**Cultural Competence and Intergroup Relations: Exploring Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs in the U.S.**

by

Aleah Jabri Horton

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn, Alabama
December 9, 2023

Keywords: cultural competence, multicultural training, racial ethnic minorities, ethnic intergroup relations, collective victim beliefs, competitive victim beliefs



Approved by

Marilyn Cornish, PhD, Chair, Associate Professor, Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling
Latifat Cabirou, PhD, Assistant Professor, Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling
Jeff Reese, PhD, Professor/Department Head, Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling
Christopher Wilburn, PhD, Assistant Clinical Professor, School of Kinesiology

## Abstract

Considering the history of race relations in the United States and the ever-increasing diversity of society, multicultural competence is an essential and integral component for adequate psychotherapy, education, and research. When evaluating approaches to multicultural competence training, research shows that racial and ethnic minority (REM) students have unique experiences in multicultural courses that are impacted by their racial identity and lived realities of oppression. These lived experiences can also impact the ways racial ethnic groups view and interact with each other.

The aim of the following papers is to better understand how specific ethnic intergroup processes impact overall cultural competence and relations among marginalized groups in the U.S. In Chapter 2, I discuss the importance of cultural competence training for mental health clinicians and highlight the disparity in current cultural competency training models. In Chapter 3, I used a grounded theory methodology to examine the complex process and functions of collective and competitive victim beliefs among Black Americans and Asian Americans in the U.S., exploring themes that may be unique to minority groups in the U.S. The results may provide insight into additional aspects of multicultural competence training that better serve racial ethnic minorities. It may also provide social justice implications for better understanding ethnic intergroup processes and what is needed to heal and enhance group relations in the U.S.

Table of Contents

## Chapter 1: Overview

The following papers examine multicultural competence and ethnic intergroup relations, with a specific focus on collective and competitive victim beliefs in the United States. The complexity of American intergroup relations can largely be attributed to historical events, economic conflict, and systemic policies and institutions that influence how individuals navigate society and the statuses they hold within it (Noor et al., 2017). Despite increasing demographic changes and diversification of the nation, it is critical to acknowledge that discussions on race relations in the U.S. continue to revolve around the historical nature of Black-White relations (Alcoff, 2003; Kim, 1999; Okihiro, 1994; Tawa et al., 2015; Wu, 2003)—with recent events that have drawn increased attention to systemic injustices, police brutality, and mass incarceration. However, limited emphasis is placed on examining the intergroup dynamics between various racial and ethnic groups in the U.S., such as Black Americans and Asian Americans. As the U.S. becomes increasingly diverse, it is crucial to broaden our understanding of intergroup relations beyond the traditional black-white paradigm (Jones & Dovidio, 2018).

Research has shown that historical conflict, particularly between a perpetrator group and victimized group, can affect group attitudes toward each other (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019; Vollhardt & Nair, 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). However, the effects of marginalization and oppression on historically disenfranchised groups can create collective victim beliefs—subjective perceptions held by members of a social group that their group has experienced victimization and is deserving of recognitions, empathy, or justice (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Collective victim beliefs can manifest in different ways, such as competitive victim beliefs that compare the suffering of one's own group to that of other groups (Volhardt, 2012) and can foster negative intergroup attitudes.

Few studies have examined how systemically minoritized groups in the U.S. can perpetuate racism, prejudice, stereotypes, and negative attitudes toward each other, despite holding similar statuses in society. Subsequently, these specific topics are also left out of cultural competence training literature, as it relates to counseling and psychology training, with primary content geared toward White individuals (Pieterse et al., 2016). While much research on intergroup relations focuses heavily on the attitudes of social dominant groups, or agents of oppression, toward disenfranchised groups, or targets of oppression (e.g., Vollhardt, 2015; Noor et al., 2017), there is a need for further exploration of how racial environments and experiences shape the attitudes of marginalized racial and ethnic groups toward each other to better serve diverse clients, ensure adequate training to all trainees, and create environments that foster positive intergroup relations.

Chapter 2 is a conceptual paper that discusses the importance of cultural competence training for mental health clinicians and highlights the disparity in current cultural competency training models, in which the needs of racial-ethnic minority students are not being met to the extent of white students' needs. For counselors, psychologists, and trainees, the development of cultural competence is essential for providing appropriate and effective services to clients from various cultural backgrounds (Ridley et al., 2021; Tormala et al., 2018). This skill encompasses an awareness not only of one's own cultural background but also that of others, in addition to recognizing biases and assumptions that may hinder effective communication, disrupt the therapeutic alliance, or impede adequate navigation of cultural dynamics within the therapeutic process. Coursework in diversity and culture have been recognized as a valuable method for enhancing cultural competency of trainees (Tormala et al., 2018). Cultural competence discussions often center on key topics such as racism, discrimination, privilege, oppression, and

social justice. However, it is important to acknowledge that most discussions regarding these topics often take place from a Westernized and Eurocentric perspective (Pieterse et al., 2016). This unidimensional viewpoint is limited in its ability to fully capture the complexities of cultural diversity within a sociopolitical context and may unintentionally perpetuate the status quo of White supremacy (Pieterse et al., 2016; Vandiver et al., 2021). This suggests that universal training models can be beneficial for White trainees when educating them about other cultures and power dynamics in counseling, but also points to a need for these models to ensure they are not inadvertently maintaining systemic inequality (Vandiver et al., 2021; Chao et al., 2011). Therefore, there is a need for a more comprehensive approach that extends beyond this limited lens to ensure inclusivity and effectiveness in training individuals from all racial backgrounds. The purpose of Chapter 2 was to address this limitation within the context of multicultural counseling training programs and highlight specific phenomena that take place between ethnic minority groups that could provide more nuanced understanding of what is needed to enhance cultural competence and cultural humility training.

In Chapter 2, I examined the distinct challenges that racial and ethnic minority (REM) trainees face while navigating multicultural competence training courses. Additionally, I explored discrepancies between White and non-White trainees regarding their varied outcomes in these courses. Furthermore, I discussed the intergroup dynamics within diverse ethnic groups and intercultural factors that are specific to REM trainees. These factors remain overlooked in existing training courses, potentially leading to adverse effects on both multicultural competence outcomes and therapy outcomes for clients from diverse backgrounds. To address this disparity and promote equitable training, it is necessary to incorporate more diverse perspectives and consider the specific experiences and needs of different racial and ethnic minority groups, for

both trainees and clients. In this paper, the limitations of existing approaches to multicultural competence training are underscored using the three pillars of the multicultural orientation (MCO) framework, proposed by Owen and colleagues (2011), and addressed with suggestions to enhance training through adopting a more comprehensive and inclusive approach that integrates a wider array of cultural perspectives and experiences. Finally, I offered recommendations for how to teach multicultural competence in a manner that will better address the needs of REM students. By broadening the scope of cultural competency training in this manner, counselors and psychologists can be better equipped to understand and navigate the complex cultural dynamics and concerns that may arise in the therapeutic process.

Examples of these nuanced intergroup dynamics are explored in Chapter 3, an empirical qualitative study aimed to understand the how collective and competitive victim beliefs are developed and maintained between racial and ethnic minority groups in the U.S., specifically Black Americans and Asian Americans. Research suggests that group tension and conflict can foster negative attitudes (Falcon, 1998; Vaca, 2004) and garner feelings of distrust and hostility, which can deter group contact. Based on the insights from Guisseme and Licata (2016) who explored factors that influence how marginalized groups perceive outgroup victimization compared to their own victimization, this study explored Black Americans' and Asian Americans' experiences and perceptions of each other. The primary aims were to understand the how individuals interpret and perceive their own victimization and that of others, as these perceptions can significantly impact intergroup relations and, consequently, cultural competence. The results of this study provided insight into how to improve race relations, increase cultural competency among ethnic minorities, and understand the functionality of collective and competitive victimization. A relational framework was generated to explain the process of

collective and competitive victim beliefs, provide insight into U.S. intergroup relations, and inform steps toward more socially just interactions.

The combined purpose of the following papers was to explore specific phenomena that occur among ethnic minority groups in the United States, namely collective and competitive victim beliefs, and to examine their impact on intergroup relations and cultural competency. Furthermore, these papers contributed to the existing literature by exploring the impact of collective and competitive victim beliefs on individuals' perceptions of each other within different racial and ethnic minority groups and their implications for improving intergroup relations and enhancing cultural competence training. Additionally, these papers expanded the current understanding of racial victimization experiences in the United States by examining qualitative differences in collective and competitive victim experiences among difference racial and ethnic minority groups. By examining how individuals interpret and internalize their group's victimization experiences, this research sheds light on the complex dynamics that shape intergroup relations within an American context.

The results are significant to the field of counseling psychology as they provide valuable insights into factors that may impact diverse clients' experiences and interactions in society, as well as within therapeutic settings. Counseling psychologists can utilize these findings to develop interventions and therapeutic approaches that are culturally sensitive to the experiences of REM clients and address the impact of collective victim beliefs on individuals' well-being and mental health. Moreover, both papers highlight the importance of more in-depth cultural competence training for therapists and counselors to contribute to more equitable and effective therapeutic outcomes for clients from diverse backgrounds. Additionally, this research can contribute to the field of social psychology by expanding our understanding of collective and

competitive victim beliefs and its consequences. It also adds to the existing literature on collective victimhood, which has predominately focused on the negative outcomes associated with these beliefs. However, by including a broader range of questions and exploring the meaning derived from collective victimization experiences, a more nuanced understanding can be achieved (Vollhard & Bilali, 2014), which can also aid in identifying potential positive outcomes and opportunities for growth. Overall, utilizing these findings to enhance cultural competence among mental health clinicians has great potential for improving client care across diverse populations.

.

# Chapter 2: Better Serving Racial and Ethnic Minority (REM) Trainees in Multicultural Competence Training

Aleah Horton, Marilyn A. Cornish, and Latifat Cabirou

Auburn University

## Abstract

Cultural competence is a crucial aspect of training for counselors and psychologists to effectively work with diverse populations. However, there are disparities in the experiences of racial and ethnic minority (REM) students when it comes to diversity and multicultural training. These differences may be attributed to the fact that traditional approaches may not fully address the complexities of inter and intra-group biases, identifications, and dynamics within different REM communities, which may result in unmet needs and potential negative impacts when working with clients from marginalized backgrounds. This paper aimed to highlight the shortcomings of current cultural competence approaches to training and suggest more in-depth examinations of culture, power structures, and sociopolitical contexts influencing attitudes and biases between marginalized groups. Suggestions are provided to address unique challenges REM trainees may face and ways to enhance cultural competence training and education through Multicultural Orientation (MCO) and Psychology of Radical Healing (PRH) frameworks.



Keywords: cultural competence, multicultural counseling training, intergroup relations, racial ethnic minorities

Psychologists and trainees have an ethical responsibility to effectively serve through clinical practice, education, and research, with diversity, multiculturalism, and intersectionality centering effective models of professional engagement for mental health professionals (APA, 2017). Adequate training fosters culturally competent practice (Patterson et al., 2018; Sue & Sue, 2008) and a substantial amount of evidence shows that coursework in diversity and culture has the potential to increase student trainees' level of cultural competency to work with diverse clients (APA, 2017; Vera & Speight, 2003). However, there is also evidence that suggests different levels of cultural competence outcomes for trainees who identify as racial and ethnic minorities (REM; Constantine & Goushue, 2003; Chao et al. 2011). In this paper, we present distinctive factors that remain unaddressed in current cultural competency training models, which we argue are less effective for REM trainees. We then discuss features of the collective and competitive victimization phenomenon that could impact minority intergroup attitudes, biases, and behaviors. Lastly, we present suggestions for enhancing cultural competency models of training, through cultural awareness and cultural humility, to be inclusive of specific experiences that are unique to REM groups. Implications for practice and education are also presented.

**Cultural Competence in Counseling and Psychology**

The need for cultural and diversity training is crucial considering the changing demographics of the nation and the increasing internationalization of the world and cultural competence is an essential and integral component for adequate and effective psychotherapy, education, and research (Aga Mohd Jaladin, 2017; Chao et al., 2013; Wilcox et al., 2020). Sue et al. (1992) suggested a triad model of multicultural competence, identifying three key elements multiculturally competent counselors must possess: recognition and awareness of their own

cultural biases and beliefs (cultural awareness); comprehension of other cultures and perspectives (cultural knowledge); and ability to work with diverse clients by developing appropriate interventions (cultural skills). Multicultural competence is cultivated through cultural awareness of self and others and aids effective treatment of clients from differing cultural groups (Sue et al., 1992), allowing clients to feel understood and empowered, which, in turn, leads to increased positive therapeutic outcomes. It is also integral in developing flexible interpersonal or intergroup problem-solving skills that are specifically tailored to the shifting cultural dynamics within various therapeutic settings (Whaley & Davis, 2007).

Owen et al. (2011; Owen, 2013) developed the multicultural orientation (MCO) framework, which built on the multicultural competency frameworks that existed at the time (MCC; APA, 2003; Sue et al., 1992), to examine how cultural dynamics influence the therapeutic process and assist therapists in developing a culturally informed perspective for their interactions with clients. The MCO model is based on three pillars: *cultural humility* as an overarching value, along with behavioral expressions of this virtue known as *cultural opportunities* and *cultural comfort* within therapy contexts.

*Cultural humility* is an important skill for regulating cultural differences that may arise in therapy (Hook et al, 2013) and is defined as "the ability to maintain an interpersonal stance that is other-oriented (or open to the other) in relation to aspects of cultural identity that are most important to the client" (p. 354). It reflects an openness toward cultural self-reflection and a willingness to understand the cultural backgrounds and identities of others (Watkins & Hook, 2016). Instead of assuming competence, culturally humble therapists recognize and acknowledge the unique intersections of various aspects of client identities, as well as their implications for the therapeutic relationship.

*Cultural opportunities* are moments in a session to engage in purposeful and meaningful dialogue about the client's salient cultural identities or "markers that occur in therapy in which the client's cultural beliefs, values, or other aspects of the client's cultural identity could be explored" (Owen et al., 2016). As cultural opportunities are always present, MCO guides therapists to be able to identify and respond to these opportunities naturally and authentically. *Cultural comfort* refers to the therapist's "feelings that arise before, during, and after culturally relevant conversations in session between the therapist and client" (Hook et al., 2017) and is characterized by feelings of being at ease and non-defensive (Owen et al., 2017). The overarching idea is that cultural humility can help therapists identify and take advantage of cultural opportunities as they arise and to navigate these opportunities from a place of openness and calmness.

The MCO framework guides therapists toward adopting a specific attitude during sessions—one that embraces cultural humility—while simultaneously identifying and responding to key markers of culture through various means, such as utilizing available resources or seeking out new knowledge sources if necessary. Finally, it encourages self-reflection so practitioners can understand how they relate to these moments from different perspectives influenced by their own backgrounds and experiences. This framework is valuable for addressing cultural competence in counseling and helps therapists recognize their own biases and beliefs, understand other cultures and perspectives, and work with diverse clients in a respectful and effective manner. We utilize the MCO lens throughout this paper to examine ways to enhance multicultural competence training for REM trainees.

