

**DIFFERENCES AMONG ASIANS AND WHITE AMERICANS IN RACIAL  
PREJUDICE: A FUNCTION OF CONTACT WITH OUT-GROUP MEMBERS**

A Thesis

by

WOJUN LEE

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

May 2011

Major Subject: Sport Management

Differences among Asians and White Americans in Racial Prejudice: A Function of  
Contact with Out-group Members

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	George B. Cunningham
Committee Members,	John N. Singer
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**ABSTRACT**

Differences among Asians and White Americans in Racial Prejudice: A Function of  
Contact with Out-group Members. (May 2011)

Woojun Lee, B.S., Woosuk University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. George B. Cunningham

In examining the racism in sport literature, two general trends emerge: (a) a focus on Western sport organizations and the prejudice expressed by Whites in these entities; and (b) the tendency to document the occurrence of prejudice without examining key antecedent conditions. The purpose of this study was to address these gaps in the literature. Specifically, I compare the racial prejudice of White Americans with Asians and also examine the degree to which intergroup contact impacts this level of prejudice.

Data were collected from Asian ( $n = 104$ ) and White American ( $n = 100$ ) college students. They completed a questionnaire that assessed their contact with African Americans as both teammates and exercise partners, their intergroup anxiety, and racial prejudice. Results indicate that all of the study variables were significantly correlated with one another. As expected, a multivariate analysis of variance further illustrated that Asians, relative to Whites, expressed more anxiety and prejudice, while also having less contact with African Americans. Finally, results from a moderated regression indicated that the relationship between nationality and intergroup anxiety was moderated by

contact with African Americans as teammates and as exercise partners. In both cases, the lack of contact resulted in greater anxiety for Asians than it did for Whites.

This study contributes to the literature by explicitly examining racial bias across cultures. In addition, the findings point to the importance of diversity in exercise and team settings as a way of reducing racial prejudice. That is, since in being contact with African Americans as teammates and exercise partners helped to reduce intergroup anxiety, efforts should be made to increase racial diversity in exercise and sport team settings.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank to my parents. Without their help, I would not have studied. I hope you are always happy and healthy. Again thank you very much and I love you. (아버지 어머니 항상 감사드립니다. 제가 이렇게 공부를 할수 있는것도 부모님을 아주 잘 만난덕 이라는 생각을 많이 하게 됩니다. 조금만 더 지켜봐주시구요, 항상 건강하세요. 사랑합니다.).

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTRACT .....		iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....		v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....		vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....		viii
LIST OF TABLES .....		ix
CHAPTER		
I	INTRODUCTION .....	1
	Theoretical Framework .....	3
	Research Questions .....	5
	Contents of the Thesis .....	6
II	LITERATURE REVIEW .....	7
	Defining Prejudice and Discrimination .....	7
	Race and Prejudice .....	8
	Discrimination in Sport Contexts .....	10
	Contact Hypothesis .....	11
	Intergroup Anxiety .....	14
	Research Questions and Hypotheses .....	15
III	METHODOLOGY .....	17
	Participants .....	17
	Measures .....	17
	Procedure .....	18
	Data Analysis .....	19
IV	RESULTS AND ANALYSIS .....	20
	Scale Reliability .....	20
	Research Question One .....	21

CHAPTER	Page
Research Question Two .....	24
Research Question Three .....	25
V CONCLUSIONS .....	31
Research Question One .....	31
Research Question Two .....	32
Research Question Three .....	33
Limitations .....	33
Strengths .....	34
Recommendations for Future Research .....	35
REFERENCES .....	37
APPENDIX A .....	45
APPENDIX B .....	47
VITA .....	51



**LIST OF FIGURES**

FIGURE	Page
4.1 Effects of Contact with a Black Teammate and Nationality on Intergroup Anxiety .....	28
4.2 Effects of Contact with a Black Exercise Partner and Nationality on Intergroup Anxiety .....	29

**LIST OF TABLES**

TABLE	Page
4.1 Internal Consistency Estimates .....	21
4.2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations.....	23
4.3 Tests of Between-Subject Effect .....	25
4.4 Results of Moderated Regression on Intergroup Anxiety .....	27
4.5 Results of Moderated Regression on Prejudice.....	30

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Prejudice has been defined as a negative bias toward a particular group of people (Allport, 1954). In addition, Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) posited that prejudice is an unfavorable attitude directed toward another group, involving both negative feelings and beliefs. Due to prevalent prejudices, people tend to discriminate against others who are different from themselves. It is obvious that when one thinks of the term prejudice, discrimination, with all of its negative connotations, also comes up, as these two terms are irrevocably linked. According to Allport (1954), discrimination is a behavior that comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment, which they both deserve and desire. However, while prejudice and discrimination are related with each other, the two concepts differ. Prejudice, which is often the object of psychological study, is different from discrimination, which is the outcome of social processes which disadvantage social groups (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000; Cunningham, 2007).

The general trend among members of modern society is that people should not be openly prejudiced or discriminatory towards members of racial minority groups (Brown, 1995; Monteith, Deneen, & Tooman, 1996).

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This thesis follows the style of *Journal of Sport Management*.

Yet, when the sports industry is closely scrutinized, examples of discrimination and prejudice come to light. For example, Scully (1973) noted in a study conducted in 1971 that there were racial differences in the performance of African American and White NFL athletes. Scully (1973) went on to argue that as it seemed African American players perform better than White players, there must be some barriers that prevented the advancement of the African American players. He found that, in 1971, African Americans were overrepresented as defensive backs, running backs, and wide receivers and underrepresented as quarterbacks, kicking specialists, centers, guards, and linebackers (Scully, 1973). More recently, Cunningham, Bruening, and Straub (2006) showed evidence of continuing racial prejudice and discrimination extends into the area of coaching. According to Cunningham et al. (2006), although African Americans have access to assistant coaching positions, it is extremely difficult, due to racial discrimination, for African Americans to achieve a position of head coach. In addition, Singer (2005) observed that African American athletes believed that they were treated differently and were discriminated against to a greater extent than White athletes. Singer also found that athletes in minority racial groups hold the perception that they have limited opportunities not only in their participation in sports, but also their lives after retirement from sports.

