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Ethnically Heterogeneous Friendships and Symptoms of Depression and Anxiety among Filipino
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Abstract

Ethnically heterogeneous friendships may be characterized by interactional discord and other challenges, but the potential risks for minority status groups, namely Filipino Americans, have been overlooked. The present study examined whether ethnically heterogeneous friendships are associated with depressive and anxiety symptoms and whether friendship discord mediates these relationships after adjusting for covariates. Analyses focused on data from the Filipino American Community Epidemiological Study, involving 2,305 Filipino American adult respondents in San Francisco and Honolulu. Participants completed measures of depressive and anxiety symptoms, ethnically heterogeneous friendships, friendship discord, ethnic identity, everyday discrimination, and sociodemographics. Compared to their Filipino counterparts who reported two or less close non-Filipino friends, Filipino Americans who reported three or more very good non-Filipino friends endorsed depressive and anxiety symptoms to a greater extent. Friendship discord also partially mediated these associations between ethnically heterogeneous friendships and symptoms of depression and anxiety. These results suggest that friendship discord may potentially mitigate the benefits of ethnically heterogeneous friendships and contribute to depressive and anxiety symptoms among Filipino Americans.

Keywords: Filipino Americans, depressive and anxiety symptoms, cross-group friendship, ethnically heterogeneous friendship

Public significance statement: Survey findings indicate racially/ethnically diverse friendships for Filipino Americans may be associated with mental health symptoms, partially explained by the strain on friendships (in the form of demands, criticism, arguments, disappointment, being bothered, and feeling tense). While the positive effects of friendship on health are well-documented, cross-group friendships may have some costs, calling for research to better understand the benefits and challenges of cross-group friendships in a multiethnic society.

Ethnically Heterogeneous Friendships and Symptoms of Depression and Anxiety among Filipino Americans

Friendships typically offer resources (e.g., assistance, information, and emotional support) that may benefit individuals' well-being and health (House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988). Studies also indicate that friendships develop largely through homophily (i.e., affiliating with and developing social ties to those similar to ourselves), which contributes to the preponderance of homogeneous friendships, including a preference for same-race/ethnicity friends (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). However, interethnic and interracial contact and friendships will likely increase, given that ethnic/racial minorities will constitute the majority of the U.S. population by 2043 (Frey, 2012). Under optimal conditions, ethnically heterogeneous friendships may offer significant benefits. In particular, social ties to racial/ethnic out-group members in the form of ethnically heterogeneous friendships represent bridging social capital (Granovetter, 1973); these ethnically heterogeneous friendships may increase one's sense of social inclusion (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000). A number of other studies suggest that ethnically heterogeneous friendships are associated with positive developmental and psychological outcomes, including social adjustment (Kawabata & Crick, 2008), self-esteem (Hartup & Stevens, 1997), and positive attitudes towards other racial/ethnic groups (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). Although prior research has focused primarily on the positive effects of ethnically heterogeneous friendships, particularly for non-Latino Whites (majority status groups), there may be costs to ethnically heterogeneous friendships, with potential risks or less friendship support for ethnic minorities or minority status groups (Kao & Joyner, 2004; Way & Chen, 2000). Despite the considerable body of research on heterogeneous friendships, empirical insights regarding how ethnically heterogeneous

friendships are associated with mental health symptoms among Asian Americans, namely Filipino Americans, are substantially limited.

Asian Americans represent the fastest growing U.S. racial/ethnic minority group, and Filipino Americans are among the three largest groups of Asians in the U.S. according to the 2010 Census (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). Yet, there is a dearth of psychological research on Filipino American experiences, including mental health symptomatology and ethnically heterogeneous friendships (David, 2008; Gee et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003). This is a serious concern in light of the high prevalence of suicidal ideation and depression among Filipino Americans, relative to the general population and some ethnic/racial groups (David, 2008), and the understudied costs (e.g., intergroup anxiety and threat) of diverse friendships for Asian Americans. As such, the present study addressed two major research questions. First, are ethnically heterogeneous friendships related to depressive and anxiety symptoms among Filipino American adults? Second, is this relationship mediated in part by the nature of the friendship interaction, such as the degree of discord characterizing friendships? In the friendship and social support literature, such discord can be characterized as *relational demands and conflicts*, or “the negative or conflictive aspects of relationships that may be deleterious to health” (House et al., 1988, p. 302). In this paper, ethnically heterogeneous friendships are defined as social relations between friends from different ethnic/racial backgrounds, including cross-group friendships between those of the same racial group (e.g., Asian) but different ethnic background (e.g., Chinese).¹