**Critiques of Cultural Competence**

Counseling psychology scholars have suggested that progress toward multicultural counseling competence has become stagnant in professional psychology (Mollen & Ridley, 2021; Ridley et al., 2021), resulting in difficulty implementing multicultural competence into practice and in developing a uniform standard of training (Wilcox et al., 2020; Metzger et al., 2010). In addition, a systematic review of training outcomes found that specific information about the content and structure of cultural competence training is limited and unclear in the current literature (Benuto et al., 2018). To continue the dialogue about the advancement of racial/ethnic cultural competence training specifically, a critical examination of the current approach to training and the varying effects on trainees is necessary. For example, Ridley et al. (2021) examine how early definitions of cultural competence in counseling explicitly state a focus on serving ethnic minorities, thus, implying the exclusion of White clients' need for multiculturally competent counseling. They also critique the tailoring of treatments and assessments to specific groups, highlighting that though tailoring application is important, the overall definitions remain culturally general. Perhaps this issue reflects the historic Eurocentricity of professional psychology, in addition to the unidimensional understanding of cultural competence and, thus, cultural competence training.

### *Experiences of REM Students during Training*

Multicultural training includes a focus on how systems of oppression and marginalization impact human experiences and requires students to acknowledge and examine power dynamics, which may induce different reactions and experiences for White students and REM students (Chan & Treacy, 1996; Pieterse et al., 2016). When reevaluating approaches to multicultural competence training, it is important to note that REM students have unique experiences and reactions in multicultural courses that are impacted by how students process information, their

personal experiences of discrimination, and their overall racial identity (Curtis-Boles & Bourg, 2010; Chan & Treacy, 1996; Smith-Goosby, 2002).

For example, mixed-methods research found that REM students felt pressured to be the change agent by educating other students in the class and they reported having intense emotional reactions due to re-experiencing racism in the classroom (Pieterse et al., 2016). In addition, students of color can also experience being the classroom token or "minority spotlight" when certain group topics arise (Crosby et al., 2014, 2008). In educational settings where minority students are of one or few, they often feel deemed with the responsibility for sharing their marginalized experience, speaking for their entire ethnic group, or representing their group (Roland et al., 2021; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007). These are unique experiences that REM students and trainees must endure and navigate in diversity and multicultural training, which may subsequently have adverse effects on the outcomes of their training. Though lived experiences of racism and oppression may give students of color a deeper understanding of racialization than their White counterparts (Curtis-Boles & Bourg, 2010; Holcomb-McCoy & Meyers, 1999; Roland et al., 2021), to assume that students and trainees of color are "experts" in multiculturalism can result in centering the learning needs of White students at the expense of students of color (Robinson, 2013; Rooney et al., 1998).

### *Outcome Differences from Training*

The suggestion that white students' needs may be centered at the expense of REM students is reflected in the literature on cultural competence training outcomes. For studies utilizing outcome assessment through self-report measures, there is conflicting evidence for the group differences between White and REM trainees' multicultural competence. Some studies have reported REM trainees to have higher scores on multicultural knowledge than White

trainees (Constantine & Gushue, 2003; Dune et al., 2022), while others found that race/ethnicity accounted for little to no difference in variance in scores on the knowledge dimension of Sue et al's (1992) model (Barden et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2006). A systematic review of cultural competency training outcome literature (Benuto et al., 2018) revealed cultural competence training (through a variety of methods such as lectures, discussions, case scenarios, cultural immersion, role-play, contact with diverse individuals, self-reflection, journaling, and service learning) did increase knowledge; however, significant changes in attitudes, awareness, and multicultural skills varied with some studies showing positive changes while others did not identify significant changes. Other evidence suggests that such approaches vary in effectiveness for trainees based on ethnic identity. For example, Chao et al. (2011) examined multicultural training for psychology trainees and found that, at lower levels of training (less extensive training), racial/ethnic minority trainees had significantly higher multicultural awareness than their White counterparts; however, at higher levels of training (i.e., multiple courses, workshops, and research projects), there was no difference. Specifically, they found that more training significantly enhanced White students' multicultural awareness to be approximately equivalent to that of REM trainees at either low or high levels of training. Again, this supports the notion that much of the training in multicultural competence is designed to benefit white students at the expense of REM students' development.

***Potential Harm to Clients***

Despite striving for culturally competent treatment and approaches for diverse client populations, clinicians still have difficulty treating the needs of diverse clients (Mosher et al, 2017). In addition, the varying group outcomes for multicultural training discussed above leaves an important question unanswered: Are REM counselors more culturally competent than their

White counterparts or does multicultural training and education fall short of addressing the needs of REM students? Both could be true, but the consequences of the latter are reflected in findings from Hook et al. (2016) showing that microaggressions do take place *between* and *within* ethnic groups and that the effects of such experiences can be more impactful than microaggressions received from the dominant group. This is consistent with previous studies that have explored the tendency of counselors to commit microaggressions based on the racial identity of the clinician (Constantine, 2007; Owen et al., 2011, 2014). These studies found no difference in frequency of racial microaggressions by White or REM counselors or racial/ethnic match of counselor and client, which suggests that clinicians are at risk of being culturally incompetent even toward their shared ethnic group or group sharing similar minority status. Additionally, Hook et al. (2016) found that clients who were racially matched were more likely to view the microaggression as more impactful than were clients who were not racially matched. Therefore, not only do microaggressions occur at the same rate within racial groups, but they may be more harmful. This raises ethical concerns about the depth of cultural competence training and the level of readiness REM trainees to serve diverse clients, including clients from similar racial and ethnic backgrounds. It is possible that trainees of color may feel stagnant in diversity training and may still be unprepared to tend to clients who may not share the same marginalized identities. This also suggests that despite multicultural training being positively associated with multicultural competence overall (Buneto et al., 2018), there are complex factors that remain unaddressed in the understanding of multicultural competence development, specifically for REM students.

In the next sections, we discuss several ways that multicultural competence development could be enhanced for REM students. We first provide an overview of the research on ethnic intergroup relations, which has implications for multicultural training courses. We then discuss

additional recommendations for multicultural training, utilizing the research MCO model for guidance on recognizing cultural dynamics, exploring cultural opportunities naturally and authentically, and enhancing REM students' ability to self-regulate while doing so.

## Ethnic Intergroup Relations

### *Current Research and Theory*

A line of research that could inform? multiculturalism, diversity, and multicultural training for REM students is an in-depth exploration of intergroup relations. Intergroup relations encompass the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression between different social groups (Vollhardt, 2015). Intergroup threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) posited that relative power of groups, history of group conflict, and group size are antecedents of intergroup threat and influence intergroup relations (Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006; Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). The negative experiences that disadvantaged groups endure can impact their worldviews and interactions with other groups. Collective victim beliefs[1] refer to how ingroups collectively understand their marginalized experiences and form ideas and beliefs about outgroups (Noor et al., 2017). These formed ideas and beliefs can also include competitive victim beliefs[2], or the notion that an ingroup's marginalized experience is more important or severe than the marginalized experience of an outgroup (Noor et al., 2012). The revised intergroup threat theory (Shamir & Sagiy-Schifter, 2006) highlights how additional cultural characteristics, such as language, religion, morality, communication styles, and values system,

[1] We use the term *collective victim beliefs* rather than the term *collective victimhood* coined by [Bar-Tal et al., 2009] to be intentional with language describing the beliefs rather than a state of being. When discussing research by other authors on this concept, we use our revised term rather than the term *collective victimhood* used by the authors.
[2] We use the term *competitive victim beliefs* rather than the term *competitive victimhood* coined by [Noor et al., 2008] for the same reasons. When discussing research by other authors on this concept, we use our revised term rather than the term *competitive victimhood* used by the authors.

may interact with identities (e.g., race) to influence the perception of threats (Hall, 1955; Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006; Stephan et al., 2002; Triandis, 1995; 1989).

It is important to consider the difficulty for REM groups to acknowledge each other on an equal basis within a society that places value on competitive individualism while being primarily upheld by hierarchal arrangements of power. The impact of white supremacy on competition among minority groups is evident in the way it fosters a sense of hierarchy and division (Beck, 2019; Curiel, 2021). As a result, intergroup conflicts arise, perpetuating oppressive systems, while simultaneously obscuring the shared experiences of oppression among marginalized communities and encourage hostility between minority groups. This dynamic also cultivates animosity between groups, hindering solidarity and cooperation. Guissemé and Licata (2016) examined the negative effect of unequal recognition of groups' victim beliefs on intergroup attitudes. The researchers found collective victim beliefs to be associated with a sense of lack of recognition linked with the belief that the attention devoted to the out-group's victimization impedes in-group recognition, which in turn is associated with negative intergroup attitudes that can result in intergroup conflict and animosity. Groups can also believe that their victimization experiences are more important than other victimized groups and this can have negative effects on minority intergroup relations (Vollhardt, 2012). Research shows that competitive victim beliefs predict intolerance for diversity, social distance from out-groups (i.e., perpetrator group or other oppressed groups), and mistrust towards those groups (Volhardt & Bilali, 2015). This research suggests that there are unique and distinct phenomena that take place among minority groups that elicit deeply rooted implicit biases that can directly affect the way individuals interact with each other, interpret information, and micro-aggress each other.

Collective and competitive victimization dynamics among REM groups may manifest in various ways within the classroom. Students may empathize with shared experiences and collective challenges of others, leading to a sense of solidarity and understanding of the commonalities between their respective groups (Nair & Vollhardt, 2020; Vollhardt, 2015). Discussions may delve into the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, and other identities, acknowledging that individuals may face multiple layers of marginalization (Nair & Vollhardt, 2019). On the other hand, some students may inadvertently engage in discussions that establish hierarchies of oppression, comparing the severity of historical injustices and present-day challenges between different groups (Noor et al., 2017). There may be instances where students or groups express a desire for their group's struggles to be recognized as unique or more significant than others, potentially leading to dismissal or minimization of other groups' experiences (Noor et al., 2012; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). To address these dynamics, instructors must create a safe and inclusive learning environment that encourages open dialogue and mutual respect while being mindful of the power dynamics at play and acknowledging the complexities of collective and competitive victimization.

### *Implications and Recommendations for Training*

As members of a racialized society, it can be expected that REM students have been subjected to these forces that lead to collective and competitive victim beliefs. Educators, trainers, and supervisors should be aware of the cultural dynamic in the spaces they are conducting multicultural training and provide space to explore multiple cultural dynamics (not just majority vs minority, privileged vs oppressed, etc.). Providing culturally competent and culturally humble psychotherapy requires clinicians to deeply reflect on their power and privilege in relation to their clients. The concept of power and privilege can be less ambiguous

when the client-counselor dyad consists of one individual from a majority group (e.g., White) and one individual from a minority group (e.g., Asian). It may also be less ambiguous for dyads that share marginalized identities, for example, a Black counselor with a Black client. The concept of power and privilege becomes more complex for counselor-client dyads who hold different minority statuses (e.g., a Black counselor with a Latina client). This context that REM trainees face is largely unexplored in conversations about cultural competence and personal biases. However, research on collective and competitive victimization (e.g., Nair & Vollhardt, 2020; Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012) can provide valuable insights for instructors guiding racial/ethnic multicultural competence courses for REM therapist trainees. By connecting research with real-world implications, trainees can critically analyze the complex dynamics of victimization, develop a nuanced understanding of their experiences and the experiences of their clients, and develop the skills necessary to provide culturally sensitive and effective therapy.

For example, instructors can help REM trainees understand the historical, social, and systemic factors that have contributed to the collective victimization experienced by various racial and ethnic groups. This understanding can help REM students better empathize with the experiences of course students from other REM groups, perhaps fostering a better sense of shared experience rather than competitive victimization beliefs. For example, research has found that negative attitudes toward out-groups can be decreased through increased exposure and knowledge about different ethnic and cultural groups (e.g., Andrighetto et al., 2012; Lee, 2000; Nelson & Luetz, 2021). Contrastingly, people who have limited exposure to out-groups, due to residentially segregated neighborhoods, often collect stereotypes projected through mass media and have few opportunities to correct or disconfirm inaccurate stereotypes (Dyer et al., 1989; Hum & Zonta, 2000; Lee, 2000). This highlights the importance of maintaining a thorough

curriculum and training model that covers unique experiences that REM people have due to the positions they hold within society. Many REM individuals are complex and hold intersecting identities, rooted in power, privilege, and oppression that affect the therapeutic relationship (Chan et al., 2018). When courses address the historical, social, and systemic factors that have contributed to the collective victimization experienced by various racial and ethnic groups, this can bring REM trainees' awareness to the impact of these experiences on the mental health and well-being of their clients and emphasize the importance of creating a safe and validating therapeutic space. Trainees can learn to validate clients' experiences, promote empowerment, and foster resilience within a cultural context.

The intergroup dynamics research also suggests that competitive victim beliefs may affect REM trainees in both training courses and clinical practice and, if left unaddressed, may have adverse effects when working with clients. Based on Sue et al.'s (1992) triad model, awareness and knowledge can be considered precursors to competent practice and lack of either may allow cultural concerns to arise in the therapeutic process. It is imperative to enhance self-awareness of one's endorsement of competitive victim beliefs and its influence on one's cultural biases and attitudes that may surface during the process of psychotherapy. Competitive victim beliefs may also impede the willingness and ability to fully acknowledge and comprehend the cultures and perspectives of other marginalized outgroups, directly affecting overall cultural knowledge. Deficits in awareness or knowledge components of the triad can hinder the cultural skill development of appropriate interventions for clients. Additionally, unaddressed, or ineffectively addressed, cultural concerns may create cultural ruptures or impede therapeutic progress, which may also negatively impact the working alliance (Davis et al., 2018) and therapeutic outcomes.

Thus, competitive victim beliefs have implications for topics addressed during diversity and cultural competence discussions and trainings, as a personal understanding of social contexts is an integral part of a developing competence-based psychology model of education, training, and practice (Rodolfa et al, 2013). To address competitive victimization beliefs specifically, educators must first let go of the assumption that REM students are experts of multiculturalism and, thus, are responsible for aiding in the teaching of multicultural concepts to their White counterparts. If REM students' experiences in multicultural training courses are spent sharing their own experiences with White students in the class or navigating their own marginalized identity (Pieterse et al., 2016), there is little room for them to address cultural growth edges that they may not be aware of, such as their attitudes towards other minority groups. Simply sharing a status such as racial or ethnic minority does not guarantee cultural awareness and understanding. In fact, it may provide more space for negative perceptions, considering how intersecting identities may highlight within group differences during interactions. There is, therefore, a need to address the complexities and varying negative effects of such oppression and marginalization. This requires a critical examination of the ways in which prejudices and biases can be both modeled and perpetuated by personal experiences of white supremacy (Beck, 2019; Curiel, 2021). Facilitating discussions on the concept of competitive victimization can help REM trainees recognize how their own experiences, along with their clients' experiences, impact the therapeutic process. REM trainees can learn strategies to navigate potential tensions or conflicts that may arise when working with REM clients. Related, multicultural competence courses should not solely focus on individual attitudes and behaviors but also address the structural and systemic issues that perpetuate inequality and discrimination, within and across marginalized groups. This includes an acknowledgement that competitive victimization processes obscure

shared marginalized experiences which, consequently, hinder the understanding necessary for fostering unity and combating white supremacy. By recognizing and addressing this issue, we can work collaboratively toward dismantling systemic racism for the betterment of marginalized communities across different racial and ethnic identities.