Although negative prejudicial attitudes are often unspoken and subtly conveyed (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005), members of minority groups state that discrimination is still present in their lives (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). The expression of prejudice is marked by a deep conflict between a

desire to express an emotion and, at the same time, to maintain values imposed by society and self-concepts that conflict with prejudice (Christian & Amy, 2003). Also, they maintain that prejudice itself is rarely directly expressed, but rather is modified and manipulated to meet social and personal goals (Christian & Amy, 2003). The processes that lead to expression and self-concept come from the same place, experience the same hurdles, and exhibit the same tension between the justification and suppression (Crandall, O'Brien, & Eshleman, 2002).

Many researchers have posited that prejudice is common across cultures, time, national boundaries, and languages; that is, no culture, race, ethnic group, or gender has a monopoly on prejudice (Brewer, 1979; Brown, 1995; Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Triandis, 1994). Unfortunately, however, many studies of prejudice have focused solely on Whites in Western countries. To demonstrate a global, cross-cultural theory of prejudice, there is a need for research in nations where Whites are not the majority. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to examine prejudice among Asians and White Americans expressed toward African Americans and the factors that influence the expression of that prejudice.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Tajfel and Turner (1986) have shown that when we belong to a group, people are prone to derive our sense of identity, at least in part, from that group. They also enhance the sense of identity of ourselves within a group by making comparisons with out-groups. People are likely to identify themselves and others into social groups based on not only surface-level characteristics (e.g., race, sex, and age), but also deep-level

attributes (e.g., values, attitudes, and beliefs) (Cunningham, 2007). According to Farfel (1959, 1969), categorization increases perceived in-group similarity and bias perceptions toward the category prototype. Moreover, Tajfel (1982) posited that shared membership in a social group would result in an individual expressing more positive views of and the expression of preferential treatment toward others. This is called in-group bias. This process is a function of people building their self-esteem through belonging, and the presence of someone from an in-group reminds one of that belonging. On the other hand, out-group people are viewed more negatively and given worse treatment, which is known as out-group bias.

This theory provides the basis for racial prejudice and inequality. Specifically, in drawing from the social categorization framework, it is possible that people who are different from the self are likely to be viewed negatively; that is, people are likely to express prejudice against people who are racially different.

### **Contact with the Out-group**

Intergroup contact has long been considered to be one of psychology's most effective strategies for improving intergroup relations. For the past fifty years, the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954, 1958; Amir, 1969; Cook, 1985; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947) has represented a promising and popular strategy for reducing intergroup biases and conflicts. According to Cook (1985), simple contact between groups is not enough to enhance intergroup relations. Rather, in order to reduce prejudices, the contact situation must contain certain conditions, including (a) equal status between the groups (b) cooperative intergroup

interactions, (c) opportunities for personal acquaintance between out-group members, and (d) supportive egalitarian norms. Contact under these conditions reduces bias. Also, Childs (2005) and Edina (2003) state that identifying the conditions under which diversity might increase group performance is becoming increasingly crucial as practitioners promote the potential benefits of diversity.

Amir (1976) and Riordin (1978) found that contact with the out-group in a cooperative setting reduces prejudice. Also, David and John (1980) support this idea with stating that an increase in time spent with the out-group further mitigates in-group/out-group bias. Moreover, Byrne (1969) shows that greater contact is likely to encourage people to discover more similarities between themselves and out-group members. Increased acceptance of the out-group should follow as the newly perceived similarities increase. A person's attitude toward the out-group enhances either through resolution of the inconsistency between his/her expectations and the out-group's actual behavior or through a change in judgment of the out-group's behavior (David & John, 1980). In addition, cooperative contact may simply increase the familiarity of the out-group, which can be applied to strongly identified out-group members. As familiarity can lead to friendship, or at least reduce hostilities, pleasant contact should be beneficial (Harrison, 1977). All of these factors could contribute to the success of favorable intergroup contact and should be more successful with greater contact between the groups.

### **Research Questions**

In drawing from this literature, I sought to examine (a) the relationships among

contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice, and (b) the degree to which these associations differed between Asians and White Americans in their prejudices toward African Americans. As such, I advanced the following research questions:

**Research Question 1:** What is the relationship among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice?

**Research Question 2:** Do Asians and Whites differ in their contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice?

**Research Question 3:** Do the relationships among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice differ for Whites and Asians?

### **Contents of the Thesis**

The thesis is categorized into five chapters. Chapter I discusses the introduction and an explanation of the major and significant purposes of the study. Chapter II consists of literature that is applicable to the subject. Chapter III shows the research methodologies utilized in the study. Chapter IV reveals the results of the data analyses, hypotheses tests, and the research question. In conclusion, Chapter V explains the implications of the study, the conclusion, and directions for future research.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter is organized into seven sections which discuss relevant literature and provide a rationale for the current study. The first three sections present relevant literature on the constructs researched in the study as they pertain to prejudice, including defining prejudice and discrimination, race and prejudice, and discrimination in sport contexts. The fourth and the fifth sections describe the contact hypothesis and intergroup anxiety. The sixth section discusses research questions and hypotheses. Finally, the seventh section is a summary and rationale for the study.

#### **Defining Prejudice and Discrimination**

The origins of the word ‘prejudice’ can be traced back to the Latin words ‘*prae*’, which means ‘before’ and the word ‘*judicium*’, which means ‘judgment’, so prejudice “represents a judgment before all the facts are known” (Bucher, 2004, p. 82). Accordingly, prejudice is often considered not only a “prejudgment, but a misjudgment” (Bucher, 2004, p.82). Also, according to Allport (1954), prejudice is based on faulty information or illogical arguments. There are several more definitions of prejudice, from the simple to the general to more the complex (Duckitt, 1992). One simple definition is that prejudice is negative attitudes directed toward a group (Ashmore, 1970). A generalized definition is that prejudice is the holding and expressing of rigid, generalized and sometimes hostile attitudes toward a group (Ehrlich, 1973). Others define it as negative attitudes or thoughts about others (Canero & Solanes, 2002; Navas, 1997). A

complex definition is that prejudice is negative thoughts and negative attitude towards a particular group or a single member associated with a particular group, which may lead to aggression or avoidance of the group or individual belonging to said group (Navas, 1997). According to Allport (1954), discrimination is a behavior that comes about only when people deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment, which they both deserve and desire. However, while prejudice and discrimination are related with each other, the two concepts are different. Prejudice, which is often the object of psychological study, is different from discrimination, which is the outcome of social processes which disadvantage social groups (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000; Cunningham, 2007).