To date, psychological studies of the relation between friendships and adjustment have

¹ Prior research on friendships has shown that there is a stronger preference among Asian Americans for same-ethnic peers relative to same-race (different-ethnic) and different-race peers (Kao & Joyner, 2006). In particular, Filipino Americans are more likely to report a greater proportion of friends who are of the same-ethnicity than different-ethnicity (though same race) or different-race. In the present study, we focused on the number of very good non-Filipino (different-ethnic and different-race) friends as a measure of ethnically heterogeneous friendships.

primarily focused on middle-class, non-Latino White youth, and much of the interracial friendship research has involved White and African American respondents (Graham, Taylor, & Ho, 2009; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Kiang, Peterson, & Thompson, 2011; Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014; Way & Chen, 2000). Research conducted by Davies et al. (2011) and others has demonstrated that contact, vis-à-vis cross-ethnic/racial friendships, is beneficial for improving intergroup attitudes. However, most psychological studies on peer relations have not investigated culture- or ethnicity-related factors (e.g., ethnic identity and acculturation), though this area of research has grown in the past decade (Graham et al., 2009; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Kiang et al., 2011; Tran & Lee, 2011). When research on cross-race or interethnic friendships has centered on Asian Americans, these studies have largely examined non-adult populations (Chan & Birman, 2009; Kao & Joyner, 2004, 2006). For example, prior research on interracial friendships attests to negative emotional and psychological consequences for Asian American youth (McGill, Way, & Hughes, 2012). These findings suggest that the positive effects of interracial contact among non-Asian groups (largely documented for White Americans, and to some extent, African Americans and Latino Americans) may not generalize to Asian Americans.

Asian Americans constitute a heterogeneous group, with Filipino Americans having a protracted colonial history with the U.S. and unique immigration history in the U.S. (David, 2008). These distinct experiences of Filipino Americans, including experiences with discrimination, may affect not only their social relationships but also their adjustment. Yet, research accounting for the significant between- and within-group variation among racial/ethnic groups, with a focus on Asian subgroups, like Filipino Americans, is sorely lacking in the area of cross-group friendships. Among minority and immigrant groups, like Filipino Americans, discord may not only be an inevitable consequence of cross-group interactions but also arise

from challenges to ethnic authenticity as well as co-ethnic family/peer-group discord. Among groups greatly affected by immigration, co-ethnics may question whether an individual is ethnically authentic enough to initiate and maintain co-ethnic friendships (Jiménez, 2009). Among Filipino Americans, cross-group friendships could be a target of consternation from Filipino parents who may perceive cross-group friends as a source of delinquency, such as gang activity (Ocampo, 2016). Such family consternation may persist into young adulthood and later stages of the life span, as family relations and intergenerational reunions are central components, and some might say partly definitive, of what it means to be Filipino (Wolf, 1997). In effect, cross-group friendships may have some level of interactional discord or involve negative interactions (Mazziotta, Rohmann, Wright, De Tezanos-Pinto, & Lutterbach, 2015), possibly due in part to racial/ethnic and cultural differences that must be negotiated to initiate and maintain such friendships.

Cross-group friendships entail intergroup contact and interaction, with greater numbers of such friendships increasing the degree of intergroup contact and interaction. A revision to Allport's contact theory (Allport, 1954/1979) incorporated the opportunity to develop long-term close-group friendships, or "friendship potential," as an additional key situational condition for contact theory's reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998). Although the theory of intergroup contact and empirical studies suggest that intergroup contact may be beneficial *under favorable conditions*, a number of factors could potentially disrupt social support and other friendship resources in interracial interactions. Friendship discord from in-group or out-group friends may fuel intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety refers to unwanted arousal stemming from individual concerns about social rejection or discrimination arising from cross-group encounters or fears that individuals themselves or their friends commit offensive or incompetent acts (Turner et al.,

2008). Unequal status between groups and discrimination may increase intergroup tensions, which undermine social capital and result in adverse effects for mental health (Brondolo, Libretti, Rivera, & Walsemann, 2012). Attributions for the failure of an interracial interaction may differ between self and other (e.g., self-concern about racial rejection vs. perceived out-group member's lack of interest; Shelton & Richeson, 2005). In interracial interactions, Whites may engage in nonverbal behaviors that are interpreted as unfriendly by the ethnic/racial out-group partner and independent observers, despite the White partner's belief that she or he behaved in a friendly manner (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). In a similar vein, intergroup interaction studies indicate negative consequences, like stress and anxiety (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015).

