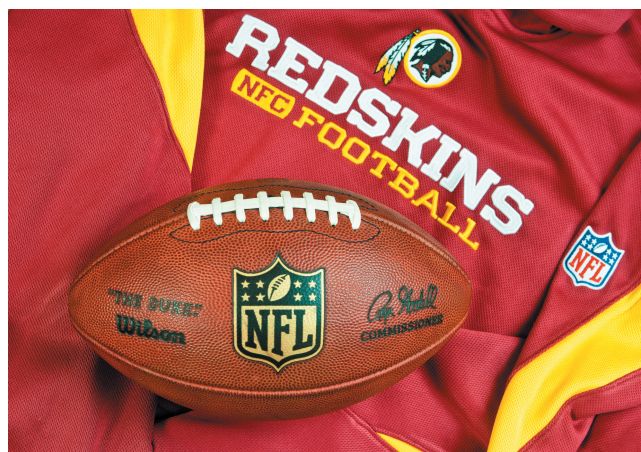
According to the Census, a black or African American person is anyone who has origins from Africa. It may seem like African Americans are half of our population or more; however, only 13% (38.9 million) of U.S. Americans identify as members in this racial group. As with the government’s definition for the *white* race, the definition of who is considered *black* is very vague. In addition, the definition earlier stated is not consistent with who is considered African American socially. For example, socially speaking, Jamaican Americans are

considered black as with Bahamian Americans and West Indian Americans. Although Jamaica (an island in the Caribbean Sea) and Africa (the second largest continent in the world) are two different places, we socially group people from these countries together and classify all of them as “black.”

American Indian or Alaska Native

The census defines this group as a person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment. The term “American Indian” is indeed a **misnomer**, or wrong name. Legend has it that when Christopher Columbus set out to explore the new world, he reached North America, but thought that he was in the East Indies. Once he encountered the people of the land, he referred to them as Indians and, although Columbus was mistaken, the name has stuck. The Native American community has been torn on the issue of their politically correct name for years. Some Native Americans feel insulted to be called “Indian,” a name that was given to them out of ignorance (or a lack of knowledge). Some Natives don’t care either way, and others actually prefer the term Indian.

A **native** is someone or something that was the original. Therefore, when we refer to the group of people who were on American soil before other explorers “found” it, we call them Native Americans. Different countries have different names for native people. For instance, native Canadians are called “aboriginals.” Note that the root word of aboriginal is “original,” and it means the same as native. Another word for native is indigenous (they will be used interchangeably throughout this textbook). Some Native Americans have tried to dissociate themselves from the term *Indian* for years with no success, while others believe that the term “Native American” is too Americanized. In the face of the social confusion surrounding the correct term for this group of people, there has been no official change in how U.S. Americans address Native Americans from the government or the private sector’s standpoint. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), a federal government agency, has never attempted to change its name, nor has the American Indian College Fund (AICF) or the American Indian Movement (AIM). The best way to refer to a member of this race is to use his/her tribal name. Of course, the problem with this idea is that most U.S. Americans have a limited understanding of what it means to be a part of a tribe and even less of an understanding of tribal names. Currently, the U.S. government recognizes 566 Native American tribes.



dean bertoncelj/Shutterstock.com

There is a debate about the use of tribal symbols and names in college and professional sports teams. Do you think it is derogatory to use Native American symbols as team mascots?

misnomer

an incorrect label or name

native

someone or something that was the original



Asians tend to be very close-knit families where honor and respect are at the center of each relationship.