## Additional Training Recommendations

As indicated above, the experience of REM students in multicultural training courses differs from non-REM students (Chan & Treacy, 1996; Curtis-Boles & Bourg, 2010) and may have negative effects on cultural competence outcomes and contribute to client experiences of microaggressions in counseling (Hook et al, 2013). Vandiver et al. (2021) suggest that the field of professional psychology should move toward "incorporating diversity in a lived way" (p. 591) and suggest that cultural awareness to be at the core of multicultural counseling competence, while the MCO (Owen et al, 2011) posits that cultural humility—which requires cultural awareness—be the central process.

### *Use A Cultural Healing Framework*

As a primary pillar of the MCO, instructors should encourage REM trainees to develop cultural humility, which involves a commitment to self-reflection, openness to learning, and recognizing the limits of one's own knowledge and experiences (Davis et al., 2018; Hook et al, 2013). Trainees can explore their own biases, assumptions, and potential countertransference that may be rooted in collective and competitive victimization when working with REM clients. For many REM individuals, this development of cultural awareness and cultural humility may best take place in the form of healing and reconciliation.

The Psychology of Radical Healing (PRH) theoretical framework (French et al, 2020) highlights the importance of therapists developing their critical consciousness and being open to

the interlocking ways their clients experience oppression. The framework is characterized by its multisystemic approach and its focus on helping individuals heal from racism-related stress and trauma (Adames et al., 2023). The key five components include: (1) *critical consciousness*, the awareness of systemic structures that cause oppression and developing to challenge and change these structures; (2) *collectivism*, a focus on community and interconnectedness through social support and collective action in healing; (3) *radical hope and envisioning possibilities*, fostering optimism and envisioning positive outcomes, despite the presence of racism and oppression; (4) *strength and resistance*, the ability to resist and counteract oppression; and (5) *cultural authenticity and self-knowledge*, recognizing and affirming one's cultural identity to gain a deeper understanding of self.

The PRH framework can be applied to clinical training in various ways. Creating a safe and inclusive classroom environment is essential for REM students to feel comfortable engaging in discussions and sharing their perspectives. Instructors should establish clear guidelines for respectful dialogue and actively address any instances of bias or discrimination. Additionally, providing opportunities for students to expand their conceptualization of healing and where it can take place. This means moving beyond individual-level focus to explore how healing can be experienced from a communal and systemic approach, emphasizing social action, empathy, and the context of the individual's lived experiences in a broader socio-political context (French et al., 2020).

REM students may also encounter unique challenges in working with clients of the same race/ethnicity or other minoritized races/ethnicities, such as vicarious trauma or personal connections to clients' experiences. Training programs should provide guidance and support recognizing and addressing these challenges, ensuring REM students develop critical

consciousness and cultural authenticity to manage their own emotional reactions. Through cultural/radical healing, REM therapists will be better able to regulate during interactions across differences.

### *Training on Working with White Clients*

Providing comprehensive racial/ethnic multicultural competence training that specifically addresses the dynamics of working with white clients can be valuable for REM students. This training should go beyond a surface-level understanding of white culture and delve into historical, social, and power dynamics that shape the experiences of both therapists and clients. It should also explore the impact of privilege, unconscious bias, and systemic racism on the therapeutic relationship. Recognizing and addressing the intersectionality of identities within both the therapist and the client is also imperative for REM students when working with clients—understanding that white clients may bring their own experiences of marginalization, such as gender, sexual orientation, disability, or socio-economic status (Kivlighan et al., 2019). Therapists need to be skilled at navigating these intersections and understanding how different aspects of a client's identity may influence their experiences and perspective. Cultural humility (Hook et al., 2013), which involves an ongoing process of self-reflection and openness to learning, is crucial. Though cultural competency and cultural humility do not necessarily spring from natural ability or personal experience, it can be successfully cultivated in the classroom (Tormala et al., 2018). Students should be encouraged to approach each client as a unique individual with their own intersectional identities and experiences.

REM trainees would also benefit from developing skills in addressing racial microaggressions targeted towards them by white clients. Sue and colleagues (2019) suggest the implementation of strategic micro-interventions that can play a vital role in disrupting and

dismantling both micro and macroaggressions. These interventions involve raising awareness about the harmful effects of microaggressions, educating perpetrators on the impact of their actions, and promoting understanding and behavioral transformation. By employing this multilevel approach, REM students can contribute to reducing prejudiced behaviors while cultivating a more inclusive and culturally competent therapeutic environment for all clients.

### *Ongoing Self-Reflection and Improvement*

When considering who should deliver and facilitate these important topics and discussions, as a field, there is still much to do in terms of working toward increased multicultural competence and cultural humility. Instructors should engage in continuous self-reflection and professional development to enhance their own cultural competence and teaching practices (Pieterse et al., 2016). This can involve seeking feedback from students, attending relevant workshops or conferences, and staying informed about current research and best practices in multicultural education. To truly grasp the concept of collective and competitive victim beliefs requires a certain level of openness, critical self-reflection, and an in-depth awareness of the adverse effects of racism and oppression that have plagued our country since its inception. We anticipate that most educators did not receive direct education on collective and competitive victimization processes in their own multicultural education. Therefore, educators, clinicians, and supervisors themselves must be dedicated to the continuous journey of cultural awareness development to model for students and adequately facilitate in educational, therapeutic, and professional settings.

## Conclusion

Cultural competence training is an essential element in today's society, as we strive to build a more inclusive and diverse community. However, it has been found that traditional

approaches may not fully address the complexities of inter and intra-group biases, identifications, and dynamics within different REM communities (e.g., Curiel, 2021Dune et al., 2022). In addition, historical oppression and systemic racism also have significant effects on REM intergroup attitudes (e.g., Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). Therefore, there is a need for cultural competence training that goes beyond a surface-level understanding of culture and considers power structures and privileges associated with certain identities or groups while exploring various biases existing between different minority groups. The MCO model (Owen et al., 2013) provides a multidimensional approach by offering practical guidelines for recognizing these cultural nuances. This involves authentically exploring opportunities presented by diversity while enhancing one's ability to self-regulate during interactions across differences.

Training programs should strive to meet the needs of REM trainees, as unbalanced training can affect the quality of therapy provided to their clients. From a principle-based ethics perspective, psychologists have a responsibility to act according to the principles of beneficence, nonmaleficence, justice, and other ethical principles (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2007) while operating within boundaries of competence and avoiding harm—as outlined in the American Psychological Association Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (APA, 2017). To deliver thorough and effective psychological practices, education, and training in cultural competence, we must go beyond simplified cultural understandings to explore more complex meanings (Sears, 2012). Dissecting cultural considerations and incorporating in-depth explorations of intersectionality and victimization processes in clinical and educational training can enhance the ability to understand, communicate with, teach, and treat diverse groups. We should strive for cultural humility, along with an integration of intersectional consciousness in training and practice. This would cover more areas of learning and understanding for individuals

holding multiple intersecting identities. In conclusion, any meaningful attempts towards building harmonious cross-cultural relationships must involve efforts geared towards deeper learning about culture in all its complex forms - considering unique perspectives shaped by historical and systemic factors. By incorporating the suggestions in this paper, multicultural competence courses can better meet the needs of REM students, promote inclusivity, and empower students to navigate an increasingly diverse world with cultural sensitivity and understanding.

## References


Adames, H. Y., Chavez-Duenas, N. Y., Lewis, J. A., Neville, H. A., French, B. H., Chen, G. A., & Mosely, D. V. (2023). Radical healing in psychotherapy: Addressing the wounds of racism-related stress and trauma. *Psychotherapy*, *60*(1), 39-50. https://https://doi.org/10.1037/pst0000435

Ago Mohd Jaladin, R. (2017). Perceived multicultural counseling competence of Malaysian counselors: An exploratory study. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *45*, 127-148.

American Psychological Association. (2017). *Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct* (2002, amended effective June 1, 2010, and January 1, 2017). https://www.apa.org/ethics/code/

American Psychological Association. (2017). *Multicultural guidelines: An ecological approach to context, identity, and intersectionality*. Retrieved from: http://www.apa.org/about/policy/multicultural-guidelines.pdf

Alcoff, L. M. (2003). Latino/as, Asian Americans and the Black–White binary. *Journal of Ethics,7, 5–27*. doi:10.1023/A:1022870628484

Barden, S. M., Sherrell, R. S., & Matthews, J. J. (2017). A national survey on multicultural competence for professional counselors: A replication study. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *95*, 203-212.

Bar-Tal, D., Chernyak-Hai, L., Schori, N., & Gundar, A. (2009). A sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *91*(874), 229-258.

Beck, E. (2019). Naming white supremacy in the social work curriculum. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 34*(3), 393-398. https://doi.org/10/1177%2F0886109919837918

Benuto, L. T., Casas, J., & O'Donohue, W. T. (2018). Training culturally competent psychologists: A systematic review of the training outcome literature. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology, 12*(3), 125-134. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/tep0000190

Chan, C. D., Cor, D. N., & Band, M. P. (2018). Privilege and oppression in counselor education: An intersectionality framework. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 46*(1), 58–73. https://doi.org/10.1002/jmd.12092

Chan, S. C., & Treacy, M. J. (1996). Resistance in multicultural courses. *American Behavioral Scientist, 40*, 212–221.

Chao, R. C. (2013). Race/ethnicity and multicultural competence among school counselors: Multicultural training, racial/ethnic identity, and color-blind racial attitudes. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 91*, 140-151.

Chao, R. C., Wei, M., Good, G. E., & Flores, L. Y. (2011). Race/ethnicity, color-blind racial attitudes, and multicultural counseling competence: The moderating effects of multicultural counseling training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*(1), 72-82. doi: 10.1037/a0022091

Constantine, M. G., & Gushue, G. V. (2003). School counselors' ethnic tolerance attitudes and racism attitudes as predictors of their multicultural case conceptualization of an immigrant student. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 81*, 185–190. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6678.2003.tb00240.x

Curiel, L. E. (2021). Interracial team teaching in social work education: A pedagogical approach to dismantling white supremacy. *Advances in Social Work, 21*(2/3), 730-749. https://doi.org/10.18060/24176

Curtis-Boles, H., & Bourg, E. (2010). Experiences of Students of Color in a Graduate-Level Diversity Course. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, *4*(3), 204–212. https://doi-org.spot.lib.auburn.edu/10.1037/a0017985

Crosby, J., King, M., & Savitsky, K. (2014). The minority spotlight effect. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 5*(7), 743-750.

Crosby, J., Monin, B., & Richardson, D. (2008). Where do we look during potentially offensive behavior? *Psychological Science, 19*, 226–228.

Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., Owen, J., Hook, J. N., Rivera, D. P., Choe, E., Van Tongeren, D.R., Worthington, E. L. Jr., & Placeres, V. (2018). The multicultural orientation framework: A narrative review. *Psychotherapy*, *55*(*1*), 89– 100.

Dune, T., Chimoriya, R., Caputi, P., MacPhail, C., Olcon, K., & Ogbeide, A. (2022). White and non-White Australian mental health care practitioners' desirable responding, cultural competence, and racial/ethnic attitudes. *BMC Psychology*, 1(10), 119.

Ferguson, A. (2007). *Intersections of identity: Navigating the complexities*. Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table, Winter, no pagination.

French, B. H., Lewis, J. A., Mosley, D. V., Adames, H. Y., Chaves-Duenas, N. Y., Chen, G. A., & Neville, H. A. (2020). Toward a psychological framework of radical healing in communities of color. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *48*(1), 14-46. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019843506

Hall, E. T. (1955). The anthropology of manners. Scientific American, 192, 85–89.

Holcomb-McCoy, C. C., & Meyers, J. (1999). Multicultural competence and counselor training: A national survey. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 77*, 294 –302

Hood, S., & Parker, L. (1994). Minority students informing the faculty: Implications for racial diversity and the future of teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 45*(3), 164-171.

Hook, J. N., Davis, D., Owen, J., & DeBlaere, C. (2017). *Cultural humility: Engaging diverse identities in therapy*. American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/0000037-000

Hook, J. N., Davis, D. E., Owen, J., Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Utsey, S. O. (2013). Cultural humility: Measuring openness to culturally diverse clients. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60*, 353–366. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0032595

Hook, J. N., Farrell, J. E., Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., Van Tongeren, D. R., & Utsey, S. O. (2016). Cultural humility and racial microaggressions in counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 63*(3), 269-277. doi: 10.1037/cou0000114

Johnson, J. L., Bahr, M. W., & Navarro, V. L. (2019). School psychology and cultural competence: Room to grow? *Educational Policy*, *33*, 951–976. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817741542

Jones, J. M., Sander, J. B., & Booker, K. W. (2013). Multicultural competency building: Practical solutions for training and evaluating student progress. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, *7*(1), 12–22. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030880

Knapp, S., & VandeCreek, L. (2007). When values of different cultures conflict: Ethical decision making in a multicultural context. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 38*(6), 660-666. doi: 10.1037/0735-7028.38.6.660

Leigh, I. W., Smith, I. L., Bebeau, M. J., Lichtenberg, J. W., Nelson, P. D., Portnoy, S., Rubin, N. J., & Kaslow, N. J. (2007). Competency assessment models. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 38*(5), 463–473. https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.38.5.463

Mollen, D., & Ridley, C. R. (2021). Rethinking multicultural counseling competence: An introduction to the major contribution. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *49*(4), 490-503. https://doi.101177/0011000020986543

Mosher, D. K., Hook, J. N., Captari, L. E., Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., & Owen, J. (2017). Cultural humility: A therapeutic framework for engaging diverse clients. *Practice Innovations, 2*(4), 221–233. http://doi.org/10.1037/pri0000055

Nair, R. & Vollhardt, J. R. (2020). Intersectionality and relations between oppressed groups: Intergroup implications of beliefs about intersectional differences and commonalities. *Journal of Social Issues*. *76*, 993-1013.

Nair, R. & Vollhardt, J. R. (2019). Intersectional consciousness in collective victim beliefs: Perceived intragroup differences among disadvantaged groups. *Political Psychology*, *40*, 917-934. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12593

Nelson, W. A. & Luetz, J. M. (2021). The impact of short-term cross-cultural experience on the intercultural competence of participating students: A case study of Australian high school students. *Social Sciences*, *8*(10), 313. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10080313

Noor, M., Brown, R. J., & Prentice, G. (2008). Precursors and mediators of intergroup reconciliation in Northern Ireland: A new model. *The British Psychological Society*, *47*, 481-495.

Noor, M., Vollhardt, J. R., Mari, S., & Nadler, A. (2017). The social psychology of collective

victimhood. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 47,* 121-134. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2300

Noor, M., Schnabel, N., Halabi, S., & Nadler, A. (2012). When suffering begets suffering: The psychology of competitive victimhood between adversarial groups in violent conflicts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *16*(4), 351-374.

Okihiro, G. (1994). *Margins and mainstreams.* University of Washington Press.

Owen, J., Drinane, J. M., Tao, K., DasGupta, D. R., Zhang, Y., & Adelson, J. (2018). An experimental test of microaggression detection in psychotherapy: Therapist multicultural orientation. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 49*(1), 9-21. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pro0000152.

Owen, J., Tao, K. W., Imel, Z. E., Wampold, B. E., & Rodolfa., E. (2014). Addressing racial and ethnic microaggressions in therapy. *Professional Psychology, Research and Practice, 45*, 283-290. http://dx.doi.org/10/1037/a0037420

Owen, J., Tao, K., Leach, M., & Rodolfa, E. (2011). Clients' perceptions of their psychotherapists' multicultural orientation. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, & Practice, 48,* 274-282. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037.a0022065.

