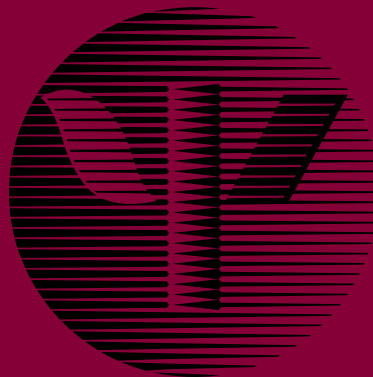
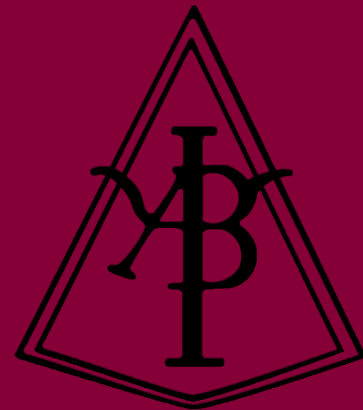
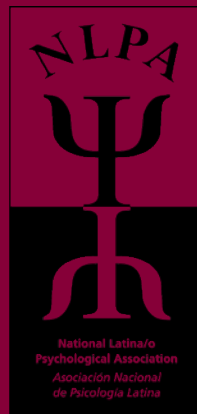


PSYCHOLOGY EDUCATION AND TRAINING FROM CULTURE-SPECIFIC AND MULTIRACIAL PERSPECTIVES

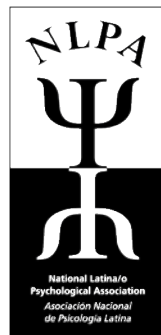
Critical Issues and Recommendations



Council of National Psychological Associations for the
Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI)

PSYCHOLOGY EDUCATION AND TRAINING FROM CULTURE-SPECIFIC AND MULTIRACIAL PERSPECTIVES

Critical Issues and Recommendations



Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI)

CNPAAEMI (clockwise from top left):

Asian American Psychological Association

National Latina/o Psychological Association

Association of Black Psychologists

Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (Division 45 of the American Psychological Association)

American Psychological Association

Society of Indian Psychologists

PSYCHOLOGY EDUCATION AND TRAINING FROM CULTURE-SPECIFIC AND MULTIRACIAL PERSPECTIVES

Critical Issues and Recommendations

This booklet was authorized by the Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI) and published by the American Psychological Association. Its contents should not be construed as representing the policy of any of the associations represented by CNPAAEMI members.

This report is available online at the APA Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs Web site: <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema>

Suggested bibliographic reference:

Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests. (2009). *Psychology education and training from culture-specific and multiracial perspectives: Critical issues and recommendations*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema>

Copyright © 2009 by the American Psychological Association. This material may be reproduced in whole or in part without fees or permission provided that acknowledgment is given to the American Psychological Association. This material may not be reprinted, translated, or distributed electronically without prior permission in writing from the publisher. For permission, contact APA, Rights and Permissions, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242.

Table of Contents

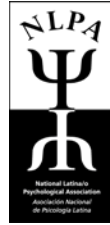
Preface	iv
Introduction	v
I. Psychology Education and Training From Culture-Specific Perspectives	1
People of African Descent <i>Faye Belgrave, PhD</i>	1
American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian People <i>Beth Boyd, PhD</i>	6
Latinas/os and Their Communities <i>Alberta M. Gloria, PhD, and Jeanett Castellanos, PhD</i>	12
Asian American People and Their Communities <i>Karen L. Suyemoto, PhD, and Alvin N. Alvarez, PhD</i>	19
II. Multiracial People in the Context of Specific Racial Minority Groups	27
Multiracial Individuals <i>Karen L. Suyemoto, PhD; Beth Boyd, PhD; Christine Iijima Hall, PhD; and Lisa Sánchez-Johnsen, PhD</i>	27

Preface

There are five national ethnic minority psychological associations. The presidents of these associations and the president (or his/her designee) of the American Psychological Association (APA) constitute the **Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI)**:



Asian American Psychological Association



National Latina/o Psychological Association



Association of Black Psychologists



Society of Indian Psychologists



American Psychological Association



Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues
(Division 45 of the American Psychological Association)

The goals of CNPAAEMI are the following:

- Promote the professional/career development of ethnic/racial minority psychologists
- Advance multicultural competence of psychologists
- Promote culturally competent service delivery models of psychological care
- Increase the recruitment and retention of ethnic/racial minorities in the profession of psychology
- Liaise and collaborate with other appropriate organizations interested in ethnic/racial minority issues and/or projects
- Promote research and understanding using alternative cultural paradigms

Authorization of CNPAAEMI activities, such as the development of this report, requires the unanimous consent of all council members. Indeed, this report was developed in response to critical concern among all of the nation's ethnic minority psychological associations about the quality, intensity, and appropriateness of psychological education and training that are being provided to prepare future researchers and service providers to work with the multicultural populations that they will undoubtedly encounter in the 21st century.

It is hoped that this report will encourage psychological trainers and educators to reassess and elaborate on their strategies for preparing the nation's future psychologists to competently and respectfully research and serve the ever-changing tapestry of our increasingly multicultural nation. We hope it will also serve to empower psychology students to seek appropriate multicultural and culture-specific training.

Introduction

Patricia Arredondo, EdD
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

Learning is an art. To some it is a passion, and to others, perhaps a matter of common sense or a lived experience. Being students of psychology means being students of research methods, scientific models, and most important, human behavior and development from multiple, knowledge-based, contextual perspectives. This report, *Psychology Education and Training From Culture-Specific and Multiracial Perspectives: Critical Issues and Recommendations*, the third in a series sponsored by CNPAAEMI, advances knowledge-building that is specific to ethnic minority groups in the United States. As such, it is an important contribution to psychology.

The rationale for the education and training focus is clearly articulated in the *Guidelines for Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (APA, 2003). Regardless of our specialty area as psychologists, we must be grounded in research in specific cultural/ethnic perspectives. Education and training in psychology must precede practice and be a life-long learning mandate for professional psychologists. Several considerations follow:

- Although the field of multicultural psychology and counseling began with attention to clinical practice and one comprehensive survey course (which was not always required), a grounding in cross-cutting cultural constructs (etic or universal) balanced with (culture-specific) knowledge is fundamental to ethical research, practice, and organizational development.
- Experience counts, but it is not sufficient to declare that one is a culturally competent psychologist. To advance new educational models in psychology and evidence-based practice, graduate training must also be balanced with community-based experiences and culturally relevant research.
- Multicultural psychology is multidisciplinary, informed by cultural/ethnic anthropology, sociology, economics, religions, and history. These varying

perspectives are presented in each section of this report. The authors discuss the contemporary experiences of ethnic minority individuals in historical context. Common denominators in these discussions are colonization, dislocations, resilience, and self-efficacy.

- The global society is becoming more complex, integrated, and interdependent. Although this report targets psychologists and other mental health professionals in the United States, we believe that the culture-specific sections herein have application to different international settings. For example, for many generations, England has been home to families from the West Indies who were originally brought to England as slaves. Other visible ethnic racial group members (Helms, 1990) from India, Pakistan, Mexico, Latin America, African nations, and many other nations are part of that country's fabric and workforce. Countries such as England, France, Germany, and Spain have a historic cultural and linguistic identity, but legislation for immigrant rights and so forth is more recent. For example, in the summer of 2008, the European Community initiated discussions to address the illegal immigrant issues throughout Europe. This report thus has applicability to other countries that are also visibly populated by people from different nations.

The sections in this report are arranged by ethnic/cultural groups, but there is an additional focus on education and training of and about multiracial individuals. As is shown in the section on multiracial individuals (see pp. 27–42), persons of biracial/multiracial backgrounds are not new in the United States; however, counting persons of multiple *heritages* first occurred with Census 2000. The term *heritage* is emphasized, conveying respect for historic roots in long-standing and evolving cultures.

In the short space available, the authors of each chapter provide data that correspond to the cultural competency domains of professionals' awareness of values and biases, knowledge of others' worldviews, and synergistic

application of theory and practice (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). The report cogently addresses “others” from varying cultural/ethnic heritages, although this is only a dusting of history, values, traditions, and identity.

Each section follows a similar outline that includes (a) a self-test and introductory comments, (b) historical perspectives, (c) cultural values and worldviews, (d) barriers to culture-specific education, (e) culture-specific tools and recommendations, (f) future directions, and (g) a brief list of references and recommended readings.

As might be expected, there are emerging cultural groups not reflected in this document. With warfare and its economic effects on families and natural disasters that have destroyed entire communities, new migrations have occurred. We recommend that future documents address education and training from the very broad and heterogeneous perspectives of Arab Americans, Eastern Europeans (including Bosnians), and new immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The references provided in each section invite the reader to search for more culture-specific knowledge. We are confident that psychologists can prepare more informed future generations of psychologists. As Indira Ghandi reminded the world, you cannot shake hands with a closed fist. Psychologists must approach cultural-specific perspectives with an open mind. May this report help the learning to continue.

REFERENCES

- American Psychological Association. (2003). *Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from www.apa.org/pi/multiculturalguidelines/homepage.html
- Arredondo, P., Toporek, R., Brown, S., Jones, J., Locke, D. C., Sanchez, J., & Stadler, H. (1996). *Operationalization of the multicultural counseling competencies*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development.
- Helms, J. E. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Sue, D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 70, 477-486.

I. Psychology Education and Training From Culture-Specific Perspectives

People of African Descent



Faye Belgrave, PhD
Virginia Commonwealth University
Association of Black Psychologists

He who learns, teaches.

—Ashanti proverb

Education is the work of your entire life.

—Haitian proverb

*Wealth, if you use it, comes to an end:
learning, if you use it, increases.*

—Swahili proverb

SELF-TEST

1. Where do most African Americans live, and what implications does this have for training about people of African descent?
2. In what ways are Blacks diverse?
3. What are some of the barriers to educating students about Blacks?
4. What were/are some of the historical assumptions made about the psychology of Blacks?
5. Identify some of the challenges facing African American faculty.
6. Identify core values and dimensions of an Africentric worldview.
7. Discuss ways in which materials on Blacks can be integrated into curricula and training materials.

INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. Census, the term *Black* refers to individuals whose racial origins are from Africa. It includes people who responded “Black” or “African American” or who wrote in such entries as “Haitian” or “Nigerian” to the race question on the census (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001). As of 2007, Blacks made up 13.5% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008) and in the United States include people who identify as African Americans, African,

Latinos/as of African descent, Caribbean, and so forth. In this chapter, the terms *Black* and *people of African descent* are used interchangeably.

Where Do Blacks Live?

Blacks are more likely to live in the South than in any other part of the United States. Fifty-four percent of the Black population live in the South (and 20% of all of the residents in the South are Black); 19% live in the Midwest; 18% live in the Northeast; and 10% live in the West. About three fifths (60%) of all Blacks in the United States live in 10 states: New York, Texas, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, North Carolina, Michigan, Maryland, and Louisiana (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

Geographically, the Black population is fairly concentrated. Sixty-four percent of all U.S. counties (3,141) have a Black population of less than 6%. In 96 counties, Blacks represent 50% or more of the population. Ninety-five of these counties are located in the South. The 10 cities with populations greater than 100,000 with the highest percentages of Blacks are Gary, IN; Detroit, MI; Birmingham, AL; Jackson, MS; New Orleans, LA; Baltimore, MD; Atlanta, GA; Memphis, TN; Washington, DC; and Richmond, VA.

Family and Household Structure

Black families have changed over the past 2 decades. There has been a decline in two-parent African American households. Almost half (48%) of children live in households headed by single mothers. In 2000, 27% of African American women and 34.3% of African American men were married with spouses present. About 11% of Black grandparents reside in households with their grandchildren. The relationship between single-parent households and child outcomes has been debated, with some scholars suggesting that there is a negative impact (e.g., delinquency, drug use, school dropout, etc.) on children in such households. Other research indicates that it is the presence or absence of involved adults in the child’s life that is crucial to adaptive functioning and not whether both biological parents reside in the household. For example, extended family can provide resources to

Black households headed by single parents to counteract the absence of two parents (Wilson et al., 1995). Extended family can be a source of instrumental, emotional, and child-rearing support for single-parent households.

Education, Employment, and Poverty

The majority of Blacks attain education at the high school level and beyond (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). About 82% of Blacks over the age of 25 report having a high school education or higher, and 27.7% report a bachelor degree or higher. Regarding employment, 63.1% of Blacks 16 years and older are in the labor force, and 10% are unemployed. This unemployment rate compares unfavorably to the 4.4% unemployment rate for Whites. Further, 24.5% of adult Blacks live below the poverty level. The poverty level among children is higher: 34.3%.

In summary, Blacks are more likely to live in the South and in large metropolitan areas. The household structure is likely to be female-headed, although not exclusively. Grandparents and other extended family resources may be available in Black households. About a third of Black children under the age of 18 live in poverty. Most Blacks have at least a high school education and are employed.

The demographic information profile on Blacks has several implications for education and training:

1. Given that Blacks are more likely to live in geographically concentrated metropolitan areas, many non-Black students may have limited exposure to Blacks and fewer opportunities to interact with Blacks in a meaningful way. For example, one student in a graduate seminar informed me that she had never had or seen an African American teacher in her more than 18 years of schooling. Perceptions and misperceptions of Blacks may be largely shaped by what is seen and heard in the media.
2. About 25% of Blacks live below the poverty line. While this is an unacceptably high percentage, the vast majority of Blacks do not live in poverty. Thus, socioeconomic status (SES) should not be confounded with race. Within psychology journals, Black samples are often referred to as “poor,” “urban,” or “from the inner city”; only when the reader gets to the method section is it clear that the sample is Black. On the other hand, authors frequently use a Black sample with the assumption that the sample is of low SES, sometimes without even collecting socioeconomic

information. As with any participant population, the sample should be accurately described to reflect salient sociodemographic features and geographical location.

3. There is a great deal of diversity among Blacks, and there are differential cultural characteristics found among subgroups of Blacks. These subgroups may be based on socioeconomic class, residence (e.g., urban, suburban, rural), and whether Blacks are more recent immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean or descendants of enslaved Africans.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Consistent with Sankofa—“in order to move forward one must look back”—an appreciation of the history of Blacks in psychology can help us to understand the contemporary psychological experiences of Blacks in the United States. Robert Guthrie’s (1976/1998) book, *Even the Rat Was White*, provides an excellent description of how Blacks have been treated within the discipline of psychology. The book includes a historical account of how Blacks have been studied over the previous 2 centuries. Guthrie discussed the role of European researchers in perpetrating theories of racial inferiority and cites studies from physical anthropology and Galton’s eugenics on the inheritability of intelligence. Guthrie also provided a thorough discussion of American scientists’ contributions to scientific racism by reviewing work by Jensen and more recent work by Herrnstein and Murray (i.e., *The Bell Curve*, 1994) implying an intellectual inferiority of Blacks.

According to Guthrie (1976/1998), during the first half of the 20th century, most of the research on Blacks by American psychologists compared Blacks with Whites on physical, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral attributes. The general conclusions of these studies were that Blacks were intellectually inferior to Whites, more psychologically dysfunctional, and had more social and behavioral problems. This negative comparative paradigm in research continues today.

During the last half of the 20th century, more Blacks were trained as psychologists, and thus there have been some notable shifts in the study of Black psychology. In 1968, the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) was formed. One goal then that continues today is to disseminate accurate information on the psychology of people of African descent. To this end, ABPsi has also

recently initiated an International Congress on Licensure, Certification, and Proficiency in Black Psychology to certify professionals in Black psychology (for further information, please see www.abpsi.org).

During the emergent period of Black psychology, studies were conducted on how a history of racism and oppression in this country shaped who Blacks are today and how Blacks are portrayed. Akbar (2004) noted that this type of study was reactionary and did not acknowledge the contribution of African culture. More recent studies address topics such as resiliency and protective cultural attributes to elucidate how Blacks have survived and thrived under less than optimal conditions. Many of these studies have been published in the *Journal of Black Psychology*.

CULTURAL VALUES AND WORLDVIEWS

Also critical to an understanding of the psychology of Blacks is an understanding of the Africentric worldview. Africentric psychology considers that people of African descent share a common culture consisting of values, beliefs, and ways of behaving, some of which can be summarized by the following:

- **Spirituality** is the most fundamental dimension of the Africentric worldview. It is a belief in a being or force greater than self. Among many people of African descent, spirituality is woven into all aspects of one's life.
- **Collectivism** values interdependence and cooperation. A person is motivated to work for the well-being of the group rather than for him- or herself. Persons who are collectivistic in orientation will consider the impact of their decisions on significant others prior to acting.
- **Time orientation** within African culture considers the past and present to be as important as the future. Time is not seen as a concrete commodity defined by a clock; rather, time is flexible and experienced subjectively. There is less need to impose one's own time on others.
- **Sensitivity to affect and emotional cues** acknowledges the emotional and affective states of self and others. The emotional needs of others are linked to one's own emotional well-being. This value is reflected in the saying, "I am well if you are well."

- **Balance and harmony** with nature assumes that one lives in harmony with nature and does not control or conquer nature. These beliefs reinforce the importance of respecting all creatures and creations.

Some of these dimensions of the Africentric worldview are shared with other ethnic minority groups in this country (Zea, Quezada, & Belgrave, 1996). For example, worldview beliefs regarding collectivism, spirituality, and harmony with nature are also found among people of Asian, Latino/a, and Native American descent. (For further information about the Africentric worldview, see the books cited in the Culture-Specific Teaching Tools and Recommendations section.)

BARRIERS TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC EDUCATION

There are several barriers to the training and education of Blacks. One barrier that remains is the relatively low number of Black psychologists in doctoral training programs. In 2005, racial/ethnic minority faculty represented approximately 12.4% of full-time psychology faculty. Because all ethnic minority faculty are included in this figure, the number of African American faculty is much lower (APA, 2007). In a 2000 survey of first-year graduate students, 7.2% were African American (Pate, 2001). Clearly, Blacks are underrepresented in the academy. The limited number of African American faculty in psychology departments, especially graduate departments, may be one reason why the pipeline for graduate training in psychology is limited. African American faculty may encourage research on topics of concern to African Americans, assist in recruitment and retention of African American students, and teach classes and integrate material on African Americans in the curricula of courses taught.