Asian

A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent is considered Asian by the U.S. Census standards. When most people consider the term “Asian,” they think Chinese or Japanese because these two groups have the longest history in the United States (Schaefer, 2012). However, Asian is an umbrella term used to catch a number of people including Pacific Islanders as well as Vietnamese, Korean, and Filipino people, to name a few. According to Schaefer (2012), Asian Americans, despite having their own experiences with racism and discrimination, believe

that U.S. Americans don’t see the Asian American experience as detrimental to this racial group. This group is often referred to as the “model minority” because, despite their hardships, they have succeeded economically, educationally, and socially without sociopolitical confrontations with European Americans. Did you know that only 30% of the American population (25 years and older) holds a bachelor’s degree compared to 50% of Asian Americans? This may not seem like a lot; however, when compared to other racial groups, as depicted in Figure 3.1, they far exceed all other races educationally including European Americans (Ying et al., 2001). With that being said, the term model minority only adds to their problems of prejudice and discrimination for two reasons. First, the term doesn’t consider all aspects of life. According to Ying et al. (2001), the “model minority” label doesn’t consider that Asian Americans may be successful academically, but not be as successful socially. Not only have Asian Americans felt ignored because they haven’t resorted to acts of civil protest such as speaking at Capitol Hill (similar to Native Americans) and staging sit-ins (like African Americans), but they believe that their successes in this country have sent the implicit message that they are not struggling for social equality.

Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander

This group comprises people who have a biological connection to the original people of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, and other Pacific Islands (i.e., Fiji, Polynesia, and Melanesia). Even though there are over one million Americans who identify in this category, they still only make up 0.4% of the population. In terms of education, this group yields comparable high school graduates when compared to European Americans. That is, 89% of Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders graduate from high school, while 91% of European Americans graduate. However, the education gap widens at the college level, where only 20% of this race have college

Degree-holding Americans Broken Down by Race

United States Department of Education (2008)

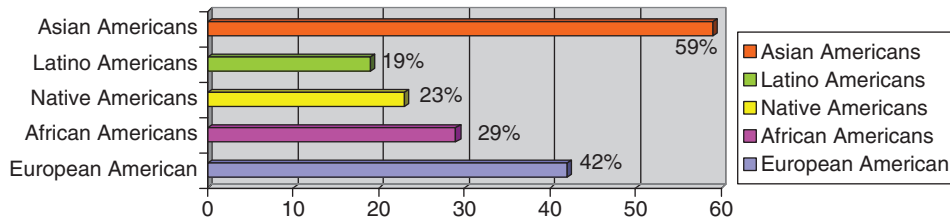


Figure 3.1

degrees compared to 42% of European Americans. Furthermore, this education gap directly affects the socioeconomic status of Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders as 17% of them are living below the poverty line as opposed to 11% of European Americans (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2011).

MODULE 3 | RACIAL IDENTITY MODELS

As mentioned previously, even though race doesn't biologically matter, it definitely matters socially. **Racial identity**, as defined by Helms (1993), is the degree to which one identifies with other people who have been socially categorized in the same racial group. In addition, racial identity has to do with how much one identifies with the different cultural aspects of his/her race (i.e., clothing, history, literature, customs, and traditions). There have been several social scientists to hypothesize and research theories about how people come to identify racially; however, we will specifically discuss Cross (1971), Helms (1984), and Sue & Sue (1999) racial identity models.

racial identity

the degree to which one identifies with other people who have been socially categorized in the same racial group

Cross' Black Identity Development Model (1973)

Cross was interested in understanding how blacks came to appreciate, respect, and be proud of their Blackness in America where the dominant race was European American. Therefore, he hypothesized that blacks progressed through four stages of racial identity development: the preencounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stages, in his "Negro to Black Experience Model." Note that Cross' model was intended to discuss the black experience, not just the African American experience, which is why the term 'black' is used when discussing his model.