Patterson, C. A., Papa, L. A., Reveles, A. K., & Rodríguez, M. M. D. (2018). Undergraduate student change in cultural competence: Impact of a multicultural psychology course. *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Psychology. 4(2), 81-92.* http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/st10000108

Pieterse, A. L., Lee, M., & Fetzer, A. (2016). Racial group membership and multicultural training: Examining the experiences of counseling and counseling psychology students.

*International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *38*(1), 28–47. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-015-9254-3

Pollak, K. I., & Niemann, Y. (1998). Black and White tokens in academia: A difference of chronic versus acute distinctiveness. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *28*, 954–972.

Ridley, C. R., Mollen, D., Console, K., & Yin, C. (2021). Multicultural counseling competence: A construct in search of operationalization. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *49*(4), 504-533. https://doi.10.1177/0011000020988110

Ridley, C. R., Mollen, D., & Kelly, S. (2011). Beyond microskills: Toward a model of counseling competence. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *39*(6), 825–864. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010378440

Robinson, S. J. (2013). Spoke tokenism: Black women talking back about graduate school experiences. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, *16*(2), 155-181. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2011.645567

Rodolfa E., Greenberg S., Hunsley J., Smith-Zoeller M., Cox D., Sammons M., Caro, C., & Spivak H. (2013). A competency model of practice of psychology. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, 7, 71-83. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032415

Roland, E., Hughes, T. N., & Simmons, F. (2021). Imagine paying for a course, then you end up teaching: Black women doctoral students in equity, social justice, and diversity courses. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10/1037/dhe0000368

Rooney, S. C., Flores, L. Y., & Mercier, C. A. (1998). Making multicultural education effective for everyone. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *26*, 22–32.

Sekaquaptewa, D., Waldman, A., & Thompson, M. (2007). Solo status and self-construal: Being

distinctive influences racial self-construal and performance apprehension in African American women. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*, 321–327.

Shamir, M., & Sagiv-Schifter, T. (2006). Conflict, identity, and tolerance: Israel in the Al-Aqsa intifada. *Political Psychology, 27*, 569–595.

Smith, T. B., Constantine, M. G., Dunn, T. W., Dinehart, J. M., & Montoya, J. A. (2006). Multicultural education in the mental health professions: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*, 132–145. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.53.1.132

Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., et al. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 1242–1254.

Stephan, W. G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002*). The role of threats in intergroup relations. In D. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), From prejudice to intergroup emotions* (pp. 191–208). New York: Psychology Press.

Stephan, W. G., Renfro, L. C., & Davis, M. (2008). *The role of threat in intergroup relations. In U. Wagner, L. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 56-71). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Sue., D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70*, 444-486.

Sue., D. W., Alsaidi, S., Awad, M. N., Glaeser, E., Calle, C. Z., & Mendez, N. (2019). Disarming microaggressions: Microintervention strategies for targets, White allies, and bystanders. *American Psychologist, 74*(1), 128-142. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000296

Tormala, T. T., Patel, S. G., Soukup, E. E., & Clarke, A. V. (2018). Developing measurable cultural competence and cultural humility: An application for the cultural formulation. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, *12*(1), 54-61. https://doi.10.1037/tep0000183

Triandis, H. C. (1995). Individualism and collectivism. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Wilcox, M. M., Franks, D. N., Taylor, T. O., Monceaux, C. P., & Harris, K. (2020). Who's multiculturally competent? Everybody or nobody: A multimethod examination. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *48*(4), 466-497.

Wu, F. H. (2003). *Yellow: Race in America beyond black and white.* Basic Books.

Vandiver, B. J., Delgado-Romero, E. A., & Lui, W. M. (2021). Is multicultural counseling competence outdated or underdeveloped, or in need of refinement? A response to Ridley et al. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *49*(4), 586-609. https://doi.10.1177/0011000021991877

Vollhardt, J. R. (2012). Collective victimization. In L. Tropp (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of intergroup conflict* (pp. 136-157). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Vollhardt, J. R. (2015). Inclusive victim consciousness in advocacy, social movements, and intergroup relations: Promises and pitfalls. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *9*, 89-120. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12011

Vollhardt, J. R., & Bilali, R. (2015). The role of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness in predicting intergroup attitudes: Findings from Rwanda, Burundi, and DRC. *Political Psychology*, *36*(5), 489-506.

# Chapter 3: Ethnic Intergroup Relations in the United States: An Exploration of Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs among Black Americans and Asian Americans

Aleah J. Horton[1], Léi Y. L. Sun[2], Cecile Hwan Bhang[3], Nurul Hannah Ahmad Ridzuan[4], Marilyn Cornish[1], and Aisha Warner[1]

[1]Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling, Auburn University

[2]Department of Educational and Psychological Studies, University of Miami

[3]Department of Counseling, Sonoma State University

[4]Department of Educational Psychology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

## Abstract

Ethnic intergroup relations have been a topic of concern in the United States for many years. Research has shown that competitive victim beliefs can be particularly damaging to intergroup relations, as they often increase tension and hostility between groups rather than promote understanding or reconciliation. Utilizing a constructivist grounded theory approach, we sought to understand the intergroup experience of Black Americans and Asian Americans in the United States within the group context of collective and competitive victim beliefs. The relational process theory developed from the findings suggest that competitive victim beliefs are influenced by the dynamic and reciprocal nature of ingroup identity, societal ingroup needs, outgroup exposure and connection, and external influences on perceptions of the outgroup. These findings have significant implications for understanding ethnic intergroup processes in the U.S.; improving group relations; and enhancing cultural competence, training, and interventions for psychotherapy with racial and ethnic minorities.



Keywords: African Americans, Asian Americans, intergroup relations, collective victimhood, competitive victimhood, victim beliefs

Race and racism are deeply embedded within the framework of American society (Parker & Lynn, 2002) and have direct influence on the ways individuals think about racial categories and privilege (Harris, 1992). In the United States racial thought is often confined by the dominance of a Black-White paradigm (e.g., Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Kim, 1999), which implies that race consists of only two primary groups: Black and White. This paradigm oversimplifies complex racial situations in the United States (e.g., Walsh, 2018; Castagno, 2006), resulting in incomplete assessments of the roles of race, racism, and racialization for Asian Americans, Latina/o Americans, and Native Americans (Deliovsky & Kitossa, 2013; Thornton, 2011), and does not account for demographic changes in the U.S. (Castagno, 2006). Instead, the complex nature of race must be analyzed with regard to evolving dynamics within and across racial groups (Omi & Winant, 1994), including how different ethnic minority groups interact with each other.

In this study, we specifically examine perceptions and experiences of Black and Asian Americans with one another. While the history of race relations between Black and Asian Americans has been heavily documented (e.g., Anderson, 1992; Bikmen, 2011; Chen, 2016; Ho & Mullen, 2008; Kim, 1998;), few studies explore how this history relates to present-day experiences with and attitudes toward each other. It is important to consider the interrelationship between these groups as each population competes to achieve their own social, economic, and political goals—which could be better explained through competitive victim beliefs (CMVB). This study sought to contribute to the understanding of racial experiences of Black and Asian Americans in general and the ways in which components of those experiences explain competitive victim beliefs (CMVB).

**Black-Asian Relations**

Social interaction between Black and Asian Americans has a unique history based on how they are racialized within the U.S. context (Tawa et al., 2015). Both groups have been victims of racism, stereotypes, and oppression in similar ways (e.g., anti-miscegenation laws, discriminatory housing policies, denial of land ownership, school segregation, lynching, and racist legislation; Ho & Mullen, 2008), which has led to both groups having to demand equality and human dignity. Each group has also been affected differently due to differences in historical, racial, cultural backgrounds and the unique history impacting each group's relationship with America. For instance, one of the unique contrasts is that discrimination experienced by Black Americans is often based in skin complexion rooted in the history of slavery and "second-class citizenships," whereas experiences of Asian Americans are often based on the perception of foreigner, immigrant, and/or outsider status "to whom access is rightly denied" (Kim, 1999, p. 2405).

An important contributing factor influencing Black-Asian relations is the role of mainstream media (Ho & Mullen, 2008; Kim, 1998). Examples range from media contrasting current social justice initiatives—such as the Black Lives Matter Movement and Stop Asian Hate—to the wide media coverage and emphasis of hostilities between Black and Korean Americans in the early 90s amid 1992 Los Angeles riots. The exploitation and framing of Black-Asian conflict have been used to hinder links among marginalized groups to maintain, upload, and transmit ideologies about white supremacy (Kim, 1998; Morikawa, 2001). This strategy used by white institutions to shift the blame from true sources of inequality—specifically political, social, and economic control by white dominant institutions—to less powerful groups (McFerson, 2006) may have impacted the groups' views and attitudes toward each other.

An example of this is the creation of the model minority myth, in which the dominant group has highlighted educational achievement and economic successes by Asian Americans to serve as proof of a post-racial society in which the barriers faced by Black Americans and other minoritized groups no longer exist (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). In contrast to the *model minority* label on Asian Americans, Black Americans were labeled as the *problem minority* and painted as overall less intelligent and more dependent on government assistance compared to Asian Americans (Johnson et al., 1997). Many Asian and Asian Americans' racial views, stereotypes, and social prejudices against Blacks have been influenced by the ways Black Americans have been negatively painted by white America (Date & Barlow, 1990; Morikawa, 2001), while Black Americans held more negative views toward Asian Americans than did White Americans (Xu & Lee, 2013; Suh et al., 2018) possibly due to the use of the model minority image to discount structural and ongoing disadvantages that the African American community faces (Lee, 1996; Zhou, 2004). The model minority myth is a manipulation that serves the interests of the dominant group (Kim, 1999) and influences how groups view themselves and each other.

The highlighting of Black-Asian conflict and perpetuation of the model minority myth to shift the focus away from white supremacy could also possibly explain why very little attention has been given to the rich history of Afro-Asian allyship and support—such as the reciprocal influence of the Black liberation movement on the radicalization of Japanese and Asian American activists in the late 1960s (Ho & Mullen, 2008), the African American community taking a stand against the infraction of Japanese Americans' civil rights during World War II, or the history of Chinese Americans fighting discriminatory legislations that upheld economic and social injustice all the way to the Supreme Court (Kim, 1998).

## Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs

The emphasis on historical conflict and obscuring of allyship can create tension in current interethnic relations. Several theories have explained the development of intergroup conflict and competition among multiethnic groups. According to group threat theory (Blumer, 1958), group position is at the core of race relations rather than the individual feeling of one racial group toward another racial group. This framework aims to understand racial prejudice by evaluating racial group relationships rather than individual feelings. Further, threat hypothesis theorists (Bobo, 1999; Qullian, 1995) suggest that intergroup animosity is fueled by economic and political conditions, the salience of group membership as a prerequisite for certain rights or privileges. Regarding present-day attitudes and interactions, Black and Asian Americans have been found to experience greater social distance from one another than each experience from White Americans (Smith et al., 2007; Tawa et al., 2015; Weaver, 2008). Divisions have been emphasized through resource competition and insider versus foreigner classification, which have been shown to increase social distance and have a negative effect on relations between both groups (Ho & Mullen, 2008; Tawa et al., 2015).

Research on collective victimhood (referred to as collective victim beliefs [CLVB] in this paper) examines how ingroups make sense of their victimized experience by forming a sense of solidarity with one's own ethnic ingroup's suffering, which in turn shape social and political attitudes about other marginalized groups (Noor et al., 2017). This can have negative consequences for intergroup relations, such as decreased intergroup trust and justification of violence (Noor et al., 2008). However, research has also found some positive consequences such as increased empathy and solidarity with other marginalized outgroups (Vollhardt, 2015). Regarding race relations within the United States, racial competitiveness, envy, and rivalry are

fueled by creating and accentuating differences between minority and marginalized populations (Anderson, 1992). This fosters negative attitudes that lead to competitive victimhood (referred to as competitive victim beliefs [CMVB] in this paper), a belief that one's ethnic ingroup has been subjected to more injustice and suffering than another oppressed ethnic group (Noor et al., 2012). Research suggests that competition for resources (e.g., jobs, housing, political power) has contributed to increased racial hostility among minority groups—particularly those concentrated in urban areas (McClain & Karnig, 1990). Competition and perceptions of racial threat between/amongst groups may derive from their own perceptions of economic and political vulnerability, which are also factors that influence the effects of racial environments (Oliver & Wong, 2001).

**The Current Study**

As the U.S. continues to grow more diverse, the demand for socially just and culturally competent initiatives continues to be of the utmost importance. To adequately serve individuals from marginalized groups in clinical, organizational, and educational settings, we must have a critical understanding of the lasting effects that historical oppression has on intergroup attitudes, beliefs, and interactions (Kivlighan et al., 2019; Pieterse et al., 2016). Most research on intergroup relations has examined majority/perpetrator group and ethnic minority/victimized groups, while studies on relations solely between ethnic minorities have been under-examined (Bikmen, 2011). Few studies have examined how CMVB are fostered among marginalized groups, specifically in the U.S. To begin to promote intergroup healing and positive intergroup relations within the unique context of American history, it is imperative to understand CMVB.

Due to limited research on specific factors that contribute to the development of CMVB among racial ethnic minorities in the United States, we utilized the constructivist grounded

theory approach (Charmaz, 2006, 2014) to explore the experiences of Black and Asian Americans' interactions with one another within the unique U.S. context of race relations. The aim was to develop a relational theory or framework to understand how these two groups develop CMVB, specifically in relation to their experiences with victimization in the U.S. The following research questions guided our study: What experiences do Black and Asian Americans use to define attitudes and beliefs about each other? How do collective and competitive victimization processes exist and manifest in these groups? What influences susceptibility to CMVB and attitudes? What are the similarities and differences of the experiences for each group? Together, these questions guided the primary research aim to develop a relational process theory that describes the development of CLVB and CMVB between Black and Asian Americans.

## Method

### Researcher Reflexivity

Constructivist grounded theory researchers utilize their personal experiences or prior knowledge to develop awareness of constructs being examined (Charmaz, 1996; Flick, 2009). This constructivist approach to grounded theory requires researchers to adopt the viewpoint that knowledge itself is shaped and influenced by individual experiences, which are considered meaningful, valid, and subjective (Hays & Singh, 2012). In qualitative research, each researcher's identity shapes the research process. Therefore, researchers must critically reflect on their biases and perspectives to ensure the data is approached with openness and impartiality.

The first, second, and fourth authors were doctoral students in Counseling Psychology, and the sixth author a doctoral student in Counselor Education at the time of data collection and analysis. The third author is a psychologist and professor of Counseling Psychology. These

authors who participated in data collection and/or analysis bring a range of personal and professional experiences to their exploration of CMVB, as two researchers identify as Black American women and three identify as Asian/Asian American women. The fifth author, who assisted in study conceptualization and final data interpretation, is a counseling psychologist and identifies as a White woman. The researchers remained committed to self-reflection and seeking diverse perspectives while conducting this study with integrity and transparency and acknowledging that ethnic identities are largely shaped by sociocultural contexts and approached analyzation from a social justice lens.

## Measures

### *Demographics*

A demographic questionnaire included questions regarding participants' gender, race, ethnicity, age, education level, occupation, socioeconomic status, and family origin.