### **Race and Prejudice**

As I mentioned earlier, many researchers have showed that prejudice is common across cultures, time, national boundaries, and languages; that is, no culture, race, ethnic group, or gender has a monopoly on prejudice (Brewer, 1979; Brown, 1995; Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Triandis, 1994). Asians also hold prejudices toward other races. In particular, South Koreans, who were selected as samples for this study, have developed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry. The Korean nation was ‘racialized’ through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, producing an intense sense of collective oneness. Ethnicity is generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon based on a common language and history, and race is collectivity defined by innate and immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics (Kang, 2009).

Most Koreans have stronger attachment to ‘ethnic Koreans living in foreign countries’ than to ‘ethnic non-Korean living in Korea’. It is much easier for a Korean-American who supposedly has ‘Korean blood’ to ‘recover Korean citizenship than for a Black migrant worker living in Korea to obtain Korean citizenship. This is true even if the Black worker might be more culturally and linguistically Korean than a Korean-American (Kang, 2009).

South Koreans seem to hold a greater prejudice against Blacks than other races. This is partially due to the obvious physical differences, which may be seen by some Korean to be intimidating. These fears have been reinforced over the years through movies, sitcoms and variety shows that often portray Blacks as being somehow inferior to other races albeit physically stronger.

Also, there has been an abundance of research focused on the racial prejudice that Whites may feel toward various racial minorities (Loiacano, 1989; Paluck & Green, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). However, there has not been extensive research providing an in-depth exploration of the racial prejudice that minorities might feel toward Whites or other minorities (Conley, Devine, Radow & Evett, 2002; Sullivan & Jackson, 1999; White & Franzini, 1999). Interestingly, there appears to be an underlying assumption that minorities are more advanced when it comes to accepting diversity (Rooney, Flores & Mercier, 1998).

However, a study by White and Langer (1999) has shown otherwise. They found that minority-toward-minority prejudice exists, a situation which they dubbed “horizontal hostility” (p.537). An example of this phenomenon was when a light skinned

Black female professor's appointment to a university was opposed by the Black Students Association because they felt she was not Black enough (Sege, 1995). Cummings and Lambert (1997) explored the prejudicial feelings of African Americans towards Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans. They found that African Americans display prejudice equal to that displayed by Whites towards Hispanic and Asian Americans. These results were consistent with previous studies (Dyer, Vedlitz & Woechel, 1989). Furthermore, one study found that African Americans who had been discriminated against or are aware that discrimination exists, express less prejudice towards others than those that have not known discrimination exists (Livingston, 2002).

### **Discrimination in Sport Contexts**

According to Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990), there are two types of discrimination: access and treatment. *Access discrimination* bars members of a particular social category from obtaining a job or entering into a profession. Also, *access discrimination* is concerned with individuals who are different from the majority being denied access to certain positions, organizations, or occupations (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Cunningham, 2007). *Treatment discrimination* takes place when people are employed. According to Greenhaus et al., treatment discrimination happens when minority members receive fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities on the job than they legitimately deserve on the basis of job. Research suggests that both access and treatment discrimination is widespread in the context of sport (see Cunningham, 2007).

Many studies have found existence of access discrimination in the sport industries. Cunningham, Bruening, and Straub (2006) showed evidence of continuing

racial prejudice and discrimination extends into the area of coaching. According to Cunningham et al. (2006), although African Americans have access to assistant coaching positions, it is extremely difficult, due to substantial barriers, for African Americans to achieve a position of head coach. Moreover, in 2005, Cunningham and Sagas (2005) show that head coaches are prone to employ assistant coaches racially similar to themselves. Since there are more White head coaches in the sport industry, it is likely that African Americans have faced more access discriminations. Not only that, people can also face access discrimination when it comes to participation in sports.

Also, there is considerable evidence pointing to the incidence of treatment discrimination among racial minorities. Research has shown that athletes of color face unique experiences on university grounds (Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005). Among coaches, racial minorities tend to be selected for fewer advancement opportunities (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004) and to receive fewer promotions (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Also, Singer (2005) observed that African American athletes expressed that they were treated differently and were discriminated against to a greater extent than White athletes. Singer also found that athletes in minority racial groups felt that they have limited opportunities not only in their participation in sports, but also in their lives after retirement from sports.

### **Contact Hypothesis**

The *contact hypothesis*, formalized by Allport (1954), suggests that contact among people who are racially different will potentially reduce prejudice and discrimination (see also Pettigrew, 1998). The premise is based on the concept that

contact among different group members reduces existing negative intergroup attitudes (Wright et al., 1997). Thus, when contact occurs, people learn about each other and come to see potential similarities they share. As a result, bias against the out-group is reduced, as is discrimination.

Allport stressed that four optimal conditions are needed to make intergroup contact successful in alleviating prejudice between groups (Pettigrew, 1998). The first is that groups should have equal status during the contact situation. Although equal status condition was not precisely defined by Allport, it has been widely accepted as the condition in which groups involved in contact have similar status and power and must not be in a position where one can dominate or exercise authority over the other (Farley, 1999). Second, groups must share a goal in common. Third, both groups have to cooperate with each other to reach their common goal. Finally, authorities, law, or customs need to establish norms or atmospheres of acceptance. These four conditions constitute the central requisites of the contact hypothesis.

Since its introduction, the contact hypothesis has inspired many intergroup contact studies, and it has caught the attention of various disciplines. It has been examined using different methodologies (e.g., field studies, survey research, and laboratory studies), diverse samples with differing age groups (e.g., adolescents, children, high school and college students, and adults), and diverse racial, nationality, and lifestyle groups (e.g., Black and White, Israelis and Egyptians gays and lesbians) (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The contact hypothesis has been the central focus in studies of intergroup relations, and intergroup contact is believed by some scholars to be one of

the most effective strategies for improving intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998).