Stage 1: Preencounter Stage When African Americans are at this stage, they assimilate to the dominant European American culture. Furthermore, they "devalue African Americanness and endorse Eurocentric notions of African Americanness" (Stith-Williams & Haynes, 2007, p. 29). In other words, at this stage, blacks are

only interested in taking on aspects of European American culture (the dominant culture in America) and diminishing black culture. They easily accept European American standards related to beauty, intelligence, and success, to name a few.

catalytic event

an event that sparks an internal reaction

Stage 2: Encounter Stage According to Cross, an individual may remain at the preencounter stage unless or until s/he experiences a catalyst that prompts him/her to view race differently. Cross specifically called this a “**catalytic event**,” or an event that sparks an internal reaction. He further believed that this event alone was not enough to move onto this stage. The individual must experience the event *and* deem it threatening to his/her already-established ideas about blacks. This event could be a racial injustice or “exposure to a new aspect of black culture” (Stith-Williams & Haynes, 2007, p. 29). Examples of a catalytic event may include being called a racial slur or meeting someone who disproved your theory that “all blacks are _____.” Once blacks experience a catalytic event that challenges their original ideas about their blackness, they move into the next stage.

Stage 3: Immersion-Emersion Stage During this stage, blacks are ostentatiously (or overtly) committed to displaying black pride. This may be done through choosing clothes and hairstyles that outwardly display their black pride, delving into black literature (Butler, 1975), shifting political affiliation, and/or desiring to only be in the company of other like-minded blacks. In addition, European Americans are seen as the enemy, and there is an intense anger at them for perpetuating negative stereotypes about blacks. Lastly, there is shame and guilt surrounding previous actions and former beliefs held during earlier stages of development.

Stage 4: Internalization Generally speaking, this stage ushers in a healthy appreciation for blackness as well as an appreciation for parts of the dominant culture. Also, at this stage anger towards European Americans dissipates. Cross specifies that there are three internalization identity types: nationalists, biculturalists, and multiculturalists. Nationalists come to an internalization of black identity by primarily focusing on issues affecting the black community. Again, this is not to say that they don’t like members of the dominant society; however, they find it important to concentrate their attention on supporting and uplifting their own community. Rev Al Sharpton, an African American civil rights activist, would most likely be considered a nationalist. Biculturalists, on the other hand, integrate their black identity with mainstream American identity, while multiculturalists integrate their black identity with at least two other identities. For example, Joyce may integrate her blackness with her American culture and her Scottish culture.

It is important to note that this model of racial identity has been critiqued over the years. Parham (2000) pointed out that people don’t necessarily progress through these stages in a linear way. In other words, some people don’t move nicely from Stage 1 to 2 to 3 to 4. Parham further explains that people experience a “catalytic” event at multiple points in their lives, which prompts them to move back through the stages and continually develop black identity.

Helms' White Identity Development Model (1984)

Helms posited that blacks weren't the only race to go through psychological and emotional changes in an effort to identify with black people and black culture. She hypothesized and researched the notion that whites also experienced changes, which she called statuses, that helped them transition from having negative opinions and beliefs about people of color to having a nonracist identity. As with Cross' model, the term "white" is used here because Janet Helms intended to dissect the white experience generally as the race of privilege in America and not specify one specific ethnicity's experience.

Status 1: Contact During this status, whites are oblivious to issues of racism. Typically, people at this status will contend that they don't see color. They "either have an uncritical acceptance of white racism [unconsciously], or they regard racial differences as unimportant" (Stith-Williams & Haynes, 2007, p. 31). Obliviousness and unawareness are hallmarks of this stage. Note that whites can rest at this status whether they have access to other races/ethnicities or not.

Status 2: Disintegration This status is comparable to Cross' encounter stage. At this point, the white person experiences something that conflicts with the notion that race doesn't matter. This experience could be internal or external. For example, whites may catch themselves thinking negative thoughts about people of color based on the actions of one person ("I knew he would be late for the interview. Black people are always late."). This would be an internal experience of disintegration. An external experience may be laughing at a coworker's racist joke. In this example, although the conflict didn't start internally, it still challenges with the white person's view of himself/herself as a color-blind person. This conflict produces feelings of shame and guilt, which lead to whites avoiding the topic of race in thought and conversation as well as avoiding people of color all together.