### *Collective Victim Beliefs*

We used a 4-item scale adapted from Noor et al. (2008) and used by Horton et al. (2020) to measure beliefs about collective ingroup suffering. Respondents rated their agreement with statements on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree*). Total scale scores range from 4 to 28, with higher scores indicating greater collective victimization beliefs. Items were "The suffering Blacks/African Americans have been through was undeserved and unfair," "Throughout history, Blacks/African Americans have undergone numerous sufferings," "Blacks/African Americans have been victimized throughout history," and "In our society, Blacks/African Americans have undergone discrimination based on their origins." The specific racial/ethnic ingroup was modified based on participant identification (Black/African American or Asian/Asian American). Internal consistency reliability was acceptable (Cronbach's alpha =

0.89) in prior research with Black/African American and Latinx/Hispanic sample (Horton et al., 2020) and was 0.90 in our screener study.

### *Competitive Victim Beliefs*

We assessed the belief that one's own group has suffered more than the out-group, a group perceived as distinct from one's own group (ingroup), with eight items adapted from Noor et al. (2008) and Vollhardt (2010) and modified by specific racial/ethnic group. The items included statements such as: "Blacks/African Americans need more protection than Asians/Asian Americans" (for Asian American participants, the ethnic group order was reversed) and were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Total scale scores range from 8 to 56. Higher scores indicate greater levels of competitive victimization beliefs. Cronbach's alpha was previously found to be 0.91 (Noor et al., 2008) and was 0.92 in our screener study.

### *Interviews*

Remaining consistent with the tenets of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014), the semi-structured interview questions were designed to allow participants to define the cross-cultural interactions and experiences with the outgroup in question. The interview protocol had 13 open-ended questions (see Appendix A) about participants' ingroup experiences in the United States, their perception of the outgroup's experiences, and factors that influence their perceptions. Participants were asked about their own ethnic ingroup prior to being asked about the outgroup.

## Procedures and Participants

Following exempt designation from the Auburn University Institutional Review Board (IRB), recruitment occurred through Prolific Academic, an online research platform. We used

criterion sampling (Patton, 1990) to gather information-rich data. Inclusion criteria were that individuals must: 1) be adults (age 18+), 2) legally reside in the United States, 3) identify as Black American or Asian American, and 4) have been born in or spent at least 80% of their lives in the United States.

Data collection took place from January to April 2022. To ensure rich description of the phenomenon, we first conducted a screener study ($N$=100) with a demographic questionnaire and measures of collective and competitive victim beliefs for theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Among those who endorsed high levels of both collective (scores >17) and competitive victim beliefs (scores >36), we used random selection to invite participants to complete individual, in-depth interviews via Zoom video following informed consent to participate. Theoretical saturation was determined when new themes no longer emerged in the interview data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We used the semi-structured interview protocol to explore participants' ($N$ = 12) personal experiences related to race and ethnicity. We asked follow-up questions for clarification of attitudes concerning both their own ethnic group and other minoritized ethnic groups. To minimize potential participant unease, Asian/Asian American researchers (Bhang and Sun) interviewed Asian American participants and Black American researchers (Horton and Warner) interviewed Black American participants. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews were approximately 40 to 90 minutes in length. Participants were compensated $30 for completing the interview. Table 1 includes demographic information for participants.

**Data Analysis**

We used a constructivist grounded theory data analysis approach with cyclical collection, coding, and analytic memo writing occurring simultaneously. Using four phases, we developed

categories (open), identified connections (axial), created explanations that connect the categories (selective), and developed theoretical propositions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During open coding, we (Horton, Warner, Bhang, & Sun) generated initial themes by analyzing each transcript line-by-line to identify key categories and participants' experiences regarding their racial/ethnic background and attitudes toward the other ethnic group. In axial coding, we collaboratively developed broad codes from these initial themes, followed by a second round of more detailed coding focused on beliefs and experiences expressed in interviews. During selective coding, we organized information into a theoretical model that depicts the process of collective and competitive victimization. Furthermore, to enhance precision and minimize potential bias, Ridzuan reviewed the domains, core codes, and final themes and Cornish reviewed the theoretical model (both uninvolved in prior coding).

## Thematic Results

### Collective Victimization

#### *Family History and Cultural Dynamics*

Family and culture were important sources of strength, values, and resilience for Black and Asian American participants. Personal beliefs about their ingroup, navigation in society, and cultural values stem from a family upbringing which gives rise to a strong sense of identity with their ingroup and contributed to CLVB. Several Asian American participants felt a strong sense of collectivism or community due to a lack of societal support. Witnessing their parents making sacrifices and paving their way in the United States with little resources, they were motivated to work hard in school and take full advantage of their opportunities**.** Black Americans felt a strong sense of pride for their culture and mentioned learning from their families' ways to safely

navigate society and conflict in a nonviolent manner, given the fear of being perceived as a threat and shaping Black Americans' mistrust of White people for protection and survival.

Collective victimization contributed to CMVB and perspectives of the outgroup (Black or Asian Americans). For Asian American participants, in *some* respects, family negatively impacted their identities due to the colorblindness in their upbringing. Several participants shared that race was not a topic of discussion in their families, and that they were naïve about racism and discrimination until adulthood. Consequently, they felt a blurred sense of identity/belongingness**.** They also felt their upbringing conditioned them to be passive and silent. For example, one participant acknowledged that she was shaped into the stereotype of Asians—being quiet and timid, minding her own business, being a hard worker and people pleaser, and trying to avoid trouble.

Furthermore, they learned of animosity and negative/prejudiced views toward Black Americans due to their families' lack of exposure and adherence to stereotypes. For example, an Asian American participant noted that her family was afraid of Black Americans and did not want her to socialize with them:

*"… because there's just been so much violence that has been perpetrated recently by African American males against, you know, frail and innocent Asian Americans like women, and I think men, too… just for hate crimes."*

This theme was not expressed by any Black American participants. Conversely, some Black American participants spoke about the learned empathy and openness towards other groups from their family and cultural history, which directly impact their attitudes toward other groups. For example,

"*My family is really open to other ethnic groups. If you look at our family tree, there are a lot of people that are not African American in it … My grandma would have a hard time not hugging you, not welcoming you into the kitchen and cutting you a big piece of cake or a pie … [My family] told us how to be warm and welcoming.*"

It is noted that one Asian American participant expressed this theme as well.

***Personal Experiences in the United States***

The participants' narratives painted a vivid picture of their daily struggles, highlighting feelings of alienation and exclusion from mainstream society. Both groups expressed sentiments of non-belonging, indicating that they felt unheard, unseen, undervalued, overlooked, or underrepresented within various social settings. These communities often encountered microaggressions—subtle discriminatory comments or actions—which further exacerbated these negative emotions. There was also an overarching theme relating to an assumption of homogeneity by others of their ethnic group; the lack of specific cultural recognition was something reported by Asian Americans while Black Americans highlighted low acknowledgement of intersectionality within their community (i.e., acknowledging differences regarding race/gender/sexual orientation/etc.).

Some aspects of experiences within the U.S. were specific to each group. Asian-American participants reported increased and heightened discrimination following the COVID-19 pandemic. They also described feeling invisible and silenced due to the underreporting of hate crimes and injustices against Asian Americans.

"*I just think we receive it [referring to racism/bias/discrimination] in a more subtle way [than Black Americans], more of the microaggressions versus like verbally and physically explicit discrimination. However, you must also consider COVID-19, which has been more*

*explicit because there have been more noticeable acts. But it's also important to remember the U.S. has a history of discrimination against Asians for years. It's just COVID-19 has made it more noticeable even though it's always been there*"

Meanwhile, Black American participants discussed the long-term effects of generational trauma stemming from slavery and the Jim Crow era, facing negative stereotypes leading to racial profiling and police brutality. They also described experiencing macroaggressions rooted in white supremacist ideology and living with chronic fear for their safety. Additionally, they reported experiencing tokenism in predominately white spaces and stereotypes and negative assumptions about Black Americans, which resulted in feelings of inadequacy.

"*There are inherent thoughts, I think, that people have about Black people not being intelligent…. For [example] me in my graduate program, I was the only Black male student here… and then all of the anxieties that come with that. Like [pause], feeling like you have to represent all Black people, right. Which I don't think any one person should ever necessarily have to bear the weight of that themselves. But in some ways, you kind of just begin to carry that weight… subconsciously*"

**Ingroup Needs**

The development of CMVB was further influenced by the societal needs of one's group. The results revealed considerable overlap between Black and Asian Americans' ingroup needs. These included access to resources, increased representation, acknowledgement of current experiences of injustice, outreach from government and society, and acknowledgement of diversity and intersectionality within each group. Additionally, both groups indicated a need for comprehensive education on the history and contributions made by their respective groups towards society.

Asian American participants expressed a need for better awareness about how the model minority stereotype perpetuates harmful assumptions and undermines individual achievements. They also shared a desire for social belonging and acceptance as part of American communities instead of seen as perpetual foreigners and greater attention and focus on community-specific issues. Similarly, Black participants voiced concerns regarding solutions to ongoing systemic oppression, socioeconomic inequality, and interactions with law enforcement. They also mentioned recognition of historical racial trauma affecting their experiences in America and reparations to address past injustices.

## Barriers to Connection

### *Language and Cultural Differences*

The perceived differences in language, communication styles, and cultural values between the ingroup and outgroup members were coded as barriers to forming connections with members of the outgroup. For example:

"*One [barrier] is definitely language. I know [American-born Chinese] can communicate with [Black Americans], but older generations, they cannot speak English, and most Black people, they all speak English I guess. The second aspect is their way of thinking. They're more like say whatever you want, when you want to. And Asians are more like oh just hold it in, let the storm pass or whatever…. mindset is different.*"

### *Lack of Personal Interactions*

Five, one Asian American and four Black Americans, out of our 12 participants noted having limited/no relationships and lack of interactions with members of the other racial group. This statement by a Black American participant reflected how a lack of contact with Asian

Americans may contribute to their lack of understanding of Asians' experiences of oppression and, thus, to their disconnection with Asian Americans:

"*I think there is a feeling of disconnect [between Blacks and Asians] because I think… Black people and Hispanics... there's a shared link from one to one with the way America is treating us, like it's pretty similar. With Hispanics it's like,* [to Hispanic Americans referring to the shared experience] *'Y'all kind of know what this is like. [White people] try to do everything they can to get away from us.' So, I think with Black people and Hispanic people there's a certain kind of bond. You know that people bond through oppression. You bond when you're both having a rough time. So I think in terms of like, Asian Americans I don't think that happens, nearly as much. Because… there's like the lack of access and the lack of like just interpersonal contact just in random everyday settings.*"

***Negative Stereotypical Beliefs***

Adherence to and believing in stereotypical beliefs were also coded as barriers to connection with members of the outgroup. For instance:

"*Our experiences in general, Asians, we're seen more as hard working, like we're smarter, we do better in school. It's like those stereotypes, but it's also those same stereotypes that hurt other ethnic minorities. It's like saying, you know, Black people, they can't work their way up to the top. They're lazy or all this other stuff. I think the model minority myth, it's like saying the Asians are basically right under White people. Like we are second best compared to any other minority group… Those types of stereotypes really hurt other ethnic minority groups when we should all just be working together instead of pitting against each other.*"

Similarly, multiple Black American participants perceived preferential treatment towards Asian Americans due to their proximity to Whiteness and indicated that differences in treatments

of Asian and Black Americans contributed to their feelings of disconnection to Asian Americans since they did not experience, as expressed by one participant, a "bond through [shared] oppression."

### *Lack of Knowledge*

Both Black and Asian American participants noted that they had limited education or contact with each other beyond mandatory formal schooling. Furthermore, participants expressed a need to highlight more of their group's history in formal education. Inaccurate generalized statements and negative stereotypes about the outgroup were evident among both Black and Asian American participants due to insufficient knowledge about each other's culture and experiences. For instance, an Asian American participant demonstrated a lack of understanding of the origin of Black Lives Matter, while another Asian American participant expressed their belief that Black Americans were responsible for the discrimination they experienced. Another notable instance was that a few Black American participants expressed their assumption that hate crimes against Asian Americans started only in recent years and were individual or isolated incidents rather than a recurring pattern that has occurred over a long period of time.

## Fostering Connection

### *Shared Experiences and Exposure*

Another subtheme that influenced CMVB emerged from participants' reports was Fostering Connection. We found several factors that aid in fostering connections between Black and Asian Americans, largely concerning shared experiences of victimization as well as exposure to each other. Black and Asian Americans acknowledged the importance of shared experiences and a shared sense of resilience, strength, and ability to overcome struggles in the U.S. as racial/ethnic minority individuals:

"*[Interaction with Black Americans] just made me realize how resilient they are and that they still face very blatant racism and very physical racism. And that it just made me realize, oh, they have struggles, but they are still working hard to like, overcome it, and educate people.*"

### *Acknowledgement of Outgroup Experiences*

It was also noted that acknowledgement of each other's experiences of injustice, such as Black Americans' understanding and awareness of the model minority myth, is important in fostering connection. Furthermore, exposure to each other through increased contact, positive interactions, and personal relationships such as friendships, family connections, and positive coworker experiences was reported to lead to expanding participants' knowledge of each other's cultures, and from deepened understanding, an increased sense of empathy toward each other's experiences seemed to follow.

### *Empathy*

When fostering connections that appear to counter CMVB, it was found that empathy plays a crucial role, which seemed influenced by education, personal interaction, relationships, and shared victimization experiences. In other words, participants getting to know each other as another human who similarly struggles through and navigates the world along with positive and personal interactions with outgroup members assist in fostering connection away from CMVB.

## External Influences of Outgroup Perceptions

When exploring factors that influenced individuals' perceptions of the outgroup, it became apparent that the media—encompassing both social media and traditional news outlets—played a pivotal role. Participants also identified that education about the outgroup learned in school impacted their perception. Furthermore, personal interaction (or lack thereof) with members of the outgroup also contributed towards changing perspectives over time.

**Endorsement of Competitive Victim Beliefs**

Regarding the endorsement of competitive beliefs, both Black and Asian Americans reported competition over recognition of their victimized experiences, societal support, and competition over available resources. Both groups perceived the other group as receiving more acknowledgement and support from society regarding injustices faced by their respective communities. Specifically, Asian Americans believed that Black Americans receive more media attention, recognition of adversity, and collective outrage in response to social justice issues, whereas Black Americans felt that Asian Americans get quicker, efficient, and empathetic reactions.

*"…it's like [Asian Americans] are not recognized so much as being a minority. They're the same as the white race. So I don't really think of them as a minority because of the preferential treatment that I've seen them get."*

"*They always say it's the lack of access to education that causes them [Black Americans] to go down these certain paths. But I could say the same thing about the Asians. I did not have access to many of these higher educational needs, right? I play basketball with Black children growing up my entire life. It's [they have] the same access to resources that I have. We go to the same library. If they show up, we go to the same school. All I'm saying here is, we want to make excuses for them*."