Later, Pettigrew (1998) extended on the contact hypothesis in suggesting friendship potential plays a critical role in the reduction of prejudice. He argued that although contact may help in attitude changes, sometimes contact can actually reinforces faulty and inaccurate stereotypes or the contact is too subtle to have generalized and lasting effects. Therefore, “contact in and of itself is not adequate” (Wright et al., 1997, p. 73). Further, as Way and Pahl (2001) suggested, “Friendships have been found to help satisfy intimacy, enhance interpersonal skills, sensitivity, and understanding, and contribute significantly to cognitive and social developments and psychological adjustment” (p. 325).

One study by Pettigrew (1997) found that having a friend from another group, an out-group, predicts lower levels of both subtle and obvious prejudice. Clark and Ayers (1992) also found that high quality interracial friendship was related to less racial bias. Powers and Ellison (1994) had similar results when they found that Blacks who reported having White friends also reported more positive attitudes towards race relations.

Pettigrew (1997) found that having friends from an out-group contributed to greater support for the out-group policies from those in the in-group. He also found that these benefits were generalized to the entire out-group and not merely to the specific friend from the out-group. Still, these benefits were dependent on having a friend from the out-group and similar findings were not found when it was a neighbor or coworker

(Pettigrew, 1997). This seems to highlight the concept that it is not just contact that fosters change, but that the nature of the contact is also crucial. Furthermore, it seems that for the intergroup contact effects to be most effective the contact has to have a strong affective tie and the group membership of all those involved has to be salient (Wright et al., 1997). More recently, Cunningham (2008) found that friendship is potentially negatively associated with perceived deep-level dissimilarity in class rooms. In other words, the friends have to care about each other and be invested in each other. This may be why the same benefits do not always carry over from contact with coworkers, neighbors (Wright et al.,) and classmates (Cunningham, 2008).

### **Intergroup Anxiety**

There is now growing evidence that affective ties constitute the most important mediator between contact and prejudice reduction. Specifically, Pettigrew (1998) highlighted the anxiety-reducing role of intergroup contact. That is, intergroup anxiety has repeatedly been shown to be a key mediator of the effects of contact on attitudes. Intergroup anxiety refers to feelings of apprehension and awkwardness when being in a contact situation with out-group members. This is mainly because of rejection, embarrassment, or misunderstanding (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Binder et al., 2009; Cunningham, 2007). According to Stephan and Stephan (1985), intergroup anxiety might appear whenever there is minimal previous contact, resulting in part from negative expectations of rejection or prejudice -during interactions, or because of fears that the interaction partner, or oneself, may act in an inadequate or offensive manner. In brief, people may be anxious about possible negative consequences of the interaction.



Intergroup anxiety has been shown to predict prejudice toward members of other cultures, immigrant groups, and racial and ethnic groups in a multicultural society (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Furthermore, intergroup anxiety can lead to a narrowing of attention, which, in turn, can result in simplified, expectancy-confirming processing. Such a process will then culminate in a reliance on stereotypes when evaluating out-group members (e.g., Wilder & Simon, 2001). In other words, as a result of this anxiety, people are likely to harbor negative feelings toward out-group members and, in turn, exhibit prejudice.

Therefore, reducing prejudice can be achieved by reducing intergroup anxiety (Binder et al., 2009; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Cunningham, 2007). Some of the major antecedents of intergroup anxiety may be minimal previous contact with the out-group, the existence of large status differentials, and a high ratio of out-group to in-group members. Also, more recently, Binder et al., (2009) found that positive contact experiences can help to reduce anxiety, which can lead to reducing prejudice. Moreover, Cunningham, Bopp, and Sagas (2010) show when intergroup anxiety levels are low, people tend to embrace other cultures and show less prejudice toward out-group members.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Based on this review, I sought to examine (a) the relationships among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice, and (b) the degree to which these associations differed between Whites and Asians in their prejudices toward African Americans. As such, I advanced the following research questions (as previously outlined

in Chapter 1):

**Research Question 1:** What is the relationship among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice?

**Research Question 2:** Do Asians and Whites differ in their contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice?

**Research Question 3:** Do the relationships among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice differ for Whites and Asians?

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter is comprised of four sections, all of which detail how the study was conducted. The first section contains information on the participants. The second section describes how to measure the outcomes. The third section provides information on the instruments used in the study. The final section shows how analyzed the data.

#### **Participants**

The participants of this study included (a) 100 White female ( $n = 33$ ) and male students ( $n = 67$ ) from four undergraduate physical activity classes at a large public university in the United States and (b) 104 Korean female ( $n = 73$ ) and male students ( $n = 31$ ) from three undergraduate physical activity classes at a large university in Korea. The mean age was 21.28 years ( $SD = 2.33$ ).

#### **Measures**

Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire in which they provide their demographic information and then respond to items measuring their prejudice, intergroup anxiety, and contact with racial minorities. The questionnaire was written in English for the American students. For the Korean students, the questionnaire was translated into Korean and then back translated into English to ensure consistency of meaning across languages. Once this consistency was ensured, the Korean language questionnaire was administered to the Korean sample.

The main measure of the questionnaire for the study was a “feeling thermometer” which asked respondents to indicate their feelings toward specific racial groups on a scale of 0° (very cold) to 100° (very warm). A second set of questions used to assess ‘*intergroup anxiety*.’ This set of questions asked the participants to indicate how they would feel when interacting with African Americans who they did not know. Finally, the last set of questions asked for the contact with different groups, including sport teammates and exercise partners. I used these items as the measures of contact. A full listing of the questions is found in Appendix A.

### **Procedure**

After consulting with the thesis committee and prior to data collection, the study was reviewed and approved by the Texas A&M University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The forms required by the Institutional Review Board found in the “IRB Application for the Exempt Use of Human Subjects in Research” including the participant recruitment letter was submitted and approved.

