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RESPONDING TO MICROAGGRESSIONS: EVALUATION OF BYSTANDER
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

by

Tianyi Xie

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Psychology

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ABSTRACT

Responding to Microaggression: Evaluation of Bystander Intervention Strategies

by

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Utah State University, 2019

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Department: Psychology

Although the trend of overt discrimination has declined, the prevalence of covert racism such as microaggressions continues to be a reality for most ethnic minorities. In order to provide empirically supported guidance for bystanders who strive for racial equity and social justice, the current research project involved two studies that aimed to explore the effects of intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and confrontation format (high-threat, low-threat, support-based) on the outcomes of microaggression interventions for White observers and Asian American targets.

In Study 1, Asian Americans ($N = 187$) were recruited through a Qualtrics panel and randomly assigned to one of six conditions (3 formats of intervention X 2 intervener race). Participants were asked to read a vignette and imagine themselves as targets of the microaggression. In Study 2, White Americans ($N = 185$) were recruited in the same method and participants were asked to image themselves as a witness to the interaction. Participants from both studies were asked to complete questionnaires including positive

and negative affect, perception of the interveners and aggressor, willingness for future interaction, demographic information, and covariates.

In Study 1, intervention format predicted Asian American targets' positive perception of intervener, negative perception of intervener, and negative perception of aggressor. There were nonsignificant trends for interactions between race of intervener and intervention format for Asian American targets' interpersonal interest in the intervener, and willingness for future interracial interactions. In Study 2, intervention format predicted White witnesses' negative perception of intervener. There were significant interactions between race of intervener and intervention format for White witnesses' positive perception of intervener, and interpersonal interest in intervener. Noticeably, racial colorblindness alone predicted White witnesses' perceptions of aggressor. Overall, the support approach seems the most socially appropriate and accepted bystander intervention strategy to intervene in microaggressions targeted at Asian Americans. The high-threat approach is likely to damage interveners' social image, especially when the intervener is Asian. It may be beneficial for bystander intervention trainings to incorporate the support-based intervention and inform trainees of the potential social costs of the high-threat intervention.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Responding to Microaggression: Evaluation of Bystander Intervention Strategies

Tianyi Xie

Ethnic minorities often experience microaggressions that cause psychological distress and increase health risks. Bystander interventions are good ways to intervene when microaggressions take place and provide emotional support for ethnic minority targets. White interveners and interventions that pose low threats to White aggressors are perceived more positively than ethnic minority interveners and interventions that are more confrontational and direct. Furthermore, a support-based intervention that validates White aggressors' good intention and effort without judgement may help White aggressors feel less defensive and more receptive to the intervention. Asian Americans face unique microaggressive themes and their racial experiences are influenced by the stereotype that they are model minorities. Asian Americans may prefer the supportive interventions because they are congruent with Asian cultural values such as relational harmony.

The current set of studies assessed the effect of different intervention formats (high threat, low threat, support based) and race of interveners (Asian vs. White) on Asian American targets and White witnesses' emotional change, perceptions of the intervention, and willingness for future interracial interactions. Among three intervention formats, Asian American targets perceived the intervener and aggressor least negatively in the support intervention. Asian American targets perceived the intervener least

positively, whereas White witnesses perceived intervener most negatively in the high-threat intervention. White witnesses perceived the intervener more positively and had more interests in making friends with them when they are White than Asian in high-threat and supportive interventions. White witnesses' favorable perceptions of aggressor were only influenced by a high degree of racial colorblindness. Overall, the support approach seems to be the most socially appropriate and accepting bystander intervention strategy to intervene in microaggressions targeted at Asian Americans. The high-threat approach is likely to damage interveners' social image, especially when the intervener is Asian.

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Tianyi Xie

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, although the trend of overt discrimination has declined, the prevalence of covert racism continues to be a reality for most ethnic minorities (DeVos & Banaji, 2005; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Fletcher & Cohen, 2009; Jones & Galliher, 2015; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013). Racial microaggressions are defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color” (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007, p. 271). Microaggressions are associated with heightened emotional distress (Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; Wang, Leu, & Shoda, 2011) and elevated somatic symptoms (Ong et al., 2013). Anticipatory stress is common among ethnic minorities who have experienced frequent microaggressions (Hicken, Lee, Ailshire, Burgard, & Williams, 2013; Hicken, Lee, Morenoff, House, & Williams, 2014; Sawyer et al., 2012), and prolonged stress from racial microaggressions leads to racial battle fatigue (emotional, psychological, physical exhaustion; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006).

Confronting microaggressions can be psychologically costly for ethnic minorities because they need to cope with the immediate intense emotions while making a decision about confrontation based on their evaluation of social acceptance and interpersonal costs (Sue & Constantine, 2007; Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, Rivera, & Lin, 2009; Wang et al., 2011). Bystander intervention alleviates the burden of confrontation from the minority targets and protects targets from the negative consequences of confrontations or the

decision not to confront (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Zou & Dickter, 2013). The effectiveness of bystander intervention is influenced by various factors, in particular race of the intervener and format of confrontation. Target group members that act as interveners are likely to receive similar negative consequences as the target (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010); whereas, White interveners receive less negative consequences and may be viewed as more effective in intervening (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013). The norm of valuing equality contributes to the effectiveness of bystander interventions by decreasing interveners' social cost (Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2012; Lavado, Pereira, Dovidio, & Vala, 2016; Mulvey, Palmer, & Abrams, 2016). Confrontation that emphasized the social norm of equality yielded better social results than direct confrontation (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006).

However, both low-threat (i.e., emphasizing the norm of justice) and high-threat (i.e., emphasizing the act of racism) confrontations are likely to elicit apathetic or actively resistant reactions that are known as "White defensiveness" (Jackson, 1999). Whites tend to adopt various defense mechanisms, such as denial and distancing, to cope with the negative emotions when being confronted about their use of microaggressions (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014; Watt, 2007). The literature on overcoming White defensiveness suggested that validating Whites' efforts and self-competency (Knowles et al., 2014) and approaching the microaggression with a nonjudgmental and open attitude (Buckley & Foldy, 2010; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009; Watt, 2007) increase Whites' abilities and willingness to learn and engage in racial conversations. A

support-based confrontation that incorporates strategies to minimize White defensiveness may help to decrease White aggressors' distress about being confronted, improve the effectiveness of the intervention, and promote future interracial interactions, but no study to date has examined how a support-based confrontation may impact the effectiveness of bystander intervention.

Most research on bystander intervention has been conducted with White and Black American participants (Boysen, 2012; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006; Dickter et al., 2012; Gulker et al., 2013; Lavado et al., 2016; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013). Little research has been carried out with Asian/Asian Americans. Asian Americans face microaggressive themes that are different from other ethnic groups (Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Furthermore, the model minority stereotype, which portrays Asian Americans as a racial group that is successful, highly educated, "problem-free," and even "outwitting Whites" (Suzuki, 2002), has contributed to the invisibility of Asian Americans' racial concerns (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Asian Americans may prefer conflict-avoiding approaches due to collectivistic Asian values of relational harmony and face-saving (Lim, 2009; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998; Ting-Toomey, Oetzel, Yee-Jung, 2001).

The current research project involved two studies that aimed to explore the effects of intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and confrontation format (high-threat, low-threat, support-based) on the outcomes of microaggression interventions for White observers and Asian American targets. Participants were instructed to review a vignette that depicted a microaggression in a community setting. Study 1 focused on how Asian

American participants who were asked to imagine themselves as targets responded to the interventions in different conditions and examined how the interventions influenced participants' perception of the interaction and willingness for future interracial interactions in general. Study 2 focused on the White observers' reactions in different conditions and similarly examined their perception of the interaction as well as their intention for future interaction after the bystander intervention. The participants were instructed to imagine themselves as the White witness who observed the microaggression in the vignette.

The primary objective of the project was to explore effective ways to conduct bystander intervention in order to provide empirically supported guidance for bystanders who strive for racial equity and social justice. Investigating the impact of combinations of intervener's race and confrontation format on the effectiveness of bystander intervention helps inform researchers, practitioners, and educators about important factors involved in successful bystander intervention. It also contributes to the development of more efficient intervention strategies that minimize the negative emotional and social consequences for both ethnic minority targets and White aggressors, and ultimately promotes interracial interactions to strive for a diverse racial climate in the community.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review will discuss the definition and the consequences of microaggression on ethnic minorities, the factors associated with the effectiveness of bystander intervention, and the strategies that can be used to modify and enhance bystander intervention.

Overview of Microaggressions

Racial microaggressions are defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color” (Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007, p. 271). Sue et al. categorized microaggressions into (a) microinsult, which communicates insensitivity and negativity towards one’s heritage (e.g., assuming a person of color is a criminal); (b) microassault, which is a deliberate attack to demean the intended victim in private and relatively intimate settings where the perpetrator can remain partially anonymous; and (c) microinvalidation, which are remarks that nullify or diminish the emotions, thoughts, and racial experiences of a person of color.

In recent decades, U.S. society has experienced a pattern of a declining trend of overt discrimination and the continuous prevalence of covert racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Since the 1960s, the “old-fashioned,” blatant racism and discrimination have significantly decreased as egalitarian values are increasingly accepted and promoted

in the U.S. Although the principles of fairness and equality are commonly endorsed by White Americans, there remain consistent implicit biases and prejudices against ethnic minorities. The implicit association of “American” with “White” is common for White Americans, despite their strong explicit commitment to egalitarian values (DeVos & Banaji, 2005). Even Asian Americans demonstrate the same pattern of implicit association between American and Whiteness, suggesting the ubiquity of such implicit bias. A 2009 national poll suggested major racial disparities between Whites’ and minorities’ perceptions of racial realities (Fletcher & Cohen, 2009). Racism continued to be a reality for most ethnic minorities. Microaggression encounters are frequent for people of color. In one study, 98% of Native American participants reported that they had experienced at least one microaggression (Jones & Galliher, 2015). Ong et al. (2013) found that 78% of their Asian American participants experienced at least one microaggression in the past 2 weeks, the majority of which presented the theme of “alien in one’s own land,” that is, being perceived as a perpetual foreigner. Furthermore, since Donald Trump won the U.S. presidential election in 2016, many scholars and activists contend that racism is being redefined as increasingly acceptable via the policies and practices from the Trump administration, which reinforces the “denial of racism” among the White Americans (Dougherty, 2017). Such a major sociopolitical shift in the U.S. racial climate may lead to a surge of both overt and covert racism against ethnic minorities during Trump’s presidency (often referred to as “the Trump effect;” Costello, 2016).

Subtle and pervasive forms of discrimination may be as harmful as overt and

blatant racism. Microaggressions contribute to the psychological and emotional distress people of color experience in daily life. The devaluing messages in microaggression such as “you do not belong” and “you are intellectually inferior” commonly lead to a significant amount of stress as well as negative feelings of powerlessness, invisibility, and loss of integrity in the ethnic minority targets (Sue et al., 2008). Microaggression experiences are negatively associated with mental health among ethnic minorities, especially with positive affect like happiness and pride (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014). Attributing a situation to their race intensifies the negative emotion experienced by Asian Americans (Wang et al., 2011). An increase in daily microaggression incidents is associated with elevated somatic symptoms (e.g., headaches, upset stomach, sore throat) and negative affect (e.g., irritated, disgusted, sad). Moreover, these negative effects can be multiplied because one microaggression experience often predicts subsequent microaggression incidents (Ong et al., 2013). The accumulation of microaggression experiences has a negative influence on ethnic minorities’ self-esteem, particularly when such experiences take place in educational or workplace environments (Nadal, Wong, Griffin, Davidoff, & Sriken, 2014).

In anticipation of microaggressions in interracial interactions, ethnic minorities frequently experience stress and anxiety (e.g., rapid breathing, upset stomach; Smith et al., 2006). Anticipatory stress, or racism-related vigilance, elevates threat emotions, stress, and cardiovascular response among ethnic minorities before interracial interactions (Sawyer et al., 2012). Black Americans are more likely to experience anticipatory stress than Whites, which contributes to racial disparities in sleep difficulty and hypertension

(Hicken et al., 2014; Hicken et al., 2013). Interpersonal microaggressions show a stronger association with adjustment outcomes than group microaggressions (Lui & Quezada, 2019).

Social and academic isolation remains a major challenge for ethnic minorities. For example, adolescents who experienced race-based harassment in school reported worse mental health status, more substance use, and increased rates of truancy than those who experienced nonrace-based harassment (Russell, Sinclair, Poteat, & Koenig, 2012). Microaggressions that denigrate academic and intellectual abilities are often salient for Black graduate students (Terros et al., 2010), and cause great distress and impaired academic performance (Solórzano et al., 2000). Ethnic minority undergraduate students often need to navigate a hostile racial climate in university campuses (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009).

Prolonged stress from racial microaggressions frequently results in emotional, psychological, and physical exhaustion, which is also called racial battle fatigue (Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith et al., 2006). Longitudinal analyses evidenced the long-term negative effect of microaggressions on ethnic minorities' mental health, including clinically significant depressive symptoms (Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010). For Asian Americans, higher numbers of self-reported discrimination experiences was associated with greater risk of having a psychological disorder such as an anxiety or mood disorder within the past year (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007), more chronic physical conditions such as heart disease, pain, and respiratory problems (Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007), increased risk of alcohol

or tobacco use (Gee et al., 2009), as well as poorer health-related quality of life (Gee & Ponce, 2010). The association between discrimination experiences and risk for physical pain and poor physical health was also evidenced among other ethnic minorities (Chae & Walters, 2009).

Confronting microaggressions is costly for ethnic minorities cognitively, emotionally, socially, and academically. When a microaggression occurs, minority targets (the receiver of the microaggression or prejudiced comment) often have to immediately evaluate the environment and the potential personal and interpersonal costs of confrontation (e.g., perceived as a source of irritation, isolated by peers, or additional/escalated discriminatory behavior) before they act (Sue, Torino, et al., 2009). Furthermore, microaggressions often immediately trigger intensified negative emotions among ethnic minorities, both externalizing (e.g., anger, frustration, and contempt) and internalizing (e.g., anxiety, sadness, and shame; Wang et al., 2011).

Ethnic minorities are likely to experience more cognitive depletion when being exposed to ambiguous prejudice than blatant prejudice (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). If they do defend themselves, they need to suppress their intense emotional reactions triggered by the microaggression and behave in a way that is considered “socially acceptable” in order for their message to be heard by White aggressors (Sue, Torino, et al., 2009). On the other hand, White aggressors are frequently unaware of their microaggressive acts and when the minority target brings it to their attention, aggressors tend to insist that they had good intentions (Sue & Constantine, 2007). Moreover, White aggressors tend to trivialize their actions and use humor (e.g., “just jokes”) to mask the

prejudiced nature of their words, which is proven successful because White aggressors using joking statements are less likely to receive social evaluations and assertive responding from ethnic minority targets than those using nonjoking statements (Katz, Grant, & Merrilees, 2019). White aggressors also construe ethnic minorities' efforts to raise the issue of microaggressions or racial prejudice as behaving in a way that is "oversensitive" and "paranoid" (Sue & Constantine, 2007). As a result, ethnic minorities must also tune in to their White peers' nonverbal language to assess resistance or acceptance levels, which adds to the cognitive efforts along with increased anxiety, distress, and feelings of exhaustion.

Bystander Intervention

Bystander intervention alleviates the burden of confrontation from the target, which protects the target from the distress of either confronting and risking negative interpersonal consequences (e.g., being perceived as a complainer) or not confronting and experiencing negative intrapersonal consequences such as self-criticism and self-directed anger (Shelton et al., 2006; Zou & Dickter, 2013). Sue et al. (2019) proposed the concept of "microinterventions" which are concrete strategies to address microaggressions immediately after they take place. Specific strategies include making the discriminatory message in microaggressions explicit, expressing disagreement, differentiating between intent and impact, and appealing to the offender's values and principles. The goals of microinterventions include making the invisible visible, disarming the microaggression, educating the aggressor, or seeking external reinforcement or support.

Bystanders are useful in performing intervention because they can react on the spot, which could provide more immediate support for the targets than delayed interactions (Scully & Rowe, 2009). As third parties, bystanders may also be better positioned to confront the aggressor than the targets because the aggressor may perceive the confrontation from the targets as defensive and dismiss the message conveyed in the confrontation. In addition, confrontation from bystanders is effective in reducing future stereotypic remarks in aggressors compared to nonconfrontation (Czopp et al., 2006).

Impact of Race of Bystander on Intervention Outcomes

Bystanders' likelihood to intervene with racist comments differs depending on whether they share a racial identity with the target (in-group versus out-group identity). However, nontarget group members with greater intergroup contact demonstrated increased empathy and cultural openness as well as reduced in-group bias, which in turn predicted assertive intention to confront, relative to those with limited intergroup contact (Abbott & Cameron, 2014).

Bystanders who are target group members are likely to be perceived as an extension of the target, and thus are likely to receive similar negative interpersonal consequences as the target when intervening racist comments. When target group members act as the intervener, they are likely to receive negative interpersonal consequences as a result of their confrontation whereas nontarget group members do not have similar concerns. When confronted by a target group member instead of a nontarget group member, the aggressor is likely to experience more discomfort and is more likely to perceive the

confronter as overreacting (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). The perception of the confronter as a complainer mediates the effectiveness of confrontation from target group members. A target group member who makes a racial confrontation is more likely to be perceived as a complainer, and thus their confrontations are less accepted as convincing and influential for future behaviors than those from nontarget group members (Gulker et al., 2013). Furthermore, White aggressors with high racial prejudice have been shown to react with more antagonism than those with low racial prejudice to a Black confronter (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), which may exacerbate the distress of intervention for the Black confronter. Compared with aggressors with high racial prejudice, aggressors with low prejudice are more concerned about the confrontation, perceive the bystanders' comments as more serious (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), and are more likely to decrease their future stereotyping remarks (Czopp et al., 2006).

In addition, a confrontation from a target group member is likely to yield less favorable outcomes than a confrontation from a nontarget group member among witnesses of the event (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). When the confronter was White, witnesses perceived the confronter as more persuasive and the aggressor as ruder in the confrontation condition than nonconfrontation condition. It is possible that the White confronter was perceived as a credible source because they went against their vested interests to confront a racist comment. On the other hand, when the confronter was Black, the confrontation was particularly ineffective such that observers were less likely to agree with the Black confronter than the White confronter. In fact, the target group confronter may have elicited a degree of backlash from the witnesses. The Black confronter was

perceived as ruder than the White confronter, and the aggressor was perceived as less biased when confronted by a Black confronter than not confronted. Witnesses with high racial prejudice were more likely to view the Black confronter as the biased one and perceive the aggressor favorably than witnesses with low racial prejudice.

The aforementioned backlash may be intensified when the racist comment takes a more subtle and indirect form, like a microaggression. Zou and Dickter (2013) conducted a study on target confrontation to high versus low ambiguous racist comments. In the high ambiguous condition, the White witness who watched the confrontation perceived the Black target confronter more negatively and the confrontation as less appropriate than those in the low ambiguous condition, especially when the White witness rated high on color blindness. In the context of bystander intervention, because the target group confronter is often viewed as an extension of the target, the target group confronter may risk similarly increased negative evaluation and judgments from the White witnesses when intervening in a microaggression than a direct racist comment.

Impact of Format of Confrontation on Intervention Outcomes

Another factor that influences bystander intervention is social expectations for appropriate interpersonal behavior. A study with school-aged children suggested that as age increases, children adhere more strongly to group norms of condoning microaggressions and are more likely to accept race-based humor, which in turn leads to less willingness to intervene (Mulvey et al., 2016). Peer exclusion is a major cost of intervention expected by children who disagree with the norm. However, social norms

differ by generation and socialization. One study examined bystander intervention with racist comments and found that adult witnesses only consider bystanders' lack of confrontation excusable when the cost of confrontation is high, which alludes to a norm within adult society for bystanders to intervene in such situations (Lavado et al., 2016). Bystander confrontation was perceived by adult witnesses as equally socially appropriate whether the cost of intervention is high or low, and more appropriate than lack of confrontation.