In the academy, related problems are the extra demands and responsibilities that Blacks and other ethnic minority faculty often have because of their small numbers within academic psychology and training departments. In addition to regular classroom teaching, African American faculty often chair and serve as members of thesis and dissertation committees, are responsible for diversity training within their departments, and disproportionately serve on departmental and other committees within the university as ethnic minority representatives. Tokenism is often the culprit. Further, because many African American psychologists conduct applied and community-based work,

they are also involved in community programming and services to African Americans.

In summary, a major barrier to the training and education of Blacks is the relatively low number of African American psychologists in doctoral training programs and their overinvolvement with institutional responsibilities. They are caught between a “rock and a hard place”—trying to advance their professional careers, engage with local community groups, and meet institutional expectations.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC TOOLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Incorporating the Africentric Worldview

A discussion of the Africentric worldview (see the Cultural Values and Worldviews section on p. 3) provides a comprehensive framework for introducing topics about people of African descent. Several papers and books have been written on the topic, including the following:

- *African Psychology: In Historical Perspective and Related Commentary* (Azibo, 1997).
- “African Philosophy: Foundations for Black Psychology” (Nobles, 1991).
- *African/Black Psychology in the American Context: An African-Centered Approach* (Kambon, 1998).
- “African Psychology” (Grills, 2004), a chapter in Jones’s *Black Psychology* (1991), provides a comprehensive summary of African psychology.

A central message of these books and chapters is that although there is diversity among individuals and among different Black populations, there are shared core values and ways among many people of African descent.

Using Education and Training Resources

There are several teaching and training resources for education and training in the area of Black psychology:

- *Even the Rat Was White* (Guthrie, 1998).
- *Teaching Gender and Multicultural Awareness: Resources for the Psychology Classroom* (Bronstein & Quina, 2003). Fairchild, Whiten, and Richards authored a relevant chapter, “Teaching African American Psychology,” in this book.
- *African American Psychology: From Africa to America* (Belgrave & Allison, 2006).
- *Black Psychology* (Jones, 2004).

Integrating Information About Blacks in Curricula and Seminar Materials

Use readings, theories, and research paradigms that are appropriate for research with Blacks. See Fairchild et al. (2003) for examples of how a discussion of Black psychology can be integrated into different courses in the psychology curriculum. For example, a discussion in a developmental seminar about autonomy might address historical reasons for African American monitoring systems for their children. A discussion in a social psychology seminar about self and identity might also include readings on how racial group identity is linked to self-concept (Nobles, 1991). Discussions in a community psychology class might include a focus on tailoring prevention programs for African Americans.

Acknowledging and Discussing Trainees’ Cultural Values

Each individual belongs to multiple cultural systems. The salience of a particular cultural system will vary depending on the context. Provide opportunities for students and trainees to recognize and discuss their own culture values. Create an environment in which students and trainees feel comfortable talking about their values and backgrounds if they differ from those of Blacks. Each person is a product of his or her cultural socialization experiences. Because of the diversity among Blacks, it is important that Black trainees in a program also discuss their own cultural values. Recognizing and addressing how Black individuals’ experiences shape how they view, evaluate, and make decisions are important first steps in becoming culturally competent.

Providing Readings and Materials Showing Positive and Healthy Functioning of African Americans

As a general rule, do not assign or discuss comparative studies with Whites as the model comparison group. It is important to present readings and research that show the range of adaptive and positive functioning found among Blacks.

Future Directions

While some progress has been made in psychology regarding teaching about persons of African descent, much more needs to be done. Unfortunately, many psychologists complete their training with little or no knowledge of how to work effectively with Black people and institutions in Black communities and little or no appreciation for those

who do. Universal and culturally inappropriate models are being used to train and educate those who will, in turn, provide training, supervision, and clinical services to Blacks.

One suggestion is for universities and departments to offer a core education and training program (courses, curriculum integration, seminars, etc.) on the psychology of Blacks and other ethnic minorities. Allocation of departmental and university resources to support such a program would be needed. Rewards and incentives could be provided for faculty and other staff who implement these programs.

African American and other ethnic/racial minority faculty should not be solely responsible for educating and training on ethnic minority issues. All faculty need to be trained in order to train others competently. Unfortunately, at most universities only lip service has been paid to this matter, and very few resources are spent on training everyone to be culturally competent.

Students should be required to show proficiency. Preliminary and comprehensive exams should examine the extent to which the student is prepared to work with Blacks and other ethnic minorities. Of course, one cannot expect students to be proficient if they have not had training in this area. Dissertations and theses involving Black participants should be examined for cultural competence. This can be done by making sure that an individual trained in multicultural issues is a member of the committee or by having an outside reviewer.

It is noteworthy that ABPsi has initiated a program where certification in proficiency on Blacks may be obtained. Many of the classes are offered during the annual conference of the ABPsi. (For further information on this certification program, see www.abpsi.org.)

REFERENCES

- Akbar, N. (2004). The evolution of human psychology for African Americans. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (pp. 17-40). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.
- American Psychological Association, Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs. (2007). *Communiqué*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema/>
- Azibo, D. A. (1997). *African psychology in historical perspective and related commentary*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Belgrave, F. Z., & Allison, K. W. (2006). *African American psychology: From Africa to America*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Bronstein, P., & Quina, K. (Eds.). (2003). *Teaching gender and multicultural awareness: Resources for the psychology classroom*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Fairchild, H., Whiten, L., & Richards, H. (2003). Teaching African American psychology. In P. Bronstein & K. Quina (Eds.), *Teaching gender and multicultural awareness: Resources for the psychology classroom* (pp. 195-206). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Grieco, E. M., & Cassidy, R. C. (2001). Overview of race and Hispanic origin. *Census 2000 Brief*. Retrieved June 13, 2009, from www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-1.pdf
- Grills, C. (2004). African psychology. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (4th ed., pp. 93-115). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.
- Guthrie, R.V. (1998). *Even the rat was white: A historical view of psychology* (2nd ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon. (Original work published 1976)
- Herrnstein, R. J., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life*. New York: Free Press.
- Jones, R. (Ed.). (1991). *Black psychology* (3rd ed.). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry.
- Kambon, K. (1998). *African/Black psychology in the American context: An African-entered approach*. Tallahassee, FL: Nubian Nation.
- Nobles, W. (1991). African philosophy: Foundations for Black psychology. In R. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (pp. 47-57). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry.
- Pate, W. E. (2001). Analyses of data from *Graduate Study in Psychology: 1999-2000* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, Research Office. Retrieved June 12, 2009, from <http://research.apa.org/grad00contents.html#demstudfrom>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2001, August 13). Majority of African Americans live in 10 states. *U.S. Census Bureau News*. Retrieved June 13, 2009, from www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/000437.html
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2008, December 2). Facts for features: Black (African American) History Month, February 2009. *U.S. Census Bureau News*. Retrieved June 13, 2009, from www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/cb09ff-01.pdf
- Wilson, M. N., Greene-Bates, C., McKim, L., Simmons, F., Askew, T., Curry-El, J., et al. (1995). African American family life: The dynamics of interactions, relationships, and roles. In M. Wilson (Ed.), *African American family life: Its structural and ecological aspects* (pp. 5-21). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Zea, M. C., Quezada, T., & Belgrave, F. Z. (1996). Limitations of an acultural health psychology: Reconstructing the African influence on Latino culture and health-related behaviors. In J. Garcia & M.C. Zea (Eds.), *Psychological interventions and research with Latino populations* (pp. 255-266). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian People



Beth Boyd, PhD
University of South Dakota
Society of Indian Psychologists

SELF TEST

1. What are key historical events related to the sociopolitical history of Native Americans and Alaska Natives in the United States?
2. What contributed to the decrease in the Native population in the 18th and 19th centuries?
3. What is the Native perspective on health, wellness, illness, and healing?
4. What stereotypes have affected the common understanding of Native people in the present?
5. What are specific Native American cultural values?
6. What assumptions, beliefs, and knowledge do you have about American Indians and Alaska Natives?
7. How have the Native People of the Hawaiian Islands been impacted by colonization?

INTRODUCTION

There are currently 562 federally recognized American Indian tribes and Alaska Native villages in the United States (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2002). As sovereign nations, these tribes possess the right to form their own government, enforce laws (both civil and criminal), tax, establish membership, license and regulate activities, zone, and exclude persons from tribal territories. Another 245 tribal groups are not recognized by the federal government (approximately 47 are state recognized, and many have petitioned for federal recognition). The 2000 Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002) reports that 4.5 million people in the United States identify themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native. One third report living on federal or state reservations or state-designated American Indian or Alaska Native statistical areas, and two thirds report living in urban areas. Although it is estimated that hundreds of Native languages may have vanished, there are approximately 175 distinct Native languages still spoken in the United States. The Native Hawaiian language is still the primary language spoken in 13% of Native Hawaiian homes.

There is often confusion about the appropriate or preferred label for indigenous people in the United States. The term *Indian* was first used for Native people of the Americas following Christopher Columbus's mistaken belief that he had landed in the West Indies in 1492. The term *Native American*, first used in the 1960s, is sometimes thought to be preferable because it does not perpetuate Columbus's mistake. However, most indigenous people prefer to refer to themselves by their specific tribal names (e.g., Lakota, Dine, etc.). Many tribes use the word in their own language meaning "The People" as their name for themselves. For many tribes, the commonly known English name is not the name the people would use for themselves. For example, Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota people are often referred to as "Sioux," which is actually a derogatory reference ("little snakes") in the language of a neighboring tribe and altered by the French. The people of these tribes refer to themselves as Lakota, Dakota, or Nakota, and even more specifically by the name of their band (e.g., Isanti Dakota).

When referring to any large ethnic group, there is always the risk of "ethnic glossing." Trimble and Dickson (2005) defined an ethnic gloss as an overgeneralization or simplistic categorical label for an ethnocultural group that gives the false impression of homogeneity and discounts the diversity present within the group. At a minimum, ethnic glossing provides little or no information about the richness and diversity of the cultures, languages, lifeways, levels of acculturation, geographic locations, and worldviews of the people within the category, and, at worst, helps to perpetuate stereotypes. The likelihood of ethnic glossing is great when speaking of American Indians in a general way. It is important to remember that *American Indian* actually refers to hundreds of very diverse nations, and one must know about the specific culture, history, and experiences of the tribe or nation.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

When teaching about the indigenous people of the United States, one must understand the history and impact of U.S. government policies. Although every tribal nation has its own unique sociopolitical history and experiences with the mainstream culture, all Native people and communities have been affected in devastating ways. A few historical

events and their consequences are discussed in the following sections.

Policies of Genocide

It is estimated that prior to contact with Europeans, Native people numbered approximately 15 million in North America. Between 1500 and 1900, federal policies of extermination, removal, relocation, and assimilation led to the death of roughly 95% of the population. Many Native people died because they had no immunity to diseases that unintentionally came from Europe, but there are also numerous reports of deliberate introduction of smallpox-infected blankets in Native communities as a form of biological warfare (Stiffarm & Lane, 1992). As American settlers moved westward, tribes were forced to move further west. In 1830, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which allowed for the relocation of tens of thousands of Native people west of the Mississippi River. These forced relocations resulted in the deaths of thousands of Native people. The Trail of Tears relocation of five tribes from the southeast to “Indian Territory” (what would later become Oklahoma) resulted in the deaths of approximately 8,000 Cherokee, 6,000 Choctaw, and 50% of the Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw nations. On the Great Plains, when nomadic tribes resisted confinement to reservations, President Jackson issued an order to kill as many buffalo as possible to cut off the tribes’ main source of food and force them onto reservations. Thousands died from hunger, disease, and encounters with military forces.

In the late 19th century, federal policy focused on “civilization” and assimilation of Native people. During this time, it was thought that the “Indian problem” could be solved by assimilating Native people into the mainstream American culture. Thousands of Native children were sent to boarding schools run by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) or Christian missions in an attempt to eradicate their Native cultures and languages through what might be called Western sociocultural and educational “reprogramming.”

Threats of incarceration and restriction of food and supplies were often used to force families to send their children to boarding schools far from their homes. Children were given English names, punished for speaking their languages or practicing their cultures, and many experienced severe physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Children often did not see their families for years, and

when they returned to their communities, they had no experience of living in families and were ill prepared to live within their culture and community with a positive sense of themselves as Native people. Children, parents, and their home communities experienced a devastating sense of estrangement.

Millions of acres of communally held tribal lands were opened up for White settlement when Congress passed the Dawes Act of 1887, which allotted 160 acres of land to individual Native families who agreed to register and Anglicize their names. The Urban Indian Relocation Program, begun in 1952 by the BIA, promised to relocate Native families to large urban areas and provide vocational training. Many of these programs did not materialize, and although many relocated families eventually returned to their reservations, approximately 64% of Native people still live in urban areas.

In Alaska, Native villages came into contact with Russian fur traders in the late 1700s. They experienced devastating disease epidemics and losses of land, resources, and subsistence lifestyle. The Alaska territory was purchased by the United States in 1867, and an influx of whalers, fur traders, gold miners, settlers, and missionaries ensued. The BIA began removing Alaska Native children from their villages to boarding schools in the 1940s, creating the same trauma experienced by American Indian people. Alaska became a state in 1958, but Native Alaskans continue to lose access to their traditional ways of life.

The Native Hawaiian experience has been similar to that of Native Americans and Alaska Natives. Prior to the arrival of Captain Cook in the Hawaiian islands in 1778, the Native Hawaiian population is estimated to have been 800,000 to 1 million (Akau, 1998). By 1893, when the last reigning sovereign, Queen Liliuokalani, was illegally overthrown, the population had declined to approximately 40,000 because of the introduction of previously unknown diseases such as gonorrhea, syphilis, and leprosy. The arrival of Protestant missionaries beginning in 1820 led to devastating losses of land, culture, and language. Today, tremendous disparities in health, mental health, education, and income for Native Hawaiians and their descendants mirror those of Native Americans and Alaska Natives.

Loss of Cultural and Spiritual Ways

The traumatic losses that generations of Native people have experienced have been described as the American

Indian “holocaust” (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998) and meet the United Nations definition of genocide. The devastation of loss was compounded because traditional spiritual and ceremonial ways of healing were outlawed by U.S. policy until 1978, leaving Native people with no mechanism for healing from these historical traumas. The resulting “historical trauma response” includes high levels of substance abuse, suicide, depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, anger, difficulty recognizing and expressing emotions, and unresolved historical grief.

Today, Native people have the highest poverty rate of any ethnic group in the United States and experience serious health disparities compared with other Americans, including infant mortality (2.3 times higher), diabetes (2.6 times higher), liver disease (3 times higher), sexually transmitted diseases (6 times higher), unintentional injuries (2 times higher), and youth suicide (3 times higher). The Indian Health Service, charged with providing health and mental health services for members of federally recognized tribes, estimates that federal appropriations provide only 55% of what is needed for adequate services (Indian Health Service, 2007). However, to truly understand this picture, one must remember the historical context in which these conditions developed and recognize the tremendous resiliency of Native people. It is the specific tribal cultures, values, and worldviews of American Indian and Alaska Native people that provide the most important source of this resiliency.

CULTURAL VALUES AND WORLDVIEWS

There are a number of key cultural values that should be understood when teaching about the Native people of the United States. Although each tribal group has its own specific culture and value system, there are some values that are common across tribes and interconnected. Some of these include connection, family, respect, spirituality, harmony and balance, community well-being, and generativity.

Connection

Native people value their connection and relationship to all of life. This includes all forms of life: animal, human, and “inanimate.” Although each nation has a name in its own language for a supreme spiritual being and its own creation stories, there is a common belief that all living things share the essence of the Creator, making all living things related

to one another. Strong cultural identity and emphasis on intergenerational relationships and community well-being have contributed to Native peoples’ resiliency for generations. Connection transcends death, as Native people view the relatives who have gone before them as part of their lives and relationships with ancestors as helping to guide present-day actions.

Family

Family is very important and often means a large, extended, multigenerational family. Understanding where one comes from and the role one plays as a relative is very important. In many Native kinship systems, closer relationship roles are assigned to what would be considered extended family in mainstream American culture. For example, a woman’s sisters and a man’s brothers are all considered “mother” and “father” to their children. Parents’ siblings are all considered grandparents. Thus, family relationships among “extended family” are considered much closer and more defined than in non-Native cultures.

Respect

Respect is highly valued for life, for the natural world, for one’s place in the natural world, and for each other. Elders are held with great respect because of their wealth of experience and knowledge. Their wisdom is sought out and highly respected. Children are considered sacred and respected as the future of the tribe.

Spirituality

Spirituality is seen as something much more than what one believes; rather, it is a way of living. Each tribe has its own cosmologies, practices, and ceremonies, and spirituality is integrated into every aspect of social and cultural life. There is no word in most Native languages for religion because spirituality is not understood to be separate from the rest of life. Native peoples’ strong sense of spirituality has promoted resilience by giving meaning to difficult times and reaffirming connectedness. However, it should be noted that individuals may still ascribe to a designated faith-based group.

Balance and Harmony

Native people value balance within the self and harmony and interdependence with the environment. Wellness is understood as a delicate balance between the equally important physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual parts of the whole person. Illness, adversity, and difficult times

are understood as a lack of balance, and healing involves reestablishing the balance and creating harmony within the self, with others, and with the environment. This emphasis on balance is important in understanding Native peoples' view of the planet as well. The relationship between humans and all of the natural world is considered sacred and must always reflect balance and harmony.

Community Well-Being

Tribes are collectivistic societies, and this presents difficulties when trying to survive within the larger U.S. culture, which strongly values individualism. Decisions in Native communities are often made by consensus and for the overall good of the group. As all things are related, there is an understanding that one's actions have an impact on others. What happens to one individual, happens to the whole community. Self-governance within tribes is also in place to act on behalf of the tribal community.