Four physical activity classes in the United States and three physical activity classes in Korea were randomly selected to participate in the study. First, the permission was sought from the course instructor to distribute questionnaires in the class. Students received a cover letter explaining the purpose of the study (see Appendix B) and a questionnaire which asks them a series of questions concerning their attitudes toward racial minorities. Participation required approximately 10 minutes.

### **Data Analysis**

After receiving the completed questionnaires, the data were entered and analyzed using SPSS, which is a statistical analysis software package. Initially, items were analyzed for reverse coding, and descriptive statistics for the study variables were performed. Means, standard deviations, and variance were included with the statistics. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) used to examine differences in the level of racial prejudice. Also, the influence of intergroup contact on prejudice was assessed through regression analysis. The results are reported in detail in Chapter IV.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RESULTS AND ANALYSIS**

This chapter is focused on examining the results of the study that was used in the research. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses reliabilities of scales used in the study. The second section of this chapter attempts to answer the first research question. The third section answers the second question of the study. Finally, the last section of the chapter aims to answer research question number three.

#### **Scale Reliability**

Reliability analysis was conducted to examine the internal consistency of the six-item in Intergroup Anxiety Scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), the only multi-item scale in the study. For the entire sample, the reliability estimate was .86, indicating a high degree of consistency among the items on the scale. Also, the coefficient alpha for Whites was .90, which indicates this had a very high internal consistency. However, the coefficient alpha for Asians was .59, which shows this had relatively low internal consistency for this sample. This serves as a potential limitation to the study. (See Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Internal Consistency Estimates

	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Overall	.86	6
Whites	.90	6
Asians	.59	6

### Research Question One

The first research question was focused on the relationship among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice. To examine this, the means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations were computed. The analyses for Asians, Whites, and the entire sample were also calculated. Results are presented in Table 4.2.

When it comes to contact with out-group members, two conditions of contact were examined, including contact with former or current teammates and with exercise partners. Both contacts with teammates and exercise partners were negatively correlated with prejudice ( $r = -.51, p < .01$ ) and ( $r = -.35, p < .01$ ), which indicates that people who had more contact with African American teammates and exercise partners had lower levels of prejudice than those who have less contact with out-group members. Contacts with teammates and exercise partners were also negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety ( $r = -.59, p < .01$ ) and ( $r = -.37, p < .01$ ), which suggests that people who had more contact with African American teammates and exercise partners had lower levels

of intergroup anxiety than those who have less contact with out-group members. Moreover, intergroup anxiety was positively correlated with prejudice ( $r = .61, p < .01$ ), which indicates that participants whose level of intergroup anxiety is higher showed more prejudice.

For Whites, contact with teammates was negatively correlated with both prejudice ( $r = -.21, p < .05$ ) and intergroup anxiety ( $r = -.20, p < .05$ ). However, the correlation between contact with exercise partners and prejudice and intergroup was not significant.

On the other hand, for Asians, both contacts with teammates and exercise partners were negatively correlated with prejudice ( $r = -.33, p < .01$ ) and ( $r = -.54, p < .01$ ). Also, contacts with teammates and exercise partners were negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety ( $r = -.25, p < .01$ ) and ( $r = -.44, p < .01$ ), suggesting that people who had more contact with Black teammates and exercise partners had lower levels of intergroup anxiety than those who have less contact with out-group members (See Table 4.2).



Table 4.2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
	<u>Overall Sample</u>				
1. Nationality	---				
2. Prejudice	.57**	---			
3. Intergroup Anxiety	.69**	.66**	---		
4. Contact with team mates	-.62**	-.51**	-.60**	---	
5. Contact with partners	-.45**	-.35**	-.38**	.56**	---
<i>Mean</i>	1.51	31.74	3.17	2.15	1.41
<i>Standard deviation</i>	.50	27.40	1.35	1.45	.77
	<u>Whites</u>				
1. Nationality	---				
2. Prejudice	---	---			
3. Intergroup Anxiety	---	.61**	---		
4. Contact with team mates	---	-.21*	-.20*	---	
5. Contact with partners	---	-.13	-.05	.40**	---
<i>Mean</i>	---	15.83	2.21	3.07	1.76
<i>Standard deviation</i>	---	21.01	1.13	1.41	.95
	<u>Asians</u>				
1. Nationality	---				
2. Prejudice	---	---			
3. Intergroup Anxiety	---	.29**	---		
4. Contact with team mates	---	-.33**	-.54**	---	
5. Contact with partners	---	-.25**	-.44**	.52**	---
<i>Mean</i>	---	47.04	4.09	1.27	1.07
<i>Standard deviation</i>	---	23.96	.81	.83	.25

Notes. \*\*p < .01.

## Research Question Two

The second research question focused on whether Asians and Whites differed in their contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice.

In examining the differences in contact with teammates of African ancestry, contact with Black exercise partners, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice, a MANOVA was conducted using factor scores from the above four factors as the dependent variables and nationality, while Whites and Asians were used as independent variables. Initially a multivariate test was performed to establish the existence of any statistical difference among the racial groups based on linear combination of the four factors. The multivariate effects were significant: Wilks' Lambda = .44,  $F(4, 199) = 63.90, p < .001$

The results were then examined from the univariate analyses to determine the specific nature of the differences (see Table 4.3). Results of this revealed significant main effects for Prejudice,  $F(1, 203) = 97.51, p < .001$ , Intergroup anxiety,  $F(1, 203) = 184.99, p < .001$ , Contact with Black teammates,  $F(1, 203) = 125.08, p < .001$ , and for Contact with Black exercise partners,  $F(1, 203) = 51.06, p < .001$ . Examination of the mean scores (see Table 4.2) shows that Asians expressed greater prejudice and greater intergroup anxiety, while also having less contact with Blacks as teammates or exercise partners.

Table 4.3. Tests of Between-Subject Effects

Source	Dependant Variable	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Nationality	Prejudice	49653.274	1	49653.274	97.515	.001
	Intergroup Anxiety	178.860	1	178.860	184.995	.001
	Contact with team mates	165.318	1	165.318	125.085	.001
	Contact with exercise partners	24.462	1	24.462	51.062	.001

### Research Question Three

The third research question focused on whether the relationships among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice differ for Whites and Asians?