Norms for valuing equality and social justice may promote bystander intervention by decreasing the social costs of confrontation and increasing the social costs of nonconfrontation. Assertive bystanders who confront an aggressor who made a highly offensive remark tend to be liked more and respected more than bystanders who confront unassertively or do not confront (Dickter et al., 2012). Failure to confront is perceived as less moral than both assertive and unassertive confrontation. Furthermore, aggressors who made highly offensive remarks tended to be liked less than those who made fewer offensive comments. Aggressors were also perceived as the least likable and moral when they were confronted assertively than confronted unassertively or not confronted.

Confrontation messages that emphasize the social norm of fairness also yield better results in bystander intervention than direct confrontation. Czopp et al. (2006) conducted a study to examine the effect of high-threat confrontation that makes an accusation of racism (*"It just seems that you sound like some kind of racist to me"*) versus low-threat confrontation that emphasizes the norm of equality and fairness (*"It just seems that a lot of times Blacks don't get equal treatment in our society"*). Compared

with low-threat confrontation that appeals to the norm of fairness and quality, high-threat confrontation that accuses the aggressor of racism elicits more anger, irritation, and discomfort from the aggressor to the confronter. Confronters who utilize low-threat confrontation are likely to be perceived more favorably by the aggressor than those who employ high-threat confrontation. High-threat confrontation elicits similar levels of self-directed negative affect as low-threat confrontation. However, high-threat and low-threat confrontations result in a similar effect in curbing subsequent stereotypical comments, suggesting that hostile and accusatory confrontation may be as effective as confrontation that appeals for fairness and quality in reducing future stereotypical comments in general.

However, no study has explored how the type of confrontation interacts with the race of the confronter. Because target group confronters are likely to be perceived as complainers (Gulker et al., 2013), ethnic minority interveners may trigger more negative emotions from the aggressor and witnesses, and be perceived particularly negatively when they use high-threat confrontation to intervene for ethnic minority targets. On the other hand, White interveners that utilize low-threat confrontation may be perceived less negatively. In addition, an effective bystander intervention should include features such as helping both Asians and Whites to engage more positively in future interracial interactions and improve the quality of future interracial relationship. No study to our knowledge has examined how ethnic minority targets perceive the different types of intervention and interveners. Ethnic minorities may feel particularly supported by the high-threat confrontation by an ethnic minority intervener because it validates their emotional distress and racial experience in the situations, and thus, be more willing to

participate in future interactions with Whites.

**Psychological Factors Linked to Reactions
to Bystander Intervention: White Observers'
Defensiveness and Colorblindness**

Both low-threat and high-threat confrontation appear to elicit White defensiveness, in which both apathetic and actively resistant strategies are used to avoid the obligation to negotiate White identity and acknowledge White privilege (Jackson, 1999). In racial conversations, denial of Whiteness and White privilege are common among White Americans, along with a high level of colorblindness (perceiving that the color of one's skin is unimportant in society; Sue, Lin, et al., 2009). White defensiveness is associated with a range of emotions such as shock, guilt, anger, and shame among Whites. For example, Whites may experience a sense of anxiety, intimidation, and helplessness because they are uncertain if they have the right to discuss racial topics with ethnic minorities. Feelings of being misunderstood are also frequent among White Americans who unintentionally mentioned raced-related factors in conversation. Whites may adopt various defense mechanisms such as denial and distancing to cope with these negative emotions in interpersonal interactions (Knowles et al., 2014; Watt, 2007). Such defense mechanisms may lead to withdrawal, passivity, and anger toward the targets or the bystander, which results in disrupting the interpersonal communication.

White defensiveness may be particularly damaging for interracial relationships. Although low- and high-threat confrontations could effectively curb aggressors' subsequent microaggressions (Czopp et al., 2006), the negative emotions elicited by White defensiveness may increase Whites' negative perceptions of people of color and

avoidance with interracial interactions in the future. Therefore, minimizing White defensiveness may be particularly important to help White aggressors and witnesses be receptive of the intervention and participate more positively in future interracial interactions. Knowles et al. (2014) proposed that White defensiveness is activated when Whites experience threats to their privilege, including meritocratic threats (i.e., situations in which individuals' beliefs that their achievements resulted solely from their own efforts and abilities are challenged) and group-image threats (i.e., situations when individuals acknowledge self-identification with an historically oppressive group that obtained advantages from the social hierarchy). In attempts to neutralize the meritocratic and group-image threats, Whites may engage in three commonly used strategies: denial, distancing, and dismantling. Denial and distancing both function to help Whites avoid discussion of power asymmetry and continue adherence to color-blindness. Dismantling, on the other hand, is an endorsement of behaviors that aim to decrease in-group privileges to dispel group-image threat. The strategy advocates for egalitarian values and is more proactive and beneficial for the historically oppressed cultural or racial groups. An example of dismantling includes White support for affirmative action policies when the policy included a description of the preexisting racial inequity.

However, because dismantling requires the acknowledgement of racial disparities, the strategies of denial and distancing preclude dismantling (Knowles et al., 2014). Furthermore, the drive to protect the self is likely to outweigh the opportunity to remedy the White's in-group reputation, which means that Whites are more likely to use denial and distancing as primary strategies rather than dismantling when faced with identity

threats. Therefore, in order to encourage Whites' to respond to threats to White privilege with dismantling, Knowles et al. suggested that it is important to remove the sting of meritocratic threats while maintaining the group-image threat. This can potentially be done by not only acknowledging the contribution from White privilege but also validating Whites' self-competency to prevent the threat to self-worth.

Watt (2007) proposed the Privileged Identity Exploration (PIE) model that views White defensiveness from a psychodynamic framework and conceptualizes the defensive mode as a normal human reaction to uncertainty during self-exploration. This model has been adopted into trainings to raise awareness of diversity and privilege and help students engage in difficult race dialogues (Miville et al., 2009; Watt, 2007). The PIE model considers the exploration of privileged identity as an on-going socialization process, and engaging in difficult dialogues is the heart of unlearning social oppression (Watt, 2007). PIE normalizes the defensive mode among trainees and encourages instructors to generate unconditional positive regard and nonjudgmental understanding for the trainees. By holding a nonjudgmental attitude towards microaggressions, the instructor fosters White trainees' willingness to engage and further the conversation on race and racism.

Because race-related topics can be immensely emotionally fused, creating a classroom environment that is supportive and psychologically safe is essential to increase students' willingness to take interpersonal risks in discussions of the "taboo" topic of race (Buckley & Foldy, 2010). Psychological safety is defined as the creation of an environment in which individuals feel comfortable being and expressing themselves (Edmondson, 2003). Individuals would feel comfortable and safe to express different

ideas with the knowledge that they would not be punished. Psychological safety has been linked to a variety of pro-learning behaviors (e.g., giving and receiving feedback), which promote effective communication and interpersonal cohesiveness in the classroom. Sue, Lin, et al. (2009) further suggested that it is important to allow students the time and space for emotional expression and process in the discussion of race-related topics. By allowing time and space for the emotions, the instructor sends a message to trainees that these emotions are acknowledged and authentic. When in a psychologically comfortable climate, trainees may be more willing to tolerate the distress caused by sharing their honest reactions and feelings in the race-related conversation (Buckley & Foldy, 2010). Instead of withdrawing from the interaction when experiencing negative emotions, the trainees may have an increased ability to continue engaging in the group discussion that is producing conflicts and differences. The trainees may be more willing to take risks and challenge each other's opinions in the discussion even though it may go against the norm.

Taking the aforementioned studies together, the main strategy for overcoming White defensiveness includes three components: (a) validating Whites' effort to highlight their self-competency (Knowles et al., 2014); (b) approaching the microaggression with a nonjudgmental attitude (Watt, 2007); and (c) acknowledging Whites' emotional distress to create psychological comfort (Buckley & Foldy, 2010; Sue, Lin, et al., 2009).

However, in community settings, people are mostly strangers or acquaintances rather than a group of students that regularly meet and engage in extensive discussions. It may be difficult to provide a psychologically comfortable environment that needs extensive time and intimacy in community settings where the opportunities for bystander

intervention are frequently spontaneous and fleeting. Therefore, for the purpose of the current research project that examines spontaneous bystander intervention opportunities, the support-based intervention format only consists of the validation of effort for interracial communication and the nonjudgmental approach towards the microaggression.

Support-based interventions appeal to aggressors' values and help aggressors differentiate between intent versus impact (Sue et al., 2019) by acknowledging their good intent while alluding that their words are inappropriate. They are not threatening or confrontational for aggressors, and thus, are likely to minimize White defensiveness. White aggressors and witnesses may be more receptive to the intervention, which may lead to increased intention for change and willingness to continue engaging in interracial interactions. Decreased White defensiveness may also contribute to the reduction of overall tension among the triad of aggressor, target, and bystander, resulting in better emotional and social outcomes for all parties involved in the interaction. The support-based intervention may be a more appropriate and effective way to intervene in microaggressions because it may help both Whites and Asians to engage more positively in future interracial interactions and improve the quality of interracial relationships.

White defensiveness is conceptually linked to the constructs of racial colorblindness and ethnocultural empathy. Whites with high colorblindness justify racial privilege by using the word "American" as a proxy for "White" and setting White privilege as the norm (N. Tran & Paterson, 2015). When the White identity is salient, White Americans rely even more on colorblind maneuvers (e.g., positioning self as raceless, arguments of reverse racism, using terms "culture" or "diversity" to substitute

“race”) as defensive strategies to avoid White fragility (i.e., Whites’ lack of abilities to cope with the distress associated with the confrontation of racism), preserve positive self-image, and maintain White privilege (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017). Moreover, when ethnic minority targets confront covert racist remarks, colorblindness moderates White witnesses’ negative perceptions of targets such that White witnesses with higher colorblindness are likely to perceive the target more negatively and the confrontation less appropriate (Zou & Dickter, 2013). Similarly, compared to those with low colorblindness, White witnesses with high colorblindness may perceive interveners more negatively and give more leniency to White aggressors. As a result, they may be less willing to engage in interracial interactions in the future.

Ethnocultural empathy refers to one’s empathy towards people from different ethnic backgrounds (Wang et al., 2003) and is positively associated with White Americans openness to diversity (Chao, Wei, Spanierman, Longo, & Northart, 2015). Furthermore, ethnocultural empathy mediates the positive relationship between intergroup contact and positive attitudes to diversity (Brouwer & Boros, 2010). White witnesses with high ethnocultural empathy may be more receptive to bystander interventions, and thus, have fewer negative perceptions of intervener, fewer positive perceptions of aggressor, and more willingness for future interracial interactions than those with low ethnocultural empathy.

Asian American Targets’ Cultural Context and Discrimination History

Most research on bystander intervention has been conducted with White and

Black American participants (Boysen, 2012; Czopp et al., 2006; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dickter et al., 2012; Gulker et al., 2013; Lavado et al., 2016; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013). Little research has been carried out with Asian/Asian American samples. Furthermore, much of the microaggression literature either focuses on ethnic minorities broadly, which does not address the unique racial experiences of different ethnic/racial group, or focuses on Black Americans (Wong et al., 2014).

In addition to the experiences that are similar between Asian Americans and Black and Latinx Americans, such as their racial experiences being viewed as unimportant (denial of racial reality) and their status being perceived as less valued than Whites (second-class citizenship; Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; Sue, Nadal, et al., 2008), Asian Americans face unique microaggressive themes that are different from other ethnic groups. For example, Asian Americans of different nationalities and backgrounds tend to be perceived as similar, and the vast cultural, linguistic, and historical differences among Asian ethnic groups are minimized or disregarded (invalidation of interethnic differences; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Aggressors may make comments like “my neighbor was Japanese” in attempt to show their closeness to the Asian culture regardless of targets’ own ethnic background, but the underlying message conveyed is that all Asian Americans are the same and familiar with each other. Asian Americans are also frequently perceived as foreigners or foreign-born (alien in own land; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Common microaggressions in this theme include questions or comments like “where are you from?” or “you speak good English,” equating “White” to “American” and sending the

message that Asian Americans are not Americans or fluent in English. When the microaggression is more racially loaded (i.e., “you speak good English for an Asian”), Asian American targets tend to suffer interpersonal harms such as perceiving the White aggressors more negatively, feeling less accepted by the aggressor, viewing themselves as less similar to the aggressor, and favoring the interaction less (Tran & Lee, 2014).

The model minority stereotype contributes to Asian Americans’ racial experiences. The model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans as a racial group that is successful, highly educated, “problem-free,” and even “outwitting Whites” (Suzuki, 2002). In reality, like other people of color, Asian Americans encounter racial barriers in their careers and are greatly underrepresented in executive and administrative positions (Hwang, 2007; Woo, 2000). The label of “model minority” not only has little empirical support, but also fails to capture the lives of all Asian Americans that have various interethnic backgrounds (Wong & Halgin, 2006). For example, South Asian Americans whose heritage is from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam continue to struggle with formal education due to limited English skills, systematic miscommunication between students/parents and teachers, and policy discriminations (Yang, 2004). Furthermore, the model minority stereotype produces microaggressions towards Asian Americans. Unlike other people of color who were viewed as less intelligent, Asian Americans were perceived as smart, especially in science and math (ascription of intelligence; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Microaggressions such as “you people are really good at math/do well academically” put pressure on Asian Americans to conform to the stereotype or be viewed as the anomaly. When the model minority stereotype is salient, it

negatively impacts Asian American students' academic performance due to the "choking" pressure of good performances (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). The pressure of living up to the model minority stereotype is one of the common stressors that increases Asian Americans' risk for mental health problems (Lee, 2009).

Because of the model minority stereotype, invisibility is a common experience for Asian Americans regarding their racial concerns (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Common misconceptions associated with the model minority stereotype include that Asian Americans are not really racial and ethnic minorities, that Asian Americans do not encounter major challenges because of their race, and that Asian Americans do not seek or require resources and support (Museus & Kiang, 2009). Such misconceptions perpetuate the systematic invisibility of Asian Americans at the level of institutions and policy making. The model minority stereotype generates "colorblind talk" from Whites' perspectives because Asian Americans are perceived as able to succeed through their own efforts despite their racial background, which minimizes the racial prejudice and discrimination faced by Asian Americans and other people of color (Kawai, 2005; Kim & Lee, 2001). On the other hand, Asian Americans are also frequently excluded from being considered an ethnic minority group in racial dialogues because other people of color tend to consider Asians as "like Whites" and having little experience of being prejudiced and discriminated against (Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Therefore, Asians' racial concerns are viewed as unimportant and frequently disregarded. However, Asians are also not accepted by their White peers, which leaves them feeling trapped and out of place. Understanding Asian Americans' racial experiences and their

perspectives of bystander intervention fits into the broader goal of reducing the invisibility of Asian Americans in racial dialogues.

These racial experiences uniquely influence Asian targets' perceptions of microaggressions and bystander interventions. Past experiences of microaggressions increase targets' distress with inter-racial interactions (Smith et al., 2006) and thus, Asian targets who have more past microaggression experiences may experience a greater increase in negative affect after receiving microaggressions and feel more positive about interveners who directly confront the aggressor.

Asian values are likely to influence Asian Americans' perceptions of bystander interventions. Individuals in Asian countries, including India, Japan, Korea, China, and Singapore, in general are less individualistic and more collectivistic than European Americans (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). The collectivistic values emphasize relational harmony and group coherence over individual concerns, and thus, a "good" social group member must be compassionate, empathetic, and interdependent (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Triandis, 2001; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). In conflict situations, individuals with salient collectivistic values tend to focus on enhancing relationships whereas those with salient individualistic values emphasize justice and fairness (Lim, 2009; Ohbuchi, Fukushima, & Tedeschi, 1999). Confrontational strategies may be undesirable for Asians because they contradict the collective goal of group harmony (Friedman, Chi, & Liu, 2006; Ma, 2007; Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010; Ohbuchi et al., 1999). Avoidance strategies, which align with the desired interdependent identity and collectivistic value of maintaining harmony, are preferred by

Asians even though such strategies hamper personal interests and fairness. Social face saving (i.e., preserving one's social image) is another Asian value that motivates indirect approaches to conflict management (Kam & Bond, 2008; Oetzel et al., 2001). Face-negotiation theory posits three face concerns, including self-face (i.e., concern for one's own social image), other-face (i.e., concern for the other party's social image), and mutual-face (i.e., concern for both parties' social image or the image of the relationship; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Interdependence is closely associated with saving other's face and mutual face saving for both parties involved in conflict situations (Oetzel et al., 2001).

Compared to Black Americans, Asian Americans are less likely to reply directly to racist comments online in order to maintain relational peace with the aggressor (Lee, Soto, Swim, & Bernstein, 2012). However, it does not mean that Asians would behave passively in conflicts. Among Asians, when dealing with opposite views, the goal of harmony enhancement motivates integrating and compromising rather than passively avoiding or obliging (Lim, 2009; Ting-Toomey et al., 2001). A stronger endorsement of Asian values is associated with a more positive self-concept for Asians and a stronger sense of group belonging (Kim & Omizo, 2005). Therefore, Asian Americans with higher ethnic identity may show a preference for the bystander intervention that is least confrontational and direct. Additionally, strong ethnic identity was found to buffer the psychological distress associated with racial discriminations (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, Zimmerman, 2003). Therefore, Asian targets with higher ethnic identity may show more willingness to participate in future interracial

interactions in general after being exposed to the bystander intervention. Direct and confrontational bystander interventions are face-threatening and pose more risks of harming relational harmony. Although Asian American targets may feel their racial experiences are more validated when confrontations call out the microaggression more directly, the support condition might be preferred by Asian American targets because it causes least relational tension and better preserves one's own, the interveners' and the aggressors' social image, which is most congruent with Asian values.

Summary and Objectives

Microaggressions are associated with a variety of negative mental and physical health outcomes, but confronting microaggressions can also be psychologically and socially costly for ethnic minorities. Bystander intervention circumvents these costs and helps to interrupt the ongoing microaggression, support the Asian target that encounters the microaggression, increase White aggressors' awareness of microaggressions, as well as potentially decrease the future enactment of microaggressions from the White aggressor. Although some studies have examined the effectiveness of high-threat and low-threat confrontation formats by the bystander, both formats remain as "threats" to the aggressor, which inevitably evokes White defensiveness that hinders the aggressor's ability to acknowledge the microaggression and motivation to engage in future interracial interactions. No study to date has examined how a support-based confrontation may impact the effectiveness of bystander intervention.

The primary objective of the project is to examine the effectiveness of support-

based confrontation vs. both high and low threat interventions, and explore the interaction between intervener's race and confrontation format from the perspective of both White witnesses and Asian American targets in order to provide empirically supported guidance for bystanders. The project will add to the literature on bystander intervention by obtaining a better understanding of the important factors linked with successful bystander interventions, contributing to the development of efficient intervention strategies that minimize the negative emotional and social consequences for both minority targets and White aggressor or observers, and facilitating interracial interactions to promote a diverse racial climate in multiracial communities.

The proposed research project involved two vignette-based studies that aimed to explore the effects of intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and format of confrontation (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) on bystander intervention for microaggressions, specifically for microaggressions that are from White aggressors to Asian American targets. Study 1 focused on how Asian American targets respond to the intervention in different conditions and examined the intervention's influence on targets' perceptions of the people involved in the intervention as well as targets' willingness for future interactions. Ethnic identity and microaggression history are included as. Study 2 will focus on the White witnesses' perspectives. Similar to Study 1, Study 2 will investigate White witnesses' reactions in different conditions as they observe the confrontation and examine how their perception of the experience as well as their intention for future interaction are affected. Color-blindness and ethnocultural empathy are included as covariates.

Research Questions

Study 1

How do intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and confrontation format (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) influence...

RQ1: Asian target's change of affect (e.g., positive affect, negative affect) in response to the interracial interaction?

RQ2: Asian target's perception of the aggressor and the intervener?

RQ3: Asian target's willingness to engage in future interracial interaction?

Study 2

How do intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and confrontation format (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) influence...

RQ4: White witness's change of affect?

RQ5: White witness's perception of the aggressor and the intervener?

RQ6: White witness's willingness to engage in future interracial interaction?