Status 3: Reintegration The cognitive dissonance of the second status is so great that the white person regresses to a state of white idealization. In addition, the person feels anger and indifference toward people of color. Generally, during this stage, racial/ethnic social minorities are blamed for their own problems and lack of progress in life.

Status 4: Pseudoindependence By the fourth status, whites are not comfortable ignoring racism, and they start to identify with people of color. With that being said, there is still an ignorance surrounding the social power and privilege that s/he has as a white person. At this status, the white person wants to understand people of color more, but fails to see that understanding people of color means understanding them in their social context. Simply put, whites at this status understand the social inequities of people of color at an intellectual level, but they don't understand at an emotional or psychological level.

Status 5: Immersion/Emersion The questioning of whiteness marks the fifth status. Whites are starting to investigate all of the privilege and power that they have simply based on skin tone. Whites legitimately make an effort to confront racism in their own lives and question biases that have long been held/taught to whites. This quest continues the process of understanding what it means to be a person of color in the U.S. at a psychological and emotional level.

Status 6: Autonomy This status is characterized by a decrease in guilt and shame for being white. The person recognizes that there are racial differences from a social and psychological perspective, values diversity among people, and is no longer threatened by topics related to racism.

Sue & Sue's Racial/Cultural Identity Development Stages (1999)

This model of identity development isn't specific to any group of color, unlike the Cross model. This model is focused on how persons of color come to identify with their race, while living in a society where they are not the physical and social majority and subjected to racism, prejudice, and discrimination.

Stage 1: Conformity According to Sue & Sue, this stage is typified by a preference toward the dominant culture and feelings of shame and embarrassment about one's own race. There is a lack of appreciation for one's own racial/ethnic group that reflects inward and outward. In other words, a person of color at this stage doesn't appreciate his/her own race/ethnicity and doesn't appreciate others who belong to the same group. Lastly, there is a clear appreciation for the dominant group.

Stage 2: Dissonance Similar to Cross' Encounter stage and Helms' Disintegration status, people of color experience cognitive dissonance when faced with an experience or information that challenges their previously held beliefs. "For many, the dissonance stage is the first time they actually consider positive aspects of their racial/cultural group" (Stith-Williams & Haynes, 2007, p. 34).

Stage 3: Resistance and Immersion People of color start to reject European American social norms as "the way to be" and replace them with social norms that are specific to their own race/culture. This stage produces a number of vivid feelings including a sense of connection to and appreciation for one's own racial/cultural group. Unfortunately, it is also marked by feelings of shame, guilt, and anger for not having more pride in one's racial/cultural group earlier.

Stage 4: Introspection People of color start to question whether they need to adhere to all racial/cultural norms to be connected with one's race/ethnicity. In addition, it is becoming psychologically difficult to maintain the notion that all parts of the dominant culture are bad.

Stage 5: Integrative Awareness This stage brings about a sense of connection to one's own race/culture without the denigration of the dominant race/culture. It is very similar to Cross' Internalization stage and Helms' Autonomy status.

Our racial identity affects a lot of things such as our attitudes, behaviors, feelings, and performance (Markus, 2008), and the models summarized earlier are not the only identity development models focused on how people come to identify with their race/culture. However, notice that all of them start with the person, regardless of his/her race, assuming that the race doesn't matter or assuming that the dominant race/culture is superior. Then, at some point, the person starts to question this idea. In addition, all of the models indicate that complete and healthy identification with one's racial identity doesn't include hating other races/cultural groups. In fact, healthy identification with one's race/culture includes integrating it with aspects of the dominant race/culture. Think about how you came to appreciate being a member of your race keeping in mind that you may not fully identify with your race yet. Also, remember that life circumstances can cause you to revisit different stages of development such that you are constantly feeling a deeper connection and appreciation for your race, whatever it may be.