A moderated regression was conducted to examine the interactive effects of nationality and contact on intergroup anxiety. To do so, the two contact variables were first standardized and then two product terms were calculated by multiplying the contact variables with nationality. The first order effects were entered into the first step and the two product terms into the second. These results are shown in Table 4.4.

The first step of the regression was significant,  $R^2 = .52$  ( $p < .001$ ). Nationality of the participants ( $\beta = .52$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and contact with African American teammates ( $\beta = -.28$ ,  $p < .05$ ) were both significant predictors of intergroup anxiety. However, contact with Black exercise partners ( $\beta = .01$ ,  $p = .82$ ) was not significant. After accounting for these effects, the interaction terms made up an additional 3% unique variance ( $p < .01$ ).

Both interaction terms were significant at the .10 level, an acceptable level of analysis given the loss of statistical power in detecting moderation through regression (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). The nature of the interactions are presented in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

As shown in Figure 4.1, contact with Black teammates had a little effect on Whites' intergroup anxiety. On the other hand, however, Asians were influenced by contact with Black teammates, showing that their degrees of intergroup anxiety were decreased dramatically the more contact they had. Also, examination of Figure 4.2 showed a similar pattern such that Asians' anxiety decreased the more they exercised with a Black partner. Such effects were not seen among Whites.

Table 4.4. Results of Moderated Regression on Intergroup Anxiety

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.52	.52**
Nationality (N)	1.42	.17	.52***		
Contact with African American teammates (T)	-.38	.09	-.28***		
Contact with African American exercise partners (E)	.02	.08	.01		
Step 2				.55	.03*
N × T	-.36	.22	-.13†		
N × E	-.59	.34	-.14†		

Notes. † $p < .10$ . \* $p < .01$ . \*\* $p < .001$ .

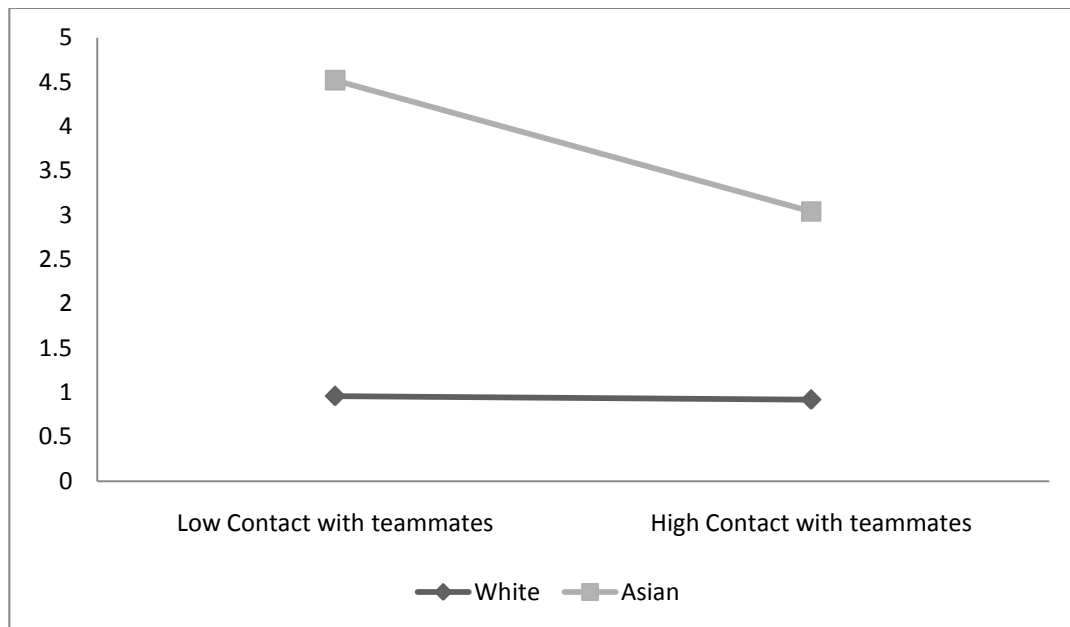


Figure 4.1. Effects of Contact with a Black Teammate and Nationality on Intergroup Anxiety

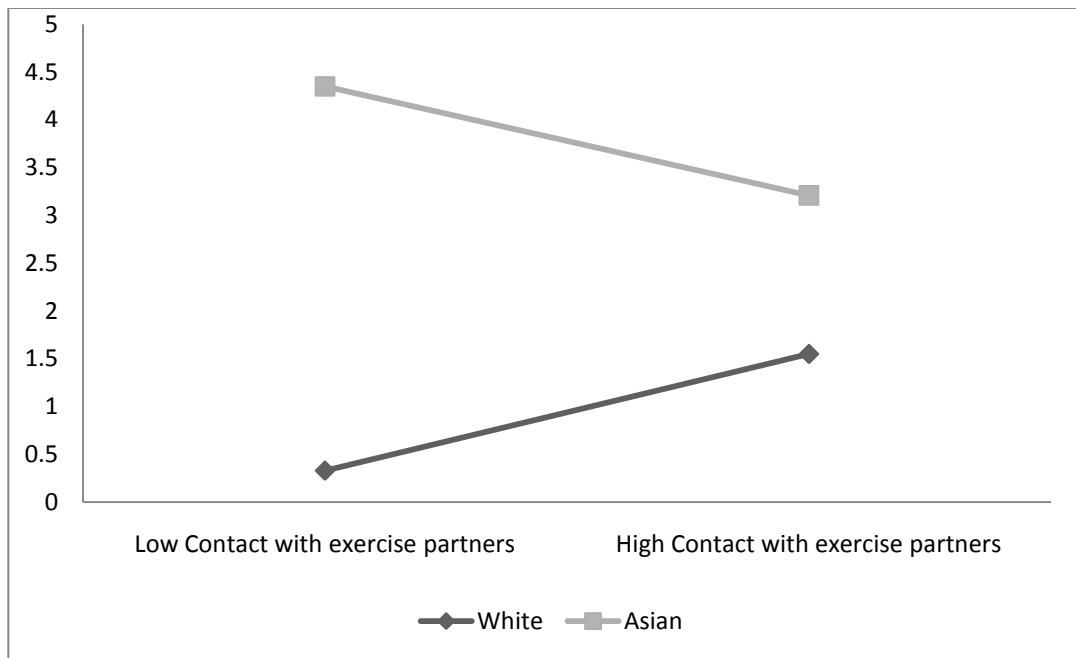


Figure 4.2. Effects of Contact with a Black Exercise Partner and Nationality on Intergroup Anxiety