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Study 1

Design

This study examined the effectiveness of different bystander interventions based on the race of the intervener and the format of intervention from the perception of the Asian target. A 2 (time) X 2 (intervener's race; White vs. Asian) X 3 (format of intervention; high-threat, low-threat, supportive) factorial design was used to assess the target's emotional reaction to the intervention, the target's perception of the interaction, and their willingness for future interracial conversations. The intervener's race was indicated by the intervener's last name. The White intervener was named *Lisa Smith*, and the Asian intervener was named *Lisa Zhou*. The intervention statement was different among three intervention conditions: (a) the high-threat condition, *"Wow, what you just said is kinda racist, making the assumption that someone is not American just because they are not White;"* (b) the low-threat confrontation condition, *"Wow, what you just said is unfair. Asians are just as likely to be American as Whites;"* (c) the support-based confrontation condition, *"That is sweet of you wanting to learn more about X. I think you meant to ask about X's cultural heritage rather than suggest that X is not from America."*

Covariates (e.g., ethnic identity, microaggression history) and demographic variables (e.g., age, gender) were collected at the end of the experiment. The study recruited participants and collected data through a Qualtrics panel. The study was

reviewed and approved by the USU Institutional Review Board and data analyses were completed using SPSS.

Pilot Data Collection

A pilot study was conducted with 19 Asian American participants recruited via the Asian American Psychology Association Listserv to obtain feedback and assess the appropriateness of the vignette. Pilot participants reviewed the vignette online using Qualtrics survey software, completed the questionnaires to assess their emotional reaction, perception of the intervention, and willingness to engage in future interactions, and provided ratings of how well the vignette represented daily experiences, believability of the responses, and the vignette's appropriateness for assessing microaggressions and bystander intervention. Approximately half of the participants reported that the vignette was representative, realistic, and appropriate. Two participants assigned to the White X High condition reported that the intervener's response was not realistic because it was too "direct" and "forthright," which was expected for the high-threat condition. Two participants assigned to the Asian X Support condition reported that the intervener's response was not typical or believable, which was also expected because the supportive response is likely rare in real life. The content of vignette was not changed after the pilot study. To address feedback about difficulties remembering the characters from the vignette when they filled out the subsequent questionnaires, the intervention section of the vignette was re-presented in the beginning of the subsequent questionnaires during data collection.

Participants

A sample of participants self-identified as Asian Americans were recruited and compensated through a Qualtrics panel. Eligibility criteria were provided to the Qualtrics panel representative and data collection took place on the Qualtrics secure system. Data were delivered to the researchers in anonymous form. An a priori power analysis conducted through G*Power reported a sample size of 180 with a medium effect size, and power = .85 for a repeated measures ANOVA with two time points and six groups. However, G*Power does not accommodate covariates in the estimate for repeated measures designs. For an ANCOVA with 12 groups (ignoring the repeated measures design) and two covariates, with a medium effect size and power = .85, the estimated sample size ranged from 146 to 179 for the various tests of effects included in the model. A total of 655 participants accessed the survey and 187 of them completed the study. The average age of participants was 37.27 ($SD = 14.22$). Regarding gender, 78 participants self-identified as male, 106 as female, one as neither male or female, one as “gender fluid,” and one as “all.” Participants’ cultural heritage, visibility as ethnic minority, citizenship in the U.S., sexual orientation, and religious affiliation are presented in Table 1.

Measures

Change of affect. The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1998) consists of 20 words that describe different emotions to assess an individuals’ emotional experiences. The scale includes a positive affect subscale and a negative affect subscale, each consisting of 10 items. The positive affect subscale

Table 1

Demographic Information of the Asian American Sample

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Heritage		
East Asia	83	44.4
Southeast Asia	59	31.7
South Asia	38	20.1
Other areas in Asia	7	3.7
Visibility		
5/10 or above	161	86.6
Citizenship		
Born in the U.S.	112	59.8
Foreign-born citizens	53	28.6
Permanent legal residents	18	9.5
On student visas or visitors without visas	4	2.1
Time in the U.S. (for those not born in the U.S.)		
More than 19 years	46	61.3
Between 6-18 years	12	16.0
Under 5 years	17	22.7
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	168	89.4
Bisexual	12	6.3
Lesbian	3	1.6
Gay	1	0.5
Queer	2	1.1
“None of these”	1	0.5
Religious affiliation		
Atheist	22	11.8
Buddhist	22	11.8
Hindu	22	11.8
Agnostic	20	10.7
Christian	69	36.9
Jewish	2	1.1
Muslim	10	5.3
Other or none	20	10.6

includes the descriptors *attentive, interested, alert, excited, enthusiastic, inspired, proud, determined, strong, and active*. The negative affect subscale includes the items *distressed,*

upset, hostile, irritable, scared, afraid, ashamed, guilty, nervous, and jittery. Each item is rated in a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *Slightly or Not at All*; 5 = *Extremely*). The scores for each subscale were calculated by summing the items; each subscale score can range from 10 to 50. Higher scores represent higher levels of emotional experience. In this study, the scale was used to assess participants' immediate emotional reaction to the intervention; therefore, the instruction of the present moment was used (i.e., *You feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment*). The two subscales showed good internal consistency (Positive Affect $\alpha = .89$; Negative Affect $\alpha = .85$) for assessing momentary emotional experience in a norm sample of college students (Watson et al., 1998). The PANAS has demonstrated similarly good internal consistency with Asian Americans (Kang, Shaver, Sue, Min, & Jing, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2005, 2008). The scale yielded low test-retest reliability for the present moment instruction (positive affect, $r = .54$; negative affect, $r = .45$) when collected at weekly intervals, which was within expectation because individuals' momentary emotional experience could vary drastically over a week. The test-retest reliability increased as the time span of the instruction lengthened (past few weeks, $r = .48-.58$; year, $r = .60-.63$; general, $r = .68-.71$) in the norm sample. The positive and negative subscales showed excellent internal consistency in T1 and T2 with the current sample ($\alpha = .92$ for all scales).

Perception of the intervener. This measure was adopted from the questionnaire evaluating witnesses' perceptions of the intervener in a bystander intervention vignette by Zou and Dickter (2013). The scale consists of negative perceptions (7 items) and positive perceptions (8 items) from the original questionnaire, and two questions about

interpersonal interest. The items were rated on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Sample items for negative perceptions and positive perceptions include “*How hypersensitive do you think Lisa is?*” and “*How friendly do you think Lisa is?*” The two subscales showed high internal consistency previously ($\alpha = .94-.95$; Zou & Dickter, 2013). The negative and positive subscales showed good to excellent internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .88$ and $.94$ respectively). Two self-developed items about interpersonal interest were included to assess participants’ social interest in the intervener. The two items are “*How much are you likely to talk to her again in the next book club meeting?*” *How much do you want to be her friend?*” The two items demonstrated strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .94$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Perception of the aggressor. The measurement is also adopted from the questionnaire evaluating witnesses’ perceptions of the intervener in a bystander intervention vignette by Zou and Dickter (2013). The scale consists of the positive perceptions (8 items) from the original questionnaire, and modified negative perception (7 items) as well as three additional questions about interpersonal costs. The participants were asked to rate how much they agreed with each item on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Sample items for negative perceptions and positive perceptions include “*How hypersensitive do you think Florence is?*” and “*How friendly do you think Florence is?*” The modified negative perception subscale includes four original items from Zou and Dickter (abrasive, rude, irritating, argumentative) and three new items developed for this study (biased, prejudiced, racist). The positive perception subscale

showed high internal consistency in the original psychometric assessment ($\alpha = .94$; Zou & Dickter, 2013). The negative and positive subscales showed strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .90$ and $.94$, respectively). Three items were developed for this study about interpersonal interest, to assess participants' social interests in the intervener. The three items are "*How much do you understand her perspective?*" "*How much are you likely to talk to her again in the next book club meeting?*" "*How much do you want to be her friend?*" The items demonstrated strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .91$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Willingness for future interaction. The measure was developed for the current study. It consists of a single item that assesses the individual's broad willingness to participate in an interracial interaction again. The item states: *Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to engage in an interracial interaction in the future?* The item is rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *greatly less willing*; 6 = *greatly more willing*). A higher score indicates more willingness to engage in future interracial interactions in general.

Microaggression history. Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (R28REMS) is a shortened version of the original 45-item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (Forrest-Bank, Jenson, & Trecartin, 2015; Nadal, 2011). R28REMS includes 28 items that assess an ethnic minority's experience with racial/ethnic microaggressions. The scale includes five subscales: (a) second-class citizen and assumption of criminality (six items; e.g., "*I was ignored at school or at work because of my race*"); (b) assumptions of inferiority (seven items; e.g., "*Someone*

assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race"); (c) assumptions of similarities (five items; e.g., *"Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English"*); (d) microinvalidations (six items; e.g., *"I was told that I should not complain about race"*); (e) media microaggressions (four items; e.g., *"I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television"* reverse-scored). Each item is rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranged from 0 (*I did not experience this event*) to 5 (*I experienced this event five or more times*), based on individual's experience in the past six months. The score for each subscale is calculated by summing up the items within the subscales. The higher the score, the more frequently the individual experienced racial microaggressions in the past 6 months. R28REMS demonstrated good internal consistency for the total scale and each of the subscales among Asian young adults in a multi-racial norm sample (total scale $\alpha = .87$; second-class citizen and assumptions of criminality $\alpha = .84$; assumptions of inferiority $\alpha = .85$; assumptions of similarities $\alpha = .83$; microinvalidations $\alpha = .81$; media microaggressions $\alpha = .82$). The total scale showed strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .91$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Ethnic identity. Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R) is a shortened version of the original Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure developed by Phinney (1991; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R consists of six items assessing individuals' racial/ethnic identity across ethnically diverse groups. The scale includes two subscales, commitment (three items, demonstrating the extent of one's positive affirmation of their cultural group and their sense of commitment) and exploration (three items, reflecting the effort of learning one's cultural group and participating in cultural

practices). Sample items for the scale include “*I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better*” (exploration) and “*i have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group*” (commitment). The individual rates each item on a Likert-type scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The score of each subscale is calculated by summing all the items. The total score ranges from 6 to 30. The scale showed good internal consistency in a norm sample of multiracial college students (total scale $\alpha = .81$; exploration $\alpha = .83$; commitment $\alpha = .89$; Phinney & Ong, 2007). In a study that examined the psychometrics of MEIM-R across specific ethnic groups within Asian Americans, the scale demonstrated consistent acceptable to good internal consistency (total scale $\alpha = .79-.86$; exploration $\alpha = .69-.71$; commitment $\alpha = .86-.91$; Brown, et al., 2014). The total scale showed good internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .88$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Demographic information. The demographic questionnaire collects data on participants’ demographic information including ethnicity, age, gender, cultural heritage, visibility as an ethnic minority, sexual orientation, religious identification, and immigration status. See Appendix A for full questionnaire.

Procedure

Data were collected through an online interactive survey on the Qualtrics system. The fees for the Qualtrics panel were paid for by Graduate Student Research Funds from Utah State University’s (USU) psychology department. Qualtrics recruits participants from a database of research pool panelists. Potential participants are identified based on eligibility criteria that are provided by the researcher. Qualtrics sends standardized

recruitment emails to panelists who appear to match the inclusion criteria (i.e., identify as Asian American, currently live in the U.S., over the age of 18). The recruitment email simply stated that a survey was available for which the panel member may be eligible, and indicated the time commitment and the incentive that could be earned (typically gift cards, coupons, airline miles, or similar). Participants followed a link in the email to the letter of information and could choose to start the survey after passing the screening questions and agreeing to the informed consent (Appendix D). The survey took approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. After participants completed the preliminary measures that included the first PANAS (to obtain emotion baseline) and a filler measure of demographic items (e.g., age, gender, racial identity), participants were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions (3 format of intervention X 2 intervener's race) by the Qualtrics survey system; 32 participants were assigned to the Asian X High and White X Support conditions, 31 participants to the Asian X Low, Asian X Support, White X Low conditions, and 30 participants in the White X High condition.

Participants were asked to read the step-by-step interactive vignette and imagine themselves in a conversation depicted by Vignette 1 (see Appendix B). Participants were asked to actively respond at multiple points in the vignette, in order to encourage engagement in the process. Participant responses would not actually change the course of the vignette. After the participants completed the assigned scenarios, they completed a set of measures evaluating their experience in the conversation including a second PANAS, and ratings of the White aggressor (*Florence*), the bystander (*Lisa*), and Willingness for Future Interactions. Then, the participants completed R28REMS and MEIM-R, along

with the remaining demographic items.

Study 2

Design

This study examined the effectiveness of different bystander interventions based on the race of the intervener and the format of intervention from the perspective of the aggressor. A 2 (time) X 2 (intervener's race; White vs. Asian) X 3 (format of intervention; high-threat, low-threat, supportive) factorial design was used to assess White witnesses' emotional reaction to the intervention, perceptions of the aggressor and the intervener, and willingness for future interactions. The intervention statements in the three intervention formats were the same as in Study 1. Covariates (e.g., color-blindness, ethnocultural empathy) and demographic variables (e.g., age, gender) were collected at the end of the experiment. The study was reviewed and approved by the USU Institutional Review Board and data analyses were completed using SPSS.

Pilot Data Collection

A pilot study was conducted with 20 White American participants recruited via the USU SONA research participant pool to obtain feedback on the vignette. Participants completed the survey to fulfill credits for research participation in introductory psychology classes at USU. Pilot participants reviewed the vignette and completed the questionnaires to assess emotional reaction, perception of the intervention, and willingness to engage in future interactions. Additionally, they provided ratings of representativeness of the vignette of daily experiences, believability of the interventions,

and appropriateness for assessing microaggressions and bystander intervention.

Participants' feedback focused on difficulties remembering the characters from the vignette when they filled out the subsequent questionnaires. To address the feedback, the intervention section of the vignette was re-presented in the beginning of the subsequent questionnaires during data collection.

Participants

A sample of participants self-identified as White American was recruited and compensated through a Qualtrics panel. Eligibility criteria were provided to the Qualtrics panel and data collection took place on the Qualtrics secure system. Data were delivered to the researchers in anonymous form. The fees for the Qualtrics panel were paid for by the Graduate Student Research Award from the USU College of Education and Human Services.

A total of 229 participants accessed the survey anonymously and 185 of them provided complete and valid responses. As the power analyses mirrored those completed in study 1, the sample size estimate was the same ($N = 181$). The average age of participants was 43.17 ($SD = 16.15$). Of participants, 97.3% were born in the U.S., 1.1% were foreign-born citizens, 1.1% were permanent legal residents, and 0.5% were on student visa or visitor without visa. Regarding gender, 91 participants self-identified as male, 92 as female, one as neither male nor female and one as either. Participants' cultural heritage, citizenship in the U.S., sexual orientation, and religious affiliation were included in the Table 2.

Table 2

Demographic Information of the White American Sample

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Heritage		
European White	114	61.6
Other White	71	38.4
Citizenship		
Born in the U.S.	180	97.3
Foreign-born citizens	2	1.1
Permanent legal residents	2	1.1
On student visas or visitors without visas	1	.5
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	162	87.6
Bisexual	13	7.0
Lesbian	5	2.7
Gay	2	1.1
Queer	2	1.1
“None of these”	1	.5
Religious affiliation		
Roman Catholic	37	20.0
Baptist	18	9.7
Other Christian	70	37.8
Atheist	16	8.6
Agnostic	14	7.6
Jewish	4	2.2

Measures

Change in affect. The PANAS (Watson et al., 1998) was used in the same manner as Study 1. The positive and negative subscales showed excellent internal consistency at Time 1 and Time 2 with the current sample ($\alpha = .92$ and $.94$, respectively).

Perception of the intervention. This measure was the same as Study 1. The negative, positive, and interpersonal interest subscales showed good to excellent internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .92, .93, .91$, respectively).

Perception of the aggressor. This measure was the same as Study 1. The negative, positive, and interpersonal interest subscales yielded strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .93, .94, .90$, respectively).

Willingness for future interaction. The measure was developed for the current study. It consists of two items that assesses the individual's willingness to participate in interracial interactions. The two items state: *Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to join this interaction? Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to engage in an interracial interaction in the future?* The items are rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *greatly less willing*; 6 = *greatly more willing*). The higher score indicates more willingness to engage in interracial interactions.

Colorblindness. Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) is a 20-item self-report measure assessing degree of color-blindness (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). Respondents rate each item on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). CoBRAS has three subscales: Unawareness of racial privilege (seven items; e.g., *Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich*), Unawareness of institutional discrimination (seven items; e.g., *White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin*), and Unawareness of blatant racial issues (six items; e.g., *Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension*). Ten items are phrased in ways that acknowledge inequity and discrimination (e.g., *Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.*) and are reverse scored. Higher scores on each subscale suggest greater

degree of unawareness of racial reality in the domains of privilege, institutional discrimination, or blatant racism. The scale's internal consistency ranged from good to excellent across three norm samples ($\alpha = .84$ -.91; Neville et al., 2000). The test-retest reliability was acceptable to good for the total scale and the subscales (total scale $r = .68$; racial privilege subscale $r = .80$; institutional discrimination subscale $r = .80$) except for the blatant racial issues subscale ($r = .34$) in a norm sample of college students. The total scale showed excellent internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .92$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Ethnocultural empathy. Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) is a 31-item scale measures level of empathy towards people of a different racial/ethnic background (Wang et al., 2003). It consists of four subscales: (a) empathic feeling and expression (15 items; e.g., *When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration*), (b) empathic perspective taking (7 items; e.g., *I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people*), (c) acceptance of cultural differences (five items; e.g., *I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English*), and (d) empathic awareness (four items, e.g., *I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own*). Each item is rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 21, 27, 28, 29, and 31 are reverse-scored items. A higher score indicates a higher level of ethnocultural empathy. SEE demonstrated acceptable to good internal consistency (total $\alpha = .91$; subscale 1 $\alpha = .89$; subscale 2 $\alpha = .75$; subscale 3 $\alpha = .73$; subscale 4 $\alpha = .76$; Wang et al., 2003) in a norm sample of college students. The

total scale showed excellent internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .93$). See Appendix A for full scale.

Demographic information. The demographic questionnaire collects data on participants' demographic information including ethnicity, age, gender, cultural heritage, sexual orientation, religious identification, and immigration status.

Procedure

The procedure was the same as Study 1. However, in Study 2, the step-by-step interactive vignette took the perspective of a White witness who observed the same interaction presented in Study 1. After participants completed the preliminary measures that included the first PANAS and a filler measure of demographic items (e.g., age, gender, racial identity), participants were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions (3 format of intervention X 2 intervener's race) by the Qualtrics survey system. 32 participants were assigned to the White X High condition, 31 participants to the Asian X High, Asian X Low, White X Low conditions, 30 participants to the Asian X Support and White X Support conditions.

Participants were asked to read and participate in the step-by-step interactive vignette and image themselves in a conversation depicted by Vignette 2 (see Appendix C). After the participants complete the assigned scenario, they completed a set of measurements evaluating their experience in the conversation. The measurements included a second PANAS, the ratings of the intervention, the aggressor (*Florence*), as well as the bystander (*Lisa*), and a Willingness Questionnaire for future interactions. Then, the participants were instructed to complete CoBRAS and SEE for covariates such

as colorblindness and ethnocultural empathy, along with the remaining demographic items.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Study 1

Means and standard deviations for all study variables in the Asian American sample are presented for each condition (intervention format X race of intervener) in Table 3. In general, participants reported mean levels of positive affect near the mid-point of scale and mean levels of negative affect at the low end of the scale. Mean levels of positive perception and interpersonal interest of intervener were above the mid-point of the scale, and mean levels of negative perception of intervention were at the low end of the scale. Mean levels of positive perception, negative perception, and interpersonal interest of aggressor were at the mid-point of the scale. Participants reported mean levels of willingness for future interracial interaction above the mid-point of the scale. Means for microaggression experiences were below the mid-point of the scale, and mean levels of ethnic identity were above the mid-point of the scale.