MODULE 4 | REVIEWING RACISM

The United States is made up of a lot of different people from a lot of different places. As previously mentioned, race is a categorization of someone based on obvious physical differences; therefore, **racism** is the ideology that a particular group of people with obvious physical differences is inferior to another group. From the time of the country's birth until the mid-1800s, racism was practiced overtly in the form of slavery. It wasn't until the 1800s that the country started to become divided on the issue of slavery. The northern states wanted to end it, while the southern states wanted to maintain it. By 1860, things had come to a head and the southern states were demanding that they would secede from the United States of America and make their own country, the Confederate States of America, so that they could maintain slavery. By 1861, the American Civil War had started, and President Abraham Lincoln had warned the southern states that if they didn't end the war and rejoin the northern states, he would free the south's slaves.

One faulty notion of the federal government of the 1860s was that freeing slaves would force the hand of the southern states. Instead, the southern states continued to rebel and on January 1, 1863, the President signed the *Emancipation Proclamation*. Unfortunately, there was one major flaw with this executive order. The ultimate goal of the Emancipation Proclamation was not to free slaves; it

racism

the ideology that a particular group of people with obvious physical differences is inferior to another group



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For some, the Confederate flag, which was the flag for the Confederate Army from 1861–1865, is a symbol of regional pride, while others view it as a sign of racism.



The first president to be assassinated, Abraham Lincoln had a premonition of his own death a week before he was killed. He is quoted as saying, “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.” Later he would say, “A house divided against it cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.

was to keep the country together. Ending slavery just happened to be the most direct way to do it. Lincoln knew that slavery was the south’s biggest source of economic growth and that, without slavery, the southern states wouldn’t be able to survive. Because Lincoln’s actions were not fueled by the mistreatment and cruelty shown toward Africans, he only freed the slaves living in the 10 rebelling states. Of the four million slaves living in the United States in 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation freed 3.1 million of them. The slaves who lived in nonrebellious states (i.e., Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri) were still slaves.

There were some minor flaws of the Emancipation Proclamation as well. First, the order didn’t make former slaves citizens of the United States; therefore, they still didn’t have any rights or privileges of being Americans. They couldn’t carry weapons, didn’t have freedom of speech, and couldn’t vote or marry. In fact, it was a separate legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which affirmed that all people born in the United States, even if they were born to slave immigrants, were American citizens. The second minor flaw was that it didn’t give slaves any support to survive on their own. Imagine that you have worked for your neighbor in his home and yard since you were a young child. You weren’t allowed to learn how to read or count money, and the only job that you have ever known was planting his flowers and cooking for his family. Then someone says, “You don’t have to work for your neighbor any more. You can leave.” Where do you go? How do you buy a house when you don’t know how to count money? How do you read street signs when you were never taught how to read? How do you start your own business when you have never been educated? Even after President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, African Americans were still being treated as inferiors and racism was still alive and strong.

It is worthy of note that Africans were the first immigrants to encounter the brutal realities of racism, but they were not the first people to experience racism or the last. Native Americans were the first racial group to experience overt racism, but they weren’t immigrants. Quite the opposite, Native Americans experienced the brutalities of racism on the land that they had nurtured for generations. Once Europeans started colonizing American soil, Native Americans were pushed out of their homelands. European settlers started wars with Native Americans to steal their land and eventually won most of those wars. In addition, Europeans brought diseases with them that produced high mortality rates for Native Americans.

While Africans experienced a forced immigration to the United States, several racial and ethnic groups that opted to come to the United States had to combat racism as well. Irish families fled to the United States during the Great Famine (or the Great Potato Famine) after a fungus killed the potato crop in Ireland. During this time, it is estimated that one million people died from the famine and another one million emigrated from Ireland. However, the Irish people who decided to immigrate to the United States were met with social movements that were anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant. In addition, Irish people were characterized as alcoholics and frequently called white Negroes. “The Irish were worse than blacks, according to the dominant Whites, because unlike the slaves and the freed blacks who ‘knew their place,’ the Irish did not suffer their maltreatment in silence” (Schaefer, 2012, p. 126). In another example, Italian immigrants often settled in “decaying, crime-ridden neighborhoods that became known as Little Italy” (p. 128). Regrettably, because of their lack of education, adherence to Catholicism, cultural customs, and the small subset of Italians who did resort to violence to climb the social ladder, Italians were seen as people who were only good enough for blue-collar jobs.