Generativity

Native people recognize a responsibility to promote the next generation's well-being. Native elders teach that each decision of the present must be considered in terms of the impact it will have on the next seven generations. This value of generativity protects and ensures the healthy continuation of the community and the tribe. For example, Native people recognize the responsibility of those who live in the present to preserve the physical environment for the generations yet to come.

BARRIERS TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC EDUCATION

American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians have largely been invisible in American education and within the field of psychology. As with other ethnic minority groups in the United States, the most important reason for this is the lack of full and accurate information within educational curricula about Native people, both historically and in a contemporary context. Native people may be discussed in history textbooks but only as required to tell the White story. Portrayals of Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians are often stereotypical, inaccurate, or outdated. Despite ample evidence of the historical inaccuracy of well-known American myths (e.g., the Thanksgiving story), these stories continue to be taught as they have for generations. In addition, information is not presented from a Native perspective. For example, history textbooks

have finally replaced the term *manifest destiny* with terms such as *westward movement*. However, if the story were to be told from the perspective of Northern Cheyenne people, the terminology might be *invasion from the east*. Contemporary Native thought, social, political, or economic issues, literature, art, language, cosmology, or culture are rarely mentioned outside of specific "ethnic studies" courses. These inaccuracies and stereotypes continue to have an impact on psychology, as it is impossible to understand people's behavior and mental well-being without understanding their sociopolitical history and realities.

Native American psychologists are more likely to integrate Native issues into the psychology curriculum and training experiences. However, Native Americans account for less than 1% of all psychologists. There are fewer than 200 Native psychologists in the United States, and only about 14 new degrees are granted each year to Native American psychologists. In 2003/2004, 596 Native Americans received bachelor's degrees in psychology (<1% of total degrees awarded) (National Science Foundation, 2007).

Native Americans and Alaska Natives are under-represented in the psychological research literature, and much of the existing research focuses on differences between Native people and White people. For many years, research was conceptualized, implemented, interpreted, and disseminated without any input from the community or consideration of cultural issues. Many studies pathologized Native people and had a damaging effect on Native communities. As a result, many tribes have closed their communities to outside researchers. Research can be valuable to communities but it must be done from the communities' perspective with regard to topic, methods, and dissemination.

In recent years, tribes have begun to establish tribal review boards, contract with researchers to conduct research of value to the community, and retain control of how that information is disseminated. The tribal participatory research model (Fisher & Ball, 2002) is one example of research that is conducted entirely in concert with the tribe, with community input in every aspect of the process. Some tribes may require researchers to complete cultural responsiveness training specific to that tribe before doing any work in the community. The studies that result from this type of collaboration will do much

to bring American Indian and Alaska Native issues into the psychological literature and result in better education concerning Native Americans.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC TEACHING TOOLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made for those who wish to raise awareness and increase knowledge and skills in teaching about American Indian and Alaska Native people:

- Remember that Native people are part of the present and not just figures of the past. Do not speak of American Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native people and issues exclusively in the past tense.
- Be careful about perpetuating the myth of Native people as “defeated.” Understand that much of what Native people experienced had to do with disease, discrimination, and federal policies.
- Learn about the sociopolitical history of the specific Native people being discussed. Find out about the group’s experience with the mainstream culture, especially with regard to mental health care. Develop local knowledge.
- Examine terminology and be aware of the power of words. Help students to evaluate words like *discover*, *settlers*, *savage*, *squaw*, *Redman*, and so forth.
- Discuss Native people as diverse groups rather than as one homogeneous group. Try to refer to specific tribes or nations (e.g., Oglala Lakota, Seneca Nation, Pueblo of Taos). Explain that each is an independent nation with its own language, culture, history, and experiences with the non-Native world. Also discuss bands within tribes.
- Challenge the stereotypes and myths about Native people and communities. This includes the obvious derogatory stereotypes but also the equally damaging “Noble Savage” stereotypes. Emphasize that Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians are real people.
- Emphasize the historical context of current social problems faced by Native communities and the real pain that Native people feel from the historical trauma they have experienced.
- Realize that some of your students have Native roots and make sure to be sensitive in your discussion and

to promote respect in the classroom. Avoid singling out Native students and asking them to speak for Native people generally. Think about the emotional reactions Native students may have to learning and talking about social injustices that their people have experienced throughout history and in the present. Remember that Native students are learning about their relatives and will have emotional reactions to learning and speaking about these events. In many areas of the country, these wounds are still very raw. For example, in northern plains tribes, there are people still alive whose parents or grandparents were killed at the Wounded Knee massacre. To them, this is not a historical event but one that directly affects their families and still carries a great deal of pain.

- When teaching about Native people, it is impossible to separate culture from spirituality, and it is important to include discussions of general aspects of spirituality as it affects peoples’ lives. However, care must be taken to respect the sacredness of each tribe’s spiritual practices. Specifics should only be addressed in consultation with a cultural advisor and with the permission of the particular tribe involved.
- Recognize that Native people come from diverse backgrounds and levels of acculturation. The term *assimilation* has a very negative connotation to many Native people, who often equate it with a sense of shame for not knowing their culture and language. Remember that there are many reasons why Native people may not be knowledgeable about their language and culture (e.g., boarding schools, relocation programs, missionary programs, etc.). Many Native people have become bicultural and are equally competent in the tribal culture and the mainstream culture.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Students and educators must examine their knowledge of and assumptions about Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians. We must be cognizant of the fact that much of what we “know” about Native people and their culture, history, and experience is what we have learned in standard textbooks, educational curricula, and published research. These texts, courses, and studies have typically “glossed” over differences between nations

and even perpetuated inaccuracies and stereotypes. They have not presented Native American, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian issues from the perspectives of Native people themselves.

Future training and education concerning Native American, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian people and communities must be culture specific. As educators, we must recognize and acknowledge the mistakes of the past and commit to making psychology education about real people, with real lives, living in real cultures. To do this, we must become knowledgeable about the specific groups we are addressing. We need to develop relationships with people from within the culture who can guide and advise us in teaching this material. Finally, we need to make sure that the Native voice comes through in our education and training about Native people. In these ways, we can help psychology become a field that is truly culturally responsive to American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian people.

REFERENCES

- Akau, M. (1998). Ke Ala Ola Pono: The Native Hawaiian community's effort to heal itself. *Pacific Health Dialog*, 5, 232-238.
- Brave Heart, M. Y. H., & DeBruyn, L. M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian & Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 8, 56-78.
- Fisher, P., & Ball, T. (2002). The Indian Family Wellness Project: An application of the tribal participatory research model. *Prevention Science*, 3, 235-240.
- Indian Health Service. (2007). *Facts on Indian health disparities*. Rockville, MD: Indian Health Service, Office of the Director. Retrieved from <http://info.ihs.gov/Files/DisparitiesFacts-Jan2006.pdf>
- National Science Foundation. (2007, January). *Science and engineering degrees, by race/ethnicity of recipients: 1995-2004* (NSF 07-308). Arlington, Va: Author.
- Stiffarm, L. A., & Lane, P., Jr. (1992). The demography of native North America: A question of American Indian survival. In M. A. Jaimes (Ed.), *The state of Native America: Genocide, colonization, and resistance* (pp. 23-53). Boston: South End Press.
- Trimble, J. E., & Dickson, R. (2005). Ethnic gloss. In C. B. Fisher & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of applied developmental science* (Vol. 1, pp. 412-415). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2002). *The American Indian and Alaska Native population: 2000*. Retrieved June 3, 2007, from www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01_15.pdf
- U.S. Department of the Interior. (2002, July 12). Indian entities recognized and eligible to receive services from the United States Bureau of Indian affairs [Notice]. *Federal Register*, 67(134).



Latinas/os and Their Communities



Alberta M. Gloria, PhD
University of Wisconsin—Madison
National Latina/o Psychological Association
Jeanett Castellanos, PhD
University of California, Irvine
National Latina/o Psychological Association

Indivisible from our physical and social environments, we are part of an open system (Ramirez, 1998), which requires the development of integrated teaching abilities and learning skills through intentional self-reflection and self-challenge. A mestizo approach to learning and teaching, this application is centered in meaning and purpose and offers a holistic and dualistic experience as teacher and learner—a process reflected in the fluid and interdynamic knowing process of a traditional Latina/o dicho:

*Las personas aprenden mientras enseñan.
(Persons learn while they teach.)*

SELF-TEST

1. What is the general demographic makeup (e.g., residence, employment, education) of Latinas/os in the United States?
2. What are common stereotypes and misperceptions about the practices, beliefs, and families of Latinas/os?
3. What are common Latina/o cultural values and worldviews?
4. What are the common barriers for Latinas/os and their families who seek support services?
5. Identify culturally specific teaching tools that promote awareness, knowledge, and skills to work with Latinas/os.

INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Latina/o population has grown substantially over the past 2 decades, at rates more than three times that of the total U.S. population. Latinas/os constitute a formidable social, political, and cultural force within the United States, and it is estimated that they will comprise

nearly 102.6 million individuals by 2050. Latinas/os are the nation's largest ethnic/racial minority, constituting 15%, or 44.3 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). This estimate does not include Puerto Rican residents (3.9 million). Worldwide, Latinas/os in the United States are the third largest group, following Mexico (106.2 million) and Columbia (43 million). As a rapidly growing heterogeneous group, individuals of Mexican origin are the largest Latina/o ethnic group (64%) in the United States, making up more than two thirds of the overall Latina/o population. Factors such as high birth rate and immigration contribute to this population increase. The remaining third of the U.S. Latinas/os include Puerto Ricans (9%), Cubans (3.5%), Salvadorans (3%), and Dominicans (2.7%), in addition to those of other Central American, South American, or other Latina/o origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007).

Although Latinas/os reside in all 50 states, the primary areas of the country where they live vary by ethnic group. Over half of individuals of Mexican descent live in the West, and about one third live in the South; individuals of Puerto Rican descent primarily reside in the Northeast; and individuals of Cuban descent primarily live in Southeast. Latinas/os are currently the largest racial/ethnic group within 26 U.S. cities; among these are Chicago, Los Angeles, San Antonio, New York, and Miami. Yet Latinas/os are also increasingly represented in suburban and rural counties across the United States. Initial and secondary migrations have led to communities in Omaha, NE; Lawrence, MA; and Yakima, WA. Generally, the newcomers have been drawn by the employment opportunities, following the lead of family members and friends.

A young population, more than a third of Latinas/os are under the age of 18, with fewer Latinas/os ages 65 or older, as compared with non-Latina/o Whites. Spanish speakers constitute nearly one in eight U.S. household residents, with 32.2 million who are 5 years or older speaking Spanish at home. Although Spanish fluency is a common denominator for Latinas/os, and for immigrants in particular, there are many linguistic nuances and regionalisms that differentiate communities. The majority of Latinas/os have English proficiency and/or are bilingual, yet of those whose first language is Spanish, their English language skills may not be sufficient to convey emotional content and underlying cultural meaning when it comes to mental health engagements. Many U.S. Latina/o immigrants have adequate English language skills for daily

activities; the majority of Latina/o immigrant children become English dominant or monolingual English speaking within two to three generations of being in the United States. It is more common to have parents of first-generation, immigrant status and their children categorized as second-generation because of birth in the United States.

Another differentiating factor among Latinas/os is phenotype and physicality emanating from indigenous, African, Asian, and European roots. As a result, Latinas/os are of multiracial, multicultural heritage. The term *mestizo* describes this mixed-race identity. In Mexico, the term *gacupinos* was used to describe the descendents of Spaniards born in Mexico, also connoting another type of status. Historically, darker phenotype and indigenous physical features have influenced racial oppression and power inequities, contributing to economic and educational disparities.

More than 30% of Latinas/os live in poverty, and many are underemployed and uninsured. Almost one quarter of Latinas/os (16 years or older) work in service occupations, sales and office occupations (22%), production, transportation and material-moving occupations (19%), and construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair occupations (16%). For Latinas/os 25 years and older, 59% have a high school degree; however, only 12% have a 4-year degree, and less than 1% have a doctoral degree.

At all levels, Latinas/os provide a substantial contribution to the United States, generating \$222 billion in revenue in 2002 from an estimated 1.6 million Hispanic-owned businesses. In addition, Latinas/os sustain a large portion of service roles in the United States (e.g., in hotels, supermarkets, restaurants, agriculture, landscaping, and construction). In spite of the demand for service employees, pay inequities in these occupations continue to suppress the earning power of Latinas/os.

This brief overview of the current status of Latinas/os in the United States cannot be fully understood without discussing historical contexts, societal misperceptions, and prevailing cultural values. This integrated landscape of history and culture may then lead to the development of culture-specific teaching tools and culturally based initiatives and directives for the field. It is anticipated that these data will also provide opportunities to develop/enhance culture-specific competencies.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The saying or dicho *el pasado deja huellas* (the past leaves impression) underscores the importance of knowing a community's history in order to accurately understand its current experiences. Identifying key events contextualizes Latina/o realities and provides insight into their reactions and responses to current conditions and policies (e.g., immigration, education)—for example, knowing the impact of broken treaties (e.g., Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago, 1846) and of laws that have benefited the United States at the expense of Latinas/os (e.g., Foraker Act, 1900; Operation Wetback, 1954) and have been central to current conditions and barriers to upward mobility in many Latina/o communities. These laws have perpetuated marginalization and a sense of disconnection for many Latina/o groups, often contributing to a dynamic sense of distrust toward the government and reinforcing a hostile exchange between the United States and Latinas/os, which affect their daily encounters (e.g., racial profiling). In addition, some groups have been negatively targeted (e.g., Mexicans), whereas others (e.g., Cubans) have received transition services given their refugee status. However, these efforts have been selective and differential among Latina/o refugee groups (e.g., Guatemalan). Finally, it is important to recognize that although laws may be ethnic-specific for Latinas/os, previous and current laws adversely affect the entire group.

MYTHS AND MISPERCEPTIONS

Perhaps the most salient misperception about Latinas/os is that all Latinas/os are alike (and look alike). However, this misperception is countered by the vast within- and between-group heterogeneity that exists among Latinas/os (e.g., phenotype, generational differences, and country of origin). Yet myths and stereotypes persist, impacting societal perspectives and daily interactions that negatively influence Latinas/os and their well-being. Given the prevalence of stereotypes, identifying commonly held stereotypes can assist individuals in questioning and unlearning their assumptions and in more accurately understanding Latinas/os. Provided below are common myths and misperceptions held about Latinas/os' cultural values and development, roles, contributions, education, mental health, and so forth. These are intentionally raised because they tend to abound in the media, thereby

influencing perceptions and assumptions of well meaning, well-educated psychologists:

- Latinas/os have large enmeshed families that are overly dependent and suppress individual growth.
- Latinas/os are indirect in expressing their needs, passively accept circumstances, and are excessively emotional in interpersonal interactions. The term *fatalistic* has been misattributed to Latinas/os because of often-verbalized expressions such as *Si Dios quiere* (If it is God's will).
- There are no Latina lesbians or Latino gays (and if there are, they have rejected Latina/o values), and all Latino males are homophobic.
- Latinas/os are criminals (e.g., gang members, drug lords) and service workers (e.g., maids, janitors) because they are uneducated, indolent, and immoral, as portrayed by the media.
- Latina/o immigrants, particularly those who are undocumented, do not pay taxes or contribute to the local/state economy, are overly dependent on social services because they are unwilling to work, and simultaneously take jobs away from U.S. citizens.
- Latina/o families and their children do not value education, draining the educational system of its resources and depriving learning opportunities for other children because ESL classes decrease the quality of education.
- Latinas/os believe that mental health is for *los locos* (the insane) and tend not seek out psychological counseling services.

CULTURAL VALUES AND WORLDVIEWS

The multicultural counseling competencies model posits three domains for professional effectiveness: (a) self-awareness of values, biases, and assumptions; (b) knowledge of the worldview of the “others”; and (c) synergistic articulation of strategies and interventions (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). A significant consideration for educators, researchers, and practitioners when working with any cultural/ethnic group is to understand their worldviews—that is, their beliefs, values, traditions, and so forth. Although not all Latinas/os similarly adhere to or place importance on the following cultural values, these are

often considered to be core values for Latinas/os (Santiago Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo Cooper, 2002):

- *Familia*, or family, is a primary aspect of Latinas/os' lives and values (*familismo*). Familismo involves loyalty, solidarity, cooperation, and reciprocity among family members and is physically manifested through extended kinship systems that include nuclear, extended, and nonrelated family members. For many, familia is the primary natural support system that provides physical, emotional, and social support. In addition, families generally have the flexibility to incorporate new members (e.g., children, elders, and visitors from the homeland) and withstand change. Because interdependence is a critical aspect of family, group needs will often supersede individual needs.
- Closely related to familismo is the approach of caring for and having responsibility to *comunidad* (community). Such responsibility is manifested through *compadrazgo*, or coparentage, of children within families and communities as *padrinos* (godfathers) or *madrinas* (godmothers). *Comadres* and *comprades* define the individuals in these special relationships. Within these interpersonal connections, family is responsible for providing direction and care (e.g., spiritual, financial) for one another. The process of *compadrazgo* manifests at special events (e.g., baptisms) and constitutes life-long relationships that tie together and expand the family. In good times and bad, comadres and compadres are sources of comfort and support.
- Central to these interactions are core values in which *personalismo* emphasizes the importance of personal connections and *simpatía* directs these interactions toward the harmonious and pleasing. Personalismo is an orientation in which people are more primary and tasks or events are secondary. Such interactions emphasize dignity and respect for self and others despite personal or social status. As such, personal warmth and genuineness characterize interactions. Similarly, *simpatía* engenders respectful and harmonious interactions and interpersonal behaviors. The development of trust, intimacy, loyalty, and familiarity within a relationship is the development of *confianza* (trustworthiness).