Bivariate correlation analyses for Asian American participants were conducted to examine the associations among dependent variables (i.e., perceptions of intervention, perception of aggressor, and willingness for future interracial interactions) and covariates (i.e., microaggression experiences, ethnic identity; Table 4). Participants' positive perception of intervener was negatively correlated with negative perception of intervener, and positively correlated with interpersonal interest in intervener, positive perception of aggressor, negative perception of aggressor, and past microaggression experience.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables in the Asian American Sample

Conditions	PANAS before				PANAS after				Perception of intervener				Perception of aggressor				Future interaction		R28REMS		MEIMR	
	Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		IPI		R28REMS		MEIMR	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
High threat																						
Asian intervener	30.63	11.49	14.63	6.50	26.56	9.94	17.16	7.73	36.49	11.89	23.28	9.82	5.14	1.72	29.10	11.81	29.34	11.10	4.14	1.86	4.53	1.78
White intervener	31.40	8.83	17.73	8.66	29.10	9.21	17.63	7.33	33.53	11.57	25.90	9.57	4.25	1.83	29.63	11.59	27.00	10.34	3.70	1.50	3.97	1.61
Low threat																						
Asian intervener	28.29	9.27	13.65	5.72	25.16	11.05	15.39	6.88	37.42	9.39	26.00	8.69	4.98	1.47	30.00	9.41	28.52	8.33	3.84	1.41	4.48	1.15
White intervener	29.23	7.80	15.97	7.13	26.97	8.74	16.19	7.42	38.97	11.66	23.42	9.84	5.37	1.67	28.13	7.63	29.13	9.21	3.96	1.50	5.06	1.48
Support																						
Asian intervener	30.03	11.44	16.32	8.46	27.84	12.03	16.52	7.94	40.61	10.72	21.58	9.45	5.44	1.61	33.87	4.67	23.13	10.24	4.67	1.49	4.94	1.39
White intervener	31.60	8.71	14.38	6.17	28.16	10.42	13.81	5.84	37.25	10.83	19.81	9.09	4.63	1.70	32.75	12.69	22.19	10.92	4.35	1.74	4.50	1.57

Note: PANAS = The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule; R28REMS = Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised; Pos = Positive affect, total score ranges from 7 to 56; Neg = negative affect, total score ranges from 7 to 49; IPI = interpersonal interest, average score ranges from 1 to 7.

Table 4

Bivariate Correlations of Dependent Variables and Covariates in the Asian American Sample

Variables	Perception of intervener			Perception of aggressor			7. Future interaction	8. R28REMS	9. MEIMR
	1. Pos	2. Neg	3. IPI	4. Pos	5. Neg	6. IPI			
1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	-.26**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	.79**	-.31**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4	.22**	.28**	.16*	--	--	--	--	--	--
5	.33**	.20**	.25**	-.30**	--	--	--	--	--
6	.12	.22**	.17*	.84**	-.39**	--	--	--	--
7	.30**	.09	.20**	.35**	-.08	.38**	--	--	--
8	.17*	-.02	.09	.02	.12	-.03	-.09	--	--
9	.18*	-.04	.19*	.08	.09	.06	.21**	.10	--

Note: Pos = Positive affect; Neg = negative affect; IPI = interpersonal interest; R28REMS = Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised.

* $p = .05$, ** $p = .01$, *** $p = .001$.

Interpersonal interest in intervener was negatively associated with negative perception of intervener, and positively associated with negative perception of aggressor and interpersonal interest in aggressor. Positive perception of aggressor was negatively associated with negative perception of aggressor, and positively associated with negative perception of intervener, interpersonal interest in intervener, and interpersonal interest in aggressor. Interpersonal interest in aggressor was negatively correlated with negative perception of aggressor and positively correlated with negative perception of intervener. Negative perception of intervener was positively associated with negative perception of aggressor. Willingness for future interracial interaction was positively correlated with positive perception of intervener, interpersonal interest in intervener, positive perception

of aggressor, and interpersonal interest in aggressor. Ethnic identity was positively associated with positive perception of intervener and willingness for future interaction.

RQ1: Asian targets' change of affect

Two 2 (time) X 3 (confrontation) X 2 (intervener's race) mixed ANCOVAs were conducted to examine the main effects and interaction of the intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and the confrontation formats (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) on participants' PANAS scores at Times 1 and 2 (Table 5). There was no significant difference in Asian American participants' positive affect before and after reading the vignette. Participants

Table 5

Repeated Measures ANCOVA Examining Emotional Reaction Before and After Reading the Vignette in the Asian American Sample

Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Positive affect				
Time	2.82	1, 179	.10	.02
Race of Intervener	.93	1, 179	.34	.01
Intervention	.48	2, 179	.62	.01
Time X Race	.24	1, 179	.63	.00
Time X Condition	.11	2, 179	.90	.00
Time X Race X Condition	.73	2, 179	.48	.01
Time X R28REMS	.00	1, 179	.10	.00
Time X MEIMR	.49	1, 179	.49	.00
Negative Affect				
Time	7.65	1, 179	.006	.04
Race of intervener	3.13	1, 179	.08	.02
Intervention	1.12	2, 179	.33	.01
Time X Race	3.13	1, 179	.08	.02
Time X Condition	1.12	2, 179	.33	.01
Time X Race X Condition	.39	2, 179	.68	.00
Time X R28REMS	.44	1, 179	.51	.00
Time X MEIMR	9.89	1, 179	.002	.05

Note. R28REMS= Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR= Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised.

reported significantly more negative affect after reading the vignette. There was a significant interaction of time and ethnic identity on participants negative affect. MEIMR scores were divided into high score and low score groups at the median and an additional 2 (Time) X 2 (MEIMR) ANOVA was conducted to examine the interaction. Figure 1 presents the interaction between Time and MEIMR. Those with higher ethnic identity scores experienced a greater increase in negative affect following the microaggression vignette, while those low in ethnic identity demonstrated little change in negative affect after exposure to the vignette. There was also a nonsignificant trend for an interaction between Time and Race of intervener on negative affect. Figure 2 portrays a greater increase in negative affect that participants experienced when the intervener was Asian, compared to no change in negative affect when the intervener was White.

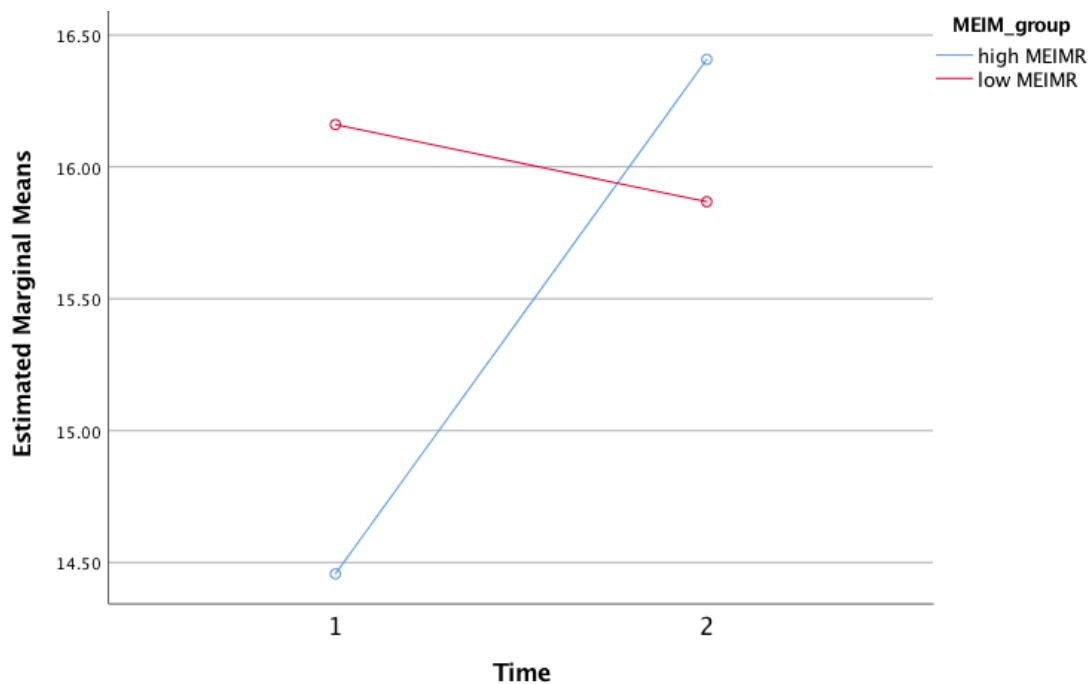


Figure 1. The interaction between time and ethnic identity on negative affect in the Asian American sample.

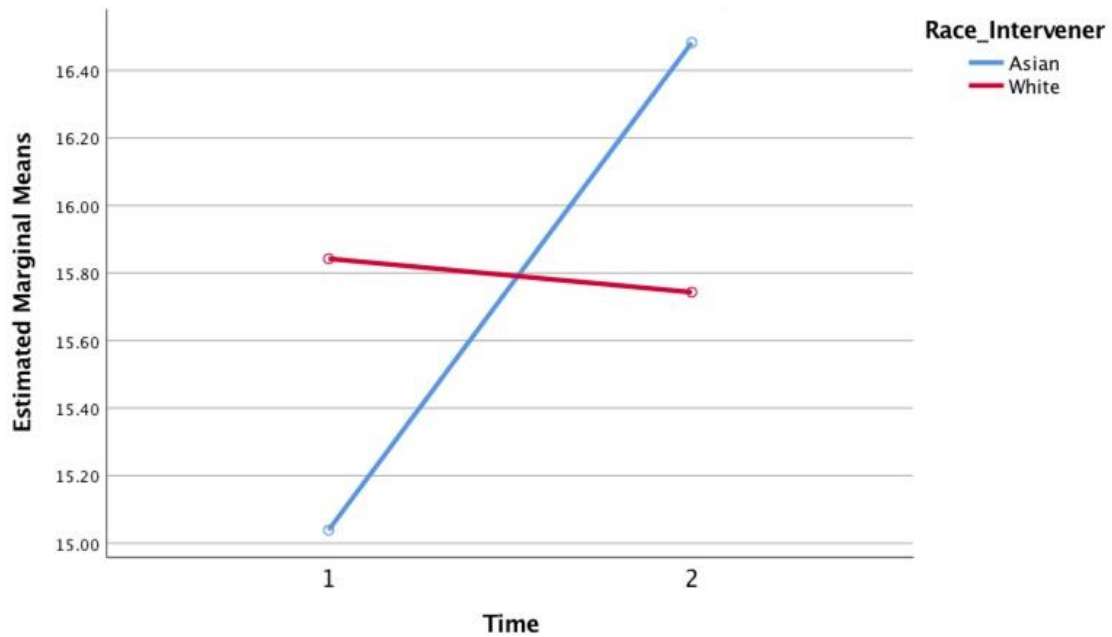


Figure 2. The interaction between time and race of intervener on negative affect in the Asian American sample.

RQ 2a: Asian Targets' Perception of the Intervener

A series of 3 (confrontation) X 2 (intervener's race) ANCOVAs were conducted to examine the main effects and interaction of the intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and the confrontation formats (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) on participants' perceptions of the intervener, perception of aggressor, and willingness for future interracial interaction after controlling for ethnic identity and past microaggression experiences. Table 6 presents the results of ANCOVAs assessing perceptions of the intervener. There was a significant main effect of intervention format on positive perception of intervener. Tukey's post hoc tests showed that participants' positive perception of intervener in the high threat condition ($M = 35.05$, $SD = 11.73$) was

Table 6

ANCOVAs Examining Perception of Intervener in the Asian American Sample

Perception of intervener	Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Positive perception	Race of intervener	1.06	1, 179	.31	.01
	Intervention	3.43	2, 179	.04	.04
	Race X intervention	.64	2, 179	.53	.00
	MEIMR	6.13	1, 179	.01	.03
	R28REMS	5.57	1, 179	.02	.03
Negative perception	Race of intervener	.17	1, 179	.68	.00
	Intervention	3.63	2, 179	.03	.04
	Race X intervention	1.34	2, 179	.27	.02
	MEIMR	.18	1, 179	.67	.00
	R28REMS	.09	1, 179	.77	.00
Interpersonal interest	Race of intervener	3.13	1, 179	.08	.02
	Intervention	2.17	2, 179	.12	.02
	Race X intervention	2.57	2, 179	.08	.03
	MEIMR	6.66	1, 179	.01	.04
	R28REMS	1.31	1, 179	.25	.01

Note. R28REMS = Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised.

significantly lower than the low threat condition ($M = 38.19$, $SD = 10.52$, $p = .03$) and the support condition ($M = 38.90$, $SD = 10.82$, $p = .02$), respectively. The main effects of ethnic identity and microaggression experience on positive perception of intervener were also significant. Both higher MEIMR score and R28REMS score predicted higher positive perception of intervener.

The main effect of intervention format on negative perceptions of intervener was significant. Post hoc tests showed that participants' negative perception of intervener in the support condition ($M = 20.68$, $SD = 9.23$) was significantly lower than the high threat condition ($M = 24.55$, $SD = 8.69$, $p = .02$) and the low threat condition ($M = 24.71$, $SD = 9.30$, $p = .02$), respectively. The main effect of ethnic identity on interpersonal interest of

intervener was also significant. Higher MEIMR scores predicted higher interpersonal interest in the intervener. There was a marginally significant ($p = .08$) main effect of race of intervener on interpersonal interest in the intervener, with ratings of Asian interveners ($M = 5.19, SD = 1.60$) somewhat higher than ratings of White interveners ($M = 4.75, SD = 1.77$). However, a marginally significant interaction between race of intervener and intervention format ($p = .08$) suggested that was true only in high threat and support conditions (see Figure 3).

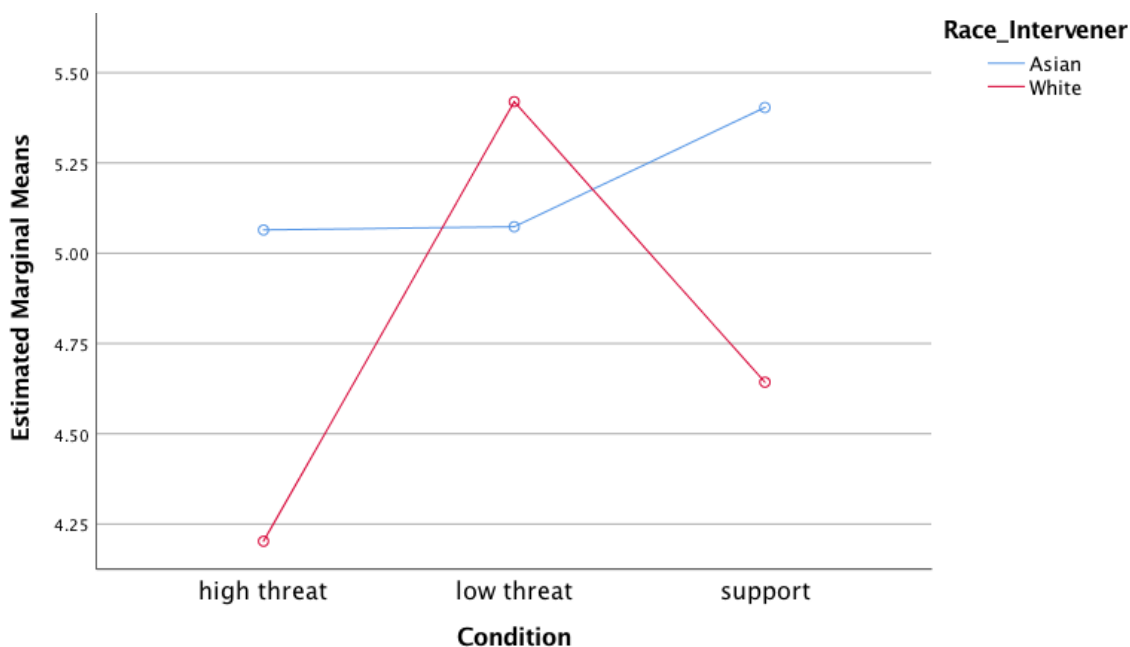


Figure 3. The interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on interpersonal interest of intervener in the Asian American sample.

RQ 2b & 3: Asian Targets' Perception of the Aggressor and Willingness for Future Interaction

Table 7 summarizes ANCOVA results related to participants' perceptions of aggressor. Only the main effect of intervention format on negative perception of

Table 7

ANCOVAs Examining Perception of Aggressor and Willingness for Future Interaction in the Asian American Sample

Variables	Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Perception of aggressor					
Positive perception	Race of intervener	.23	1, 179	.63	.00
	Intervention	2.82	2, 179	.06	.03
	Race X intervention	.22	2, 179	.81	.00
	MEIMR	.98	1, 179	.32	.01
	R28REMS	.10	1, 179	.76	.00
Negative perception	Race of intervener	.41	1, 179	.53	.00
	Intervention	7.21	2, 179	.001	.08
	Race X intervention	.26	2, 179	.77	.00
	MEIMR	1.75	1, 179	.19	.01
	R28REMS	2.31	1, 179	.13	.01
Interpersonal interest	Race of intervener	.66	1, 179	.42	.00
	Intervention	2.81	2, 179	.06	.03
	Race X intervention	.50	2, 179	.61	.01
	MEIMR	.41	1, 179	.53	.00
	R28REMS	.14	1, 179	.71	.00
Willingness for future interracial interaction	Race of intervener	.17	1, 179	.68	.00
	Intervention	2.66	2, 179	.07	.03
	Race X intervention	2.99	2, 179	.05	.03
	MEIMR	10.92	1, 179	.001	.06
	R28REMS	4.86	1, 179	.14	.01

Note. R28REMS= Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR= Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised.

aggressor was significant. Post hoc tests showed that participants' negative perception of the aggressor in the support condition ($M = 22.66$, $SD = 10.51$) was significantly lower than the high threat condition ($M = 28.21$, $SD = 10.72$, $p = .004$) and low threat condition ($M = 28.82$, $SD = 8.72$, $p < .001$), respectively.

There was a significant main effect of ethnic identity on participants' willingness for future interracial interaction (Table 7). Higher MEIMR scores predicted higher

willingness for future interaction. The interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on willingness was marginally significant ($p = .05$). Asian American participants showed more willingness for future interracial interactions with a White intervener ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.48$) than Asian intervener ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.15$; Figure 4) only in the low threat condition. The main effect of intervention format was also marginally significant. Post hoc tests showed that participants' willingness for future interactions was significantly lower in the high threat condition ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 1.71$) than the low threat condition ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.35$, $p = .03$) and marginally lower than the support condition ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.49$, $p = .09$), respectively.

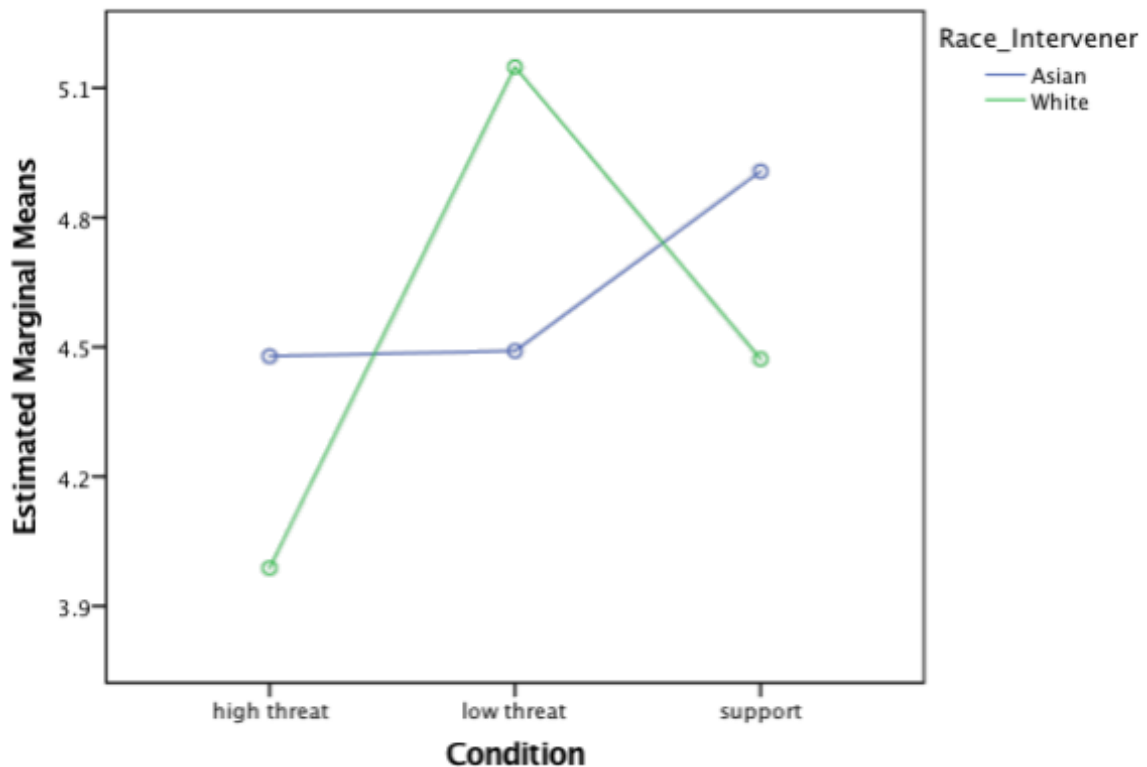


Figure 4. The Interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on participants' willingness for future interracial interactions in the Asian American sample.