Social Movement

It is hard to pinpoint when the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) began; however, estimates indicate that it started sometime around 1954. There had been an undercurrent of uprising in the black community since the turn of the 20th century. By the 1950s, things had come to a boiling point. Some say that the CRM picked up momentum in 1955 when Rosa Parks, later known as the mother of the CRM, was arrested for refusing to move to the back of the bus. This arrest sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, a social movement that involved African Americans refusing to take segregated public transportation in Montgomery for 381 days. The loss in revenue eventually led the City of Montgomery to desegregate buses.

Others say that the landmark Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, placed the CRM on the sociopolitical forefront. Linda Brown, a 7-year-old Kansas-native, was denied the right to attend the elementary school that was four blocks from her home because it was for white students only. Instead, she had to attend the “colored school” that was nearly 2 mi. (3.2 km) away. With the help of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Honorable Thurgood Marshall (he was the lawyer for the NAACP at the time), Linda’s father (Oliver Brown) and other African American parents brought suit against the Board of Education in

“We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.”

Topeka, Kansas. After losing the district case in Kansas, the NAACP appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In May of 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read, on behalf of the Supreme Court, that the decision that separate, but equal, educational facilities was unconstitutional.

The events described were just two major events in the life of the CRM. There were other events that were just as big. In addition, there were other events that were much smaller in nature, but had a major impact. Regardless of the event, the CRM set the precedent for social change in America.

On the Legal Books

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the product of the CRM. Despite southern Congressmen trying to stop the legislation, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the act into law in the summer of 1964. The act made three important legal changes. First, it prohibited discrimination based on cultural factors such as color of skin or race, religion, gender, or national origin in the public sector (i.e., in public services, offices, and employment). Second, it permitted the U.S. Attorney General to file lawsuits against individual states that refused to enforce the new law. Lastly, the act invalidated any state and local laws that continued discrimination.

People are complex animals, and one of the goals of psychology is to figure out why we do what we do. Dr. Ana Mari Cauce, the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Washington, indicated that “We don’t live in a homogeneous world, but one in which people differ from each other in important ways . . . For too long we have been a psychology in which the prototypical study groups have been white rats and white college students” (Farberman, 2011). Here, she discusses the history of racial preference that the field of psychology has used in researching and understanding human behavior. However, that preference doesn’t stop at race. Traditional psychology has preferred to understand the behaviors of white, heterosexual, American, able-bodied, able-minded, middle-class, relatively young men since it began and has mistakenly tried to extend those research findings to other groups. The research and theories of multicultural psychology won’t replace traditional psychology. After all, there is great importance in understanding universal experiences. Multicultural psychology only contends that it is just as important to understand culture-specific experiences.

MODULE 5 | ETHNICITY

ethnicity

a group of people who share a common trait such as values, customs, language, traditions, beliefs, or rituals

As mentioned previously, although *race* and *ethnicity* are used interchangeably, they have two different definitions. **Ethnicity** is a term used to describe a group of people who share a common trait such as values, customs, language, traditions, beliefs, or rituals. Markus (2008) asserts that ethnicity “can be a source of meaning, action, and identity . . . and confers a sense of belonging, pride, and motivation” (p. 654). This term, unlike race, has proved to be more useful because it is based on aspects



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With just a glance, most people would classify these women as belonging to the same race—European American. However, they are from two different ethnicities.

of life that connect people at deeper levels. For example, you may not be able to tell from physical appearance, the difference between the two women pictured above. That's because, racially, they fall into the category of "European American" (from a U.S. American perspective). However, they have different ethnicities. The picture on the left is a Swedish woman, while the picture on the right is a Bulgarian woman. Make a mental note that whatever physical features (i.e., hair color, eye shape, and bone structure) you used to classify them in a racial category can be misleading. As mentioned previously, President Barack Obama identifies and has been labeled as African American, but did you know that his lineage includes a number of European countries such as Ireland (Healy, 2012)?