- The personal comfort in relationships ultimately allows for the expression of friendship based on mutual understanding and appreciation and *respeto* (respect). It is within relationships characterized by *son de confianza* (can be trusted) that individuals freely express *cariño* (affection and care) via verbal and nonverbal (e.g., hug, touch of the arm) endearments. Respect within relationships acknowledges the personal power one has, regardless of the degree of power held. It is important that an individual be *una persona bien educada*, or a person who was taught by his or her parents the importance of respect and of being well mannered within personal and public relationships.
- Many Latinas/os hold the worldview that individuals are open systems in which all persons and things are interrelated, as reflected in community and family. Such an approach centralizes group identity and responsibility, which is described in the cultural literature as *allocentrism*. In particular, strong identity with family heritage is stressed, as the group helps to maintain balance between the individual and the larger world or the supernatural. Within this system, the presence of *espiritualidad* (spiritualism) and mind/body interconnections are emphasized. Similarly, the belief in a higher power connecting and providing meaning to daily life is fundamental to many Latinas/os (Ramirez, 1998). In many respects, this worldview perspective emanates from the indigenous, tribal roots of Latinas/os.

BARRIERS TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC EDUCATION AND COUNSELING

Provision of effective and culturally competent counseling services for Latina/o clients and communities may be hindered by elements that range from the structural (e.g., societal stereotypes and institutional barriers) to the individual. That is, mental health practitioners' and administrators' lack of understanding of cultural values and worldviews and an unwillingness to exercise cultural flexibility and new learning become gatekeeping forces. Identification of these barriers is a starting point to making changes that engage Latinas/os in counseling.

Institutional Barriers to Counseling

- Counselors-in-training are not provided opportunities to conduct services and/or receive supervision of counseling in Spanish.
- Counseling services focus solely on individuals rather than on key systems such as family, social support (e.g., neighbors, comadres, church and/or priests and ministers), and other indigenous beliefs (e.g., spiritism).
- The role of the counselor is perceived unidimensionally rather than as a continuum of roles (e.g., community advocate, consultant).

Educational Barriers to Counseling

- Instructors teach about culture rather than teach from a cultural approach when instructing about Latinas/os and other racial and ethnic minority communities.
- Specific introductory or advanced courses on Latina/o psychology are rarely provided.
- Community research on and for Latinas/os is perceived as social service and not "real research" and is often overlooked and undervalued at training sites.

Interpersonal Barriers to Counseling

- Clinicians' interactions are steeped in stereotypes and misperceptions of Latina/o values, beliefs, and practices. A lack of cultural empathy will likely lead to relational inequities. Interaction styles (e.g., greeting with hug or kiss) are often misperceived as unethical.
- Clinicians often react/respond inappropriately regarding Latina/o clients' gifts (e.g., *pan dulces*, bag of oranges) or invitations to attend family events (e.g., *Quinceañera*).
- Latina/o clients may feel judged based on their appearance, language proficiency, or knowledge of the counseling process.
- A strong sense of *confianza* is not established to allow the client or clinician to engage fully in the therapeutic relationship (e.g., overfocus on paperwork rather than relationship building). *La plática* (small talk) is a culture-specific method that can be used with many first-time participants in mental health counseling.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC TEACHING TOOLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To facilitate the teaching of multicultural and culture-specific competencies, we present a list of awareness-, knowledge-, and skills-based activities, as well as integrative activities that build on this approach. The proposed activities can be used in psychology courses that in part address Latinas/os or in classes that are Latina/o specific (e.g., Latina/o psychology, Chicana/o families), in addition to counseling (e.g., multicultural counseling) and practice-based courses (e.g., practicum in professional counseling). The activities range in difficulty and are experiential and intended to address and affect a broad range of students' senses to maximize their learning. Also, a list of "do's" and "don'ts" are offered to enhance classroom preparation and to facilitate teaching. Finally, there is an increasing body of literature, DVDs, and websites that provide resources and up-to-date research findings with different Latino groups.

Awareness Activities

- Direct students to engage in Latina/o-focused events (e.g., parades, nationalistic celebrations, ethnic festivals) and later process their feelings, reactions, thoughts, and working assumptions.
- Assign students to conduct a cultural audit by comparing media images (e.g., movies and magazines) of Latinas/os with their own racial/ethnic group. Have students attend to how Latinas/os are portrayed in the media and how these depictions support their stereotypes. For Latina/o students, invite reactions to portrayals of others "like them."
- Have students engage in a scan of the university with respect to Latina/o faculty, staff, administrators, and students. Also have students reflect on their previous experiences in K–12 systems and undergraduate education.
- *Integrative activity:* Provide a composite scenario of a Latina/o with myriad issues, needs, and concerns. Have students identify their biases, assumptions, and stereotypes and reflect on what factors maintain these beliefs (see References for potential vignettes).

Knowledge Activities

- Assign students to interview a Latina/o individual or family about their immigration experiences, values,

worldviews, and life experiences (e.g., challenges and successes).

- Have students watch a movie (e.g., *Stand and Deliver*, *El Norte*, *Real Women Have Curves*) with classmates and identify core Latina/o cultural values and conceptual constructs.
- *Integrative activity:* Using the same composite scenario, have students identify and discuss concepts and critical cultural issues that warrant further exploration.

Skills Activities

- Introduce videotapes of Latinas/os in counseling and process these therapeutic interactions relative to new awarenesses and knowledge of the viewers. Have students assume the role of the model clinician portrayed in the video and process what they think and how they feel.
- Have students theoretically or empirically investigate a social issue within the Latina/o community over time (e.g., service learning) and propose subsequent culturally relevant implications and solutions.
- *Integrative activity:* Using the same composite scenario, have students develop programming, prevention, and intervention strategies that integrate their awareness and knowledge in order to develop cultural competency characteristics for effective interactions with different individuals.

Do Lists

In preparation for the classroom instruction: Apply cultural competency guidelines regarding awareness of your cultural values, beliefs, and assumptions and knowledge about others:

- Consider the role of Latina/o culture in your own life and its impact and influence on your daily experiences and interactions.
- Establish *confianza* and working relationships to facilitate partnerships that bring Latina/o community members into the classroom.

In the classroom:

- Actively participate in students' personal explorations (e.g., ethnic identity) and reflections through individual contact, assessing the support needed for them to negotiate the course processes and content.

- Discuss important historical and current events and milestones that shape Latinas/os' daily and sociopolitical experiences (e.g., anti-immigration policies, "A day without Latinos").
- Use various art forms (e.g., murals, spoken word) and literature (e.g., poetry, short stories) about Latina/o life experiences to elucidate concepts, values, and practices.

Don't List

In preparation for the classroom, don't:

- Blame, victimize, or take a deficit approach to Latina/o individuals or communities in preparing lectures, discussion points, and classroom activities. Do not use "poor them" attitudes; use strength-based approaches.
- Use a one-size-fits-all approach, single theoretical framework, or resource (e.g., single book chapter). Balance the connection of commonalities and individual differences in addressing needs and concerns.

In the classroom, don't:

- Ask the Latina/o students to give the "Latina/o point of view" or speak on behalf of an entire ethnic group or population (e.g., serve as a "cultural ambassador").
- Present stereotypes and misperceptions about Latinas/os without debunking and contextualizing the historical premises and cultural values from which they stem.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Implications for Continuing and Graduate Education

With the increasing need for competent and effective services, future considerations for graduate training, continuing education experiences, and workplace issues warrant exploration. It is through the systemic integration and collaboration of different levels of training and education that effective services result. Broad implications for the field as well as specific implications for each service entity and/or provider are suggested.

Implications for Training Programs/Departments

- Hire and maintain culturally proficient faculty who understand racial and ethnic minority experiences, particularly Latinas/os. Have multiple faculty who can teach culture-specific classes and

infuse diversity and multicultural perspectives into all courses (e.g., research methods, assessment, theory, supervision).

- Require a general multicultural counseling course as well as an ethnic-specific course (e.g., Latina/o psychology).
- Bridge multicultural learning worldwide. Make use of technology (e.g., video streaming) for national and international scholars to "enter the classroom."
- Create partnerships between the program/department and Latina/o communities to establish training opportunities (e.g., practica) for students and resources for the needs and concerns of Latina/o individuals and families.

Continuing Education Experience and Implications for the Field

- Expand the continuing education credits to equally address awareness, knowledge, and skills about Latina/o individuals and their communities.
- Create continuing education credits regarding the provision of supervision to clinicians who are providing services for Latina/o clients.
- Attend Spanish language training programs to enhance counseling competence for the provision of mental health services with Latinas/os.
- Attend conferences and organizational meetings that specifically focus on Latinas/os (e.g., National Latina/o Psychological Association, American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education).
- Refer to Latina/o journals such as the *Journal of Hispanics in Higher Education* and the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. The *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* and *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* are also relevant sources.

Workplace Considerations and Implications for the Field

- Collaborate with nonprofit and local Latina/o community centers to provide workshops and lectures about Latina/o communities, needs, and availability of resources.

- Provide services outside of the agency at satellite centers that are centrally located within Latina/o communities (e.g., churches, community center).

Implications for Agency Directors

- Incorporate a biannual or annual review of staff members to ensure minimum cultural competence to work with Latinas/os and other members of diverse communities.
- Hold case conferences that include multidisciplinary teams (e.g., psychiatry, social work) to share perspectives that address Latina/o clients and considerations.
- As agency director, establish your own community-based advisory council.
- Establish a community liaison committee where agency staff meet with Latina/o community members to plan a strategic response for community needs.

Learning is a lifelong process that extends beyond the classroom and incorporates multiple roles and functions as educator, practitioner, and learner. Requiring personal commitment and investment, the call for cultural competence must occur at all levels of education and training, including both prevention and intervention efforts. The issues and needs of Latina/o individuals and their communities can be approached by collectively addressing organizational infrastructures, integrating Latina/o-specific pedagogy, attending to specific interpersonal interactions, and reflecting on personal experiences.

National Latina/o
Psychological Association
*Asociación Nacional
de Psicología Latina*

REFERENCES

- Arredondo, P., Toporek, R., Brown, S. P., Jones, J., Locke, D. C., Sanchez, J., & Stadler, H. (1996). Operationalization of the multicultural counseling competencies. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 24*, 42-78.
- Ramirez, M. (1998). *Multicultural/multiracial psychology: Mestizo perspectives in personality and mental health*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.
- Santiago Rivera, A. L., Arredondo, P., & Gallardo Cooper, M. (2002). *Counseling Latinos and la familia: A practical guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sue, D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. (1992). Multicultural competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 70*, 477-486.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007, July 16). *Facts for features* (CB07FF.14). Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/2007/cb07ff-14.pdf>

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Atkinson, D. R., Thompson, C. E., & Grant, S. K. (1993). A three-dimensional model for counseling racial/ethnic minorities. *The Counseling Psychologist, 21*, 257-277.
- Casas, J. M., & Pytluk, S. D. (1995). Hispanic identity development: Implications for research and practice. In J. G., Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 155-180). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Espin, O. M. (1997). *Latina realities: Essays on healing, migration, and sexuality*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Falicov, C. J. (1998). *Latino families in therapy: A guide to multicultural practice*. New York: Guildford Press.
- Gonzalez, J. (2000). *Harvest of empire: A history of Latina/os in America*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Velasquez, R. J., Arellano, L. M., & McNeill, B. W. (2004). (Eds.). *The handbook of Chicana/o psychology and mental health*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Asian American People and Communities



Karen L. Suyemoto, PhD
University of Massachusetts, Boston
Asian American Psychological Association
Alvin N. Alvarez, PhD
San Francisco State University
Asian American Psychological Association

SELF TEST

1. When did major Asian immigration to the United States begin?
2. Name the five fastest growing Asian ethnic groups.
3. What is the “Model Minority” myth? Why is it a myth?
4. What does “bimodal distribution” mean in regard to Asian Americans?
5. What experiences have you had with Asian Americans?
6. What are some cultural characteristics of people of East Asian descent that may be different from most European Americans?
7. What assumptions, beliefs, and knowledge do you have about Asian Americans?

INTRODUCTION

The 12 million individuals who describe themselves as Asian Americans constitute one of the fastest growing racial groups in the United States, consisting of 4.2% of the total population and having a growth rate of 72% between 1990 and 2000. However, the within-group diversity and complexity of this community that are often obscured by a reliance on aggregate statistics present a major challenge for educators. Consider the following:

- *Ethnic complexity.* The term *Asian American* encompasses at least 43 distinct Asian ethnic groups. Although the five largest groups—Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese and Koreans—constitute 85% of the population, the ethnic landscape is changing, as illustrated by the five fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States: Bangladeshi, Asian Indian, Pakistani, Hmong, and Sri Lankans.
- *Immigration complexity.* Asian immigration dates back to the arrival of Chinese laborers in Hawaii in the 1850s. Although some Asian Americans are from

families settled in the United States for generations, the majority of the Asian American community are immigrants, 76% of whom have immigrated within the last 20 years. Differential immigration patterns also underscore the need to examine ethnic group differences (e.g., 60% of Japanese Americans are born in the United States, whereas 22% of Korean Americans are native to the United States).

- *Linguistic complexity.* Within-group differences can also be found in English proficiency and Asian-specific language proficiency, frequently related to the length of time individuals or groups have been exposed to English. For instance, in terms of ethnic group differences, 52% of Japanese Americans (who are primarily born in the United States) speak only English at home, whereas 4% of Hmong Americans (who are primarily recent immigrants) rely solely on English. Moreover, within an ethnic group, variability in English language proficiencies is also found.
- *Socioeconomic complexity.* Although Asian Americans as an aggregate group have household incomes that are higher than the national average, certain Asian ethnic groups, (e.g., Hmong and Cambodian) have the highest poverty rates of any racial or ethnic group. Moreover, the typical aggregate approach overlooks the fact that Asian American families generally have multiple wage earners, live in high-cost urban areas, and have per capita incomes that are actually lower than non-Hispanic Whites.
- *Educational complexity.* Although Asian Americans as a group are more likely than White Americans to have graduated from college, they are also more likely than White Americans not to have graduated from high school and to have less than a ninth-grade education. Within the Hmong, Cambodian, and Laotian communities, 49% or more of individuals have less than a high school education, and 10% or fewer graduate from college. Additionally, educational attainment has been found to be inversely related to age and positively related to generational status, with educational gains reaching a plateau in the third generation.

Educators need to negotiate the complexities of addressing modal information about Asian Americans as a racial or pan-ethnic group and of addressing the

complexity of the various ethnic groups, with their own different values, worldviews, histories, and so forth. The aim for many educators will be to introduce students to general issues and challenges in understanding and applying psychological concepts to Asian Americans with cultural and racial sensitivity rather than to include a universal and inappropriately generalizable list of information.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The history of Asian Americans is characterized by exclusion and racialization, both legally and socially. Waves of Asians from various Asian home countries (China, Japan, Korea, Philippines, etc.) were encouraged to come to the United States as temporary workers to address labor needs (e.g., sugar plantations, railroads, mining), but a variety of laws aimed to prevent them from becoming citizens or from accessing economic and social resources (e.g., the Foreign Miners Tax of 1852, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1892, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, the Alien Land Act of 1913, the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1917, the Cable Act of 1922, etc.).

Social and economic organizations and movements also aimed to exclude or oppress Asian immigrants and Asian Americans (e.g., the “Chinese must go” movement in California in the late 1800s; the Asiatic Exclusion League in the early 1900s; segregated schools in the 1800s and 1900s; the burning of boats by the KKK of Texas to symbolize their opposition to Vietnamese refugee resettlement programs in the early 1980s; the anti-Japanese sentiment in the automobile industry, culminating in the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982; the “Dotbusters” in New Jersey and New York in the late 1980s). In addition to legal and social exclusions aimed specifically at Asian immigrants and Asian Americans, people of Asian heritage like Black and Native Americans (whether citizen or not) were seen as inferior and were subject to similar oppressive practices such as not being able to testify against White Americans in court or not being able to intermarry with White Americans.

The history and current experiences of Asian Americans are also strongly affected by the United States' involvement in war and its interactions with and foreign policy regarding Asian nations. Some of the most oppressive practices against Asian Americans were related to war, such

as the concentration camps¹ for the Japanese Americans. In contrast, the same war also shaped the creation of more positive views of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans and contributed to changes in exclusion laws. In addition, the composition of Asian Americans has been strongly shaped by war (e.g., North vs. South Korean immigrants to the United States, Asian “warbrides,” Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, Amerasians from Vietnam, etc.). The attitudes of many Asian Americans toward the United States and toward other Asian ethnic groups have also been affected by war. And the image that the current average American has of “Asian American” has also likely been shaped by war.

Overall, the history of Asian Americans in the United States is generally a history of immigrants and refugees rather than of colonization or slavery. However, any statement about Asian Americans as a whole frequently emphasizes the diversity of the group and the difficulty with aggregation: The history of Filipino Americans, for example, is that of colonization rather than of immigration. Myths and misperceptions about Asian Americans are frequently related to overaggregation, as described more fully below.

MYTHS AND MISPERCEPTIONS

The growing body of research into racial and ethnic minorities indicates that psychological processes are rarely universal across or within racial and ethnic groups; educators in psychology who incorporate psychological

¹ The use of “concentration camp” is controversial because of the links to the Nazi death camps—clearly the U.S. concentration camps were not death camps. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that concentration camps are “for political prisoners and members of national or minority groups who are confined for reasons of state security, exploitation, or punishment, usually by executive decree or military order. Persons are placed in such camps often on the basis of identification with a particular ethnic or political group rather than as individuals and without benefit either of indictment or fair trial” (<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9025072>). To not use the actual term maintains the mythology that the U.S. has never had these types of camps. In addition, as the web page of the Japanese American National Museum notes, the term *concentration camp* is the one that was used by U.S. officials, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the time; the government quickly changed its public language to make the camps more acceptable (see <http://www.janm.org/nrc/acfact.php>): “*Even Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts declared on December 18, 1944, ‘... so-called ‘relocation centers,’ [were] a euphemism for concentration camps.’ The detention orders were called ‘civilian exclusion orders,’ and American citizens were referred to as ‘non-alien.’ This extensive and persistent use of euphemisms not only worked to sidetrack legal and constitutional challenges but, more insidiously, functioned to gain the cooperation of its victims as well as deceive the American and worldwide public.*”

understandings of Asian Americans within their courses therefore need to become familiar with the specific ways in which Asian American cultures and racialization affect multiple psychological processes. In addition to understanding the influence of culture and racialization on specific psychological processes, educators need to be aware of the following general myths and misperceptions.