Study 2

Means and standard deviations for all study variables in the White American sample are presented for each condition (intervention format X race of intervener) in Table 8. In general, participants reported mean levels of positive affect near the mid-point of scale and mean levels of negative affect at the low end of the scale. Mean levels of positive perception and interpersonal interest in the intervener were above the mid-point of the scale, and mean levels of negative perceptions of intervener were below the mid-point of the scale. Mean levels of positive and negative perception of aggressor were at the mid-point of the scale, and mean levels of interpersonal interest in the aggressor were above the mid-point. Participants reported mean levels of willingness for future interracial interaction above the mid-point of the scale. Mean levels of ethnocultural empathy were above the midpoint of the scale, and mean levels of color blindness were below the mid-point of the scale.

Bivariate correlation analyses for White American participants were conducted to examine the associations among dependent variables (i.e., perception of intervention, perception of aggressor, and willingness for future interracial interactions) and covariates (i.e., ethnocultural empathy, color blindness; Table 9). Participants' positive perception of intervener was negatively correlated with negative perception of intervener, and positively correlated with interpersonal interest in intervener, positive perception of aggressor, and negative perception of aggressor. Interpersonal interest in intervener was negatively correlated with negative perception of intervener and positively correlated with negative perception of aggressor. Positive perception of aggressor was negatively

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables in the White American Sample

	PANAS before				PANAS after				Perception of intervener				Perception of aggressor				Future interaction		R28REMS		MEIMR	
	Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		Positive		Negative		IPI		IPI		IPI	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Conditions																						
High threat																						
Asian intervener	31.32	7.64	15.29	7.63	27.74	8.98	16.84	6.68	35.58	8.73	26.16	10.75	4.27	1.91	29.10	11.34	27.19	11.64	3.69	1.88	4.32	1.85
																					4.39	.78
White intervener	31.50	9.64	16.00	8.47	26.81	10.50	19.78	9.64	39.44	10.55	23.63	9.40	5.05	1.73	31.31	11.73	28.84	12.65	3.90	1.61	4.69	1.60
																					4.30	.82
Low threat																						
Asian intervener	33.65	9.88	14.58	7.49	26.54	10.20	18.16	9.02	39.26	9.62	21.29	10.65	5.31	1.53	28.71	11.44	30.65	11.69	3.82	1.86	4.71	1.88
																					4.24	.81
White intervener	29.00	10.20	14.48	6.40	25.58	10.81	16.68	6.84	34.06	11.92	21.39	11.97	4.29	1.76	25.61	10.36	29.62	12.87	3.10	1.56	4.55	1.55
																					4.13	.93
Support																						
Asian intervener	33.93	10.12	11.50	2.39	29.73	11.68	14.30	7.28	38.90	11.37	16.53	9.38	5.22	1.56	30.90	9.35	23.27	10.59	3.93	1.62	5.10	1.61
																					4.37	.85
White intervener	29.60	9.07	15.73	7.48	26.50	10.87	17.40	8.83	42.07	9.89	20.10	11.45	5.40	1.69	30.63	11.97	27.13	10.88	3.56	1.71	4.87	1.36
																					4.41	.71
																					64.57	16.29

Note. PANAS = The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule; R28REMS = Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale; MEIMR = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised; Pos = Positive affect, total score ranges from 7 to 56; Neg = negative affect, total score ranges from 7 to 49; IPI = interpersonal interest, average score ranges from 1 to 7.

Table 9

Bivariate Correlations of Dependent Variables and Covariates in the White American Sample

Variables	Perception of intervener			Perception of aggressor			7. Future interaction	8. SEE	9. CoBRAS
	1. Pos	2. Neg	3. IPI	4. Pos	5. Neg	6. IPI			
1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2	-.35**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	.76**	-.47**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4	.24**	.30**	.06	--	--	--	--	--	--
5	.31**	.07	.24**	-.41**	--	--	--	--	--
6	.08	.22**	.07	.76**	-.54**	--	--	--	--
7	.34**	-.04	.39**	.19**	.04	.22**	--	--	--
8	.28**	-.11	.32**	-.10	.21**	-.14	.42**	--	--
9	-.28**	.20**	-.30**	.25*	-.37**	.30**	-.33**	-.67**	--

Note. Pos = Positive affect; Neg = negative affect; IPI=interpersonal interest, calculated as average; SEE= Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; CoBRAS= Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

* $p = .05$, ** $p = .01$, *** $p = .001$.

associated with negative perception of aggressor, and positively associated with negative perception of intervener and interpersonal interest in aggressor. Interpersonal interest in aggressor was negatively associated with negative perception of aggressor and positively associated with negative perception of intervener. Willingness for future interracial interaction was positively correlated with positive perception of intervener, interpersonal interest in intervener, positive perception of aggressor, and interpersonal interest in aggressor. Ethnocultural empathy was positively associated with positive perception of intervener, interpersonal interest in intervener, negative perception of aggressor, and willingness for future interaction. Racial colorblindness was positively associated with negative perception of intervener, positive perception of aggressor, and interpersonal interest in intervener, and negatively associated with positive perception of intervener,

interpersonal interest in intervener, negative perception of aggressor, willingness for future interaction, and ethnocultural empathy.

RQ1: White Witnesses' Change of Affect

Two 2 (time) X 3 (confrontation) X 2 (intervener's race) mixed ANCOVAs were conducted to examine the main effects and interaction of the intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and the confrontation formats (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) on participants' PANAS scores at Time 1 and Time 2 (Table 10). There was no overall significant change in White American participants' positive affect or negative affect from Time 1 to in Time

Table 10

Repeated Measures ANCOVA Examining Emotional Reaction Before and After Reading the Vignette in the White American Sample

Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Positive affect				
Time	.10	1, 179	.75	.00
Race of Intervener	2.66	1, 179	.11	.02
Intervention	.10	2, 179	.90	.00
Time X Race	1.79	1, 179	.18	.01
Time X Intervention	1.02	2, 179	.36	.01
Time X Race X Intervention	2.35	2, 179	.10	.03
Time X SEE	.25	1, 179	.62	.00
Time X CoBRAS	4.3	1, 179	.04	.02
Negative affect				
Time	.19	1, 179	.67	.00
Race of Intervener	1.61	1, 179	.20	.02
Intervention	1.70	2, 179	.19	.02
Time X Race	.00	1, 179	.99	.00
Time X Intervention	.30	2, 179	.74	.00
Time X Race X Intervention	1.49	2, 179	.23	.02
Time X SEE	2.51	1, 179	.12	.01
Time X CoBRAS	.12	1, 179	.73	.00

Note. SEE = Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; CoBRAS= Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

2. The significant interaction between Time and CoBRAS scores was explored via an additional analysis. CoBRAS scores were divided into high score and low groups at the median and a 2 (Time) X 2 (CoBRAS) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the interaction. Figure 5 shows a steeper decline in positive affect for White participants with high colorblindness scores.

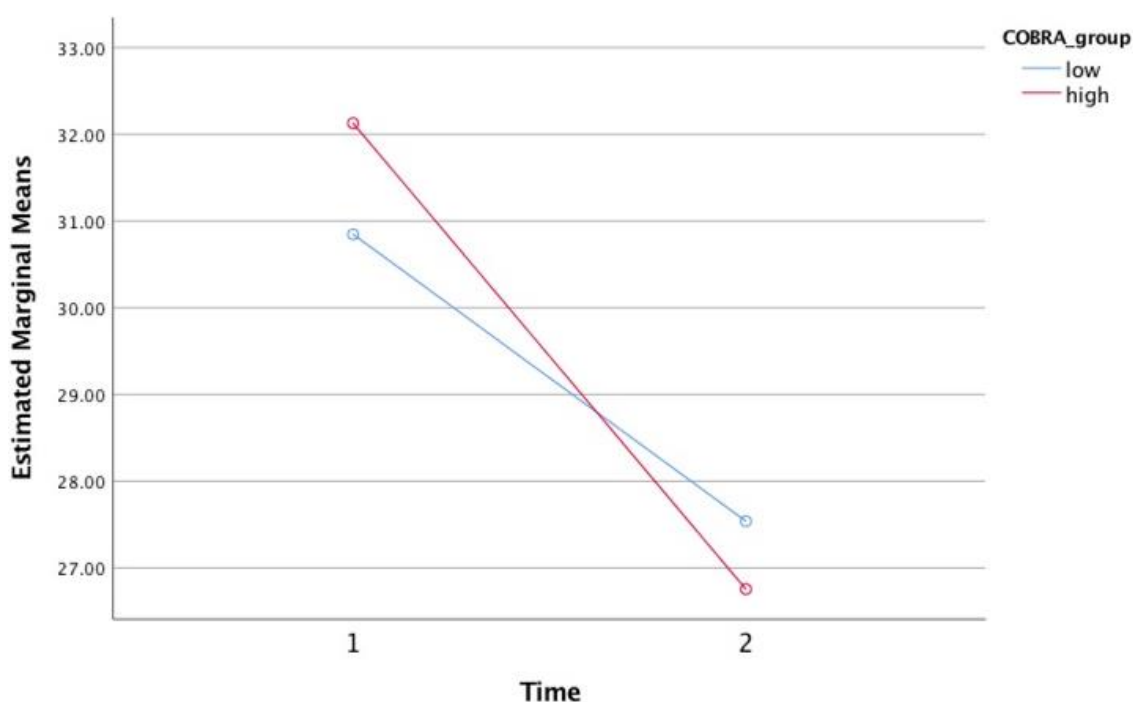


Figure 5. The interaction between time and color blindness on positive affect in the White American sample.

RQ 2a: White witnesses' perception of the intervener

A series of 3 (confrontation) X 2 (intervener's race) ANCOVAs were conducted to examine the main effects and interaction of the intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and the confrontation formats (high-threat, low-threat, supportive) on participants' perception of the intervener, perception of aggressor, and willingness for future interracial

interaction after controlling for ethnocultural empathy and color blindness. Levene's tests were nonsignificant for all analyses, indicating that the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met.

There were no significant main effects on positive perceptions of intervener (Table 11). The interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on positive perceptions of intervener was significant. White American participants showed more positive perceptions of the White intervener ($M = 39.44, 42.07, SD = 10.55, 9.89$) than Asian intervener ($M = 35.58, 38.90, SD = 8.73, 11.37$) only in high threat and support conditions (Figure 6). There was a marginally significant main effect of color blindness on positive perception of intervener. Higher CoBRAS scores predicted lower positive perception of the intervener.

Table 11

ANCOVAs Examining Perception of Intervener in the White American Sample

Perception of intervener	Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Positive perception	Race of intervener	.32	1, 179	.57	.00
	Intervention	2.09	2, 179	.13	.02
	Race X intervention	3.52	2, 179	.03	.04
	SEE	2.37	1, 179	.13	.01
	CoBRAS	3.65	1, 179	.06	.02
Negative perception	Race of intervener	.02	1, 179	.88	.00
	Intervention	6.35	2, 179	.002	.07
	Race X intervention	1.15	2, 179	.32	.01
	SEE	.28	1, 179	.60	.00
	CoBRAS	5.95	1, 179	.02	.03
Interpersonal interest	Race of intervener	.01	1, 179	.93	.00
	Intervention	2.48	2, 179	.09	.03
	Race X intervention	4.53	2, 179	.01	.05
	SEE	4.96	1, 179	.03	.03
	CoBRAS	2.84	1, 179	.09	.02

Note. SEE = Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

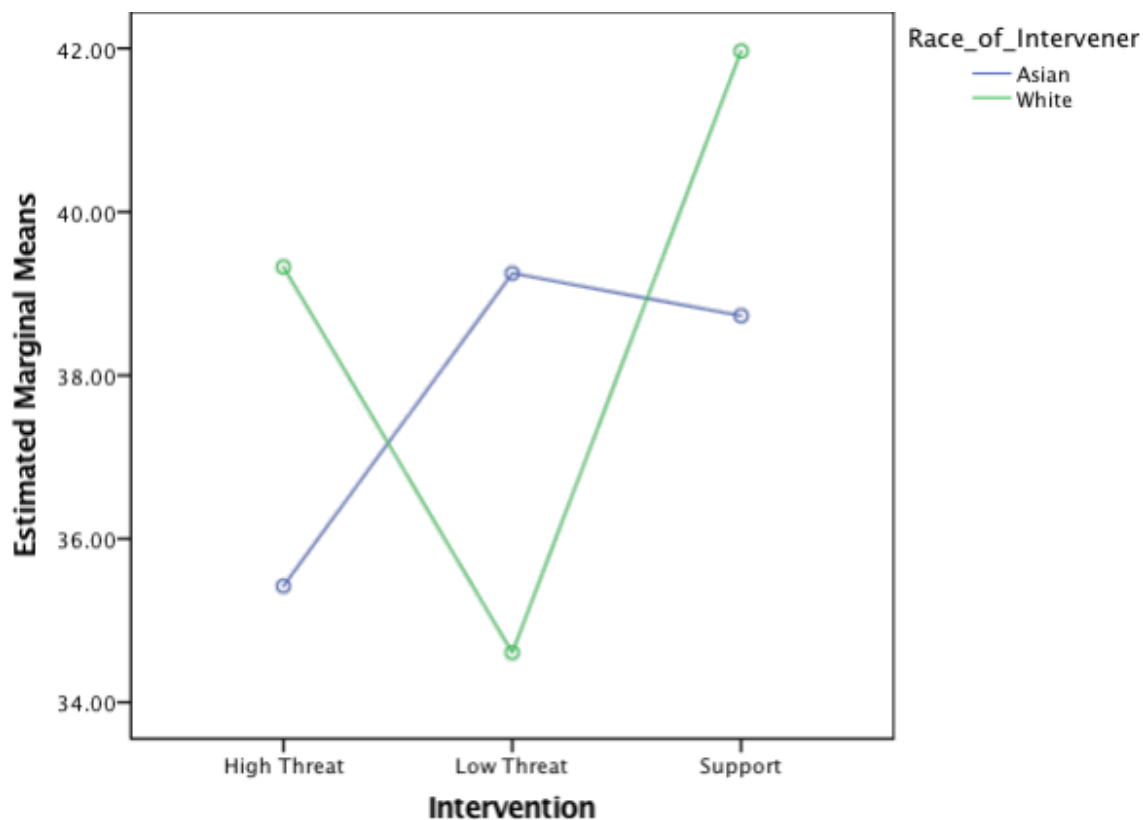


Figure 6. The interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on positive perception of intervener in the White American sample.

The main effect of intervention format on negative perception of intervener was significant. Post hoc tests showed that participants' negative perceptions of intervener in the high threat condition ($M = 24.87$, $SD = 10.09$) was significantly higher than the support threat condition ($M = 18.32$, $SD = 10.53$, $p < .001$) and marginally higher than the low threat condition ($M = 21.34$, $SD = 11.24$, $p = .06$). There was also a significant main effect of colorblindness on negative perception of intervener. Higher CoBRAS score predicted higher negative perception.

The main effect of ethnocultural empathy on interpersonal interest in the

intervener was significant. Higher SEE scores predicted higher interpersonal interest.

There was a significant interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on interpersonal interest of intervener. White American participants showed more interpersonal interest in the White intervener ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.73$) than the Asian intervener ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.91$) only in the high threat conditions; participants showed more interpersonal interest in the Asian intervener ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.53$) than the White intervener ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.76$) only in the low threat condition (Figure 7).

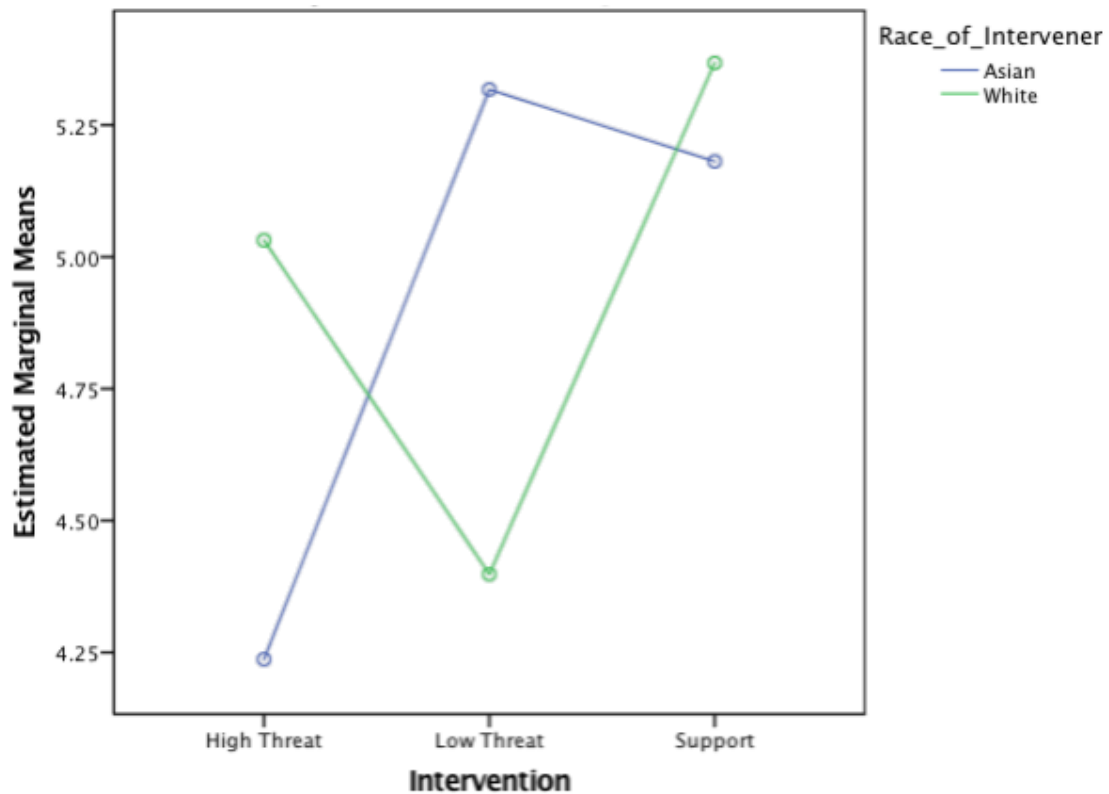


Figure 7. The interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on interpersonal interest in the intervener in the White American sample.

RQ 2b and 3: White Witnesses' Perception of the Aggressor and Willingness for Future Interaction

For perceptions of the aggressor, the main effect of colorblindness was a significant predictor of positive perception, negative perception, and interpersonal interest (Table 12). Higher CoBRAS score predicted higher positive perception, higher interpersonal interest, and lower negative perception of the aggressor. There was also a marginally significant main effect of intervention format on negative perception of

Table 12

ANCOVAs Examining Perception of Aggressor and Willingness for Future Interaction in the White American Sample

Variables	Effect	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial η^2
Perception of aggressor					
Positive perception	Race of intervener	.12	1, 179	.73	.00
	Intervention	1.76	2, 179	.18	.02
	Race X Intervention	1.30	2, 179	.28	.01
	SEE	1.25	1, 179	.27	.01
	CoBRAS	11.78	1, 179	.001	.06
Negative perception	Race of intervener	1.23	1, 179	.27	.01
	Intervention	2.93	2, 179	.06	.03
	Race X Intervention	.65	2, 179	.52	.01
	SEE	.17	1, 179	.68	.00
	CoBRAS	18.49	1, 179	< .001	.10
Interpersonal interest	Race of intervener	1.90	1, 179	.17	.01
	Intervention	.68	2, 179	.51	.01
	Race X Intervention	1.80	2, 179	.17	.02
	SEE	1.34	1, 179	.25	.01
	CoBRAS	16.62	1, 179	< .001	.09
Willingness for future interracial interaction	Race of intervener	.03	1, 179	.87	.00
	Intervention	1.40	2, 179	.25	.02
	Race X Intervention	.80	2, 179	.45	.01
	SEE	14.56	1, 179	< .001	.08
	CoBRAS	1.13	1, 179	.29	.01

Note. SEE = Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

aggressor. Post hoc tests showed that participants' negative perception of aggressor in the support condition ($M = 25.20$, $SD = 10.82$) was significantly lower than the low threat condition ($M = 30.13$, $SD = 12.16$, $p = .02$). The main effect of ethnocultural empathy on willingness for future interaction was significant. Higher SEE score predicted higher willingness for future interaction.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study sought to understand the relative efficacy of different bystander interventions for microaggressions that are from White aggressors to Asian American targets in the hope to provide empirically supported guidance for bystanders. The effects of intervener's race (White vs. Asian) and intervention format (high-threat, low-threat, support-based) were investigated on the outcomes of microaggression intervention for Asian American targets in Study 1 and White witnesses in Study 2. The outcomes of intervention included participants' emotional reactions to the intervention, their perceptions of the intervener and aggressor, and their willingness for future interracial interactions in both studies.