Students who identify as European American have reported feeling left out and devoid of culture when they are attending a cultural diversity class. In other words, they are concerned that their whiteness doesn't matter. However, the truth of the matter is that people of color aren't the only people who belong to ethnicities. Irish Americans, Italian Americans, British Americans . . . all of these groups are ethnicities, and ethnic differences between them vary greatly. There are too many ethnicities to begin to list for this module; however, let's review some of the traits that bring people together.

Language

Defined as symbols that can be combined for communicating thought (Henslin, 2001), *language* is one aspect of ethnicity that unites groups of people. Language, one of the first things that children learn from mere exposure to it, can be an essential part of an ethnicity. For instance, while outsiders may view all Native

Americans to be the same, Native Americans and allies know that there are a lot of differences between tribes and one of those differences is language. Historically, the Cherokee tribe has spoken a different language than the Navajo tribe. Spanish is another example of a language that unites people. The term *Hispanic* refers to people who are historically or culturally connected to Spain. Keep in mind that there are several countries that are connected to Spain; therefore, this term references millions of people. However, one thing that brings people from different Spanish cultures together is language.

Language has been a source of pain for some people living in America, however. When some immigrants came to America, they had a difficult time assimilating, partly because they didn't know the language and partly because they were seen as inferior, thus treated as such. Given their experiences, they chose not to teach their children their native tongue (or language) so that their children could be truly seen as "American." However, this plan has backfired for some of these first-generation Americans who don't feel accepted or connected to their ethnicity because they don't know the language. This situation is compounded when extended family in the U. S. and "back home" still speak the native tongue. For example, Lee's parents came over to America when they were newly married and 20 years old. They had her two years later, but refused to teach her Chinese. They visit her grandparents in Shishi every year, where she gets to connect with aunts, uncles, and cousins. However, they all speak Chinese and she doesn't. You can imagine how difficult and isolating this might feel to Lee who may want to be connected to both her American *and* Chinese cultures.

Traditions

Dress Sometimes a group's customary dress, or garb, can indicate ethnicity. Consider a man dressed in a skirt. Under normal circumstances in the U. S., that may look pretty strange. However, if you are Scottish, it may be a part of your ethnicity. While most Scottish men living in America don't wear kilts in their everyday happenings, they do wear their ethnic dress at formal events such as weddings. Similarly, in an effort to honor the "mother land," it is common to see African Americans wearing traditional African garb to formal ceremonies such as weddings or during Black History month, a month sanctioned by the U. S. federal government to celebrate the sacrifices and achievements made by African Americans.

Celebrations Nothing brings people together like a celebration. The celebrations that a group of people observes are considered traditions that set them apart from other ethnicities. Let's look at Irish Americans, for example.



Traditional Irish step shoes typically used for dancing.

Although most Americans probably don't know who St. Patrick was and why the day is celebrated, St. Patrick's Day is marked in the calendars we buy. In addition, major cities around the country, particularly cities that have large Irish populations such as Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, celebrate the day with parades and even dyeing the town's body of water green. While most Americans don't do anything to celebrate the day, as in have a special dinner as they would at Thanksgiving, for Irish Americans the day is about being proud of their heritage and ethnicity.

Native Americans offer another example of ethnicities. To outsiders, U. S. natives are classified into one group—Native Americans. However, within that label, there are nuances that makeup the different ethnicities within the group. For instance, different tribes have different customs and tribal dances. Some tribes paint facemasks for their celebrations, while some celebrate with intricate headdresses and clothing. Even the dances that celebrate different moments are varied among the tribes.