The Unity of Asian Americans: Racialization and Overaggregation in Psychology

As noted previously, the process of racialization obscures important ethnic, generational, and psychological differences. Psychological research, theory, and education can contribute to or challenge this erroneous overaggregation. For instance, despite the diversity within the Asian American community, psychological research has historically used primarily East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean) samples rather than samples from specific South Asian or Southeast Asian ethnic groups (e.g., Thai, Pakistani, Vietnamese). Similarly, psychological within-group differences such as the extent to which individuals identify with their cultures of origin or acculturate to the dominant White culture are often overlooked when racial comparisons are made.

Education about the psychological literature on Asian Americans should address the limitations in the generalizability of the term *Asian American*. Specifically, educators and students are encouraged to explore their own assumptions about Asian Americans as a unified group; explore the variability within Asian Americans, as well as the modal experience of the racial group; critically examine the differences between ethnicity and racialization and the ways in which experiences related to these variables create both unity and diversity within Asian Americans; and examine the impacts of racialization on Asian Americans and on psychology's understanding of Asian Americans.

Asian Americans as the "Model Minority"

Asian Americans are frequently (mis)perceived as the "model minority" who have achieved economic and educational success and overcome racial discrimination such that they are no longer "at risk" for psychological, educational, and/or social challenges. Yet, as noted previously, the overaggregation of Asian Americans masks the bimodal distribution of Asian Americans in relation to many social and psychologically related variables,

including economic success, educational achievement, and language abilities.

Those Asian Americans who are succeeding academically are also not the model minority they are made out to be. For example, Asian American students as an aggregate may be perceived as not being at risk because they appear to succeed academically, as indicated by test scores and grades, and are less likely to engage in delinquent behaviors. However, "risk" can be found in Asian American students' high rates of depression and anxiety, lower levels of self-esteem, and greater likelihood of internalizing their difficulties when compared to European Americans; higher levels of social isolation and exclusion than all other racial groups; persistent experiences with racism; and underutilization of mental health services (e.g., see Lorenzo, Frost, & Reinherz, 2000).

Thus, educators must critique the manner in which both "success" and "risk" are defined and operationalized in the psychological literature. Moreover, educators and students are encouraged to (a) examine their own personal, social, and cultural experiences that support or undermine the model minority myth; (b) understand the erroneous conceptual and operational assumptions within the model minority myth; and (c) include a culturally and racially sensitive range of variables when teaching about psychological challenges and resiliencies.

CULTURAL VALUES AND WORLDVIEWS

As implied by the previous discussion of heterogeneity and diversity, there is considerable discussion among social scientists about whether there is a pan-Asian ethnicity—that is, cultural variables common to most or all Asian ethnic groups. Given that there is very limited (although growing) research on specific ethnic groups (e.g., ethnic groups within Southeast Asians, South Asians, Filipinos), we are not yet able to know whether values from different Asian ethnicities are more similar to each other than to ethnicities from other racial groups. Furthermore, it is frequently difficult to determine whether comparative value differences between racial groups (e.g., Asian Americans compared with European Americans) are due to ethnic heritage or racial experiences in the United States.

With these limitations in mind, the research to date suggests that Asian Americans (particularly those from

cultural heritages associated with East Asian countries) are more likely than European Americans to have a collectivistic orientation in which group interests, achievements, and relational harmony are valued more than individual interests, achievement, or needs and desires. This collectivistic orientation is frequently associated with the following values and experiences:

- Emphasis on maintaining harmonious relationships, which may be reflected in higher abasement and affiliation, avoidance of conflict, less assertiveness and autonomy, strong family cohesion, more conformity, and external locus of control.
- Reciprocal obligations through hierarchical relationships, which may be reflected in respect of authority, emphasis on obligation, less expressiveness, more formality, high control from authority while simultaneously fostering internal conscience and control in the service of the group.
- High context communication, which tends to be indirect, sensitive to social cues, and characterized by less verbalized expression, less assertiveness, less extroversion, and possibly related to increased social anxiety when in low-context communication environments. High-context communication relies on shared understandings of history, culture, and social expectations, so that meanings are conveyed indirectly through these understandings rather than directly in the words or content of the communication.

Nevertheless, Asian Americans may vary considerably in how much they endorse or exhibit these characteristics due to acculturation and personal variability. Asian Americans also vary considerably in the extent to which they identify as “Asian American.” Racialization and U.S. racial categorizations may or may not be familiar to Asian immigrants or U.S.-born Asian Americans. Indeed, given their relatively recent immigration, many Asian Americans identify primarily or solely with their specific ethnicity. Others may recognize a different racial and/or political identity as Asian American in addition to a specific ethnic identity. Still others may endorse a pan-Asian American ethnic identity with or without an associated Asian American racial identity.

In contrast to the tendency to treat race and ethnicity as interchangeable, it is important to recognize that race (i.e.,

Asian American) and ethnicity (e.g., Chinese, Filipino, etc.) are differentiated although related identities and reference groups. Examples of this differentiation include a Korean transracial adoptee who has a strong racial identity as Asian American but whose ethnic identity may be Italian American, similar to that of her adoptive parents, or a Chinese American immigrant with a strong ethnic identity as Chinese but minimal racial identity as an Asian American.

Consequently, educators and students are encouraged to (a) explore in significantly more depth the range of values and worldviews of diverse Asian American ethnicities and their impacts on psychological processes; (b) use caution in applying cultural generalities to “Asian Americans” and consider interacting variables such as specific ethnicity, acculturation, ethnic identity, racial identity, and gender; (c) understand issues related to research methodologies, including the comparative nature of psychological research; (d) consider whether ethnic cultural heritage, racialized experience in the United States, or both might be contributing to differences between groups in values and worldviews; and (e) recognize that an individual’s identification with race and ethnicity is critical to understanding within-group differences in Asian Americans.

BARRIERS TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC EDUCATION

Education within the United States, and within psychology specifically, has traditionally been Eurocentric in both content and pedagogy. Thus, the largest historical barrier to racial and cultural-specific education about Asian Americans has been a basic lack of attention to the impacts of racial and cultural differences.

Minimal Research

Asian American psychology is a relatively new area within psychology and within education, reflecting educational reforms and changes in social attitudes since the civil rights movement. In general, psychologists continue to focus on European American samples and/or fail to significantly incorporate explorations of the impacts of race and culture. While the research in Asian American psychology has increased substantially in recent years, there is still a dearth of information. Moreover, when research does include Asian Americans, researchers often fail to address within-group variability.

Dissemination of Research

Even when research is available, textbooks and other educational resources frequently fail to include such research or place information about racial and ethnic minorities only in a separate chapter. Although information related to the specific psychological impacts of race and culture for Asian Americans may be appropriately placed in a separate chapter, information about racial and cultural diversity also needs to be integrated into all basic content areas.

Educators' Awareness

Despite a desire to be more racially and culturally sensitive, educators who have been educated within a Eurocentric system often lack an understanding of race and culture in general and of Asian Americans in particular. Educators may know how to evaluate a textbook on the basis of inclusion of basic psychological concepts that are “canon” yet have little experience or consciousness of the need to evaluate a textbook or a curriculum in regard to its inclusion of information about Asian Americans. Furthermore, when issues of race and culture are framed as “add-ons,” educators may perceive them as “competing” with other content rather than as integral to the exploration of this content and as contributing important depth and generalizability.

Limited Numbers of Psychologists of Color

Until recently, Asian Americans have been underrepresented in the field of psychology. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES; U.S. Department of Education, 2005) indicated that 5.2% of the doctoral degrees in psychology conferred in 2000–2001 were to Asian Americans. In contrast, only 3.3% of the doctoral degrees in psychology conferred in 1990–1991 were to Asian Americans. The NCES notes that even this seeming increase might be misleading, as many Asians converted from temporary visas to permanent visas in the mid-1990s, perhaps accounting for the increase. Because there has been a historical underrepresentation of Asian Americans in the field, the ability to critique the existing literature and to give voice to the experiences of Asian Americans from within the community, as both scholars and educators, has been inhibited.

Racial Paradigm

The absence of Asian Americans from the curriculum also reflects the manner in which Asian Americans are regarded and situated within this country’s racial discourse. In effect, Asian Americans are rendered racially invisible insofar as race is narrowly constructed within a Black–White paradigm, and Asian Americans are perceived as being shielded from issues of race and racism due to their presumed educational and economic “success,” as reflected in the model minority myth.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC TEACHING TOOLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

First and foremost, educators and students seeking to deepen their understanding of Asian Americans are strongly encouraged to engage in a process of self-reflection. For instance, assignments exploring one’s experiences with Asian Americans, assumptions and knowledge about Asian Americans, and the family, friends, and institutions that influenced these experiences and attitudes may be helpful in assessing one’s baseline understanding of these communities. Similarly, activities that engage educators and students in exploring their own values, worldviews, and culturally related behaviors may broaden their understanding of the degree and scope to which culture influences everybody’s lives. For instance, an understanding of one’s assumptions about conflict and communication, expectations about family obligation, or the role of families in decision making may provide cultural insights, particularly in relation to Asian Americans’ worldviews.

Building on this foundation of self-awareness, educators and students are further encouraged to seek opportunities to learn more about and to engage with Asian Americans. For instance, there are ample books in disciplines such as Asian American studies, literature, sociology, and history that can expose individuals to the lived experiences of Asian Americans (see the Asian American Curriculum Project at www.asianamericanbooks.com and the Digital History project at www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/asian_voices/asian_voices.cfm). Similarly, the Center for Asian American Media (www.asianamericamedia.org) can expose individuals to films and teaching guides on historical and contemporary experiences of Asian Americans.

Moreover, individuals could also consider enrolling in courses within Asian American studies and ethnic

studies, which incorporate not only information about Asian Americans but also critical analysis about structural injustices. In addition, personal experiences such as attending cultural events, becoming involved in Asian American organizations, and interacting individually with Asian Americans at work, school, and play can enrich individuals' knowledge and cultural sensitivity as well as their personal lives.

Although the majority of this section addresses tools for teaching content related to Asian Americans, attention to pedagogical style will assist educators in teaching to Asian Americans (as students) and also illustrate information about Asian Americans by example in the classroom. Pedagogy is culturally situated, frequently in ways that do not accord well with what is known about Asian Americans. For example, education in the United States frequently emphasizes individualism, lower context communication, assertiveness, monolingual (English) proficiency, and personal disclosure. Educators could consider alternative ways to structure discussions, create collaborative learning, explore alternative communication styles, incorporate multilingual proficiencies, and so forth, that would connect with and illustrate diverse cultural learning styles.

Courses that do not specifically focus on racial and cultural diversity or social experiences and worldviews more generally can also integrate information and perspectives from and about Asian Americans. For example, David Matsumoto's (2000) *People: Psychology From a Cultural Perspective* can be used as a complement to standard introductory psychology texts, as its organization mirrors the standard approach (with chapters on cognition, perception, developmental psychology, etc.). The inclusion of research that has used Asian American and Asian samples also helps to integrate cultural and racial awareness (e.g., culture's effects on priming in a cognition class).

Creating examples connected to racial and ethnic diversity for concepts that are not in themselves inherently related to race and ethnicity is another important integrative strategy. For example, when discussing research methodology, educators could use the example of how race/ethnicity is operationalized by a "check one box" approach. In effect, using this example addresses the immediate content need of considering the complexities of operationalizing variables and introduces students to the complexity of "defining" race and ethnicity.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The effective integration of the psychological experiences of Asian Americans into the curriculum cannot be reduced to an understanding of research findings and facts and their insertion in a single lesson. It is equally important, if not more so, that educators and students develop insights into their own assumptions and knowledge of these communities and be equipped with the ability to critically analyze the complexity and limitations of the information to which they are exposed. In effect, the resources and information provided in this chapter should be regarded as the initial catalyst for a more in-depth and ongoing exploration about the Asian American community.



REFERENCES AND RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Alvarez, A. N., & Chen, G. A. (in press). Organizational applications of racial identity theory: An Asian American perspective. In C. Thompson & R. Carter (Eds.), *Racial identity theory: Applications to individual, group, and organizational intervention* (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Fong, T. P. (2001). *The contemporary Asian American experience: Beyond the model minority myth* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Lai, E., & Arguelles, D. (Eds.). (2003). *The new face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, diversity, and change in the 21st century*. San Francisco: AsianWeek.
- Lee, E. (1997). *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Leong, F. T. L., Inman, A. G., Ebreo, A., Yang, L. H., Kinoshita, L. M., & Fu, M. (2006). *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lorenzo, M. K., Frost, A. K., & Reinherz, H. Z. (2000). Social and emotional functioning of older Asian American adolescents. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 17, 289-304.
- Matusmoto, D. (2000). *People: Psychology from a cultural perspective*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Suyemoto, K. L. (2002). Redefining "Asian American" identity: Reflections on differentiating ethnic and racial identities for Asian American individuals and communities. In L. Zhan (Ed.), *Asian Americans: Vulnerable populations, model interventions, and clarifying agendas* (pp. 195-231). Boston: Jones and Bartlett.
- Suyemoto, K. L., Tawa, J., Kim, G. S., Day, S. C., Lambe, S. A., Nguyen, P. T. & AhnAllen, J. M. (2009). Integrating disciplines for transformative education in health services: Strategies and effects. In L. Zhan (Ed), *Asian American voices: Engaging, empowering, and enabling* (pp. 209-228). New York: NLN Press.
- Tewari, N., & Alvarez, A. N. (2008). *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever foreigners or honorary Whites*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Uba, L. (1994). *Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health*. New York: Guilford Press.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2005). *Statistical profile of persons receiving doctor's degrees in the social sciences: Selected years, 1979-80 through 2002-03*. Retrieved November 27, 2006, from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d05/tables/dt05_301.asp
- Wu, J. Y., & Song, M. (2000). *Asian American studies: A reader*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

II. Multiracial People in the Context of Specific Racial Minority Groups

Multiracial Individuals



Karen L. Suyemoto, PhD
University of Massachusetts, Boston

Beth Boyd, PhD
University of South Dakota

Christine Iijima Hall, PhD
Maricopa Community College

Lisa Sánchez-Johnsen, PhD
University of Chicago

SELF-TEST

1. What are the two reasons historically put forth to argue against interracial marriages and multiracial offspring (related to the eugenics movement)?
2. When were states' laws against interracial relationships declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court?
3. Name and describe two myths about multiracial people. What assumptions, beliefs, and knowledge do you have about multiracial people?
4. Describe how different types of identities may be different for multiracial individuals and some of the reasons for these differences.
5. Different racialized communities understand and interact with multiracial individuals within their communities in diverse ways. What are some of the differences in how Black, Asian, Latino/a, and Asian American communities/groups understand race, and what are the related implications for multiracial individuals within these communities?
6. Why is differentiating race and ethnicity important in understanding multiracial experiences?

INTRODUCTION

In the 2000 U.S. Census, people in the United States were able for the first time to check more than one box to indicate their race. This historic moment provided information never before invited. Census reports (e.g., U.S. Census Bureau, 2005) indicate that 2.4% of respondents checked more than one race box (White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, Some Other Race). In Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander and in American Indian and Alaska Native groups, 40% or more of respondents indicated more than one race. In contrast, in the White and Black or African American groups, 5% or fewer respondents indicated more than one race (see Table 1).

For Latinas/os, the census has alternative ways of counting. The census separates race and Hispanic or Latina/o origin (Latinos/Hispanics are multiracial as a birthright), so the counting of multiracial individuals with Hispanic or Latina/o origins is made more complex, and the details provided by the census reports are more limited (see Table 2). Data are reported for Black-non-Hispanics and White-non-Hispanics, as is done by many institutions, including universities, hospitals, and so forth. The non-Hispanic multiracial population is younger than the general population: 41% of those endorsing more than one race on the 2000 Census were under 18, compared with 25% of those endorsing only one race. Asian-White individuals and Black-White individuals had even higher proportions under age 18 (50% and 71%, respectively).

Individuals of Latina/o origin may or may not identify or be seen by others as multiracial (e.g., Latino-White multiracial vs. White with Latino heritage). For many, the Latina/o identity inherently endows multiple heritages or multiracial identity. In Spanish-speaking countries, individuals are labeled *mestizos*, signifying mixed-race.

Note. In this chapter, we conceptualize primarily from a racial framework, considering individuals and communities who self-identify or are identified by others as *multiracial*. However, we recognize that race is a socially constructed concept, not fully embraced as an accurate descriptor of origins for many individuals and communities. In contrast, *multiple heritage* conveys ethnicity and national origins. For example, a person may have Jamaican, French, Cherokee, and U.S. ethnic roots. These descriptors of heritage may also relate to multiracial heritage, but they are primarily related to multiple ethnic identities. We have chosen to use *multiracial* rather than *multiple heritage* for two reasons: (a) the other chapters in this report are centered around what are usually considered “racial” groups instead of the multiplicity of heritages outside of race, and (b) we believe that part of what marginalizes minority individuals and communities in education are legacies of discrimination based on racial constructions or racialization related to ethnicity and not on ethnicity alone.