Overall, neither intervener's race nor intervention format influenced Asian American targets or White witnesses' change of affect after being exposed to the bystander intervention for microaggression. In general, the interveners were perceived relatively positive, and that was most true in the support condition in both samples. Asian participants had the lowest positive perception of the intervener in the high threat condition and the lowest negative perception of intervener in the support condition. Asian participants also had the lowest negative perception of aggressor in the high threat condition. White participants had more positive perceptions of a White intervener than an Asian intervener, not only in the support condition but also in the high threat condition. White participants had the highest negative perception of interveners in the high threat condition. Neither race of intervener nor form of intervention influenced White

participants' perception of aggressor or their willingness for future interracial interactions.

In Study 1, Asian American targets' ethnic identity scores in each condition ($M = 3.38-3.69$, $SD = .68-1.01$) were similar to the Asian American norm sample ($M = 3.64$, $SD = .71$; Brown, et al., 2014), and their past microaggression experience in each condition ($M = 2.03 - 2.45$, $SD = .59-1.02$) were also similar to the Asian American norm sample ($M = 2.26$, $SD = .65$; Forrest-Bank et al., 2015), suggesting that the Asian participants' responses in the current study were typical for the Asian American population. In Study 2, White witnesses' colorblindness mean scores in each condition ($M = 61.97 - 65.77$, $SD = 16.29 - 24.15$) were similar to the norm samples ($M = 61.72 - 67.30$, $SD = 11.83 - 15.62$; Neville et al., 2000), but the standard deviations were slightly above the norm samples, suggesting that the participants' degree of colorblindness were more dispersed in the current sample. White witnesses' ethnocultural empathy scores in each condition ($M = 4.13-4.41$, $SD = .71- .93$) were similar to the norm sample ($M = 4.3$, $SD = .71$; Wang et al., 2003), suggesting that the participants' responses in the current study were typical of the general population.

Effect of Intervention on Affect

For both Asian and White American participants, their affect was not influenced by the race of intervener or the format of intervention. Although Asian American participants had no change in positive affect, they reported significantly more negative affect after exposure to the vignette. White participants, on the other hand, did not have

changes in either positive nor negative affect before and after the vignette. Because the Asian American participants were instructed to imagine themselves to be the target of the microaggression, the result is consistent with previous literature demonstrating that microaggressions are associated with increased emotional distress and elevated somatic symptoms among ethnic minority targets (Huynh, 2012; Ong et al., 2013; Sue et al., 2008; Wang et al., 2011), although in the current study this exposure to microaggressive behavior was vicarious.

Furthermore, Asian American targets who endorsed high ethnic identity experienced a greater increase in negative affect after exposure to the microaggression vignette than those low in ethnic identity, which may be explained by prior research that ethnic minorities with a higher level of ethnic identity and racial centrality are likely to be more sensitive to race-related cues in ambiguous social situations (Operario & Fiske, 2001) and perceive more racial discrimination (Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). It seemed to indirectly contradict prior literature that strong ethnic identity buffers the impact of microaggression and discrimination on psychological distress (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018; Sellers et al., 2003). One possible explanation is that ethnic minority targets with a higher degree of ethnic identity may experience more situational distress during and immediately after the microaggression (Yoo & Lee, 2008), but in the long run, the strong ethnic identity may reverse the negative effect of microaggression on psychological distress and self-esteem (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018) as they may focus more on the positive aspects of their ethnic group (Yip, 2005; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008).

Similarly, there was an interaction between time and covariates on White witnesses' affect. White witnesses with a high level of racial colorblindness had a steeper decline in positive affect than those with a low level, after exposure to the vignette. In contrast, there was no significant interaction for negative affect, inconsistent with a prior study suggesting that bystander intervention elicited annoyance and irritation from White aggressors with high degree of prejudice than those with low prejudice when the intervener was Black (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). However, Czopp and Monteith did not include positive affect in their measures, which might partially account for the discrepancy. An explanation for the decrease in positive affect is that, compared with those who endorse low colorblindness, the bystander intervention may be more unexpected and shocking for White participants that endorse high colorblindness because colorblindness is associated with low cultural sensitivity and multiple cognitive strategies to preserve ignorance toward racial inequality (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017; Mueller, 2017; Tran & Paterson, 2015).

There was also a nonsignificant trend for Asian American participants to have increased negative affect after reading the vignette containing the Asian intervener but not the White intervener, suggesting that the bystander interventions from White interveners might reduce the immediate psychological distressed caused by racial microaggression on ethnic minority targets. One important objective of bystander intervention is to validate targets' racial reality, provide emotional support, and reinforce social norms of equality (Scully & Rowe, 2009; Sue et al., 2019). It is possible that compared to the situation where the targets' in-group member serves as the intervener,

bystander interventions from White allies may discount the microaggression more, making the targets feel validated of their racial experience and less distressed emotionally.

Perception of Intervener

There is a similarity between Asian targets and White witnesses' perceptions of intervener based on the intervention format. Compared to the low threat and support conditions, Asian American targets had the lowest positive perception of the intervener in the high threat condition, whereas White witnesses had the highest negative perception of intervener in the high threat condition, which is partially consistent with prior research (Czopp et al., 2006) and our hypothesis that as the interventions became more threatening, White witnesses would perceive them more negatively. However, contrary to our hypothesis that Asian targets might feel most validated in the high threat condition, they favored the intervener in this condition the least. A possible explanation is that Asians/Asian Americans tend to be conflict-avoiding (Friedman et al., 2006; Ma, 2007) because of the collectivistic value of maintaining relational harmony (Lim, 2009; Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010) and the Asian value of social face saving (Kam & Bond, 2008; Oetzel et al., 2001). The high-threat intervention presented a conflict-intense situation that may threaten relational harmony and the mutual-face (i.e., both parties' social image) for Asian American targets and aggressor, and thus, the intervener was least preferred by the Asian American participants. This explanation is further supported by the result that Asian American targets had lowest negative perception of intervener in the support

condition. The support intervention is the least direct and confrontational, which best preserves the harmony and the mutual-face among the three intervention formats. Therefore, the intervener in the support condition was the least aversive for the Asian American targets.

Unlike Asian American targets, White witnesses also showed a preference for race of intervener such that they had more positive perception of the White intervener than the Asian intervener only in high-threat and support conditions, which is mostly consistent with prior literature that White interveners are perceived as more persuasive and less rude (Gulker et al., 2013; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013) and their message was perceived as more serious and just (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). It is also consistent with previous research that the personal validation and nonjudgmental attitudes in the support condition would reduce White defensiveness (Knowles et al., 2014; Watt, 2007) to make interveners more convincing for White witnesses.

However, contrary to the hypothesis that White witnesses would experience the most positive perceptions with the White intervener in the support condition, White witnesses showed more positive perceptions of the White intervener not only in support condition but also high-threat condition. It also seemed to contradict the previous research that an intervener utilizing the high-threat confrontation was perceived less favorably than one using a low-threat confrontation (Czopp et al., 2006). One major difference between previous research and the current study is that Czopp et al. elicited the microaggression from the White participants who were designed to be aggressors, whereas in the current study, the White participants were witnesses to the events in the

vignette that featured the White intervener, which gave them potentially two options of in-group members to relate to: The White intervener or the White aggressor. Based on the social identity theory and the “bask in reflected glory” effect (Brown, 2000; Cialdini et al., 1976), one may identify with another in-group person who has positive qualities or achievements to enhance their self-esteem and positive self-evaluation. In this case, the White witness might have identified more with the “protagonist” White intervener rather than the “antagonist” White aggressor, which is consistent with their heightened positive perception of the White intervener in the high-threat condition. It suggests that compared to Asian American interveners, White interveners may receive more leniency in terms of social image from White witnesses when directly confronting aggressors. Additionally, the low threat condition may convey an indirect and ambiguous message about race, which could be interpreted by White witnesses as neither taking a strong stance on the issue of racism nor being empathetic and understanding of the White aggressor.

For both Asian American targets and White witnesses, there was a significant interaction or a trend of interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on interpersonal interest in the intervener. White witnesses showed more interpersonal interests in the White intervener than the Asian intervener only in the high-threat condition, which further supported the aforementioned explanation that White witnesses might have related more to the White intervener than the White aggressor in the high-threat condition to preserve self-esteem (Brown, 2000; Cialdini et al., 1976), and thus, they may have increased interests in making friends with the White intervener. On the other hand, there was a trend for Asian American targets showing more interpersonal

interests in the Asian intervener than the White intervener only in high-threat or support conditions. As discussed earlier, the support condition is most value-congruent for Asian American participants, relative to high-threat and low-threat conditions (Friedman et al., 2006; Kam & Bond, 2008; Lim, 2009; Ma, 2007; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010), which explains the high interpersonal interest in Asian intervener in the support condition. In the high-threat condition, interpersonal interest in the Asian intervener was the same as the low-threat condition, as expected, but interpersonal interest in the White intervener was much lower. Possibly, the White intervener who used the direct, high-threat approach might be least relatable for the Asian American targets, due to the fact that not only were her behaviors not congruent with the Asian culture, but she was an out-group member—out-group members tend to elicit less empathy than in-group members (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011; Preston & de Waal, 2002). However, if this explanation is true across the board, Asian American targets' interpersonal interest in the White intervener in the support condition should have been higher than that in the low-threat condition because the former would be more value-congruent for the targets. It was a confusing finding that no one explanation could sufficiently address. Nevertheless, it suggests that although a White intervener utilizing the direct confrontation would be perceived more socially favorable by White witnesses, the Asian American targets they tried to help might not perceive them in the same light.

Covariates also influenced Asian American targets and White witnesses' perceptions of the intervener. Higher ethnic identity predicted higher positive perception of intervener and interpersonal interests in intervener among Asian American targets,

suggesting that targets with higher ethnic identity may be more appreciative of the intervention and the intervener than those with lower ethnic identity. As noted earlier, those high in ethnic identity experience more racial sensitivity and higher perceptions of racial discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), which is also consistent with the finding that more past microaggression experience predicts increased positive perception of interveners among Asian American targets. Among White witnesses, higher racial colorblindness predicted increased negative perceptions of the intervener, which is consistent with previous studies (Zou & Dicker, 2013). Higher ethnocultural empathy predicted higher interpersonal interest in the intervener among White witnesses, consistent with prior research that ethnocultural empathy mediates intergroup contact and attitudes to diversity (Brouwer & Boros, 2010).

Perception of Aggressor

White witnesses' positive and negative perceptions of, and interpersonal interest in, the aggressor were solely predicted by their degree of racial colorblindness, which was consistent with the literature that high colorblindness is closely associated with low racial sensitivity and high defensiveness (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017; Mueller, 2017; Sue, Lin, et al., 2009; Tran & Paterson, 2015). White Americans tend to utilize colorblindness as a strategy to deny the notion of White privilege and appear unprejudiced when race is salient in the situation (Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006; Tran & Paterson, 2015). White witnesses with high colorblindness may be more likely to minimize the microaggression, feel defensive to the intervention, and

empathize with the aggressor than those with low colorblindness.

Additionally, there was a similar pattern of intervention format predicting negative perceptions of the aggressor for Asian American targets and White witnesses (a trend), such that the negative perception of aggressor was lower in the support condition than both the low- and high-threat conditions or only the low threat condition. It was consistent with the hypothesis that the support condition would decrease the tension in the interaction and thus, decrease the negative perception of aggressor for both targets and witnesses. In particular, the finding regarding Asian American targets demonstrated that the support condition is mostly likely to preserve the social image of the aggressor, which further supports the speculation that the support condition is most congruent with Asian values of harmony and mutual face-saving (Friedman et al., 2006; Kam & Bond, 2008; Lim, 2009; Ma, 2007; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010).

Willingness for Future Interracial Interaction

Contrary to the hypothesis, both Asian American targets and White witnesses' willingness for future interracial interaction were influenced by long-standing attitudes (i.e., covariates) rather than the single event in the vignette. One possible explanation is that reading the vignette may not be as powerful as experiencing a microaggression in real life because a vignette only contains one specific circumstance and may not accurately reflect participants' hypothetical actions (Finch, 1987; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). White witnesses with high ethnocultural empathy were more willing to engage in future interactions, which is consistent with prior research (Brouwer & Boros, 2010) and the

aforementioned finding that higher ethnocultural empathy predicts higher interpersonal interest in the intervener among White witnesses. Asian American targets with high ethnic identity were more willing to engage in future interactions, contrary to the literature suggesting that ethnic identity is strengthened by increased in-group contact and decreased out-group contact (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Harris, 1995; Yip, Seaton, Sellers, 2010). However, most of the previous studies examined the influence of in-group and out-group contact in participants' adolescence on ethnic identity, rather than investigating the relationship of ethnic identity with future interracial interactions. Ethnic identity fosters self-esteem (Phinney, 1991; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997) and buffers the psychological distress of racial discriminations (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018). It is possible that compared to those with low ethnic identity, Asian American targets with high ethnic identity might be more receptive to the bystander intervention and more confident in future interracial contact, even though they experienced increased negative affect from the microaggression.

For Asian American targets, the marginally significant interaction between race of intervener and intervention format on willingness for future interracial interaction has a matching pattern to the interaction effect for interpersonal interest in the intervener, suggesting interpersonal interest in the intervener is closely linked with the willingness to engage in future interracial interactions regardless of the race of the intervener. Interpersonal interest in the intervener might reflect positive interracial experience, which in turn, influenced targets' confidence and motivation for future interracial contact (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Emerson, Kimbro, & Yancey, 2002).

Implications

Bystander interventions are proactive strategies to disarm and challenge microaggressions, provide support for targets, and reduce future microaggressions from aggressors (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Shelton et al., 2003; Sue et al., 2019; Zou & Dickter, 2013). Bystander intervention trainings provide White allies and bystanders with tools to take antiracist actions and intervene in microaggressions (Sue et al., 2019). The findings from the current research extended prior literature and have several important implications for bystander intervention trainings.

First, microaggressions result in an increase in negative affect among Asian American targets, which does not seem to be cancelled out by bystander interventions, especially when the interveners are not in-group members of the aggressors (i.e., White). Although expressing empathy, validating racial experience, and providing emotional support are common goals for bystander interventions (Scully & Rowe, 2009; Sue et al., 2019), interventions may not necessarily decrease targets' psychological distress caused by the microaggression. It may be important for bystander intervention trainings to focus on outcomes in addition to targets' psychological distress, such as targets' interpersonal consequences, aggressors' future racist actions, and witnesses' attitudes towards microaggressions.

Second, the support approach is likely to decrease the tension in the interaction and has more social benefits for all the parties involved in the situation (i.e., targets, aggressor, and intervener) than low- or high-threat approaches. Intervenors who utilize the support approach are likely to be perceived more positively socially and receive more

interpersonal interest, especially when they are in-group members to the perceivers (i.e., White interveners to White witnesses; Asian interveners to Asian targets). The support approach is also more likely to preserve the social image of aggressors, possibly reducing White defensiveness. The support approach may be an important addition to bystander intervention trainings, especially for situations where the targets have a collectivistic cultural background that values relational harmony (Friedman et al., 2006; Kam & Bond, 2008; Lim, 2009; Ma, 2007; Oetzel et al., 2001; Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010).

Third, interveners that utilize the high-threat approach are at most risk of damaging their social image. Asian American targets are likely to have the lowest positive perception of them and White Witnesses may have the highest negative perception of them. However, if the intervener is White, they may receive more leniency from the White witnesses, but not the Asian targets. Overall, the high-threat approach may not be an ideal intervention strategy to teach in bystander intervention trainings. However, because White witnesses seem to identify more with the White intervener than the aggressor in the high-threat condition, it may be helpful to include high-threat interventions in vignettes or videos as a part of multicultural education for White students to discourage future microaggressions.

In addition, people's willingness for interracial interaction was not influenced by a single bystander intervention, but long-standing attitudes like ethnic identity and ethnocultural empathy. Promoting ethnocultural empathy through multicultural education or training for White students or trainees (Fleming, Thomas, Darlene, Burham, & Charles, 2015) may help them be more willing to make friends with interveners and

engage in interracial contact in the future. Similarly, strengthening ethnic minorities' ethnic identity through racial socialization and in-group contact (Dovidio et al., 2003; Emerson et al., 2002; Phinney, 1991; Phinney et al., 1997; Tropp, 2007) may increase their likelihood of perceiving the intervention as a positive interracial interaction and their willingness to engage in future interracial contact, even though they tend to experience increased negative affect after being exposed to a microaggression.

Lastly, racial colorblindness has profound influences on how White Americans perceive bystander interventions. Compared to those with low racial colorblindness, White witnesses with high colorblindness are more likely to empathize with aggressors and experience a greater decline in positive affect after witnessing interventions. Consistent with prior literature (Mueller, 2017; Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001; Tettegah, 2016), the finding further highlights the importance of addressing racial colorblindness in multicultural education or trainings for White students/trainees.

Limitations

One limitation of the set of studies was the age differences between the Asian American and White participants. The average age of White participants was 43.17 ($SD = 16.15$) and that of Asian American participants was 37.27 ($SD = 14.22$), which suggested that there might be a modest generational gap between the two samples. Age was found to moderate the relationship between the attitudes of pursuing the enhancement of others and openness to diversity in past research (Sawyer, Strauss, & Yan, 2005). Asian Americans demonstrate generational differences in whether ethnic

identity exacerbates or buffers the relationship between perceived discrimination and mental health outcomes (Yip et al., 2008). Ethnic identity buffers the aforementioned relationship for Asian Americans 41-50 years old; whereas, ethnic identity exacerbates it for those are 31-40 and above 50 years old. Younger cohorts of White Americans have more liberal racial attitudes and a higher adherence to the antiracist norm (Blinder, 2007). Contrary to the age conservatism hypothesis, aging seemed to increase White Americans' liberal attitudes on racial relations (Danigelis & Cutler, 1991). Because of this limitation, caution must be taken to generalize the findings beyond the White and Asian American cohorts of the current study.

Another limitation of the research was that all the characters in the vignettes were women. Women have been consistently underrepresented in psychological research and androcentrism, which is the assumption that men are the typical examples of the category "human" and what the society centers around, continues to a problem in psychological science (Bailey & LaFrance, 2017; Cundiff, 2012; Greenglass & Stewart, 1973). The current set of studies utilized women characters in the vignette in an effort to increase the representation of women in the literature. However, all-women characters might have elicited stereotypes of Asian women among participants, which might have influenced the results of the studies. Asian/Asian American women are stereotyped as more feminine (e.g., warm, emotional) and less masculine (e.g., dominant, assertive) than other race groups (Wilkins, Chan, & Kaiser, 2011). Orientalization also contributed to the stereotypes of Asian/Asian American women, portraying them as the "exotic other" that are submissive, domestic, and sexualized in the White American cultures (Uchida, 1998).

“Speaking up” is frequently negatively perceived socially (Li, 2014). Bystander intervention is an assertive action that contradicts the warm, gentle, submissive, and passive stereotypes of Asian/Asian American women, which might evoke backlash from participants and might negatively influence their perceptions of the Asian interveners. On the other hand, the quiet targets in the vignettes might fit and even perpetuate such stereotypes. Due to this limitation, is it unwise to generalize the findings to male targets and interveners. It is possible that male Asian interveners might receive more leniency from witnesses and targets in terms of social image.