Finally, I computed a regression analysis to test the influence of anxiety on prejudice (see Table 4.5). I first controlled for nationality, contact with African American teammates, and contact with African American exercise partners. These variables explained 37% of the variance ( $p < .001$ ). Both nationality ( $\beta = .41, p < .001$ ) and contact with African American teammates ( $\beta = -.24, p < .01$ ) were significantly related to prejudice toward African Americans, while contact with African American exercise partners was not ( $\beta = -.04, p = .56$ ). After accounting for these effects, intergroup anxiety explained an additional 11% unique variance ( $p < .001$ ). Results

indicate that anxiety was positively associated with prejudice toward African Americans ( $\beta = .48, p < .001$ ), meaning that as one's anxiety increases, so too does their prejudice.

Table 4.5. Results of Moderated Regression on Prejudice

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.36	.36**
Nationality (N)	22.25	3.97	.41***		
Contact with African American teammates (T)	-6.47	2.14	-.24*		
Contact with African American exercise partners (E)	-1.10	1.89	-0.04		
Step 2				.47	.11***
Intergroup Anxiety (I)	9.60	1.50	.48***		

Notes. \*  $p < .01$ . \*\*  $p < .001$ .



## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

The purpose of the study was to examine the degree of prejudice found amongst Asians living in Asia as it relates to the degree of prejudice in White Americans. Furthermore, this study investigates the degree to which contact and familiarity with out-group members reduces intergroup anxiety and racial prejudice. Finally, this research was designed to examine the relationships between racial prejudice, intergroup anxiety, and contact with out-group members.

To facilitate an understanding of this study, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviews the research questions and hypotheses and discusses the results related to the research questions. The second section discusses the limitations and strengths of the present study. The third section discusses recommendations for future studies.

#### **Research Question One**

The first research question examined the relationship among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice. The study found connections between contact with out-group members and the reduction of negative attitudes such as prejudice and intergroup anxiety. These results indicate a confirmation of the contact hypothesis presented by Allport (1954). As discussed in the Chapter 4, when people have greater contact with African American teammates and exercise partners, their degrees of prejudice and intergroup anxiety were mitigated. In other words, people who

have less contact with out-group members showed more levels of prejudice and intergroup anxiety. Interestingly, if people showed intergroup anxiety, they also demonstrated a large degree of prejudice against Blacks. This is consistent with previous research which had found that positive contact experience contributes to reducing intergroup anxiety and racial prejudice.

As mentioned previously, the contact hypothesis has been the central focus in studies of intergroup relations, and intergroup contact is considered by some scholars to be one of the most effective strategies for improving intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998). Although the effect of contact effect was predicted, the study that I conducted supported the hypothesis by adding more conditions, namely contact with teammates and contact with exercise partners.

### **Research Question Two**

The second research question focused on differences between Asians and White Americans in their contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice. As described in Chapter 4, Asian respondents revealed that they have not had much contact with Blacks. The Asians selected for this study were all from South Korea, which is considered as one of the most homogeneous countries in the world. Because of this condition, most of the respondents did not have much contact with Blacks as, aside from a handful of exchange students, few Blacks live in the area. Therefore, the Asians responding showed higher intergroup anxiety and prejudice towards Blacks than did Whites.

### **Research Question Three**

The final research question investigated whether the relationships among contact with out-group members, intergroup anxiety, and prejudice differed for Asians and White Americans. Results indicate that the relationship between contact and reduced intergroup anxiety was stronger for Asians than it was for White Americans. I observed this pattern for both contact with Blacks as teammates and as exercise partners.

These findings suggest contact is most beneficial among people who do not normally see racially different others (see also Binder et al., 2009). White Americans consistently see African Americans, either on campus, television, when exercising, or in other settings. Thus, having them as teammates or exercise partners might not be as meaningful for them. On the other hand, Asians in our sample largely did not interact with Blacks. Thus, when they had contact with them, the benefits of such interactions were amplified. These findings suggest that the benefits of intergroup contact are most pronounced among people who are not accustomed to such interactions.

### **Limitations**

There are several limitations and strengths to the current study that must be considered when interpreting the results. First, both groups of participants, Whites and Asians, were majorities in their respective countries in which the data was collected. In fact, many studies have found that the majority of people do not want to appear prejudiced so they answer questionnaires in a politically correct manner. In other words, the level of prejudice and intergroup anxiety could be higher than actually demonstrated in this research (Block, 1965; Canero & Solanes, 2002; Edwards, 1970; Maher, 1978).

Another limitation is the selection bias in that those who chose to participate could have been significantly different than those who chose not to participate. However, due to the anonymous data collection procedures, it was not possible to determine if there were significant differences from the respondents and non-respondents.

Also, many of the Asian respondents revealed that they did not have any contact with Blacks or most other races listed on the survey since there are not many Blacks living in South Korea. Therefore, some might argue that the results could be seen as skewed or inaccurate. On the other hand, such a bias based on preconceived notions is what prejudices are formed from, and the answers of these respondents can be seen as equally valid.

Lastly, as data was gathered, it was found that it would have enhanced the study if I had a specific qualitative component wherein participants could discuss the reasoning behind their answers, especially in regards to the prejudice survey. This would have given a glimpse into how a person really feels about others and how he or she comes to the decision to discriminate against others based on the theory that everybody reacts with prejudicial thoughts but the less prejudiced people will consciously counteract their initial impulse by activating non-prejudiced beliefs (Devine, 1989).