TABLE 1
Summary of U.S. Census 2000 Data for Individuals Reporting More Than One Race

Racial groups	# of individuals	% of racial group
All AIAN Multiracial	1,643,345	40% of all AIAN
AIAN & Black	182,494	4% of all AIAN
AIAN & White	1,082,683	26% of all AIAN
AIAN & Black & White	112,207	3% of all AIAN
All Asian Multiracial	1,106,782	14% of all Asians
Asian & Black	106,782	<1% of all Asians
Asian & NHPI	138,802	1% of all Asians
Asian & White	868,395	7% of all Asians
Asian & NHPI & White	89,611	<1% of all Asians
All Black Multiracial	1,761,244	5% of all Blacks
Black & AIAN	182,494	<1% of all Blacks
Black & Asian	106,782	<1% of all Blacks
Black & White	784,764	2% of all Blacks
Black & NHPI & White	112,207	<1% of all Blacks
All NHPI Multiracial	475,579	54% of all NHPI
NHPI & Asian	138,802	16% of all NHPI
NHPI & White	112,964	13% of all NHPI
NHPI & Asian & White	89,611	10% of all NHPI
All White Multiracial	5,470,349	3% of all Whites
White & AIAN	1,082,683	<1% of all Whites
White & Asian	868,395	<1% of all Whites
White & AIAN & Black	112,207	<1% of all Whites
White & Asian & NHPI	89,611	<0.1% of all Whites
White & Black	784,764	<1% of all Whites
White & NHPI	112,964	<0.1% of all Whites

Note. AIAN = American Indian and Alaska Native. NHPI = Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander. Black = Black or African American. Groups with fewer than 100,000 that represent less than 1% of the racial groups' populations are not listed here. The order of presentation is alphabetical. Source: U.S. Census (n.d.).

Many individuals with multiple heritages from other racial groups may also not identify as multiracial and may or may not have endorsed multiple races on the census form even if they socially or personally claim a multiracial identity. Given the uncertainty of how these estimates would be used and the related advocacy of several racial coalitions and organizations against checking multiple boxes, the 2000 Census likely underestimated the multiracial population.

Trying to describe the modal experiences of any racialized² group without contributing to stereotyping

² We use the word *racialized* to emphasize that race is a *social* construction and inherently problematic.

or oversimplification is challenging because of the vast heterogeneity within each group. Meanings of race and ethnicity, racialized and ethnic identities, processes of racialization and ethnic/cultural negotiations, and psychological experiences associated with all of these variables are complex and highly contextualized within current and historical social contexts.

Multiracial individuals and communities are even more heterogeneous: They vary not only in the many ways in which individuals within a given racial group vary but also in their experiences with different racial groups, whose meanings and processes of race and racialization also vary (Suyemoto & Dimas, 2003).

TABLE 2
Summary of U.S. Census 2000 Data for Individuals Reporting More Than One Race

Racial groups	# of individuals	% of Latino/as	% of other group
Latino and AIAN alone	407,073	4% of Latino/as	4% of AmInd
Latino and AIAN and other race	267,528	<1% of Latino/as	7% of AmInd
Latino and Asian alone	119,829	<1% of Latino/as	1% of Asians
Latino and Asian and other race	199,505	<1% of Latino/as	2% of Asians
Latino and Black alone	710,353	2% of Latino/as	2% of Blacks
Latino and Black and other race	325,330	<1% of Latino/as	<1% of Blacks
Latino and NHPI alone	45,326	<1% of Latino/as	5% of NatHaw
Latino and NHPI and other race	80,939	<1% of Latino/as	9% of NatHaw
Latino and White alone	16,907,852	48% of Latino/as	8% of Whites
Latino and White and other race	1,845,223	5% of Latino/as	<1% of Whites
Latino and any 2 or more races	2,224,082	6% of Latino/as	—

Note. AIAN = American Indian and Alaska Native; AmInd = American Indian; NHPI = Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander; Black = Black or African American. “Other race” in this table means any other race indicated; it includes but is not limited to the formal census category “Some Other Race.” This table was created from data from multiple U.S. Census reports (2001, 2004, 2005, 2006).

For example, the basis of group inclusion within a given racial group can be quite different: Black, Asian, Latino/a, Native American, and White groups and communities place different emphases on racial (categorization based on physical appearance), ethnic (cultural values, norms, or behaviors), linguistic, affiliative (social relationships and chosen contexts), identity (claimed or ascribed), or family lineage/heritage criteria. Thus, the psychological experience of a Latina and a White European multiracial individual who “looks White,” is culturally affiliated with Mexican culture and groups, and speaks fluent Spanish may be very different from the psychological experience of a Black and Asian multiracial individual who “looks Asian,” is highly acculturated/affiliated with African American culture and groups, and speaks only English. Furthermore, racial identity meanings and processes are tied to historical and social hierarchies related to power and privilege in ways that vary among different racial groups and that affect the experience of multiracial individuals. Thus, it could be argued that multiracial individuals have more visible differences than similarities among them and, in fact, are more similar to individuals within their referenced racial groups/identities.

However, multiracial individuals across racial groups do share some experiences related to their experiences negotiating the socially dominant monoracial paradigm that reflects the legacy of the historical emphasis on

racial purity as a social and legal/institutional standard. Although a monoracial paradigm is inaccurate and oversimplified and most psychologists discard the idea of racial purity, these legacies are still applied to racial discourse, understandings, and relationships. In addition, multiracial individuals share experiences related to the negotiation of multiple racial referents in their heritages that affect their identities, social relationships, and other psychological experiences.

In this part of the report, we focus primarily on experiences related to addressing the invisibility and marginalization within the education of multiracial individuals and communities across racial minority groups. We focus on those issues that are related to being of mixed race generally, rather than on those that are specific to being a multiracial person from a particular racial background. However, it is also imperative that educators understand that the experiences of multiracial individuals are related to the meanings and experiences of particular racial referent groups and to each group’s understanding of multiraciality. Thus, we begin with an overview of historical and contextual issues shared by multiracial individuals and then present sections on historical and contextual issues related to multiraciality within each major cultural/racial minority group. The subsequent sections, Barriers to Culture-Specific Education, Culture-Specific Teaching Tools and Recommendations, and

Conclusions, focus on common experiences of multiracial people as a group.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

The history of race and race relations in the United States reflects a strong emphasis on racial purity. Although a federal law against interracial relationships was never instituted (although attempts were made), 41 of 50 states enforced anti-miscegenation laws at some time (see historical legal map and examples of statutes at <http://lovingday.org/map.htm>). These laws prohibited marriage and relationships between Whites and Blacks, “Mongolians,” or American Indians. Some states also enforced laws against the marriage of Blacks and individuals from any other race. Punishment for interracial relationships or marriages included public whippings, fines, the mandated selling of slave women out of state, jail terms up to 10 years, and the voiding of the legal recognition of the marriage. By the mid-1900s, almost two thirds of the states in the union still enforced anti-miscegenation laws.

Anti-miscegenation laws and ideologies of racial purity were bolstered in the mid-1800s and early 1900s by the eugenics movement, which purported to use scientific methods and evidence to prove that racial mixing was unnatural. Multiracial heritage was characterized as unhealthy and damaging to individuals and societies for myriad unsubstantiated, nonscientific reasons (see Tucker’s, 2004, review):

- *The blood of Whites and other races was biologically incompatible.* Racial mixing would therefore lead to physical and mental defects and sterility. Although Darwin (in the *Origin of Species*) was clear that all *Homo sapiens* were one species (regardless of racial group), proponents of the eugenics movement continued to believe that racial groups may be different species and that multiracial offspring would therefore be physically inferior and less fertile (similar to mules; e.g., see Nott & Glidden, 1857, and Davenport, 1917, among others cited in Tucker, 2004).
- *Particular personality characteristics were dictated by racial blood, and these personality characteristics would clash in multiracial individuals.* This would contribute to the inevitable degeneration of the White race’s

morality, intelligence, and personality strengths, which were seen as superior (e.g., see East & Jones, 1919, as cited in Tucker, 2004).

Although these conclusions were not supported by the limited research that was actually conducted, they were publicly endorsed by many of the top biologists, psychologists, and anthropologists of the time and used to justify racism and anti-miscegenation laws:

It is stated as a well authenticated fact that if the issue of a black man and a white woman, and a white man and a black woman, intermarry, they cannot possibly have any progeny, and such a fact sufficiently justifies those laws which forbid the intermarriage of blacks and whites, laying out of view other sufficient grounds for such enactments. (Missouri: *State v. Jackson, Mo.* 175, 179, 1883)

In addition to resulting in anti-miscegenation laws, the emphasis on racial purity necessitated strict racial categorizations. The emphasis on protecting White privilege and purity contributed to the classification of multiracial peoples according to their non-White heritage. Eugenics was also invoked to provide scientific evidence that multiracial individuals should be categorized by their non-White heritage (blood): The introduction of “inferior” blood would result in a degradation to the “lowest” common denominator, thus further supporting the maintenance of a race hierarchy (see, e.g., eugenicist Madison Grant’s, 1916, *The Passing of the Great Race*). Although the eugenics movement was largely discredited after WWII, some biologists and psychologists continued to support it, and anti-miscegenation laws continued to be enforced (e.g., Raymond Cattell; see overview of Cattell’s publications and views in Tucker, 2004).

States’ anti-miscegenation laws were finally declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* case (see www.ameasite.org/loving.asp for the full text of the Supreme Court decision). The Court ruled that these laws were a violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and noted that the justification used for these laws was “obviously an endorsement of the doctrine of White Supremacy” and that “there is patently no legitimate overriding purpose independent of invidious racial discrimination which justifies this classification.”

MYTHS, MISPERCEPTIONS, AND REALITIES

Although the Loving case overturned the legal foundations of discrimination against interracial couples and multiracial progeny, myths about multiracial people reflect the legacy of ideologies of racial purity and the arguments of the proponents of the eugenics movement against multiraciality. Common myths include the following:

- Multiracial people are inherently confused or psychologically disturbed.
- Multiracial people are race traitors.
- Multiracial people should choose one identity.

The biological basis of attributing pathology to multiracial individuals (i.e., warring and incompatible blood) is no longer believed. In fact, some research suggests increased self-esteem and fewer psychological symptoms for multiracial individuals, while other research suggests lower self-esteem and greater risk for anxiety and depression, primarily due to social exclusion (e.g., Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Cauce et al., 1992). In addition, some research suggests that multiracial individuals may experience psychological benefits from their experiences as multiracial beings, such as lower xenophobia and appreciation of multiple viewpoints (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 1991, Suyemoto, 2004). However, there continues to be pressure to choose a single identity, although this is now identified not as an internal drive resulting in pathology but as a problem within the social understandings and expectations of others (e.g., see Kich, 1992; Nagel, 1997).

Multiracial people are sometimes seen by others as “race traitors” or as evidence that their parents were race traitors. Both White people/groups/communities and racial minority people/groups/communities may hold these views. Discrimination from White people and communities is frequently based on values of White racial purity and the same racial attitudes that lead to discrimination against any ethnic minority individual. Discrimination from persons of color may be related to perceptions that multiracial individuals (particularly those who claim multiracial identities) are actively attempting to access White privilege, to distance themselves from identification with oppressed racial minority groups, or to “pass.” In fact, research suggests that the vast majority of multiracial individuals identify most strongly with their racial minority heritages

or with a multiracial identity (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Renn, 2003; Suyemoto, 2004).

However, White-minority multiracial individuals may have more access to privilege related to race than do ethnic minority individuals who claim to be or are seen as being “monoracial minority,” either because of family members who are White and have access to White privilege or because White people may be more comfortable with White-minority multiracial individuals than with monoracial minorities. The relative privilege afforded by multiracial heritage may create distance from monoracial minority communities, whereas racial discrimination creates distance from White communities, contributing to the possible marginalization of multiracial individuals within both communities.

Examining the identity negotiations of multiracial people emphasizes how complex race and ethnicity are, challenging the oversimplification and confounding of race and ethnicity that relate to the pressure to “choose one box only.” Research and theory about multiracial individuals contribute to our understanding by focusing on the multiple influences on types of identity and identity claims that are likely to affect all people, not only multiracial people. Tashiro (2002) differentiated between five types of multiracial identities:

1. *Cultural identity*, which is based on internalized cultural values and worldviews.
2. *Ascribed racial identity* or how one is racially identified by others, frequently based on physical appearance or phenotype and related to experiences of racism.
3. *Racial identification to others*, which is based on how one labels oneself publically (e.g., on a census form or in response to “what are you?” questions).
4. *Racial self-identification*, which is based on one’s internal sense of who one is racially.
5. *Situational racialization*, which addresses how one may identify racially based on particular contexts that change.

These identities may not be equivalent. For example, a multiracial individual with American Indian and Latino heritages may have a self-declared *cultural* identity as Wampanoag, an ascribed *racial identity* as White, a *racial identification* to others as American Indian, a *racial self-identification* as multiracial Indigenous American, and

a *situational racialization* including all of the above and also Latina and Mexican American in particular contexts. Choices of identities are influenced by a variety of factors (Khanna, 2004; Renn, 2003; Root, 2001; Suyemoto, 2004; Wiejysinghe, 2001) including (a) racial ancestry; (b) family experiences; (c) other childhood experiences; (d) physical appearance; (e) cultural knowledge and attachment; (f) historical context; (g) geographical origins; (h) exposure to, acceptance by, or exclusion or discrimination from different racialized groups and communities; (i) other identities (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, social class, religion); and (j) political awareness and orientation.

Multiracial individuals share experiences related to negotiating relationships and identities between and within racial groups that frequently define themselves as “this and not that.” Given the historical context, to be “Black” is also to be “not-White,” with little room for being both. The challenge shared by multiracial people is claiming what one is, in all its complexity. But multiracial people are also very different from one another based on their particular racial and ethnic backgrounds and referent groups. Most of the racial and cultural issues and descriptions described in the other chapters in this report also apply to multiracial individuals from these specific backgrounds because multiracial people are inherently a part of these communities. There are also experiences within each group that relate to being multiracial in that specific context.

MULTIRACIAL PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT³

The amount of Black “blood” has traditionally been the primary measure of classification into the Black “race.” The “one-drop,” or hypodescent, rule was established by the U.S. government to ensure that individuals who had even one drop of Black blood would be classified as Black and thus remain slaves (Fernandez, 1996; Guthrie, 1976). In the 19th century, the U.S. government even classified individuals by the fraction of Black blood in them, such as “mulatto” (half-Black), “quadroon” (one quarter), and “octoroon” (one-eighth). These terms were predominantly used for classifying slaves because lighter-skinned slaves were preferred as house slaves.

Later in the 20th century these “high yella” (light-skinned) individuals (specifically women) were frequently seen as more attractive and smarter (Comas-Diaz, 2003;

Guthrie, 1976; Poussaint, 1984). Some of these individuals were so light-skinned they could “pass” for White. While the institutional history of Black–White individuals caused people to believe these individuals were treated better and were discriminated against less, research has shown that individuals who have both White and minority racial heritage experience discrimination similar to other racial minorities (Cauce et al., 1992; Mass, 1992; Poussaint, 1984). These individuals are frequently viewed by others as being Black because of the one-drop/hypodescent rule. However, the individuals themselves may not see it that simply. That is, choosing to be solely Black may cause Black–White individuals to feel as if they are choosing between the ethnic minority and the dominant culture, or more specifically, choosing between their mother and father (Hall & Turner, 2001).

Furthermore, although Black–White multiracial individuals may be seen as more privileged, their history is frequently one related to legacies of abuse and oppression (Spickard, 1989). White slave masters regularly raped Black female slaves for sexual pleasure and also to produce additional slaves. Therefore, if a Black person currently decides to marry or have a sexual relationship with a White person, the Black person may be seen as “selling out” or relenting to oppression. This perspective is predominantly seen in relationships between Black women and White men (Spickard, 1989). The relationships between Black men and White women bring about different emotions. Black men seeking relationships with White women were seen as retaliating against the White man, with Black men potentially perceived as having “conquered” White men’s women. Both the stereotyped view of 21st-century White men enslaving consenting Black women and of Black men conquering consenting White women are extremely sexist. This belief dehumanizes and degrades women of all colors.

One can see that reactions to the progeny of these Black–White relationships may be highly emotional. As noted previously, while a total 5% of the Black community checked more than one race on the 2000 Census, 3% of these Black interracial individuals are mixtures with other minority groups (e.g., Asian, Latina/o, and Native American). Multiracial Black individuals of two “ethnic minority” groups are unquestionably viewed as minorities or people of color (see other sections in this part of the report on how other ethnic minority groups view multiracial individuals of African American/Black heritage).

³ This section by Christine Iijima Hall, PhD.

It is unknown whether the individuals who checked more than one race on the census forms are first generation or past generations of racial mixtures. Both before and after the Emancipation Proclamation, it was not unusual for free Blacks to interact with American Indians. More recently, within the last 50 years, some African American soldiers returned from overseas wars with European and Asian wives. With each decade, individuals report having more liberal views of interracial marriage, and the rate of interracial marriages in the United States increases. However, only recently has the discourse on race enabled individuals to actively choose a multiracial identity or status. It is most likely that those Blacks who chose to check more than one race are those individuals who currently have parents who are of different racial heritages rather than those who are interracial from 100 years ago.

The Black community has traditionally accepted individuals of any Black heritage who identify as Black, as most Blacks in the United States are multiracial from past generations. Mixed Black individuals raised in Black communities likely have a higher probability of being accepted by the Black community because the external/behavioral cues (talk, walk, dress, mannerisms, diet, music preference, etc.) are more likely to be based in the Black culture. However, a Black “mixed” individual who is raised in the White or another ethnic minority community may not have these same behaviors and may not be as well accepted by the Black community. These multiracial Black individuals may be seen by the Black community as “not all Black,” as not having complete allegiance to the Black community, or as “spies” or sellouts.

Geographic location also affects the experiences of multiracial Black individuals and their relations with other minority groups. For example, the relations between Blacks and Asians on the East and West coasts have sometimes been problematic (Kim, 2000; Norman, 1994). In areas with large Asian and Hispanic immigration patterns, there may also be more tension between Blacks and these groups. Thus, Black individuals who are racially mixed with other ethnic groups may be viewed with hostility by these other ethnic groups in particular contexts.

The 2000 Census, which enabled individuals to choose multiple options for their race, caused additional friction in the Black community regarding mixed-race Black individuals. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and some other Black groups

stated that all Blacks in the United States were mixed race and thus this change was unnecessary. It was unclear how individuals who checked multiple boxes would be counted. Many feared that mixed Black individuals who chose multiple categories would not be counted as Black (or only partially counted—e.g., half a Black person). This could lead to a drop in the number of Blacks, thus affecting the power of the Black community and federal funds and programs to help the Black community. The U.S. Census Bureau’s decision to report the data without separating the multiracial individuals from the greater Black populations alleviated much of this concern.