Furthermore, the stereotypes of Asian American women are developed in comparison to the White and male cultures (Li, 2014; Uchida, 1998; Wilkins et al., 2011), and thus, male Asian witnesses and White participants may have more intense backlash in response to the bystander intervention conducted by an Asian American woman than an Asian American man. More studies are needed to understand the impacts of gender and gender stereotypes on the effectiveness of bystander interventions.

A third limitation is the use of pan-Asian category in the research. Asian Americans are a culturally and ethnically diverse group that also have a great amount of in-group differences on acculturation levels, immigration status, and socioeconomic status (Kibria, 1998). The pan-Asian category is frequently used in research on microaggressions and bystander interventions (Dickter et al., 2011; Lee & Ahn, 2011; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; Sue, Lin et al., 2009; Sue, Torino, et al., 2009; Sue et al., 2019), but there are several contradictions and ambiguities inherent in conceptualizing Americans with Asian descents as a unified racial interest group (Kibria, 1998).

Moreover, in the 2014 American Community Survey, 39.0% of Asian Americans have a heritage from East Asia, 22.5% from Southeast Asia, and 28.8% from South Asian (Pew Research Center, 2016). In the current research, people with East Asian and Southeast Asian heritages were slightly over-represented (44.4% East Asian, 31.7 % Southeast Asian), whereas people with South Asian heritage were slightly under-represented (20.1% South Asian) in Study 1.

Furthermore, the Asian characters in the vignettes had last names from Mainland China. Second and later generation immigrants from different Asian cultural groups often share similar experiences of anti-Asian racism and discrimination in the U.S. (Kibria, 1999). Therefore, as evident in the pilot study, the microaggression depicted in the vignette was considered representative and realistic of Asian participants shared racial experiences, regardless of the characters' country of origin. However, the vignette and the use of pan-Asian category failed to capture the intercultural differences among Asian cultures. Although there are commonalities in the collectivistic cultures they share, each of the sub-ethnic groups has distinct history in their original nations, cultures, and immigration experiences (Kibria, 1998). There were also intercultural differences among Asian cultures in terms of collectivism and individualism. A meta-analysis study showed that differences in individualism between Americans and East Asians were larger than those from India, Japan, and Singapore (Oyserman et al., 2002). Similarly, Americans demonstrated smaller differences in collectivism with Taiwan, Mainland China, and India, relative to Hong Kong and Indonesia. Because the current study used a pan-Asian category, it is difficult to distinguish how specific Asian ethnicities and cultures might

have influenced participants' interpretations of and responses to the microaggression and bystander intervention in the vignette.

An additional limitation is that median splits were used to unpack the interactions of co-variables on repeated measures of affect. Dichotomizing continuous variables may lose information about individual variability, because scores slightly above or below the median were put into the "high" and "low" groups respectively (Farewell, Tom, & Royston, 2004). Iacobucci, Posavac, Kardes, Schneider, and Popovich (2015) suggested that although median splits increase the likelihood of Type I errors, the effects were minor when there is no multicollinearity between the variables. In the current study, the median splits were used on co-variables in conjunction with repeated measures of affect, which had no multicollinearity and thus, was unlikely to increase potential Type I errors. Nevertheless, caution should be taken to interpret and apply the results of interactions with covariates.

Last, another limitation is that the current set of studies relied on vignettes to elicit responses from participants. One primary concern of utilizing the vignette technique in research is that the responses from the participants are influenced by how well they track and interpret the vignette (Finch 1987; Schoenberg & Ravdal, 2000). The current vignettes were relevantly short and simple, but having three characters involved in the vignette might have added complexity to the situation and made it a little hard to track as participants pointed out in the pilot studies. Although the microaggression and intervention portion of the vignettes were made visible for the subsequent questionnaires in the main studies to help participants track the characters and events, it was unknown if

participants were able to imagine themselves in the situations depicted. Future research is encouraged to test the current findings in real-life situations.

Conclusion

Overall, the support approach seems to be the most socially appropriate and accepted bystander intervention strategy to intervene in a microaggression targeted at Asian Americans. The high-threat approach is likely to damage interveners' social image, especially when the intervener is Asian. Adding the support approach to bystander intervention trainings and informing the trainees of the potential social costs of the high-threat approach may be particularly important. Despite the interventions, Asian American targets may still experience psychological distress caused by microaggressions. Asian Americans may benefit from mental health care services that specifically address their microaggression experiences. People's willingness for future interaction is influenced by longstanding attitudes like ethnic identity and ethnocultural empathy rather than a single microaggression/intervention experience. It highlights the importance of focusing on strengthening Whites' ethnocultural empathy and Asian American's ethnic identity in psychoeducational workshops and diversity trainings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Measure

Perception of the Intervener

1=*not at all* - 7=*very much*

With Lisa:

1. Hypersensitive
2. Likable
3. Argumentative
4. Friendly
5. Emotional
6. Honest
7. Complaining
8. Easy to get along with
9. Abrasive
10. Intelligent
11. Rude
12. Respectable
13. Irritating
14. Considerate
15. Moral
16. How much are you likely to talk to her again in the next book club meeting?
17. How much do you want to be her friend?

Perception of the aggressor

1=*not at all* - 7=*very much*

With Florence:

1. Biased
2. Likable
3. Prejudiced
4. Friendly
5. Argumentative
6. Honest
7. Racist
8. Easy to get along with
9. Abrasive
10. Intelligent
11. Rude
12. Respectable
13. Irritating
14. Considerate
15. Moral
16. How much do you understand her perspective?
17. How much are you likely to talk to her again in the next book club meeting?

18. How much do you want to be her friend?

Willingness for Future Interaction.

(Target version)

Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to engage in an interracial interaction in the future?

1= greatly less willing; 2= less willing; 3= slightly less willing; 4= slightly more willing; 5 = more willing; 6= greatly more willing).

(Witness version)

Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to join this interaction?

Based on the interaction you just read about, to what extent are you willing to engage in an interracial interaction in the future?

1= greatly less willing; 2= less willing; 3= slightly less willing; 4= slightly more willing; 5 = more willing; 6= greatly more willing).

Revised 28-Item Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (R28REMS)

Think about your experiences with race. Please read each item and think of how many times this event has happened to you in the **PAST SIX MONTHS**.

I did not experience this event	I experience d this event one time in the past 6 months	I experience d this event two times in the past 6 months	I experience d this event three times in the past 6 months	I experience d this event four times in the past 6 months	I experience d this event five or more times
0	1	2	3	4	5

1. I was ignored at school or at work because of my race
2. Somebody's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race
3. Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English
4. I was told that I should not complain about race
5. Someone avoided walking near me on the street because of my race

6. Someone told me that she or he was color-blind
7. Someone avoided sitting next to me in a public space (e.g., restaurants, movie theatres, subways, buses) because of my race
8. Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race
9. I was told that I complain about race too much
10. Someone acted surprised at my scholastic or professional success because of my race
11. I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television -R
12. Someone assumed that I would not be educated because of my race
13. Someone told me that I was "articulate" after she/he assumed I wouldn't be
14. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines -R
15. Someone told me that they "don't see color"
16. I read popular books or magazines in which a majority of contributions featured people from my racial group -R
17. Someone asked me to teach them words from my "native language"
18. Someone told me that they do not see race
19. Someone clenched her/his purse or wallet upon seeing me because of my race
20. Someone assumed that I would have a lower education because of my race
21. Someone assumed that I ate foods associated with my race/culture every day
22. Someone assumed that I held a lower-paying job because of my race
23. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies -R
24. Someone assumed that I was poor because of my race
25. Someone told me that people should not think about race anymore
26. Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race
27. Someone told me that all people in my racial group look alike
28. Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R)

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE)

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by indicating how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

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

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English.
2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.
3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.
5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.

6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
7. I am unaware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.
9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences.
10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.
11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.
12. I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.
13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.
14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.
15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.
17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.
18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.
19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.
21. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.

22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public area, I share their pride.
23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.
24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.
25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups others than my own.
26. I share the angle of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.
28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.
29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.
30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.
31. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.

CoBRAS

Please respond to the following questions by indicating next to each item, to what extent you agree with each statement.

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

- ____ 1. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
- ____ 2. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
- ____ 3. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.
- ____ 4. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
- ____ 5. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.
- ____ 6. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
- ____ 7. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.
- ____ 8. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.
- ____ 9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.
- ____ 10. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
- ____ 11. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
- ____ 12. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
- ____ 13. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
- ____ 14. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.
- ____ 15. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

- ____ 16. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
- ____ 17. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
- ____ 18. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.
- ____ 19. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
- ____ 20. Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.

Demographic Questionnaire

Filler Questions:

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Both
 - d. Neither
 - e. None of these (please specify)
3. Which state are you living in?

Other Demographic Questions:

1. What is your race/ethnicity? (Select One or More)
 - a. Asian
 - b. Black
 - c. Hispanic or Latino/a
 - d. Middle Eastern
 - e. Native American, American Indian, Alaska Native
 - f. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
 - g. White
2. (SKIP LOGIC) Asian (check all that apply)
 - i. East Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese)
 - ii. Southeast Asian (e.g. Cambodian, Vietnamese, Hmong, Filipino)
 - iii. South Asian (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Nepalese, Sri Lankan)
 - iv. Other Asian
3. (SKIP LOGIC) White (check all that apply)
 - i. European
 - ii. Other White
4. (SKIP LOGIC) On a scale of 1-10, how would you describe your visible racial/ethnic minority status? 1 = people generally cannot tell I am a racial/ethnic minority just by looking at me; 10 = people instantly view me as a racial/ethnic minority
5. What is your sexual orientation?
 - a. Heterosexual/straight
 - b. Lesbian
 - c. Gay
 - d. Bisexual
 - e. Queer
 - f. None of these (please specify)
6. What is your preferred religious identification?
 - a. Atheist
 - b. Agnostic
 - c. Baptist
 - d. Buddhist

- e. Church of Christ
- f. Eastern Orthodox
- g. Episcopalian
- h. Hindu
- i. Jewish
- j. LDS
- k. Lutheran
- l. Methodist
- m. Muslim
- n. Presbyterian
- o. Quaker
- p. Roman Catholic
- q. Seventh Day Adventist
- r. United Church of Christ/Congregational
- s. Unitarian Universalist
- t. Other Christian
- u. Other Religion
- v. None of these (please specify)

For Asian American Targets:

- 7. Which of the following most accurately describes your background?
 - a. My parents/guardians and I were born in the United States
 - b. I was born in the United States; one parent/guardian was not
 - c. I was born in the United States; both my parents/guardians were not
 - d. Foreign born natural citizen of the United States
 - e. Permanent legal resident
 - f. Foreign born on a student visa
 - g. Other status
- 8. (SKIP LOGIC) At what age did you arrive in the United States?
 - a. Under 5
 - b. 6 – 12
 - c. 13 – 18
 - d. 19 – 25
 - e. 26 or older

Appendix B

Vignette 1

Vignette 1 will be introduced as the following:

This is your first time attending a local book club. You are new in town and would like to meet more people. You enter the room and find that the chairs are arranged in a circle. You pick a seat that you feel comfortable in and start to observe the people coming in.

Two neutral interactions will be shown in sequence:

1. *A young woman in a flowery skirt comes in and sits in the seat next to you. She smiles at you, and asks: "Hi, I haven't seen you here before. Are you new?"*

You answered, "Yes, I'm new in the club, AND new in town!"

The young woman says, "Welcome! I'm Florence Jones. Nice to meet you!"

You introduce yourself. You decide to initiate some small talk with Florence. You say...

The participants will be asked to choose from three neutral options: A. *What is the book you are reading?* B. *How long have you been in this book club?* C. *What do you like to do other than reading?* All choices will lead the participant to the second scenario where the bystander intervener is introduced:

2. *As you are talking to Florence, another woman walks in and sits beside Florence. You notice that she is Asian too. She says hi to Florence and you, and then introduces herself, "Hello there, I'm Lisa Zhou. It is my first time attending this book club."*

Florence and you welcome Lisa, and introduce yourselves to her.

You say to Lisa...

The participants will be asked to choose from three neutral options: A. *This is my first time here too!* B. *What made you decide to come to this book club?* C. *Do you like reading too?* All choices will lead the participant to the third scenario.

If the participant is in the White intervener condition, then the sentence *You noticed that she is Asian too* will be taken out, and the name of *Lisa Zhou* will be changed into *Lisa Smith* in scenario 2.

The third interaction will be the manipulated conditions in which three confrontation formats are individually assigned for participants. The third scenario starts as the following:

3. The three of you are getting acquainted with each other.

Florence turns to you and asks, “Where are you from?”

You answer, “I just moved here from a small town in Vermont.”

“Right,” Florence said, emphasizing her wording, “But where are you *REALLY* from?”

High-threat confrontation condition:

Before you answer, Lisa raises her eyebrows and says to Florence, “Wow, what you just said is kinda racist, making the assumption that someone is not American just because they are not White.”

Low-threat confrontation condition:

Before you answer, Lisa raises her eyebrows and says to Florence, “Wow, what you just said is unfair. Asians are just as likely to be American as Whites.”

Support-based confrontation condition:

Before you answer, Lisa smiles and says to Florence, “That is sweet of you wanting to learn more about X [you]. I think you meant to ask about X’s cultural heritage rather than suggest that X is not from America.”

Appendix C

Vignette 2

Vignette 2 will be introduced as the following:

This is your tenth time attending a local book club. You like to come here and meet new people. As you walk into the room and see the chairs arranged in a familiar circle, you realized that you are the first one in the room. You pick a seat and start to observe the people walking into the room.

Two neutral interactions will be shown in sequence:

1. *You noticed a young Asian woman that you do not recognize sat down on the other side of the room. You want to meet her, but then another White woman in a flowery skirt, whom you know as Florence Jones, comes in and sits in the seat next to the Asian woman.*

You overhear Florence say to the Asian woman, "Hi, I haven't seen you here before. Are you new?"

The Asian woman answers, "Yes, I'm new in the club, AND new in town!"

Florence says, "Welcome! I'm Florence. Nice to meet you!"

The Asian woman says, "Thank you! I'm Faye Wu."

They are making small talk. What do you think they are talking about?

The participants will be asked to choose from three neutral options: A. *The book they are reading.* B. *How long they have been in this book club.* C. *Their hobbies other than reading.* All choices will lead the participant to the second scenario where the bystander intervener is introduced:

2. *As Faye is talking to Florence, another Asian woman walks in and sits besides Florence. The new girl says hi to Florence and Faye, and then introduces herself, "Hello there, I'm Lisa Zhou. It is my first time attending this book club."*

Florence and Faye welcome Lisa, and introduce themselves to her.

Faye is talking to Lisa. What do you think Faye is talking about?

The participants will be asked to choose from three neutral options: A. *This is her first time here too.* B. *Why did Lisa decide to come to this book club?* C. *Whether or not Lisa likes reading too.* All choices will lead the participant to the third scenario.

If the participant is in the White intervener conditions, then the sentence *another Asian woman* will be replaced as *another woman*, and the name of *Lisa Zhou* will be changed into *Lisa Smith* in scenario 2.

The third interaction will be the manipulated conditions in which three

confrontation formats are individually assigned for participants. The third scenario starts as the following:

3. The three young women are getting acquainted with each other.

You overhear Florence asks Faye, "Where are you from?"

Faye answers, "I just moved here from a small town in Vermont."

"Right," Florence said, emphasizing her wording, "But where are you REALLY from?"

High-threat confrontation condition:

Before Faye answers, Lisa raises her eyebrows and says to Florence, "Wow, what you just said is kinda racist, making the assumption that someone is not American just because they are not White."

Low-threat confrontation condition:

Before Faye answers, Lisa raises her eyebrows and says to Florence, "Wow, what you just said is unfair. Asians are just as likely to be American as Whites."

Support-based confrontation condition:

Before Faye answer, Lisa smiles and says to Florence, "That is sweet of you wanting to learn more about Faye. I think you meant to ask about Faye's cultural heritage rather than suggest that Faye is not from America."

Appendix D
Informed Consents



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 Amendment #2 Approved: 11/9/2018
 Consent Document Expires: 11/1/2019
 IRB Password Protected per IRB Coordinator

Informed Consent

Evaluation of Interracial Interactions

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a pilot study conducted by Renee Galliher, professor, and Tianyi Xie, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Utah State University. The purpose of this pilot research is to examine the appropriateness of a vignette method for assessing reactions to interracial communications and to collect feedback to modify the vignette if necessary.

This form includes detailed information on the research to help you decide whether to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and ask any questions you have before you agree to participate.

Procedures

Your participation includes reviewing a vignette describing an interracial interaction and completing measurements to provide feedback on the representativeness of the vignette of daily experience, believability of the responses, and appropriateness for assessing microaggressions and bystander intervention. Participation in the survey is anonymous and is expected to take 10 minutes. We anticipate that 20 people will participate in this pilot study.

Risks

This is a minimal risk research study. That means that the risks of participating are no more likely or serious than those you encounter in everyday activities. There is some risk that your identity as research participants will be disclosed to others, which can be minimized if you complete the survey in a private location and close the browser upon completion. No identifying information will be collected in the survey. There is also the possibility that you may experience some discomfort reviewing the interaction in the vignette. You may refuse to answer questions or discontinue the participation at any time. If you have a negative research-related experience or are injured in any way during your participation, please contact the principal investigator of this study right away at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this research study. More broadly, this study will help the researchers learn more about the interpersonal dynamics in interracial interactions and may help health care providers and educators to provide better interventions.

Confidentiality

You will not be asked to provide any identifying information, so your responses are completely anonymous. Your responses will be collected via Qualtrics with no identifying information. There will be no way to link your responses to your name. De-identified survey responses will be kept indefinitely.

It is unlikely, but possible, that others (Utah State University, or state or federal officials) may require us to share the information you give us from the study to ensure that the research was conducted safely and appropriately. We will only share your information if law or policy requires us to do so.

The research team works to ensure confidentiality to the degree permitted by technology. It is possible, although unlikely, that unauthorized individuals could gain access to your responses because you are responding online. However, your participation in this online survey involves risks similar to a person's everyday use of the Internet.



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Voluntary Participation, Withdrawal

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate now and change your mind later, you may withdraw at any time by simply exiting the survey. Once you complete and submit your survey, you will not have the option to withdraw your data because we will receive it without identifying information and will not be able to determine which responses are yours.

Compensation

There is no compensation for the pilot study.

IRB Review

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human research participants at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this study. If you have questions about the research study itself, please contact the Principal Investigator at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu or the student investigator at Tianyi.Xie@aggiemail.usu.edu. If you have questions about your rights or would simply like to speak with someone other than the research team about questions or concerns, please contact the IRB Director at (435) 797-0567 or irb@usu.edu.

Renee V. Galliher, PhD

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Amendment #3 Approved: 11/13/2018
Consent Document Expires: 11/1/2019
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Informed Consent

By clicking on the link below, you agree to participate in this study. You indicate that you understand the risks and benefits of participation, and that you know what you will be asked to do. You also agree that you have asked any questions you might have, and are clear on how to stop your participation in the study if you choose to do so. Please be sure to retain a copy of this form for your records.

Informed Consent

Evaluation of Interracial Interactions

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a pilot study conducted by Renee Galliher, professor, and Tianyi Xie, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Utah State University. The purpose of this pilot research is to examine the appropriateness of a vignette method for assessing reactions to interracial communications and to collect feedback to modify the vignette if necessary.

This form includes detailed information on the research to help you decide whether to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and ask any questions you have before you agree to participate.

Procedures

Your participation includes reviewing a vignette describing an interracial interaction and completing measurements to provide feedback on the representativeness of the vignette of daily experience, believability of the responses, and appropriateness for assessing microaggressions and bystander intervention. Participation in the survey is anonymous and is expected to take 10 minutes. We anticipate that 20 people will participate in this pilot study.

Risks

This is a minimal risk research study. That means that the risks of participating are no more likely or serious than those you encounter in everyday activities. There is some risk that your identity as research participants will be disclosed to others, which can be minimized if you complete the survey in a private location and close the browser upon completion. No identifying information will be collected in the survey. There is also the possibility that you may experience some discomfort reviewing the interaction in the vignette. You may refuse to answer questions or discontinue the participation at any time. If you have a negative research-related experience or are injured in any way during your participation, please contact the principal investigator of this study right away at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this research study. More broadly, this study will help the researchers learn more about the interpersonal dynamics in interracial interactions and may help health care providers and educators to provide better interventions.