### **Strengths**

The present study has several strengths that allow it to make a unique contribution to sport industries and schools, suggesting a way to reduce intergroup anxiety and prejudice. Since it was found that contact with Black teammates are

negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety and prejudice, schools and sport industries can adopt a policy that encourages majorities to interact as a team with minority members. Therefore, we can expect more people to have contact with out-group members. For example, if instructors encourage students to form a diverse team, many students will be able to have contact with Blacks, which is a key to mitigate intergroup anxiety. By doing so, we also expect to reduce prevalent racial prejudice.

In addition, although there are numerous papers and studies focusing on prejudice among Whites, Americans or nations in which Caucasians are the majority, there are almost no published studies testing contact theory in countries where Whites are not the majority or specifically dealing with Asians.

Another strength of this study was already touched upon in the limitation section above. Many of the Asian respondents had never encountered or interacted with a Black person. Yet all were willing to answer questions about how they thought about Blacks in general. Presumably, their answers were based purely on the depiction of Blacks in media or word-of-mouth, and these responses seemed to indicate the greatest prejudice. A few Asians responding that they had friends or acquaintances who were Black showed the greatest reduction of intergroup anxiety and would seem to offer the clearest proof that the Contact hypothesis is correct.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

In this age of internationalization, it becomes increasingly common for school and professional teams to have non-native athletes as members. This is not just a trend in the USA, but one faced by nations around the world. However, how the introduction of

foreign athletes are seen by fans, teammates, coaching staff and the media seems to be well-documented and studied only within the United States and a few other English-speaking nations where prejudice and issues facing minorities have been studied in an attempt to reduce intergroup anxiety. As this current study dealt with how prejudice can be reduced by contact, it would be beneficial to see how this applies in the fields of sport in Asia, specifically in sports that, within just the last few years, have had sudden influxes of non-Asian players such as soccer, basketball, baseball and volleyball.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, many Asians have not had much experience with personal contact with non-Asians. However, they had very definite opinions when answering the questionnaire regarding their feelings towards various minorities. As respondents were lacking exposure, where do these feelings and preconceptions about other races come from? How much of an influence does the image of minorities depicted in media (news, sports, commercials, television, movies) play in shaping opinions and strengthening or weakening stereotypes?

Finally, while many Asians may not have had a great deal of exposure to other races, they may have experienced prolonged encounters with other Asian cultures. Are these seen as out-groups? How do the 'big three'--the economic powerhouses in Asia, China, Korea and Japan-- view Asians from Southeast Asia? Are there prejudices at work in these views and if yes do they stem from economics, culture, language or something else?

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**APPENDIX A****TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY**

Department of Health and Kinesiology

Dear a Student:

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.

You are part of a special group of students we have selected to explore motivations and potential barriers for Texas A&M students to attend in intercollegiate sporting events.

Your assistance is entirely voluntary and you may be assured that your answers are confidential. Individual responses will not be identified or reported. The published results will not refer to any individual and all discussions will be based on group data.

You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time, and your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your relations with Texas A&M athletic programs, researchers of this study, the Sport Management Program.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Woojun at (979) 575-3760 or email to [woojun0901@hlkn.tamu.edu](mailto:woojun0901@hlkn.tamu.edu). Also, contact the researcher if you would like a copy of the results.

This research study has been reviewed by the Human Subjects' Protection Program and/or the Institutional Review Board at Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you can contact these offices at (979) 458-4067 or [irb@tamu.edu](mailto:irb@tamu.edu)

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## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE

**Direction:** Please, indicate your overall feelings toward specific groups. The scale runs from 0° to 100° degrees where 0° indicates a very cold (extremely unfavorable attitude) and 100° indicates a very warm (extremely favorable) attitude.

White Americans \_\_\_\_\_ °

African Americans \_\_\_\_\_ °

Asian Americans \_\_\_\_\_ °

Hispanic Americans \_\_\_\_\_ °

Native Americans \_\_\_\_\_ °

**Directions:** Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with the following statements using the 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

**Strongly**

**Strongly**

**Disagree**

**Agree**

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1. Over the past few years, 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Blacks/African Americans have gotten  
more economically than they deserve.

2. Over the past few years, the 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

government and news media have shown

more respect for Blacks/African  
Americans than they deserve.

3. It is easy to understand the anger of      1   2   3   4   5   6   7  
Blacks/African American people in  
America.

4. Discrimination against Blacks/African      1   2   3   4   5   6   7  
Americans is no longer a problem in the  
United States.

5. Blacks/African Americans are getting      1   2   3   4   5   6   7  
too demanding in their push for equal  
rights.

6. Blacks/African Americans should not      1   2   3   4   5   6   7  
push themselves where they are not  
wanted.

7. Blacks/African Americans have more      1   2   3   4   5   6   7  
influence upon school desegregation  
plans than they ought to have.

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**Directions:** Please indicate **how you would feel** when interacting with Blacks/African Americans.

	Not at all	Extremely
Comfortable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
Threatened	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
Confident	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
Anxious	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
At ease	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
Awkward	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

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**Directions:** Please respond to the following questions concerning your contact with different groups.

How many of your \_\_\_\_\_ are Blacks/African Americans?

Friends:           None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

Family members: None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

Coworkers :       None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

Neighbors:       None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

Former/Current team mates: None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

Exercise mates: None \_ 1-3 \_ 4-6 \_ 7-9 \_ 10 or more \_

**Demographics**

Sex: Female \_\_\_ Male \_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_ years

Race: African American \_\_\_ Asian \_\_\_ Hispanic \_\_\_  
Native American \_\_\_ Caucasian \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_

**Academic Major:** \_\_\_\_\_

## VITA

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### EDUCATION

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2011	M.S.	<i>Major in Kinesiology-Sport Management</i> Department of Health and Kinesiology Texas A&M University College Station, Texas
2007	B.S.	<i>Major in Physical Education</i> <i>Minor in Leisure Sport</i> Department of Physical Education Woosuk University, South Korea

### RESEARCH

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#### Research Interests

- Diversity in Sport and Recreation Organizations
- Race and Gender Issues in Sport and Recreation

#### Presentations

Lee, W. (2011). *Differences among Asians and White Americans in racial prejudice: A function of contact with out-group members*. Paper presented at Student Research Week at Texas A&M University.

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