There are many well-known biracial/multiracial African American/Black individuals—for example, Mariah Carey, Halle Berry, Alicia Keys, Derek Jeter, Dwayne Johnson (“The Rock”), and Tiger Woods, to name just a few. Although Woods is predominantly Asian (his mother was Thai and his father was part Asian and part Black), most people in the United States view Woods as African American. Similarly, although our first Black president, Barack Obama, had an African father and a White American mother and was raised primarily in Hawaii by his White American grandparents, few people view Obama as being biracial and predominantly view him as an African American. The ascription of the one-drop Black blood rule is still prevalent in the United States.

MULTIRACIAL AMERICAN INDIANS⁴

Native Americans are largely a mixed-race population in terms of heritage (Fernández, 1996), although they may or may not endorse multiracial identities. Identity choices are frequently related to the fact that Native American multiracial people are often caught in a complex set of identity definitions. Degree of “Indian-ness” has been tied to blood quantum levels since 1705, when the colony of Virginia passed laws intended to deny civil rights to any “negro, mulatto, or Indian” and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren (Forbes, 2000). Because of these laws, many multiracial individuals were categorically defined as Indian. However, as enrollment in a federally recognized tribe became the basis for access to treaty benefits (e.g., education, rations and health services), federal officials often decided that multiracial Native people were not “Indian enough” to be on the rolls. Many

⁴ This section by Beth Boyd, PhD.

mixed-race people were therefore no longer considered Native American at all in the eyes of the government. In addition, federal policies of assimilation—relocating Native families from reservations to major cities, adopting Native children into White homes, and forcing Indian children into boarding schools—have led to a devastating loss of traditional culture, spirituality, language, and identity for Indians generally and for multiracial Indians (see earlier chapter on American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian People).

Blood quantum levels and enrollment status are not indigenous concepts but have become inextricably tied to current notions of who is Indian. Although membership in a nation was traditionally determined by lineage, family adoption, or commitment to the community and culture, many nations now base at least part of their membership criteria on blood quantum levels. Although the 1910 Census found that only one half of all American Indians even at that time were “full-bloods” (Snipp, 2005), Native American racial purity is still valued, and there are often sharp distinctions between “full-bloods” and “half-breeds” within the Native American community. Furthermore, although only about 36% of Native Americans currently live on reservations, some Native people believe that those raised off the reservation are not “really Indian.” Maintaining strong ties to traditional culture, darker skin color, Native features, and a reservation background are highly valued and can become the basis for social standing within the Native American community. These community standards affect the identities and experiences of multiracial Native Americans.

Regardless of these categorizations and identity claims, multiracial Native Americans have existed for generations. High rates of intermarriage between Native Americans and Whites in early colonial times led to derogatory terms from other White settlers, such as “Squaw man” for a White man married to a Native woman and “Buck woman” for a White woman married to a Native man, as well as discrimination concerning the children of these unions. Even now, multiracial Native/White individuals may encounter rejection from both Native and White communities. These individuals often feel that they are forced to choose to be either Native American or White but are seldom seen as both.

Furthermore, the acceptance of Native/White multiracial individuals within the Native American community may

also be affected by suspicions related to White people who claim to be multiracial Native American, with no racial or cultural evidence of Native heritage. In some parts of the United States, Native heritage is considered exotic and desirable, and there are stories in many White families of an “Indian grandmother” but no knowledge of nation, culture, or specifics of heritage. Native people often perceive these claims to be bogus and label the people making them as “wannabes.” However, multiracial Native/White people who are knowledgeable about their heritage, tribal history, and culture, have Native physical characteristics, or have been raised on the reservation are often accepted within the community and may be more likely to identify as Native American than as multiracial.

Native Americans also have a long history of relations with Black peoples and communities. Native American nations began taking escaped African slaves into their communities as early as 1526 (Katz, 1997). Following the Civil War, many people of African descent joined with Native Americans in fighting western expansion into Native territories. Intermarriage and full participation of peoples of African descent in cultural and community activities were common. However, when the Dawes Commission rolls were established, federal officials often did not enroll mixed-race Native Americans with African heritage regardless of lineage or amount of Indian blood.

Currently, the experience of Black Indians within Native communities varies, and many multiracial Black Indians experience more acceptance within the Black community while feeling more culturally connected to the Native community. Many individuals have found that although dark skin is valued among Native people, skin that is too dark can contribute to exclusion within Native communities. As Native communities value a strong, cohesive, protected sense of identity, some fear that those who physically look more Black than Indian may undermine that group identity or deflect attention from Native issues in favor of more visible African American issues.

Native Americans have always had among the highest rates of intermarriage in the United States. Although the large number of Native Americans endorsing more than one race on the 2000 Census has led to hypotheses about the fluidity of Native American identity, it is more likely related to changes in the rules about who may identify as Native American. For example, in 2000, people of Central

or South American indigenous heritage were included in the American Indian/Alaska Native category for the first time. It is clear that the number of multiracial Native American people is increasing, and questions of who is “really Indian” and what it means to be an American Indian will continue to be explored and to evolve.

MULTIHERITAGE LATINAS/OS⁵

To understand the experiences of multiracial Latinas/os in the United States, one must first examine perspectives of race and ethnicity for Latinas/os within a historical context. Colonization, terrorization, and abduction are terms that characterize 16th- to 18th-century experiences of Latinas/os. Historically, African slaves were brought by the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores when they were colonizing the New World. The European influence on Latinas/os was greatly affected by the intermixing that subsequently occurred between the natives indigenous to the lands in America and the Caribbean islands and the people of African and European (Spanish and Portuguese) descent in the post-Christopher Columbus era.

As a result of these historical influences, Latinas/os have the legacy of African, European, Indian, and Asian heritages (Negy, Klein, & Brantley, 2008; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). For example, Latinas/os of African heritages are found throughout Spanish-speaking countries and Brazil. In the Dominican Republic, there is a visible African heritage due to the intermixing between the indigenous groups and the Spanish and Portuguese, as well as the Africans who were brought there as slaves. In Mexico, there are also visible African Mexicans who reflect the intermixing of the indigenous people, Spaniards, and African slaves. In Puerto Rico, Taíno Indians were the largest indigenous tribe. The legacy of the native Taíno Indians mixing with Africans and Spaniards contributed to a multiracial people. In fact, according to Logan (2003), who analyzed data from the 2000 Census, the highest percentages of Black Hispanics are among Dominicans (12.7%) and Puerto Ricans (8.2%). Moreover, the Spanish influence can also be seen in various Asian groups, such as Filipinos (since the Philippines were conquered by Spain) and Chinese, who are found in Mexico and South American countries such as Peru. In these cases, as Santiago-Rivera and colleagues (2002) noted, they

may identify as either Asian or Latina/o. Therefore, many Latinas/os have a multiracial background, even though they may not acknowledge this heritage and may self-identify as Mexican, Cuban, Panamanian, and so forth, or simply as Latina/o.

Various labels are used to describe multiracial or biracial Latinas/os. Although these labels may be more common in Latin America and the Caribbean (Golash-Boza & Darity, 2007), they are also used in the United States, albeit to a lesser degree. The words *mulatto* and *criollo* are used to describe people of European, American Indian, and African heritage (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). The term *mestizo* is used to describe those of Spanish and American Indian or indigenous descent (Negy et al., 2008). Finally, the words *LatiNegros* and, to a lesser extent, *Moyeta* are terms used to describe Latinas/os with African roots (Comas-Diaz, 1996).

Today, relationship development continues to occur at a relatively high rate between Latinas/os and other ethnic and racial groups. In the United States, the most common marriage between two ethnic groups is that of Hispanics and Whites (Berg, 1995, as cited in Negy et al., 2008). While some researchers (e.g., Garvin, 2000) have reported that 57% of third-generation Latinas/os will marry someone from a different ethnic group, others report that two thirds of Latinas/os will specifically marry a European American (Suro, 1999).

Latinas/os, like others who are multiracial, may go through a process of bicultural identity development and integration (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). They may personally feel a stronger identification with one ethnic group over another, or others may identify and label them as such. Moreover, as described previously, those who are multiracial Latinas/os and members of another racial or ethnic minority group may have a different experience than those who are multiracial Latinas/os and members of a racial or ethnic majority group. For some multiracial Latinas/os, the decision to identify either as a Latina/o, as members of an ethnic majority group, or as a multiracial person may depend on the social status of the other ethnic group, as well as the degree to which they embrace their “Latinidad.” For example, if a multiracial Latina/o is raised in a Latina/o neighborhood versus in an ethnic-majority neighborhood, he or she may identify more as a Latina/o and not acknowledge his or her other ethnicity/race at all.

Racial classifications and self-identities in Latin American countries differ from those in the United States

⁵ This section by Lisa Sanchez-Johnsen, PhD.

(Duany, 2005; Rodriguez, 1994). For multiracial Latinas/os who move to the United States, notions of race and ethnicity may be more complicated as they adjust to being labeled differently than in their countries of origin. For example, according to Golash-Boza and Darity (2007), a person in Peru may identify as White but may not be viewed as White in the United States. Moreover, those of African descent are also more likely to identify as White in Latin America than in the United States (Wade, 1997). For instance, although Dominican immigrants may not see themselves as Black in their country of origin, they may nonetheless be classified as such within the United States (Itzigshon, Giorguli, & Vasquez, 2005).

Multiracial Latinas/os may also experience prejudice and discrimination, with one or both ethnic groups being more or less accepting of their multiracial heritage. For multiracial Latinas/os, the experience of “not being Latina/o enough” may also be affected by the ability to speak Spanish. Darker or lighter skinned multiracial Latinas/os who speak Spanish may be more likely to be embraced by the Latina/o community because of their Spanish language ability. It is plausible, however, that multiracial Latinas/os born in the United States, or second- or third-generation multiracial Latinas/os, may not be fluent in Spanish, even though they are raised by a parent who is Latina/o and Spanish-speaking or bilingual. The degree to which these multiracial Latinas/os are accepted by the Latina/o community—or even identify as Latinas/os—is an area in need of further research.

The prejudice and discrimination experienced by multiracial Latinas/os exist beyond the U.S. borders. For example, the poet Vizcarrondo (1942) was vocal about the prejudice that Puerto Ricans have against Blacks, particularly about those multiracial Puerto Ricans who denied their own African ancestry and defined themselves as White, even when they had a relative with obvious African features. As a result of the intermixing that has occurred among the various Latino ethnic groups and between races in their countries of origin, Latinas/os’ physical appearance may resemble that of Africans, American Indians, Asians, and Europeans (Casas & Vasquez, 1996). Even within the same family, siblings can be visibly dark or Black, and others can be visibly White. Some authors (e.g., Telles, 2004, as cited in Golash-Boza & Darity, 2007) have argued that the ability to switch racial categories, or what is also called

“whitening” or “passing,” is more prevalent among those whose race is unclear.

Authors have noted that racism also exists in Latin America and that social class greatly influences racial classifications in those countries (Golash-Boza & Darity, 2007). Regardless of physical appearance, those with a higher income or class are more likely to identify as White and to be treated as such. Moreover, those with lighter skin have a higher social standing than those with darker skin or those with indigenous or African heritages (e.g., Korin, 1996; Shoris, 1992). This is likely a similar experience for multiracial Latinas/os. Although discrimination may exist in countries outside of the United States and the White European appearance may still be idealized in those countries, multiracial individuals may also be more familiar and experience more flexibility in those countries than in the United States because of their longer history of intermarriages.

Additional research is needed to better understand multiracial Latina/o-Asians; multiracial Latinas/os with specific White ethnicities (e.g., German or Polish); as well as those with multiple Latina/o ethnicities (e.g., those who are Mexican and Puerto Rican). In this regard, location-specific research will be necessary in cities such as Chicago, Miami, Omaha, and Seattle.

MULTIRACIAL ASIAN AMERICANS⁶

Asian American families and communities have strong group boundaries related to ethnicity, and many Asian Americans feel primary associations with their specific ethnicities and not with the pan-ethnic or racial group “Asian American.” However, inclusion in the Asian American group is based on both ethnicity and race. Like White groups (and rather unlike other racial minority groups), Asian Americans frequently value the idea of racial purity. Thus, regardless of an individual’s cultural expertise or affiliation or one’s claimed identity, multiracial individuals frequently experience exclusion and discrimination from the Asian American group(s).

At times this discrimination seems primarily related to values of racial purity within Asian cultures, but at other times, it may be related to reactions to European or American dominance and legacies of colonization or war. For example, children of Vietnamese women and White

⁶ This section by Karen L. Suyemoto, PhD.

or Black American soldiers were discriminated against by Vietnamese not only because their heritage was not “pure” Vietnamese but also because they were seen as enemies of the reigning regime after the war. After arriving in the United States, they continued to feel excluded from the Vietnamese American community (Chuong & Van, 1994; Valverde, 1992). Furthermore, multiraciality may be seen as a sign of lesser cultural familiarity and ethnic affiliation.

Thus, multiracial Asian Americans frequently describe experiences of exclusion, authenticity testing, or discrimination from Asian American communities. In spite of these experiences, most multiracial White-Asian Americans identify most strongly with their Asian heritage and identity or as being multiracial. Very few identify as White, perhaps because they also experience exclusion and discrimination from White European American communities. Research suggests that identification as Asian or as multiracial is related to more positive mental health in Asian-White individuals (e.g., Bracey et al., 2004).

Experiences of exclusion and discrimination from Asian American communities may be more intense for multiracial Asian American individuals who have Black heritage (there is very little research on Asian-Latino or Asian-American Indian multiracial people). Perhaps because of this discrimination, or perhaps because Black communities place less of an emphasis on racial purity and are more accepting, multiracial individuals with Asian and Black heritage more strongly identify as Black or African American rather than as Asian American (Hall, 1992; Herman, 2004).

Different Asian ethnic groups vary in their acceptance of multiracial individuals and interracial relationships. Those groups with longer histories in the United States and a greater number of individuals born within the United States have more interracial relationships and multiracial individuals. In addition, in some groups (e.g., Japanese Americans) and areas (e.g., California and Hawai’i), the growth in the proportionate number of multiracial Asian Americans is challenging communities to reevaluate their inclusion criteria.

Complex issues having to do with ethnicity, immigration, language, socioeconomic status, and education discussed earlier in this report (see the Asian American People and Communities chapter) also relate to the experiences of multiracial individuals. Although multiracial Asian Americans as a group are more likely

to come from ethnic groups with longer histories in the United States, there are multiracial Asian Americans in all ethnic groups and immigrant statuses. The issues of over aggregation raised in the Asian American chapter are definitely relevant here as well.

BARRIERS TO CULTURE-SPECIFIC EDUCATION

The lack of awareness, knowledge (history, research, etc), and skills related to racial and cultural diversity are the bases of barriers to inclusion for all racial minority groups. These barriers manifest themselves in relation to multiracial people in the following particular ways.

Lack of Exploration of the Complex Meanings of Race, Racialization, and Racial Identity

The meanings of race, racialization, and racial identities are frequently not fully examined in relation to historical context, social context, and other related (but differentiated) variables such as culture, ethnicity, religion, social class, and relative power and privilege. Researchers, for example, frequently use self-identity on forms (e.g., check boxes on surveys) without descriptions of their meanings. Without descriptions of why the question is being asked or the bases of operationalization/meaning, it is frequently difficult for multiracial people to know how to answer.

Categorical Emphasis Resulting in Essentialized Race Meanings

Overemphasizing the categorical boundaries between races contributes to discussing racial groups as disconnected from each other rather than as continually interacting and developing meanings of race and racialization in relation to each other. An overemphasis on race categorization is also related to focusing primarily on the differences and social relations *between* racial groups rather than on the differences and relations *within* racial groups. Adherence to the categorical approach is reflected in research (e.g., utilization of race-comparison research, exclusion of multiracial participants) as well as in educational structures (e.g., lack of consideration of cross-racial interactions and multiracial experiences within minority-focused education).

Assumption of Monoraciality

Assuming monoraciality contributes to not acknowledging multiracial individuals as part of racial groups; not

discussing similarities and differences within racial groups that are relevant to multiraciality; and imposing identity on students, clients, or other individuals.

CULTURE-SPECIFIC TEACHING TOOLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Do not talk about racial groups as being essentialized and completely separate from each other.

Do explore the complex meanings of race and of culture/ethnicity. When discussing racial categories, educators should examine the social and historical bases of these categorizations, how they have changed, and why we continue to use them. For example, Smith (2005) wrote about using pictures of emancipated slaves who “look White” to discuss and critique the historical and current basis of racial or ethnic categorizations. In an introductory psychology or research methods class, this kind of critique may then be applied to discussions of psychological research and how race is operationalized in research.

Discussing complex meanings and the historical foundations of emphasizing racial purity may also contribute to challenging the myth that multiracial people are confused or pathological or race traitors. By exploring how race categorizations were historically constructed and the ways in which racial categorization was used as a tool of racial oppression, problems can be placed within the social context rather than within the multiracial individuals.

Examining the diversity within all racial groups in terms of heritage, background, and identity is also helpful. Educators should not assume that the identity, heritage, and/or appearance of students or research participants are always in accordance with each other, can be captured in a single question, or can be accurately perceived by others. By first differentiating and clearly defining such variables as race, culture, family heritage, religion, and social class and then considering the variability within groups, multiracial experiences can be contextualized within the larger heterogeneity of racial groups. Examining multiple types of identities and influences on identity development can help students see how racial and ethnic identities are multifaceted and socially and individually affected.

Other ways of challenging essentialism and considering multiracial experiences include examining the connections and similarities between racial groups and exploring social

relations and coalitions for racial justice. A consideration of relations between racial groups and of the experiences of multiracial individuals necessitates an exploration of the relationship power and privilege (historical and current) ascribed to race hierarchy positions and to multiraciality. Issues of power and privilege are frequently at the core of discrimination against multiracial people by Whites as well as members of their own minority referent groups. Thus, it is important to discuss these issues and the detrimental effects of related discrimination on individuals, communities of color, racial justice, identity development, and socialization processes. Educators may invite students to identify similarities in values or experiences across groups and differences within groups, as well as the different privileges that are earned or ascribed to peoples based on these similarities and differences.