Confidentiality

You will not be asked to provide any identifying information, so your responses are completely anonymous. Your responses will be collected via Qualtrics with no identifying information. There will be no way to link your responses to your name. De-identified survey responses will be kept indefinitely.



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It is unlikely, but possible, that others (Utah State University, or state or federal officials) may require us to share the information you give us from the study to ensure that the research was conducted safely and appropriately. We will only share your information if law or policy requires us to do so.

The research team works to ensure confidentiality to the degree permitted by technology. It is possible, although unlikely, that unauthorized individuals could gain access to your responses because you are responding online. However, your participation in this online survey involves risks similar to a person's everyday use of the Internet.

Voluntary Participation, Withdrawal

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate now and change your mind later, you may withdraw at any time by simply exiting the survey. Once you complete and submit your survey, you will not have the option to withdraw your data because we will receive it without identifying information and will not be able to determine which responses are yours.

Compensation

You will be compensated for participation with .25 SONA credits.

IRB Review

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human research participants at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this study. If you have questions about the research study itself, please contact the Principal Investigator at (435) 797-3391 or via email at Renee.Galliher@usu.edu, or contact the student investigator at Tianyi.Xie@aggiemail.usu.edu. If you have questions about your rights or would simply like to speak with someone other than the research team about questions or concerns, please contact the IRB Director at (435) 797-0567 or irb@usu.edu.

Renee V. Galliher, PhD

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v.10.9.1.2016

Informed Consent

Evaluation of Interracial Interactions

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Renee Galliher, professor, and Tianyi Xie, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Utah State University. The purpose of this research is to examine interpersonal dynamics and communication in interracial interaction.

This form includes detailed information on the research to help you decide whether to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and ask any questions you have before you agree to participate.

Procedures

Your participation will start by completing preliminary measurements assessing your emotion baseline and basic demographic information. You will then be assigned to one of six different interaction scenarios and participate in a step-by-step interactive vignette. At the end of the vignette, you will be asked to complete measurements to assess your emotional reaction, your perceptions of the characters in the vignette, your attitudes about intercultural communication. Participation in the survey is anonymous and is expected to take 25 minutes. We anticipate that 181 people will participate in this research study.

Risks

This is a minimal risk research study. That means that the risks of participating are no more likely or serious than those you encounter in everyday activities. There is some risk that your identity as research participants will be disclosed to others, which can be minimized if you complete the survey in a private location and close the browser upon completion. No identifying information will be collected in the survey. There is also the possibility that you may experience some discomfort reviewing the interaction in the vignette. You may refuse to answer questions or discontinue the participation at any time. If you have a negative research-related experience or are injured in any way during your participation, please contact the principal investigator of this study right away at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this research study. More broadly, this study will help the researchers learn more about the interpersonal dynamics in interracial interactions and may help health care providers and educators to provide better interventions.

Confidentiality

The information you provide as part of this study will be delivered to the researchers in anonymous form. Your responses will be collected by Qualtrics and delivered to the researchers with no identifying information. There will be no way to link your responses to your name. De-identified survey responses will be kept indefinitely.

It is unlikely, but possible, that others (Utah State University, or state or federal officials) may require us to share the information you give us from the study to ensure that the research was conducted safely and appropriately. We will only share your information if law or policy requires us to do so.

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v.10 9.1.2016

Voluntary Participation, Withdrawal

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate now and change your mind later, you may withdraw at any time by simply exiting the survey. Once you complete and submit your survey, you will not have the option to withdraw your data because we will receive it without identifying information and will not be able to determine which responses are yours.

Compensation

For your participation in this research study, you will receive compensation from Qualtrics in accordance with your agreement with them.

IRB Review

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human research participants at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this study. If you have questions about the research study itself, please contact the Principal Investigator at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu or the student investigator at Tianyi.Xie@aggiemail.usu.edu. If you have questions about your rights or would simply like to speak with someone other than the research team about questions or concerns, please contact the IRB Director at (435) 797-0567 or irb@usu.edu.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

TIANYI (SALLY) XIE

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 Logan, UT 84321
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EDUCATION

Utah State University – Logan, Utah	Ph.D.
Combined Clinical/Counseling/School Psychology, APA-Accredited	2019
<i>Dissertation:</i> Responding to Microaggressions: Evaluation of Bystander Intervention Strategies	
<i>Chair:</i> Renee Galliher, Ph.D.	
Utah State University – Logan, Utah	M.S.
Combined Clinical/Counseling/School Psychology	2017
<i>Thesis:</i> Acculturation and Language Use in Intimate and Sexual relationships among Asian Bilinguals	
<i>Chair:</i> Renee Galliher, Ph.D.	
University of Washington – Seattle, WA	B.S.
Psychology	2013
<i>Honor Thesis:</i> "I Don't Want to be a Burden, to My Children, to My Family": A Qualitative Study of Self-imposed Isolation Among People Living with HIV/AIDS in China	
<i>Chair:</i> Jane Simoni, Ph.D.	

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Asian American Psychological Association, Student Member	Since 2017
Association of Contextual Behavioral Science, Student Member	Since 2015
Association of Chinese Helping Professionals and Psychologists International, Student Member	Since 2015
American Psychological Association, Student Member	Since 2015
International Society for Research in Identity, Student Member	2016-2017
Psi Chi, Student Member	Since 2011

AWARDS AND TRAVEL GRANTS

Peter Kranz Scholarships, Utah State University	2014, '15, '16, '17
Graduate Student Travel Award, Utah State University	2015, 2017
Department of Psychology Travel Award, Utah State University	2015, 2017
Graduate Student Research Funds (Psychology department)	2016, 2018
Graduate Student Research Awards (College of Education and Human Services)	2018

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Student Therapist 09/2018 – Present

Avalon Hills Residential Eating Disorder Program – Adult treatment facilities, Paradise, Utah & Adolescent treatment facilities, Petersboro, Utah

Responsibilities: Individual therapy for residential adult and adolescent patients focusing on body image, value exploration, compulsive movements, distress management, gender dysphoria, and trauma; didactic groups including acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT), dialectical behavioral therapy (DBT), and recovery maintenance; body image group; process group; designing treatment plans; providing professional consultation; collaboration with multidisciplinary treatment team; participation in treatment team meetings and clinical rounds

Direct Contact Hours: 133, Total Hours: 210
Supervisor: Tera Lensegrav-Benson Ph.D.

Student Therapist 06/2018 – 05/2019

Anxiety Clinic, Utah State University, Logan, Utah

Responsibilities: Individual therapy for outpatient adult clients focusing on anxiety disorders (e.g., generalized anxiety disorder, social anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorder); intake assessments; integrative report; treatment planning; using ACT as the primary modality

Direct Contact Hours: 39, Total Hours: 116
Supervisor: Michael Twohig Ph.D.

Student Therapist 08/2017 – 09/2018

Avalon Hills Residential Eating Disorder Program – Adolescent treatment

facilities, Petersboro, Utah

Responsibilities: Individual therapy for residential adolescent patients focusing on body image, obsessive-compulsive disorder, anxiety management, gender dysphoria, and compulsive movements; family therapy; didactic groups including ACT, DBT, and recovery maintenance; body image group; process group; designing treatment plans; providing professional consultation; collaboration with multidisciplinary treatment team; participation in treatment team meetings and clinical rounds; bi-weekly training in eating disorders from a psychodynamic perspective from Norman Doidge, M.D.

Direct Contact Hours: 501, Total Hours: 1121

Supervisor: Tera Lensegrav-Benson Ph.D.

Student Therapist 08/2016 – 05/2017

Counseling and Psychological Services, Utah State University, Logan, Utah

Responsibilities: individual therapy for students presenting with a variety of behavioral health issues (e.g., major depressive disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, social anxiety, panic disorder, stress management, gender dysphoria); intake assessments; treatment planning; outreach services (sleep hygiene, stress management, depression screening workshops)

Direct Contact Hours: 91, Total Hours: 315

Supervisors: Steven Lucero Ph.D., Lisa Whitfield, M.A.

Student Therapist 08/2015-06/2016

Psychology Community Clinic, Utah State University, Logan, Utah

Responsibilities: individual therapy for child and adult clients in the community with a variety of mental health concerns (e.g., major depressive disorder, gender dysphonia, adjustment disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder); intake assessments; parent-training; treatment planning; psychoeducational assessments (e.g., ADHD); integrative report; using therapeutic assessment model in assessments

Direct Contact Hours: 104, Total Hours: 380

Supervisors: Susan L. Crowley Ph.D., Jenna Glover, Ph.D.

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Xie, T. & Galliher, R. V. (2018). Acculturation and language use in intimate and sexual relationships among Chinese bilinguals. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 9(3), 227-236.

Xie, T.*, Yang, J. P.*, Simoni, J. M., Shiu, C. S., Chen, W. T., Zhao, H., & Lu, H. (2017). Unable to be a Human Being in Front of Other People: A Qualitative Study of Self-Isolation Among People Living with HIV/AIDS in China. *Journal of clinical psychology in medical settings*, 24(3-4), 211-222.

Nadelson, L. S., Sias, C. M., Matyi, J., Morris, S. R., Cain, R., Cromwell, M., Lund, E. M., Furse, J., Hofmannova, A., Johnson, M., Seegmiller, J., & **Xie, T.** (2016). A World of Information at Their Fingertips: College Students' Motivations and Practices in Their Self-Determined Information Seeking. *International Journal of Higher Education*. 5(1), 220-231.

Yang, J. P., **Xie, T.**, Simoni, J. M., Shiu, C. S., Chen, W. T., Zhao, H., & Lu, H. (2016). A mixed-methods study supporting a model of Chinese parental HIV disclosure. *AIDS and Behavior*, 20(1), 165-173.

* Authors contributed equally to the manuscript

MANUSCRIPT IN PREPARATION

Colón, J.R.*, **Xie, T.***, Blais, B., & Rodriguez M.D. Cultural Adaptations in Group Therapy.

* Authors contributed equally to the manuscript

NON-PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Xie, T., & Chen, J. (2019, June 18). 探秘上海市精神卫生中心-进食障碍诊治中心 [Explore Shanghai Mental Health Center- the Eating Disorder Diagnostic and Treatment Center; Web log post]. Retrieved from https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/jpAtXesveUKFaxf829K_4Q

Xie, T. (2019, June 18). 这是一份科学的 ED 心理咨询和药物治疗指南 [This Is a Scientific Review of Psychotherapy and Medical Treatment for Eating Disorders; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/UxIruhW5NI-fvob57y1k2A>

Xie, T. (2019, June 14). 八条原则 , 让你积极看待自己 [8 Principles, Help You Accumulate Positive Body Experiences; Web log post]. Retrieved from https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/v24DGZjq2BQ_p3V7MLQdew

Xie, T. (2019, May 12). 拒绝食物警察的 “语言暴力” [Reject the “verbal abuse” from the Food Police; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/LI1tzj4evXD1B6LtGlDaRQ>

-
- Xie, T.** (2019, May 5). 节后重启，来一份维持健康计划书 [Reboot after the Holidays, A Recovery Maintenance Plan for You; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/KZkRRguDXyaEfK8kEMYKVg>
- Xie, T.** (2019, Apr 23). 我是我的食欲的主人| 与食物和解（下） [I'm the Master of My Own Desire for Food| Make Peace with Food (2); Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/cz3d16n2JxxYaclN1m4THQ>
- Xie, T.** (2019, Apr 18). 欲望的压抑，是迈入暴食怪圈的起点| 与食物和解（上） [Suppressing Desire for Food, is the Start of the Binging Cycle | Make Peace with Food (1); Web log post]. Retrieved from https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/FgizZffuNe9_AkJm42vDFQ
- Xie, T.** (2019, Apr 5). 重新和身体建立信任链接| 尊重饥饿感 [Rebuilding the Connection with Your Body | Respect Your Hunger; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/IEa0DbRk8hTymZiUoLutZw>
- Xie, T.** (2019, Mar 30). 康复路上的隐形狙击手| 复食综合症 [The Invisible Sniper on Your Path to Recovery | Refeeding Syndrome; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/xMOAj12TSBcZz7hOaeEfjQ>
- Xie, T.** (2019, Mar 26). 吃与不吃，听身体在说话| 如何找回饥饱信号 [Eat or Not Eat, Listen to What Your Body Has to Say; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/InnKICjAhEFJsOZeUSSpaA>
- Xie, T.** (2019, Feb 17). 如何科学地回归节后生活[How to Return to Normal Life after Holidays; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/j5zdHdu4lrnSS6BDpOb8TQ>
- He, H. & **Xie, T.** (2019, Jan 7). 不要和身体玩“饥饿游戏” | 明尼苏达饥饿实验这样告诉我们[Don't Play the "Hunger Game" with Your Body | This is What the Minnesota Hunger Study Told Us; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/3jRcKhCep5pMljnbjv060w>
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- He, H., Yang, X., **Xie, T.**, & He, Y. (2018, Oct 9). 270 斤、 1 米 65 的大码模特，你会为她喝彩吗 [270jin, 165cm Plus Size Model, Would You Cheer for Her; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/KAEZDovy0SN6RJjC0bhy6A>
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- Xie, T.** (2018, July 20). 走出家门，跟亲人朋友好好吃个饭|对 ED 大老虎说 “不” [Get Out of Your Room, and Eat With Your Family and Friends| Say “No” to ED; Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/m04E9YbfUdfbyiwviZXzUg>

PRESENTATIONS:

- Xie, T.** & Galliher, R.V. (2017 May) *Acculturation and Language Use in Intimate and Sexual Relationship Among Chinese Bilinguals*. Poster session presented at the 2018 Convention of the International Society for Research on Identity,

Groningen, Netherlands.

Xie, T. & Blais, R.K. (2015 August) *Perceived criticism, personality, and depression: Implications for romantic relationship conflict*. Poster session presented at the 123rd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Xie, T., Yang, J.P., & Simoni, J.M. (2013, August). *"They are better off without me": Self-imposed isolation from family among Chinese living with HIV*. Poster session presented at the 121st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Graduate Research Assistant 08/2014-08/2015

Utah State University, MASTR Lab

Involved in the project examining marital distress and mental health care. Set up questionnaires in Qualtrics, managed a large data set, conducted statistical analyses in SPSS, and conducted a literature review on marital distress and perceived conflict

Supervisor: Rebecca Blais Ph.D.

Research Assistant 08/2014-09/2014

Utah State University

Involved in a fellow graduate student's dissertation investigating potential cultural barriers for Chinese and Arabic international students in American colleges.

Conducted qualitative data analysis of interview transcripts in English

Undergraduate Research Assistant 01/2011 – 04/2014

University of Washington, Global and Minority Mental Health Lab, Chinese Public Health Project

This project examined the mental health status of people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) in China. Conducted qualitative data analysis of interview transcripts in Chinese, reviewed academic literature on HIV/AIDS-related stigma and government policies on treatment; researched and compiled a battery of measurements to assess factors that influenced parental decision to disclose to their children, assisted in the development and translation of an intervention manual for facilitating parental disclosure of HIV/AIDS status to their children.

Supervisor: Jane Simoni, Ph.D.

Undergraduate Research Assistant 01/2011 – 06/2011

University of Washington, Project FRESH

Involved in a longitudinal project that examines individuals' experiences with

alcohol and dating. Conducted phone screenings and data entry
Supervisor: William George Ph.D.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant 01/2018 – 05/2018

PSYCH 4230: Psychology of Gender, Utah State University, Logan, UT
 Facilitated weekly online discussions on issues of gender identity and diversity;
 provided feedback for group discussion and final papers; graded final exams
Instructor: Joshua Parmenter

Teaching Assistant 08/2017-12/2017

PSYCH 5200: Introduction to interviewing, Utah State University, Logan, UT
 Led experiential practices and role plays, focusing on interviewing and
 counseling skills; facilitated in-class group discussions on interviewing
 techniques; provided feedback for lab assignments and final papers, held
 regular office hours
Instructor: Cameron Staley Ph.D.

Teaching Assistant 08/2016 – 05/2017

PSYCH 4240: Multicultural Psychology, Utah State University, Logan, UT
 Facilitated weekly online discussions on multicultural issues; provided feedback
 for lab assignments and final papers on diversity and multiculturalism; graded
 class presentations on multicultural topics.
Instructor: Syd Davies Ph.D.

Course Instructor 08/2015 – 05/2016

PSYCH 1730: Academic Strategies for Success, Utah State University, Logan, UT
 Taught four classes covering academic and learning skills at the college level;
 organized and executed lectures, utilized relevant demonstrations and activities;
 constructed quizzes and performance evaluations; held regular office hours;
 mentored and supervised TAs assigned to the course.

Teaching Assistant 08/2014 – 08/2015, 08/2016 – 05/2017

PSYCH 1010: Introductory Psychology, Utah State University, Logan, UT
 Led weekly discussion groups on basic psychological concepts; graded lab
 assignments and provided feedbacks; proctored tests and uploaded scores onto
 the Canvas course website; created tests; managed course Canvas site; held
 office hours; provided assistance for individual students
*Instructors: Crissa Levin, Ph.D., Rebecca Blais, Ph.D., Jennifer Grewe, Ph.D.,
 Kathryn Sperry, Ph.D.*

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

- One-Week Didactic Seminar in Eating Disorders Treatment 11/2017
Topics: Applied Neuroscience, Acceptance and Commitment Therapy for Teens, Dietary, Interpersonal Neurobiology, Medical Complications of Eating Disorders, Family Communication, Eating Disorders & The Brain.
Presenters: Ed Hamlin Ph.D., Michael Twohig, Ph.D., Rachel Road, RD, Hannah Sawitsky, M.S., Mike Hinds, LMFT, & Jeffrey DeSarbo, Ph.D.
Avalon Hills Residential Eating Disorder Program, Family Week
Utah State University, Logan, Utah
- One-Day Conference on “the Power of Mindset” 04/2017
Presenter: Robert Brooks, Ph.D.
Counseling and Psychological Services 23rd Annual Conference
Utah State University, Logan, Utah
- Two-Day Experiential Workshop on Acceptance and Commitment Therapy 09/2015
Presenter: Mike Twohig, Ph.D.
Utah State University, Logan, Utah
- LGBTQ Allies Seminar 11/2015
Presenter: Brooke Lambert, M.Ed.
Utah State University, Logan, Utah

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

Editor and Writer 06/2018-present

EDSelfHelp(一滴), a WeChat (Chinese social media) official account with 23K subscriptions

Advocate for Eating Disorders recovery among Chinese young women; manage the interactive section on the channel, which includes designing interactive topics, collecting and editing readers’ responses, planning and writing interactive activities, and providing feedback for readers that participate in the activities; contribute to psychoeducational articles focused on eating disorders recovery; translated one module of the intervention workbook *Perfectionism in Perspective* (Center for Clinical Intervention, 2018) from English to Mandarin Chinese. *Pen name: TX*

Research Mentor 01/2018-present

Choicefree, Shanghai, China

Supervise high school international students in U.S. and students in China on psychology research projects, which includes teaching basic scientific method and psychology concepts, guiding literature review, assisting students with research proposals, and facilitating study design.

Learning Specialist 08/2015 – 05/2016*Academic Success Center, Utah State University, Logan, UT*

Provided individual consultation for students with academic struggles on campus; coached learning skills and stress management skills; held workshops on test anxiety, academic skills assessment, and test preparation; developed a navigating project to guide students to on-campus resources and services

LGBTQ Allies on Campus 11/2015-present*Utah State University, Logan, UT*

Support organization for LGBTQ students. Help to promote diversity on campus and respect for LGBTQ individuals

Therapeutic art facilitator 10/2012 – 04/2014*Circle of Friends for Mental Health, Seattle, WA*

The organization aimed at supporting clients with mental health disorders. Designed and planned art classes to promote life quality for community clients; taught clients basic art and craft skills; facilitated clients with individual art projects

OTHER SKILLS

Language

Fluent in Mandarin Chinese (speaking & writing)

Conducted therapy in Mandarin

Translated psychology materials from English to Mandarin Chinese

Photoshop

Refine, airbrush, edit photos with special effects

Design (e.g., book cover, posters, pamphlets)