*"For the Asians, we have to find our own help. For the African Americans, they're being offered help. It's almost like they get to pick and choose the help that they want. But the Asian, we don't get to pick?""I can understand why Black people feel like 'damn, [Asian Americans] just show up and they just skip the line?' I think in some ways there's this sort of adversarial [pause]... You know, like 'damn, yall just gonna [snaps]… they jump to the front of the line and they get*

*XYZ while we've been sitting here asking for the same sorts of things and we don't feel like we get the same sort of social response and support." (Participant 104)*

Asian American participants discussed competition over representation in government, politics, and mainstream media. They endorsed competition for visibility and recognition due to a sense of invisibility when issues like Black Lives Matter are given more prominence compared to Stop Asian Hate. Some pointed out that Black Americans have an advantage with greater representation and exposure resulting in easier recognition. Additionally, competition over education history was mentioned, as several participants felt that while Black history is taught extensively at schools, the same depth is not provided when it comes to teaching about Asian American history. Black Americans held onto CMVB regarding the extent and severity of historical atrocities they have faced compared to Asian Americans and, consequently, experiencing more enduring effects than their counterparts. They also expressed competition for better treatment from society with feelings of resentment towards Asian Americans who they believe suffer less but receive more resources.

## Discussion

The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study was to understand the relational process among Black and Asian Americans' experiences in developing collective and competitive victim beliefs. The relational process theory developed from these findings suggest that thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs that racial ethnic minorities in the United States have toward each other are influenced by the dynamic and reciprocal nature of collective victimization, ingroup needs, external influencers, and connection.

Rimé et al. (2015) propose that individuals who strongly identify with their group experience heightened intergroup emotions when they perceive collective victimization,

compared to those with lower levels of group identification. Consistent with their findings, the salient theme in relation to CLVB and CMVB was ingroup identity, which was primarily influenced by family history, cultural factors, and personal encounters with victimization and marginalization. More specifically, family background played a significant role in shaping ingroup identity through the transmission of cultural values, promoting resilience, and establishing initial attitudes toward other ethnic groups.

Additionally, personal experiences contributed to a sense of CLVB. Both Black and Asian Americans described their intricate and multifaceted experiences as being marked by an overwhelming sense of non-belonging, microaggressions, and ultimately feeling overlooked and unrepresented. The experiences of both groups varied, with each facing unique challenges. Black American participants shared their own stories of systemic racism and police brutality, which has been brought to the forefront following the death of George Floyd (Sullivan et al., 2021). Asian Americans participants described experiencing heightened prejudice and discrimination since the COVID-19 global health crisis began, consistent with other research (Gover et al., 2020). Moreover, Asian Americans described feeling invisible and silenced because of hate crimes committed against them being underreported or outright ignored. These personal experiences of injustice, experienced as collective victimization, became a precursor for CMVB among both groups. This highlights how prolonged oppression and racial trauma can have significant long-term effects on individuals' perspectives toward others and how complex socio-political factors interplay with individual attitudes towards competition and perception around experiences of oppression.

Connection to the outgroup appeared to directly influence CMVB. Connection was established through shared experiences, exposure to the outgroup, acknowledgment of the

outgroup's experiences, and empathy. Notably, empathy was closely linked to shared experiences and exposure to the outgroup. Participants who had more opportunities for proximity or personal relationships with the outgroup displayed higher levels of empathy and acknowledged their experiences more readily. This finding supports previous research that suggests high-quality, extended contact reduces CMVB by enhancing intergroup empathy and trust (Andrighetto et al, 2012). Conversely, lack of personal interaction, language barriers, and cultural differences impeded connection. Additional barriers to connection included minimal knowledge of the outgroup's experience and adherence to negative stereotypical beliefs. Participants who had the least amount of exposure, contact, and personal connection with the outgroup displayed more negative views, attitudes, and beliefs about the outgroup and were more prone to endorse CMVB. This is consistent with literature that indicates CMVB can predict intolerance for diversity, increased social distance from outgroups, and mistrust toward outgroups (Volhardt & Bilali, 2015).

The perception of outgroups was significantly influenced by sources from which individuals obtained information and ideas about them, consistent with previous literature (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). Many participants formed their opinions primarily based on media sources. Education also played a role in shaping perceptions, with those who had more knowledge about the ethnic background and history of the outgroup demonstrating stronger connections, empathy and understanding towards them. Conversely, participants with limited knowledge tended to hold onto negative beliefs and stereotypes about the outgroup.

Similar to prior research (Vollhardt, 2015; Noor et al., 2012), CMVB were also significantly influenced by societal ingroup needs including access to resources; increased representation; government and societal outreach; and acknowledgement of diversity,

intersectionality, and injustice. Additionally, participants expressed a desire for more comprehensive education about their respective histories and contributions to society. While there were shared subthemes for ingroup needs, the specifics varied regarding acknowledgement of consequences of the model minority myth and the effects of systemic oppression.

The endorsement of CMVB seemed directly tied to unmet ingroup needs. While participants acknowledged the outgroups' experienced victimization, they frequently compared the level of recognition, attention, support, and resources provided to their own group. Previous research highlights the negative effect of unequal recognition of groups' victimization on intergroup attitudes (Guissemé & Licata, 2016). Notably, most perceptions of support given to the outgroup were seen as unfair or unmerited, further reinforcing competitive sentiments. This suggests that the endorsement of CMVB stems from a perception of unequal distribution of resources and support among groups, which aligns with previous studies suggesting that when intergroup conflict is rooted in social or material disparities, feelings of victimization can influence group members' internal drive to engage in competition with outgroups (Noor et al., 2008; Brewer & Brown, 1998).

**Limitations and Future Directions**

In terms of limitations, most Asian American participants had East Asian ethnicity. Future researchers can increase sample diversity, such as expanding the research to other Asian groups (e.g., South Asians), Black groups (e.g., Caribbeans), mixed-race individuals, and individuals with different immigration and acculturation backgrounds (e.g., first-generation versus second-generation and beyond). In addition, most of our participants were women, limiting our ability to generalize to the experiences of men. Third, our study adopted a qualitative method based on constructivist grounded theory. While this method is appropriate to

generate new knowledge of intergroup relations, it would be beneficial to extend our results with other research methods, such as a quantitative or mixed-method design.

As a pioneering study in intergroup relations between ethnic minority groups in the U.S., our data was collected at a unique time—a year after the spa shootings in Atlanta targeted at Asian Americans, a year and a half after the murder of George Floyd, and almost two years following the onset of COVID-19. These events have shaped society's view of racism, prejudice, social justice, and intergroup relations (Gates et al., 2023; Liu et al., 2023). These events have also heavily impacted both Black and Asian Americans' perspectives of their own ingroup and each other's outgroup. Given the rapid sociopolitical changes in the recent decade, follow-up research could capture potential chronosystemic influences on intergroup relations. More research is needed to identify obstacles to achieving positive interracial interactions, create interventions to shift negative interactions and CMVB, and bring insights into how personal experiences influence perceptions on intergroup relations.

**Implications**

The relational process theory we developed suggests that CMVB are influenced by the dynamic and reciprocal nature of ingroup identity, societal ingroup needs, outgroup exposure and connection, and external influences on perceptions of the outgroup. This process recognizes that intergroup relations are co-constructed through mutual influence and interaction and emphasizes the importance of factors such as acknowledgement, representation, empathy, and support. The results have social justice implications for better understanding ethnic intergroup processes and what is needed to heal and enhance group relations in the United States. More specifically, the findings of this study can inform educational policies as well as multicultural and diversity training for mental health counselors, social justice advocates, and group leaders in navigating

groups with racially diverse members. The results indicate a necessity for comprehensive education on the ethnic history, present socio-political experiences, and contributions to society alongside the strengths of the diverse minoritized groups in America. The findings suggest that incorporating Black, Asian, and other minority group histories into school curriculums with cultural sensitivity can considerably impact individuals' empathy and understanding towards members of various ethnic groups. Therefore, it is imperative to include racial histories in required education courses, taught from a multicultural perspective, to foster empathetic conversations while deconstructing white dominant narratives, racial misconceptions, and foster the healing of intergroup relations.

This framework can also help leaders conceptualize the relational dynamics between members of Black and Asian ethnic groups. For instance, animosity between group members (e.g., work teams, student clubs, counseling groups) may be symptoms of CMVB, or solidarity may be fostered by expanding the collective victimization perspective to include other marginalized ethnic groups. The relational framework also highlights ways healing can be fostered between members of Black and Asian American groups, such as increasing knowledge about each other and increasing personal genuine interactions, which can then foster empathy.

In conclusion, findings emphasize the importance of understanding ethnic intergroup dynamics within the US. From this study we now know more about the dimensions that influence CLVB and CMVB. Although more research is needed, knowledge of these dimensions can inform future research on ethnic intergroup processes in the United States; improve group relations; and enhance cultural competence, training, and interventions for psychotherapy with racial and ethnic minorities.

Figure 1. Influencers of Competitive Victim Beliefs

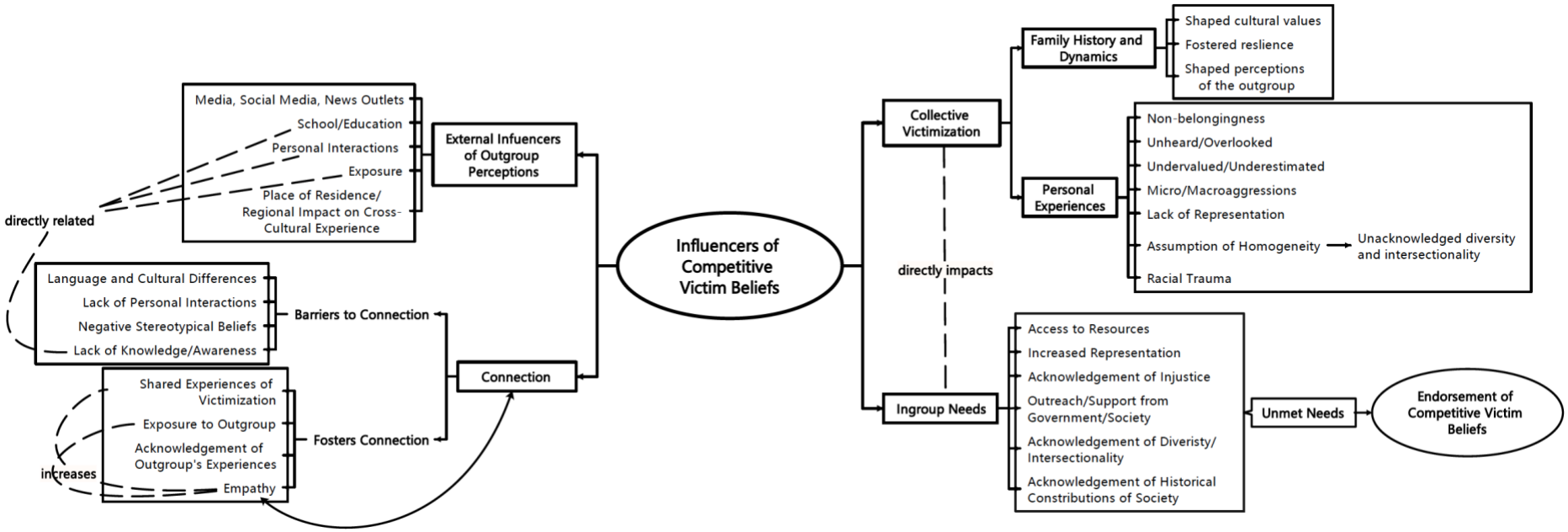

Table 1

*Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants*

| Participant # | Additional Identity Variables | SES Variables | Residency Variables |
|---|---|---|---|
| 101 | single, Chinese American female in mid 20s | Bachelor's degree/employed part-time/$20k-$45k | born in China, parents born in China, lives in Southern US |
| 102 | married, African American female in late 50s | some college/unable to work/$20k-$45k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Southeastern US |
| 103 | married, African American female in early 50s | Bachelor's degree/homemaker/<$20k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Eastern US |
| 104 | single, African American male in mid 20s | Doctorate degree/student/$20k-$45k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Southern US |
| 105 | single, Chinese American female in mid 20s | Master's degree/employed full-time/$60k-80k | born in China, parents born in China, lives in Northeastern US |
| 106 | married, Chinese American male in mid-late 30s | Bachelor's degree/employed full-time/$100k-150k | born in US, parents born in China, lives in Northeastern US |
| 107 | married, African American female in mid 30s | Master's degree/employed full-time/$100k-150k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Southeastern US |
| 108 | single, African American female in 50s | Associate's degree/employed full-time/$45k-$60k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Southeastern US |
| 109 | single, African American female in mid-late 30s | Master's degree/employed full-time/$80k-$100k | born in US, parents born in US, lives in Eastern US |
| 110 | single, Vietnamese American female in early 20s | Bachelor's/unemployed/<$20k | born in US, parents born in Vietnam, lives in Northeastern US |
| 111 | single, Chinese American female in early 30s | Bachelor's/employed full-time/$45k-$60k | born in China, parents born in China, lives in Western US |
| 112 | married, Taiwanese American female in early 30s | Bachelor's/employed full-time/>$200k | born in US, parents born in Taiwan, lives in Western US |

## Appendix A

1) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Asian Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

2) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Black Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

3) How has your family's or ethnic group's history shaped your experience in the United States?
    a) How has your family's or ethnic group's history impacted your overall view of America?
    b) How does your family's or ethnic group's history shape your view of other ethnic groups?

4) Thinking about your experiences in the United States, in what ways have you experienced prejudice or discrimination due to your race or ethnic background?
    a) By white people?
    b) By Black people?
    c) By other people of color?

5) Tell me about a time when you felt connected to (or could relate to) Black Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience helped you feel connected to this group?

6) Tell me about a time when you felt disconnected from (or could not relate to) Black Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience made you feel disconnected?
    b) What were the barriers that kept you from connecting with this group?

7) How do you feel about Stop Asian Hate and other social justice movements advocating for Asian Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

8) How do you feel about Black Lives Matter and other social justice movements advocating for Black Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

9) In terms of access, resources, and acknowledgement, what are things that you believe your ethnic group needs from society that are specifically different from other ethnic groups?

10) Describe what you see as most important for other ethnic groups to know and understand about your ethnic group's experience in the U.S.

**To assess intergroup contact and its effect on perceptions of out-groups**

11) How often do you engage/interact with Black Americans?

a) How would you describe the quality that engagement/interaction?
   i) If positive, please explain.
   ii) If negative, please explain.

12) In what ways does this influence your view/perception of Black Americans?

**To assess level/amount of knowledge about out-group**

13) How much have you learned/ studied about Black American history?

## References

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

Ancheta, A. (2006). *Race, rights, and the Asian American experience* (2nd edition). Rutgers University Press.

Anderson, T. (1992). Comparative experience factors among Black, Asian, and Hispanic Americans: coalitions or conflicts? *Journal of Black Studies, 23*(1), 27-38.

Bar-Tal, D., Chernyak-Hai, L., Schori, N., & Gundar, A. (2009). A sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross, 91*, 229–258.http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1816383109990221

Batson, C. D. (1991). *The altruism question: Toward a social psychological answer*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Batson, C. D., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., & Highberger, L.(1997). Empathy and attitudes: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group improve feelings toward the group? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *72*, 105-118.

Block, J. (1989). A revised Ego-Resiliency scale. Unpublished instrument. Department of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley.

Blumer, H. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, *1*(1), 3–7.

Bobo, L. (1999). Prejudice as group position: Micro foundations of a sociological approach to race relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, *55*(3), 445–472.

Bogardus, E. S. (1925). Measuring social distances. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, *9*(4), 299–308.