Do not assume/impose monoraciality or one primary identity/heritage.

Do examine these assumptions and validate the existence and experience of multiracial people. People from all racial backgrounds should be able to choose their own identities in ways that encompass their full experiences. While there may be social and political ramifications to these choices (as there are for all identity choices), identities should not be imposed. Requiring multiracial people to choose a monoracial identity or a single group with which they most identify is such an imposition. Ways to include the experiences of multiracial peoples and to deepen understandings of race and race relations involve teaching about concepts, examining racial group boundaries and how they are created and maintained, considering the bases of “what are you?” experiences, and exploring attitudes of self and others related to interracial relationships and multiracial people.

It is most helpful if these discussions and activities are not marginalized within the organization of the curriculum. Discussions of the meanings of race, racialization, and ethnicity can include materials on the multiracial experience as it is experienced across racial background. When discussing racial identity models and research, the applicability of monoracial stage models to multiracial people can be explored, and multiracial models can be presented and considered in application to monoracial people as well. In addition, including

readings, films, and information about multiracial people within the coverage of a specific racial group (if the course is structured this way) helps illustrate how multiracial individuals are members of particular racial referent groups. For example, if personal narratives are used, multiracial narratives should also be included. Another example might be discussing the experiences of Black-Asian Vietnamese refugees when exploring experiences of Asian Americans or Black Americans. In courses that are not specifically focused on race and culture, readings and films about multiracial families, developmental issues, relationships, gender, and so forth, can be included to illustrate relevant content and make connections to diversity issues.

CONCLUSION

Although the multiracial population is one of the fastest growing racial groups in the United States, multiracial people are still being asked to identify only or primarily with one racial group. There is little recognition of the fact that this effectively asks multiracial people to choose one part of themselves, their heritages, or their families and deny other parts. Worse, multiracial people are sometimes assigned to a particular group based on physical characteristics, birthplace, or cultural identity. It is difficult, within both mainstream and ethnic minority communities, for a multiracial person to identify as both one group and another. These individuals and the related historical and current interactions between racialized groups are, however, inherently part of each “monoracial” group while also having characteristics that are qualitatively distinct. A college student who identifies herself as both Native American and White expressed it this way: “I have some friends who see me as Native and some friends who see me as White. But nobody sees me as both—they don’t really see all of me.”

As the multiracial population grows within our society, we must learn to recognize that multiracial people may identify in whatever way they choose, without the need to justify that choice. We must learn to acknowledge their multiple heritages and validate their sense of who they are as racial beings.

BOOKS, FILMS, AND WEB RESOURCES

Edited Scholarly Books

- Ifekwunigwe, J. O. (Ed.). (2004). *Mixed race studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Kwan, S., & Spiers, K. (Eds.). (2004). *Mixing it up: Multiracial subjects*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Root, M. P. P. (Ed.). (1992). *Racially mixed people in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Winters, L. I., & DeBose, H. L. (2003). *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fiction and Narratives About Multiracial People

- Arboleda, T. (1998). *In the shadow of race: Growing up as a multiethnic, multicultural, and “multiracial” American*. Erlbaum: Mahwah, NJ.
- Camper, C. (Ed.) (1994). *Miscegenation blues: Voices of mixed race women*. Toronto: Sister Vision.
- Gaskins, P. F. (Ed.). (1999). *What are you?: Voices of mixed race young people*. New York: Holt.

Films

- Heape, S. R. (Executive Producer), & Richie, C. (Director) (2001). *Black Indians: An American Story*. [Documentary]. United States: Rich-Heape Films.
- Kelley, M. (Producer), & Leroy, J. (Director). (2006). *Chasing daybreak* [Film]. United States: Mavin Foundation. (Available from: www.mavinfoundation.org/chasingdaybreak/home.html)
- Root, M. (2006). *Mixed-race identities: Series V. Multicultural counseling* [APA Psychotherapy Training Video Series]. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

The Center for Asian American Media has a number of films about multiracial issues concerning Asian Americans (see www.CAAM.org, Educational Distribution or direct link to <http://distribution.asianamericanmedia.org/browse/browse-by-subject/#Multiracial/Ethnic%20Heritage>)

Websites

- <http://mavinfoundation.org/>
- <http://www.ipride.org>
- <http://www.asian-nation.org/interracial.shtml>

BILL OF RIGHTS FOR RACIALLY MIXED PEOPLE

I HAVE THE RIGHT . . .

Not to justify my existence in this world.

Not to keep the races separate within me.

Not to be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical ambiguity.

Not to justify my ethnic legitimacy.

I HAVE THE RIGHT . . .

To identify myself differently than strangers expect me to identify.

To identify myself differently from how my parents identify me.

To identify myself differently from my brothers and sisters.

To identify myself differently in different situations.

I HAVE THE RIGHT . . .

To create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial.

To change my identity over my lifetime—and more than once.

To have loyalties and identification with more than one group of people.

To freely choose whom I befriend and love.

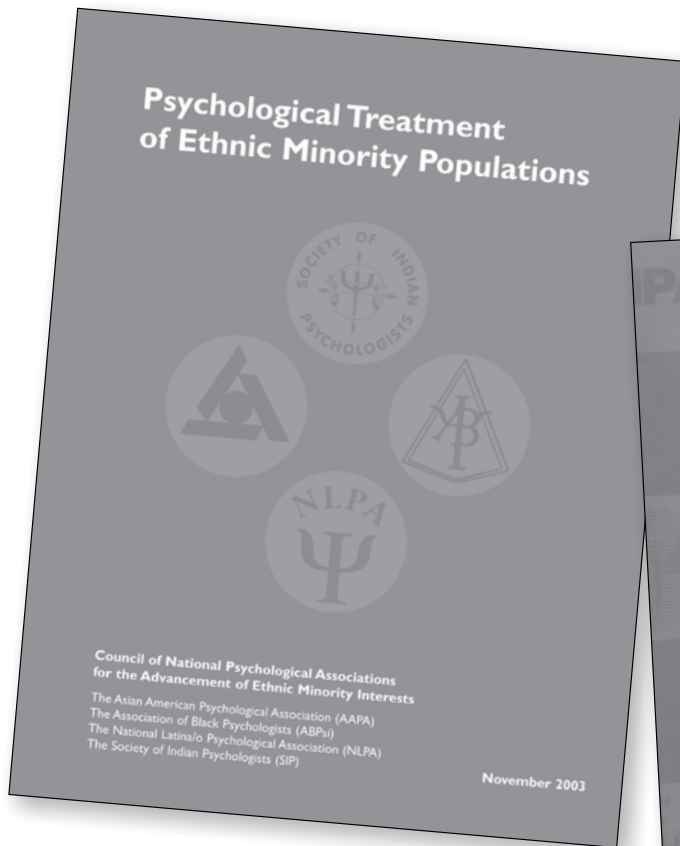
(Copyright © 1993, 1994 by Maria P. Root, PhD. See also M.P.P. Root, 1996, *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.)

REFERENCES

- Benet-Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of Personality, 73*, 1015-1050.
- Bracey, J. R., Bámaca, M. Y., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2004). Examining ethnic identity and self-esteem among biracial and monoracial adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33*, 123-132.
- Brunsma, D. L., & Rockquemore, K. A. (2001). The new color complex: Phenotype, appearances, and (bi)racial identity. *Identity, 1*(3).
- Casas, J. M., & Vasquez, M. J. T. (1996). Counseling the Hispanic: A guiding framework for a diverse population. In P.B. Pederson & J.C. Draguns (Eds.), *Counseling across cultures* (4th ed., pp. 146-176). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cauce, A. M., Hiraga, Y., Mason, C., Aguilar, T., Ordonez, N., & Gonzales, N. (1992). Between a rock and a hard place: Social adjustment of biracial youth. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 207-222). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Chuong, C. H., & Van, L. (1994). *The Amerasians from Vietnam: A California study*. Folsom, CA: Southeast Asian Community Resource Center.
- Comas-Díaz, L. (1996). Mental health issues of African Latinas. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *The multiracial experiences: Racial borders as the new frontier* (pp. 167-190). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Comas-Díaz, L. (2003). LatiNegros: Afro Latinos' quest for identity. In M.P.P.Root & M. Kelley (Eds.), *Multiracial child resource book: Living complex identities* (pp.169-177). Seattle: Mavin Foundation.
- Duany, J. (2005). Neither white nor black: The representation of racial identity among Puerto Ricans in the islands and in the U.S. mainland. In A. Dzidzienyo & S. Oboler (Eds.), *Neither enemies nor friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos* (pp. 173-188). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fernandez, C. A. (1996). *Government classification of multiracial/multiethnic people. The multicultural experience: Racial borders as the new frontier*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Forbes, J. (2000, November 27). Blood quantum: A relic of racism and termination. *The People's Voice*. Retrieved from www.thepeoplespaths.net/Articles2000/JDForbes001126Blood.htm
- Garvin, G. (2000, January 2). Latin American the main source of immigrants to the United States. *The Miami Herald*. Retrieved from <http://onlinetest.herald.com/content/archive/specialreport/docs/020096.html>
- Golash-Boza, T., & Darity, W., Jr. (2007). Latino racial choices: The effects of skin colour and discrimination on Latinos' and Latinas' racial self-identifications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31*, 899-934.
- Guthrie, R. V. (1976). *Even the rat was white: A historical perspective of psychology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Hall, C. C. I. (1992). Please choose one: Ethnic identity choices for biracial individuals. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 250-264). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hall, C. C. I., & Turner, T. I. C. (2001). The diversity of biracial individuals: Asian-White and Asian-minority biracial identity. In T. Williams-Leon & C. Nakashima (Eds.), *The sum of our parts: Mixed heritage Asian Americans* (pp. 81-91). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Herman, M. (2004). Forced to choose: Some determinants of racial identification in multiracial adolescents. *Child Development, 75*, 730-748.
- Itzigshon, J., Giorguli, A., & Vasquez, O. (2005). Immigrant incorporation and racial identity: Racial self-identification among Dominican immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*, 50-78.
- Katz, W. L. (1997). *Black Indians: A hidden heritage*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks.
- Khanna, N. (2004). The role of reflected appraisals in racial identity: The case of multiracial Asians. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 67*, 115-131.
- Kich, G. (1992). The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 304-321). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kim, C. J. (2000). *Bitter fruit: The politics of Black-Korean conflict in New York City*. New Haven. Yale University Press.
- Korin, E. C. (1996). Brazilian families. In M. McGoldrick, J. Giordano, & J. K. Pearce (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (2nd. ed., pp. 200-214). New York: Guilford Press.
- Logan, J. (2003). *How race counts for Hispanic Americans*. Albany, NY: Lewis Mumford Center.
- Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967).
- Mass, A. I. (1992). Interracial Japanese Americans: The best of both worlds or the end of the Japanese American community? In M.P.P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp.265-279). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Nagel, J. (1997). *American Indian ethnic renewal: Red power and the resurgence of identity and culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Negy, C., Klein, J. K., & Brantley, E. D.C. (2008). Multiracial/ethnic clients: History, models, and treatment considerations In C. Negy (Ed.), *Cross-cultural psychotherapy: Toward a critical understanding of diverse clients* (pp. 269-287). Reno, NV: Bent Tree Press.
- Norman, A. J. (1994). Managing ethnic conflict within a community context: Black-Korean relations in an American city. *Community Development Journal, 29*, 169-176.
- Poussaint, A. (1984). Study of interracial children presents positive picture. *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 5*(6), 9-10.
- Renn, K. A. (2003). Understanding the identities of mixed-race college students through a developmental ecology lens. *Journal of College Student Development, 44*, 383-403.

- Rodriguez, C. E. (1994). *Challenges and emerging issues: Race and ethnicity identity among Latinos*. Washington, DC: National Research Council, Committee on National Statistics.
- Root, M. P. P. (2001). Factors influencing the variation in racial and ethnic identity of mixed-heritage persons of Asian ancestry. In T. Williams-Leon & C. L. Nakashima (Eds.), *The sum of our parts: Mixed heritage Asian Americans* (pp. 62-70). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Sandefur, G. D., & Liebler, C. A. (1996). The demography of American Indian families. In G. D. Sandefur, R. R. Rindfuss, & B. Cohen (Eds.), *Changing numbers, changing needs: American Indian demography and public health*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Santiago-Rivera, A. L., Arendondo, P., & Gallardo-Cooper, M. (2002). *Counseling Latinos and la familia*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Shoris, E. (1992). *Latinos: A biography of the people*. New York: Norton.
- Smith, N. (2005). Reconstructing race. *Rethinking Schools Online*, 20(1). Retrieved April 8, 2008, from www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/20_01/race201.shtml
- Snipp, M.C. (2005). *American Indian and Alaska Native children: Results from the 2000 Census*. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.
- Spickard, P. R. (1989). *Mixed blood: Intermarriage and ethnic identity in twentieth century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1991). Intermarriage: Effects on personality, adjustment, and intergroup relations in two samples of students. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53, 241-250.
- Suro, R. (1999). Mixed doubles. *American Demographics*, 21, 56-62.
- Suyemoto, K. L. (2004). Racial/ethnic identities and related attributed experiences of multiracial Japanese Americans. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 32, 206-221.
- Suyemoto, K. L., & Dimas, J. M. (2003). To be included in the multicultural discussion: Check one box only. In J. S. Mio & G. Y. Iwamasa (Eds.), *Culturally diverse mental health: The challenges of research and resistance* (pp. 55-81). New York: Brunner-Routledge.
- Suyemoto, K. L., & Tawa, J. (in press). Multiracial Asian Americans. In N. Tewari & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tashiro, C. J. (2002). Considering the significance of ancestry through the prism of mixed-race identity. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 25(2), 1-21.
- Torres, J. A. (2003, August 5). A Black and White issue: Black Hispanics battle racism, difficult odds; White counterparts are more successful, Census figures show. *Puerto Rico Herald*, 7(46). Retrieved from www.puertorico-herald.org/issues/2003/vol7n46/BlackWhite-en.html
- Tucker, W. H. (2004). "Inharmoniously adapted to each other": Science and racial crosses. In A. S. Winston (Ed.), *Defining difference: Race and racism in the history of psychology* (pp. 109-133). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). P3. Race (71) - Universe: Total population (Census 2000. Summary File 1) [Data set]. Retrieved April 5, 2008, from http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_bm=y&-reg=DEC_2000_SF2_U_PCT032:0011031103210331034103510361037103810391040104110421043104410451046104710481049;&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-CONTEXT=dt&-mt_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_P003&-redoLog=false&-geo_id=01000US&-geo_id=NBS&-format=&-_lang=en
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2004). We the people: Hispanics in the United States. Retrieved April 5, 2008, from www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-18.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2005). *We the people of more than one race in the United States*. Retrieved April 5, 2008, from www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censr-22.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2006). *We the people: American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States*. Retrieved April 5, 2008 from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2006pubs/censr-28.pdf>
- Valverde, K. C. (1992). From dust to gold: The Vietnamese Amerasian experience. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 144-161). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Vizcarrondo, F. (1942). *Dinga y mandinga: Poemas*. San Juan: Talleres Tipograficos Baldrich.
- Wade, P. (1997). *Race and ethnicity in Latin America*. Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Wijeyesinghe, C. L. (2001). Racial identity in multiracial people: An alternative paradigm. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 129-152). New York: New York University Press.
- Williams-Leon, T., & Nakashima, C. L. (Eds.). (2001). *The sum of our parts: Mixed heritage Asian Americans*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

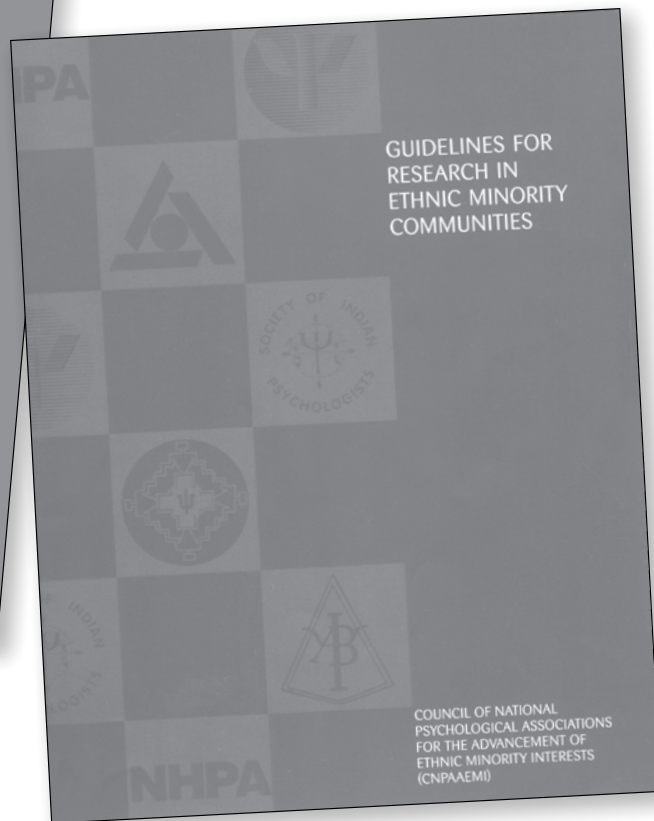
Other reports in the CNPAAEMI publication series are:



***Psychological Treatment
of Ethnic Minority Populations***

(November 2003)

http://www.apa.org/pi/oema/programs/empa_ptemp.pdf



***Guidelines for Research
in Ethnic Minority Communities***

(January 2000)

http://www.apa.org/pi/oema/programs/cnpaaemi_guidelines_research_emc.pdf



For more information on CNPAAEMI, please visit: www.apa.org/pi/oema



AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

750 First Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-4242

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
WASHINGTON, D.C.
PERMIT NO. 6348