Discord in cross-group interactions may also be attributed in part to an enduring social distance between ethnic/racial groups. Homophily is a major determinant of social relationships and affiliation preferences (Johnson & Kreider, 2013). Relationships derived from homophily are thought to be more stable, with social ties outside of one's ingroup subject to decay (Burt, 2000). The theory of homophily is well-supported in sociology and psychology, with overwhelming evidence of racial and ethnic homophily in friendships and other types of relationships across the lifespan (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). In the U.S., ethnically heterogeneous friendships are typically not common (Bellmore, Nishina, Witkow, Graham, & Juvonen, 2007), and there is substantial same-group preference and low out-group preferences among Asians in the United States (Charles, 2006; Currarini et al., 2010). Social status can also affect responses to intergroup contact, with majority status members benefiting from such contact and minority status members being attuned to potential prejudice and cognizant of their lower social status (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Furthermore, interethnic and interracial friendships encounter more

obstacles than intraethnic friendships, with the former characterized by lower levels of friendship intimacy than the latter (Kao & Joyner, 2004). Collectively, these challenges to friendships across racial and cultural divides may potentially disrupt social support and other friendship resources or fall short in providing benefits to psychological adjustment.

Despite varying though related theoretical perspectives in psychology and sociology, a number of studies unambiguously suggest that a variety of challenges accompany cross-group interactions. This convergent finding was the basis for the present study. MacInnis and Page-Gould (2015) refer to this negative tilt as the difference between the intergroup interaction versus intergroup contact literatures, with negative effects largely found in the former and positive effects in the latter. In the present study, we examined whether a phenomenon related to the interaction domain, friendship discord, would have a bearing on the association between ethnically heterogeneous friendships and symptoms of depression and anxiety.²

Drawing on ethnically specific community survey data from the Filipino American Community Epidemiological Study (Takeuchi, 2011), we used OLS regression and structural equation modeling to investigate this association. We also tested friendship discord as a mediator of the aforementioned relationship. While we recognize the challenges of testing “mediation” in the absence of longitudinal data (Maxwell & Cole, 2007; Maxwell, Cole, & Mitchell, 2011), careful consideration of the extant theoretical and empirical literature allowed us to propose and test *theoretically-grounded* hypotheses, consistent with other cross-group friendship studies that involved both cross-sectional data and mediation tests (e.g., Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci,

² MacInnis and Page-Gould (2015) recognize the concepts of contact and interaction as being “naturally conflated.” Also, individuals who experience intergroup contact (potentially none at all to a daily basis) can experience intergroup interaction, but individuals who are engaged in intergroup interactions may not have much intergroup contact (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). In our paper, we could not test the Contact Theory/Hypothesis domain because we did not have any measures that reflect Allport/Pettigrew’s optimal conditions for the Contact Hypothesis. We could only test discord from intergroup interaction since we had a measure of discord.

2004; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). However, the cross-sectional nature of our data necessarily precludes causal arguments.

In light of prior research regarding potential interactional difficulties and negative consequences, we hypothesized that ethnically heterogeneous friendships are related to greater endorsement of depressive and anxiety symptoms among Filipino Americans. Moreover, we expected that since extant research indicates cross-group interactions are at risk of producing interactional difficulties, a sense of discord might mediate an association between diverse cross-group friendships and symptoms of depression and anxiety. Given that Filipino culture stresses interdependence (Tuason, Taylor, Rollings, Harris, & Martin, 2007), close high-quality relationships between friends may exert a positive influence on adjustment, much like low-quality friendships may jeopardize it. We examined measures of depressive and anxiety symptoms as outcomes because Filipino Americans have significant unmet mental health needs (Tuason, Ancheta, & Battie, 2014). Studies have documented high rates of depression among Filipino Americans (David, 2008; David & Okazaki, 2006) and higher levels of social anxiety among Asian Americans compared to their White counterparts (Lau, Fung, Wang, & Kang, 2009). While the cross-sectional nature of our data also invites the possibility that 1) individuals experiencing depressive and anxiety symptoms may be more likely to seek out ethnically heterogeneous friends (reverse causation), or 2) individuals experiencing friendship discord may be more likely to both experience these symptoms and seek out ethnically heterogeneous friends (a third variable pathway), there appears to be a paucity of theoretical literature and empirical research on such alternative pathways. Therefore, as a “mediational” project using cross-sectional data, we explicitly tested hypotheses informed by existing theoretical and empirical literature on the interactional discord that might accompany cross-group interactions and

friendships.