Bogardus, E. S. (1926). Social distances between groups. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, *10*(5), 473–479.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists*. (3rd ed). Bowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Brewer, M., & Brown, R. J. (1998). *Intergroup relations.* In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), Handbook of social psychology (pp. 554–594). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Brown, R. J., Condor, S., Matthews, A., Wade, G., & Williams, J. A. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *59*, 273-286.

Brown, R., Maras, P., Masser, B., Vivian, J., & Hewstone, M. (2001). Life on the ocean wave: Testing some intergroup hypotheses in a naturalistic setting. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *4*(2), 81.

Brylka, A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Mahonen, T. A. (2015). The majority influence on interminority attitudes: The secondary transfer effect of positive and negative contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *50*, 76-88.

Čehajić, S., Brown, R., & Castano, E. (2008). Forgive and forget? Antecedents and consequences of intergroup forgiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Political Psychology*, *29*(3), 351-367.

Chang, R.S. (1993). Toward an Asian American legal scholarship: Critical race theory, post-structuralism, and narrative space. *California Law Review*, *81*(5), 1241-1323.

Chao, R. C., Wei, M., Good, G. E., & Flores, L. Y. (2011). Race/ethnicity, color-blind racial

attitudes, and multicultural counseling competence: The moderating effects of multicultural counseling training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*(1), 72-82. doi: 10.1037/a0022091

Charmaz, K. (1996). The search for meanings-Grounded theory. In J. A. Smith, R. Harre, & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking methods in psychology* (pp. 27–49). London: Sage Publications.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chen, M. (2016). Intergroup relations: The role of racial socialization, racial identity, and racial stereotypes on intergroup contact between Asian Americans and African Americans [ProQuest Information & Learning]. In *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 77,* 12-B(E).

Castagno, A. E. (2006). Extending the bounds of race and racism: Indigenous women and the persistence of the Black-White paradigm of race. *The Urban Review, 37*(5), 447-468.

Cole, E. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist, 64,* 170–80.

Constantin, A. A., & Cuadrado, I. (2019). Perceived intergroup competition and adolescents' behavioral intentions toward minorities: the role of threat, stereotypes, and emotions. *Current Psychology*. doi: /10.1007/s12144-019-00297-8

Cummings, S., & Lambert, T. (1997). Anti-Hispanic and anti-Asian sentiments among African Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 78*(2), 338-353.

Date, J. L., & Barlow, W. (1990). *Split image.* Howard University Press.

Davis, M. H. (1980). A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy. *JSAS*

*Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, *10*, 85.

Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44*, 113-126.

Davis, A. (1996). Identity notes part one: Playing in the light. *American University Law Review*, *45*(3), 695–720.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York University Press.

Demsas, J, & Ramirez, R. (2021). *The history of tensions—and solidarity—between Black and Asian American communities, explained*. Vox. https://www.vox.com/22321234/black-asian-american-tensions-solidarity-history

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Diaz-Veizades, J., & Chang, E. T. (1996). Building cross-cultural coalitions: A case-study of the Black-Korean alliance and the Latino-Black Roundtable. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *19*(3), 680-700

Dixon, J. A., Vedlitz, A., & Worchel, S. (2004). Nice to know you? Testing contact, cultural, and group threat theories of anti-Black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes. *Social Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell), 85*(2), 257-280. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.08502003.x

Dyer, J. A., Vedlitz, A., & Worchel, S. (1989). Social distance among racial and ethnic groups in texas: Some geographic correlates. *Social Science Quarterly,* 70(3), 607-616.

Ferguson, A. (2007). Intersections of identity: Navigating the complexities. *Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table, Winter,* no pagination.

Fitzpatrick, K., & Hwang, S. S. (1992). The effects of community structure on opportunities for interracial contact: Extending Blau's macrostructural theory. *Sociological Quarterly, 33*(1), 51–61.

Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research.* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Fossett, M. A., & Kiecolt, K. J. (1989). The relative size of minority populations and white racial attitudes. *Social Science Quarterly, 70*(4), 820–835.

Frey, W. H., & Farley, R. (1996), Latino, Asian, and Black segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas: Are multi-ethnic metros different? *Demography, 33*(1), 35-50.

Gates, T. G., Bennet, B., & Baines, D. (2023). Strengthening critical allyship in social work education: Opportunities in the context of #BlackLivesMatter and COVID-19. *Social Work Education, 42*(3), 371-387.

Giles, M.W., & Evans, A. (1985). External threat, perceived threat, and group identity. *Social Science Quarterly*, *66*(1), 50-66.

Gover, A. R., Harper, S. B., & Langton, L. (2020). Anti-Asian hate crime during the COVID-19 pandemic: Exploring the reproduction of inequality. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *45*, 647-667. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09545-1

Greenwood, R. (2008). Intersectional political consciousness: Appreciation for intragroup differences and solidarity in diverse groups. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32,* 36–47.

Greenwood, R., & Christian, A. (2008). What happens when we unpack the invisible knapsack? Intersectional political consciousness and intergroup appraisals. *Sex Roles, 59,* 404–417.

Guissemé, L. D., & Licata, L. (2016). Competition over collective victimhood recognition:

When perceived lack of recognition for past victimization is associated with negative attitudes towards another victimized group. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 47,* 148-166. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2244

Gutenbrunner, L., & Wagner, U. (2016). Perspective-taking techniques in the mediation of intergroup conflict. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *22*(4), 298-305.

Hays, D. G., & Singh, A. A. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry in clinical and educational settings.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*, 575-604.

Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., Voci, A., Hamberger, J., & Niens, U. (2006). Intergroup contact, forgiveness, and experience of "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues, 62,* 99–120.

Ho, C., & Jackson, J. W. (2001). Attitudes towards Asian Americans: Theory and measurement. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 31, 1553-1581. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816. 2001.tb02742.x

Ho, F., & Mullen, B. V. (2008). *Afro-Asia: Revolutionary political and cultural connections between African Americans and Asian Americans.* Duke University Press.

Hook, J. N., Farrell, J. E., Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., Van Tongeren, D. R., & Utsey, S. O. (2016). Cultural humility and racial microaggressions in counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 63*(3), 269-277. doi: 10.1037/cou0000114

Horton, A. J., Coleman, L., & Cornish, M. A. (2020, August 6-9). *The role of empathy and resilience in collective and competitive victimization*. [Poster presentation]. American Psychological Association, virtual.

Hum, T., & Zonta, M. (2000). *Residential patterns of Asian Pacific Americans. In the state of Asian Pacific America: Transforming race relations.* LEAP Asian Pacific American Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center.

Jasini, A., Delvaux, E., & Mesquita, B. (2017). Collective victimhood and ingroup identity jointly shape intergroup relation, even in a non-violent conflict: The case of the Belgians. *Psychologia Belgica, 57*(3), 98-114.

Johnson, J. H., Farrell, W. C., & Guinn, C. (1997). Immigration reform and the browning of America: Tensions, conflicts, and community instability in metropolitan Los Angeles. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 1055–1095.

Key, V. O. (1984). *Southern politics in state and nation.* Knopf.

Kim, E. H. (1998). "At least you're not Black:" Asian Americans in U.S. race relations. *Social Justice*, *25*(3), 3-12.

Kim, J. Y. (1999). Are Asians Black?: The Asian-American civil rights agenda and the contemporary significance of the black/white paradigm. *The Yale Law Journal*, *108*(8), 2385-2412.

Kim, K. C. (1999). *Koreans in the hood: Conflict with African Americans*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Knapp, S., & VandeCreek, L. (2007). When values of different cultures conflict: Ethical decision making in a multicultural context. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 38*(6), 660-666. doi: 10.1037/0735-7028.38.6.660

Lee, S. J. (1996). *Unraveling the "model minority" stereotype: Listening to Asian American youth.* Teachers College Press.

Lee, T. (2000). *Racial attitudes and the color line(s) at the close of the twentieth century. In the*

*state of Asian Pacific america: Transforming race relations*. LEAP Asian Pacific American Policy Institute and UCLA Asian American Studies Center.

Lee, T., & Outten, H. R. (2021). The effect of model minority myth salience on white Americans' perceptions of black Americans and their support for affirmative action. *Psi Chi Journal of Psychological Research*, *25*(1), 2-13.

Liu, J. L., Cheong, Y., Wang, C., Cheah, C. S. L., Ma, R., & Zhang, X. (2023). The voices of Chinese American parents during COVID-19: Recommendations for addressing anti-Asian racism and supporting adolescents in school. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. https://doi,org/10.1037/aap0000320

Lowery, B., Chow, R., Knowles, E., & Unzueta, M. (2011). Paying for positive group esteem: How inequity frames affect whites' responses to redistributive policies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*, 323–336.

McClain, P., & Karnig, A. (1990). Black and Hispanic socioeconomic and political competition. *American Political Science Review*, *84*(2), 535–545.

McFerson, H. M. (2006). *Blacks and Asians: Crossings, conflict, and commonality.* Carolina Academic Press.

Mertens, D. M. (2015). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mosher, D. K., Hook, J. N., Captari, L. E., Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., & Owen, J. (2017). Cultural humility: A therapeutic framework for engaging diverse clients. *Practice Innovations*, *2*(4), 221–233. https://doi-org.spot.lib.auburn.edu/10.1037/pri0000055

Morikawa, S. (2001). The significance of afrocentricity for non-Africans: Examination of the

relationship between African Americans and the Japanese. *Journal of Black Studies, 31*(4), 423-436.

Nair, R. & Volldardt, J. R. (2019). Intersectional consciousness in collective victim beliefs: Perceived intragroup differences among disadvantaged groups. *Political Psychology, 40*(5), 917-934. doi: 10.1111/pops.12593

Noor, M., Brown, J. R., & Prentice, G. (2008). Precursors and mediators of intergroup reconciliation in Northern Ireland: A nee model. *The British Psychological Society, 47,* 481-495.

Noor, M., Brown, J. R., Gonzalez, R., Manzi, J., & Lewis, C. A. (2008). On positive psychological outcomes: What helps groups with a history of conflict to forgive and reconcile with each other? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34,* 819–832.

Noor, M., Shnabel, N., Halabi, S., & Nadler, A. (2012). When suffering begets suffering: The psychology of competitive victimhood between adversarial groups in violent conflicts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16,* 351-374. doi: 10.1177/1088868312440048

Noor, M., Vollhardt, J. R., Mari, S., & Nadler, A. (2017). The social psychology of collective victimhood. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 47,* 121-134. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2300

Okihiro, G. (1994). *Margins and mainstreams.* University of Washington Press.

Oliver, J. E., & Wong, J. (2003). Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings. *American Journal of Political Science, 47*(4), 567-582.

Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1994) *Racial formation in the United States* (2nd edition). Routledge.

Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition

and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review, 60*(4), 586–611.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Patallo, B. J. (2019). The multicultural guidelines in practice: Cultural humility in clinical training and supervision. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology, 13*(3), 227-232.

Perea, J. (1997). The Black/White binary paradigm of race: The ‘‘normal science’’ of American racial thought. *California Law Review, 85*(5), 127–173.

Powell, A., Branscombe, N., & Schmitt, M. (2005). Inequality as ingroup privilege or outgroup disadvantage: The impact of group focus on collective guilt and interracial attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 508–521.

Presseau, C., Luu, L. P., Inman, A. G., & DeBlaere, C. (2018). Trainee social justice advocacy: investigating the roles of training factors and multicultural competence. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*. doi:10.1080/09515070.2018.1476837

Rimé, B., Bouchat, P., Kleint, O., & Licata, L. (2015). When collective memories of victimhood fade: Generational evolution of intergroup attitudes and political aspirations in Belgium. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*, 515-532.

Robben, A. & Suaraz-Orozco, M. (2000). *Cultures under siege: Collective violence and trauma*. Cambridge University Press.

Schwarzer, R., & Jerusalem, M. (1995). Generalized self-efficacy scale. In J. Weinman, S. Wright, & M. Johnson, *Measures in health psychology: A user’s portfolio. Casual and control beliefs* (pp. 35-37). Windsor, UK: NFER-NELSON.

Sears, K. P. (2012). Improving cultural competence education: the utility of an intersectional

framework. *Medical Education, 46,* 545-551. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2923.2011.04199.x

Sehgal, R., Saules, K., Young, A., Grey, M. J., Gillem, A. R., & Nabors, N. A. (2011). Practicing what we know: Multicultural counseling competence among clinical psychology trainees and experienced multicultural psychologists. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*(1), 1-10. doi: 10.1037/a0021667

Sexton, J. (2010). Proprieties of coalition: Blacks, Asians, and the politics of policing. *Critical Sociology, 36*(1), 87-108.

Sigelman, L, & Welch, S. (1993). The contact hypothesis revisited: Black-white interaction and positive social attitudes. *Social Forces, 71*(3), 781–795.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Sidanius, J., Levin, S., van Laar, C., & Sears, D. O. (2008). *The diversity challenge: Social identity and intergroup relations on the college campus.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Smith, T. B., Bowman, R., & Hsu, S. (2007). Racial attitudes among Asian and European American college students: A cross-cultural examination. *College Student Journal*, *41*(2), 436–443.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sue., D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70,* 444-486.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2008). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (5th ed.). New York, NY: Wiley.

Suh, S., Cornish, M. A., Chung, M., & Suh, J. (2018). Attitudes toward Korean Americans. *Journal of Asia Pacific Counseling*, *8*(2), 95-111.

Sullivan, J. N., Eberhardt, J. L., & Roberts, S. O. (2021). Conversations about race in black and white US families: Before and after George Floyd's death. *Psychological and Cognitive Sciences*, *118*(38). https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2106366118

Suzuki, B. H. (2002). Revisiting the model minority stereotype: Implications for student affairs practice and higher education. *New Direction for Student Services*, *97*, 21-32.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Taylor, M. (1998). How white attitudes vary with the racial composition of local populations: Numbers count. *American Sociological Review*, 63(4), 512-535.

Thornton, M. C. (2011). Meaningful dialogue? The Los Angeles sentinel's depiction of Black and Asian American relations, 1993-2000. *Journal of Black Studies*, *42*(8), 1275-1298.

Tormala, T. T., Patel, S. G., Soukup, E. E., & Clarke, A. V. (2018). Developing measurable cultural competence and cultural humility: An application of the cultural formulation. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology, 12*(1), 54-61. doi: 10.1037/tep0000183

Tropp, L. R. (2003). The psychological impact of prejudice: Implications for intergroup contact. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 131–149.

Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science, 16*, 951–957.

Turner, J. C. (1982). *Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (Ed.),*

*Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp. 15-40). Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorizing theory.* Blackwell.

Twali, M. S. (2019). The role of identify transformations in comparative victim beliefs? Evidence from South Sudanese diaspora. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *7*(2), 1021-1043.

Walsh, C. (2018). Chapter Two. Let Them Plow: Beyond the Black-White Paradigm. In *Racial Taxation : Schools, Segregation, and Taxpayer Citizenship, 1869–1973*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Watkins, C. E., & Hook, J. N. (2016). On a culturally humble psychoanalytic supervision perspective: Creating the cultural third. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, *33,* 487–517. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pap0000044

Weaver, C. N. (2008). Social distance as a measure of prejudice among ethnic groups in the United States. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *38*(3), 779–795. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2007.00326.x

Welch, S., Sigelman, L., Bledsoe, T., & Combs, M. (2001). *Race and place: Race relations in an American cit*y. Cambridge University Press.