Before the influx of Italians came to America, they weren't grouped into one category of "Italian." Members of this ethnic group tended to socially categorize themselves based on family background or village/city of origin. "... the process of immigration and the experiences Italian Americans faced as a group in the United States created a new identity for the group as a whole" (Alba, 1990 as cited in Anderson & Taylor, 2003). In other words, Italians became one big ethnic group when they immigrated to America. The more people that could unite in this group to deal with the prejudice and discrimination they were experiencing, the bigger their support network.

Beliefs, Rituals and Customs

Beliefs, rituals, and customs also unite people. For example, African Americans tend to believe that the purpose of funerals is to honor and celebrate the life of the deceased, not mourn the passing. Therefore, funerals in this community frequently include joyous singing and dancing, flowers (a sign of life) and lots of colors (not just black). A **quinceañera**, the Latin American celebration of the transition from childhood to womanhood, is another example of a custom that is ethnic-specific. The event resembles what Americans would expect to find at an American wedding reception (i.e., dancing, eating, toasting, and cutting cake). However, it also includes ritualistic moments that are unique to the ethnicity such as the Tree of Life ceremony where the guest of honor gives a candle to the 15 most influential people in



Chicago River dyed green in celebration of St. Patrick's Day in 2008.

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quinceañera

the Latin American celebration of the transition from childhood to womanhood



Bettina Baumgartner/Shutterstock.com

A quinceanera is also called a *fiesta de quince años*, which means celebration (or party) of 15 years.



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Sergei Bachlakov/Shutterstock.com

Native American tribes celebrate differently. Both pictures were taken in 2010. The picture on the left was taken at The Gathering of Nations Pow Wow in New Mexico (USA), while the picture on the right was taken at the annual Squamish Nation Pow Wow in Vancouver, British Columbia (Canada).

her life over the past 15 years. As you can imagine, each quinceañera is different depending on the family's ethnicity (i.e., Dominicans, Cubans, and Ecuadorians).

It is important to note here that most African Americans don't know their ethnicities. Africa is a continent comprised of many countries, all of which have their own societies, languages, government, and customs. When Africans were forced into slavery, a lot of this information (i.e., what specific countries slaves were from), which would typically be passed down via word-of-mouth, was never passed along. Remember that African families were physically broken up and emotionally disconnected during the sale of the slaves. Therefore, it is likely that there were 100 slaves working on one farm and they could have been from 30 different African societies. That is, they may not have spoken the same language so they couldn't pass down oral history. If they also couldn't read or write in English, then they couldn't pass down important heritage information via writing either. Unlike Irish Americans who can specifically identify one country of origin (i.e., Ireland), most African Americans whose families have long histories in America can't identify that they are Nigerian American, for example. African American is as specific as they can get.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Now you should have a clear understanding as to the differences between *race* and *ethnicity*. Race pertains to the physical differences between people, while ethnicity refers to the values, beliefs, traditions, and languages that unite people. Why is it important to understand the differences between these concepts? First, we need to understand them so that we can use them correctly. Second, knowing that there is a difference between your race and your ethnicity reaffirms the notion that you are a complex animal with many facets. In other words, you aren't "just white" as some students say. You have a racial group, which has social and psychological

importance. However, you also have an ethnicity. Both race and ethnicity may be important to you. However, for some people, one is more important than the other, and yet for others neither is important.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Define race and ethnicity and provide an example of two groups of people who appear to belong to the same race, but actually have different ethnicities.
2. Compare and contrast the biological, social, and psychological perspectives on race.
3. Detail your reaction to hearing that as of 2010 the term 'Negro' was still on the U.S. Census form.
4. Pick a racial identity development model based on your race. Do you agree that people in your racial group go through the steps of the model that you picked?
5. There is a huge education gap between the five races highlighted in this chapter? Describe two reasons for this gap.
6. Describe a celebration that you do in your race/ethnicity.
7. How do you see the conflict theory play out in everyday life?

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