Whaley, A. L., & Davis, K. E. (2007). Cultural competence and evidence-based practice in mental health services: A complementary perspective. *American Psychologist, 62,* 563-574. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.62.6.563

Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The "model minority": Bane or blessing for Asian Americans? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *34*(1), 38–49. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.2006.tb00025.x

Wu, E. D. (2013). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority.* Princeton University Press.

Wu, F. H. (2003). *Yellow: Race in America beyond black and white.* Basic Books.

Vera, E. M., & Speight, S. L. (2003). Multicultural competence, social justice, and counseling psychology: Expanding our roles. *The Counseling Psychologist, 31*(3), 253-272.

Voci, A., & Hewstone, M. (2003). *Contact and prejudice reduction in the Italian context: The impact of empathy, perspective taking and group salience*. Paper presented October 2003 at the meeting of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology, Boston.

Vollhardt, J. R. (2012). Collective victimization. In L. Tropp (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of intergroup conflict* (pp. 136-157). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Vollhardt, J. R., & Bilali, R. (2015). The role of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness in predicting intergroup attitudes: Findings from Rwanda, Burundi, and DRC. *Political Psychology, 35*(5), 489-506. doi: 10.1111/pops.12174

Xu, J., & Lee, J. C. (2013). The marginalized "model" minority: An empirical examination of the racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Social Forces*, *91*(4), 1363–1397.

Yamamoto, E. K. (1997). Conflict and complicity: Justice among communities of color. *Harvard Latino Law Review*. *2*, 495-501.

Zhou, M. (2004). Are Asian Americans becoming 'white?' *Contexts*, *3*(1), 29-37

# Chapter 4: Study Materials for Ethnic Intergroup Relations in the United States: An Exploration of Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs among Black Americans and Asian Americans

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS AN IRB APPROVAL STAMP WITH CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THIS STUDY.)

**INFORMATION LETTER**
**for a Research Study entitled**
**"*Ethnic Minority Intergroup Relations in the U.S. - PART 1*"**

**You are invited to participate in a research study** designed to examine thoughts, feelings, and behaviors associated with intergroup relations. This study is being conducted by Aleah Horton, M.Ed., in the Auburn University (Alabama) Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling. You are invited to participate because you are at least 18 years old and you reside in the United States, and you identify as Black/African American or Asian/Asian American. If you do not meet these requirements, you are not eligible to participate in this study.

**What will be involved if you participate?** If you decide to participate in this research study, you will complete an online questionnaire that includes demographic questions and participate in an interview discussing your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors within intergroup relations. If selected, total participation is expected to take about 1 to 2 hours.

**Are there any risks or discomforts?** It is not anticipated that these procedures will cause you any harm, but if you experience psychological or emotional discomfort, you may inform the primary investigator about your concerns. You may omit responses to questions that make you feel too uncomfortable. You are also free at any time to choose to end your participation by closing out of the survey.

**Are there any benefits or costs to participating?** If you decide to participate in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. There are no costs associated with participation in this study.

**Will you receive compensation for participating?** To thank you for your time, you will be offered $6/hr (U.S. dollars), credited to your Prolific Academic account, after completing the questionnaire.

**If you change your mind about participating**, you can withdraw at any time during the study by closing out of the survey. If you do so, you are forfeiting compensation. Your participation is completely voluntary.

**Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous.** You are encouraged to complete the demographic survey in a location of your choosing to ensure your privacy to the extent that you wish. We will protect your privacy and data you provide by not collecting any identifiable information in the study questionnaire. Information collected through your participation will be combined with all other participants' responses and may be published in a professional journal and/or presented at a professional meeting.

**If you have questions about this study**, please contact the Primary Investigator, Aleah Horton, M.Ed., at ajh0076@auburn.edu or Faculty Primary Investigators, Marilyn Cornish, PhD, at mac0084@auburn.edu and Jeff Reese, PhD, at rjr0028@auburn.edu.

**If you have questions about your rights as a research participant**, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE CLICK ON THE LINK BELOW (THE ARROW BUTTON). YOU MAY PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO KEEP.

Aleah Horton, M.Ed. 12/13/2021
Investigator Date

***The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from _____. Protocol #_____.***

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS AN IRB APPROVAL STAMP WITH CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THIS STUDY.)

**INFORMATION LETTER**
**for a Research Study entitled**
**"*Ethnic Minority Intergroup Relations in the U.S. - PART 2*"**

**You are invited to participate in a research study** designed to examine thoughts, feelings, and behaviors associated with intergroup relations. This study is being conducted by Aleah Horton, M.Ed., in the Auburn University (Alabama) Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling. You are invited to participate because you are at least 18 years old and you reside in the United States, and you identify as Black/African American or Asian/Asian American. If you do not meet these requirements, you are not eligible to participate in this study.

**What will be involved if you participate?** If you decide to participate in this research study, you will complete an online questionnaire that includes demographic questions and participate in an interview discussing your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors within intergroup relations. If selected, total participation is expected to take about 60 to 90 minutes.

**Are there any risks or discomforts?** It is not anticipated that these procedures will cause you any harm, but if you experience psychological or emotional discomfort, you may inform the primary investigator about your concerns. You may omit responses to questions that make you feel too uncomfortable. You are also free at any time to choose to end your participation by closing out of the survey.

**Are there any benefits or costs to participating?** If you decide to participate in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. There are no costs associated with participation in this study.

**Will you receive compensation for participating?** To thank you for your time, you will be offered $30.00 (U.S. dollars), credited to your Prolific Academic account, after valid participation in the full interview has been ensured.

**If you change your mind about participating**, you can withdraw at any time during the study by closing out of the survey. If you do so, you are forfeiting compensation. Your participation is completely voluntary.

**Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous.** You are encouraged to complete the demographic survey in a location of your choosing to ensure your privacy to the extent that you wish. We will protect your privacy and data you provide by not collecting any identifiable information in the study questionnaire. Information collected through your participation will be combined with all other participants' responses and may be published in a professional journal and/or presented at a professional meeting.

**If you have questions about this study**, please contact the Primary Investigator, Aleah Horton, M.Ed., at ajh0076@auburn.edu or Faculty Primary Investigators, Marilyn Cornish, PhD, at mac0084@auburn.edu and Jeff Reese, PhD, at rjr0028@auburn.edu.

**If you have questions about your rights as a research participant**, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE CLICK ON THE LINK BELOW (THE ARROW BUTTON). YOU MAY PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO KEEP.

Aleah Horton, M.Ed. 12/13/2021
Investigator Date

***The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from _____. Protocol #_____.***

## Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. What is your sexual orientation?
4. Do you identify as Black or African American?
5. Do you identify as Asian or Asian American?
6. What is your race and nationality?
7. What country were you born in?
8. What country was your mother born in?
9. What country was your father born in?
10. Do you currently reside in the United States?
11. What state do you currently reside?
12. How long have you resided in the United States?
13. What is your highest level of education?
14. Are you currently a student?
15. What are your legal guardians' highest levels of education?
    a. Legal guardian 1
    b. Legal guardian 2
16. What is your current occupation?
17. What is your annual income?
18. What is your religious affiliation?

## Collective Victim Belief Measure

**Collective Victim Belief Measure – For Black/African American Participants**
7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree)

1. The suffering Blacks/African Americans have been through was undeserved and unfair.
2. Throughout history, Blacks/African Americans have undergone numerous sufferings.
3. Blacks/African Americans have been victimized throughout history.
4. In our society, Blacks/African Americans have undergone discrimination based on their origins.

**Collective Victim Belief Measure – For Asian/Asian American Participants**
7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree)

1. The suffering Asian/Asian Americans have been through was undeserved and unfair.
2. Throughout history, Asian/Asian Americans have undergone numerous sufferings.
3. Asian/Asian Americans have been victimized throughout history.
4. In our society, Asian/Asian Americans have undergone discrimination based on their origins.

## Competitive Victim Belief Measure

**Competitive Victim Belief Measure – For Black/African American Participants**
7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree)

1. In America, Blacks/African Americans (my group) have suffered more than Asians/Asian Americans.
2. Blacks/African Americans need more protection than Asians/Asian Americans.
3. In general, the traumas undergone by Blacks/African Americans have been more severe than those undergone by Asians/Asian Americans.
4. On average, the areas that have been most affected by injustice in America are those in which members of my community live.
5. Overall, Blacks/African Americans (members of my community) have not received adequate attention to their needs compared to Asian/Asian Americans (members of the other community).
6. On average, throughout American history, more harm has been done to my community than to the other community.
7. While Asians/Asian Americans have been victimized, my group's experience is overall much more severe.
8. No other group has suffered as much as Blacks/African Americans have.

**Competitive Victim Belief Measure – For Asian/Asian American Participants**
7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree)

1. In America, Asians/Asian Americans (my group) have suffered more than Blacks/African Americans.
2. Asians/Asian Americans need more protection than Blacks/African Americans.
3. In general, the traumas undergone by Asians/Asian Americans have been more severe than those undergone by Blacks/African Americans.
4. On average, the areas that have been most affected by injustice in America are those in which members of my community live.
5. Overall, Asians/Asian Americans (members of my community) have not received adequate attention to their needs compared to Blacks/African Americans (members of the other community).
6. On average, throughout American history, more harm has been done to my community than to the other community.
7. While Blacks/African Americans have been victimized, my group's experience is overall much more severe.
8. No other group has suffered as much as Asians/Asian Americans have.

## Interview Protocol A

### Questions for In-Depth Interview (FORM A – Black American participants)

**Topic:** Black Americans and Asian Americans Experiences of Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs

**Welcome and Introduction:** Welcome and thank you for choosing to participate in this interview today. My name is Aleah Horton, and I am a graduate student in the College of Education at Auburn University and the Primary Investigator for this study.

**Overview of Topic:** You have been invited and selected here today because you identify as Black/Asian American. I am interested in hearing about your thoughts and experiences with other racial minority groups. I intend to use the information gathered in our conversation to understand the social meaning of your experiences with other ethnic minority groups.

I will be recording this conversation to document the entirety of your perspective. I will also be taking notes throughout the interview. Only researchers assisting with this project with have access to the recordings. In no way will the recordings be shared in a public forum. In addition, no names or identifying information will be included in the research report. Your responses will be kept confidential.

Please be transparent and thorough in your responses.

**Interview Guide:** Be sure to ask questions about the participant's ingroup before asking about the outgroup.

1) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Black Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

2) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Asian Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

3) How has your family's or ethnic group's history shaped your experience in the United States?
    a) How has your family's or ethnic group's history impacted your overall view of America?
    b) How does your family's or ethnic group's history shape your view of other ethnic groups?

4) Thinking about your experiences in the United States, in what ways have you experienced prejudice or discrimination due to your race or ethnic background?
    a) By white people?
    b) By Black/Asian people?
    c) By other people of color?

5) Tell me about a time when you felt connected to (or could relate to) Asian Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience helped you feel connected to this group?

6) Tell me about a time when you felt disconnected from (or could not relate to) Asian Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience made you feel disconnected?
    b) What were the barriers that kept you from connecting with this group?

7) How do you feel about Black Lives Matter and other social justice movements advocating for Black Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

8) How do you feel about Stop Asian Hate and other social justice movements advocating for Asian Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

9) In terms of access, resources, and acknowledgement, what are things that you believe your ethnic group needs from society that are specifically different from other ethnic groups?

10) Describe what you see as most important for other ethnic groups to know and understand about your ethnic group's experience in the U.S.

**To assess intergroup contact and its effect on perceptions of out-groups**

11) How often do you engage/interact with Asian Americans?
    a) How would you describe the quality that engagement/interaction?
        i) If positive, please explain.
        ii) If negative, please explain.

12) In what ways does this influence your view/perception of Asian Americans?

**To assess level/amount of knowledge about out-group**

13) How much have you learned/ studied about Asian American history?

*Note to self: Ask questions about ingroup first, before asking about outgroup.

**Wrap Up:** *Summarize the comments made during the interview utilizing notes from the questions above.*

- Of the things I mentioned, are there things left out that you want to make sure the research team pay attention to?
- Of the things I mentioned, is there anything you said that you feel might be misinterpreted without further clarification?
- What of the above list should we take away from this?
- I want to thank you again for your time in participating in this study. Are there any additional questions that you might have?

## Interview Protocol B

### Questions for In-Depth Interview (FORM B – Asian American participants)

**Topic:** Black Americans and Asian Americans Experiences of Collective and Competitive Victim Beliefs

**Welcome and Introduction:** Welcome and thank you for choosing to participate in this interview today. My name is Aleah Horton, and I am a graduate student in the College of Education at Auburn University and the Primary Investigator for this study.

**Overview of Topic:** You have been invited and selected here today because you identify as Black/Asian American. I am interested in hearing about your thoughts and experiences with other racial minority groups. I intend to use the information gathered in our conversation to understand the social meaning of your experiences with other ethnic minority groups.

I will be recording this conversation to document the entirety of your perspective. I will also be taking notes throughout the interview. Only researchers assisting with this project with have access to the recordings. In no way will the recordings be shared in a public forum. In addition, no names or identifying information will be included in the research report. Your responses will be kept confidential.

Please be transparent and thorough in your responses.

**Interview Guide:** Be sure to ask questions about the participant's ingroup before asking about the outgroup.

14) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Asian Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

15) How would you describe or characterize the experience of Black Americans in the United States?
    a) How would you compare those experiences to the experiences of other racial/ethnic minority groups?

16) How has your family's or ethnic group's history shaped your experience in the United States?
    a) How has your family's or ethnic group's history impacted your overall view of America?
    b) How does your family's or ethnic group's history shape your view of other ethnic groups?

17) Thinking about your experiences in the United States, in what ways have you experienced prejudice or discrimination due to your race or ethnic background?
    a) By white people?
    b) By Black people?
    c) By other people of color?

18) Tell me about a time when you felt connected to (or could relate to) Black Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience helped you feel connected to this group?

19) Tell me about a time when you felt disconnected from (or could not relate to) Black Americans? (Ask of outgroup only)
    a) What about this experience made you feel disconnected?
    b) What were the barriers that kept you from connecting with this group?

20) How do you feel about Stop Asian Hate and other social justice movements advocating for Asian Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

21) How do you feel about Black Lives Matter and other social justice movements advocating for Black Americans? (Ask of both ingroup and outgroup)

22) In terms of access, resources, and acknowledgement, what are things that you believe your ethnic group needs from society that are specifically different from other ethnic groups?

23) Describe what you see as most important for other ethnic groups to know and understand about your ethnic group's experience in the U.S.

**To assess intergroup contact and its effect on perceptions of out-groups**

24) How often do you engage/interact with Black Americans?
    a) How would you describe the quality that engagement/interaction?
        i) If positive, please explain.
        ii) If negative, please explain.

25) In what ways does this influence your view/perception of Black Americans?

**To assess level/amount of knowledge about out-group**

26) How much have you learned/ studied about Black American history?

*Note to self: Ask questions about ingroup first, before asking about outgroup.

**Wrap Up:** *Summarize the comments made during the interview utilizing notes from the questions above.*

- Of the things I mentioned, are there things left out that you want to make sure the research team pay attention to?
- Of the things I mentioned, is there anything you said that you feel might be misinterpreted without further clarification?
- What of the above list should we take away from this?
- I want to thank you again for your time in participating in this study. Are there any additional questions that you might have?