Method

Sample

Tests of hypotheses drew on data from the Filipino American Community Epidemiological Study (Takeuchi, 2011). The data were collected between 1998-1999 from Filipino American adults, aged 18-65, residing in San Francisco and Honolulu (see Table 1 for sample characteristics). Sampling consisted of a three-stage design, which 1) selected census tracts stratified by percentage of Filipino households, Asian Pacific median household income, and racial/ethnic percentage within the tract, 2) randomly sampled blocks within tracts, and 3) randomly sampled households within blocks (Mossakowski, 2003). Unweighted sample statistics on median household income and educational attainment approximated Census 2000 figures for both San Francisco and Honolulu, which were comparable to each other and to the present sample.³ Computer assisted face-to-face interviews were conducted in English, Tagalog, or Ilocano, with a response rate of 78%. Though the total sample size was 2,305 adult respondents, valid N varied depending upon the dependent outcome, as models were estimated on cases that did not have missing values on the dependent outcome. The valid N for depressive symptoms was 2,231 (or 97% of the full sample), while the valid N for anxiety symptoms was 2,280 (or 99% of the full sample).

The original study complied with institutional research ethics and standards. The present study involving secondary data analyses did not require institutional research ethics review because the data were de-identified and did not allow identification of participants.

³ The survey data are not accompanied by geocodes to allow for inclusion of neighborhood-level contextual data.

Measures

Dependent outcomes. Our outcomes consisted of two dependent measures of mental health symptomatology that assessed depressive and anxiety symptoms during the past month. Our depressive symptom scale was used in prior research on Filipinos and mental health (Mossakowski, 2003) and previously validated for use with Filipino Americans (Takeuchi, Kuo, Kim, & Leaf, 1989). The depression scale ($\alpha = .90$) contained 13 items from the Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (Derogatis, 1994), including problems like crying easily, feeling lonely, self-blame, excessive worry, feeling blue, hopelessness about the future, and feeling no interest in things. The anxiety scale ($\alpha = .85$) included eight other items from the SCL-90-R, with problems such as nervousness, restlessness, panic, and heart racing. The items used to construct the two scales were rated in terms of the extent to which individuals have been bothered by these problems (0 = *not at all bothered*, 1 = *a little*, 2 = *moderately*, 3 = *quite a bit*, and 4 = *extremely bothered*). The depressive symptom scale ranged from 0 to 3.69, and the anxiety symptom scale ranged from 0 to 3.5.

Independent variable. Consistent with prior research, we used the number of friends to quantify friendships; this is a common indicator of friendships (Currarini et al., 2010). We utilized a classic study on tokenism to operationalize our measure of heterogeneous friendships (Kanter, 1977), in which a “skewed group” with tokens is defined as an 85:15 (dominant:token) ratio. Applying this 15% cutoff to data from a 2001 Gallup poll indicating that Americans had an average of 9.5 close friends (Gallup & Newport, 2006), we arrived at a threshold of ~1.5 or 2 close friends that might be considered tokens.⁴ Therefore, three or more out-group close friends

⁴ From an empirical standpoint, our use of a population average based on national data was a more robust choice to calculate tokenism because of skew in the present data and to minimize the effect of social desirability bias on friendship reporting.

might be considered non-token close friends. Using the following item, “Try to keep in mind friends are those people whom you feel close to rather than those people who are just acquaintances... how many of these very good friends are not Filipino?”, we constructed a binary variable with the value 1 indicating three or more very good non-Filipino friends, compared to the value of 0 for respondents with two or less very good non-Filipino friends. Original responses ranged from 0 to 100, with 15 missing values; less than 20% of Filipino respondents indicated three or more very good non-Filipino friends (see Figure 1). Sensitivity analyses confirmed that disaggregating two or less non-Filipino friends into separate binary response categories (two friends, one friend, zero friends) did not significantly influence the results (see Results and Appendix A). We conducted additional sensitivity analyses using variations on the operationalization of the independent variable (see Appendix B and Appendix C) with and without outliers (see Appendix D and Appendix E). It is important to note that the findings presented in the appendices did not change our results. Using a continuous measure of non-Filipino friends and adjusting for possible outliers did not change the results. The association remains significant under conventional significance tests for all iterations (binary, continuous, with and without outliers) except anxiety symptoms with extreme values for the continuous measure (marginally significant association $p = 0.07$; see Appendix D).

Mediator. Our mediating variable was constructed from six items capturing friendship discord ($\alpha = .78$). This measure has been used to assess friendship discord in prior psychiatric epidemiology research on Chinese Americans (Covey & Tam, 1990). Using a 4-point scale (a lot, some, a little, none at all), participants rated how often their friends made them feel tense, argued with them, criticized them, let them down when they were counting on them, got on their nerves, and made too many demands. The friendship discord measure is non-specific; that is, it

does not identify whether the discord arises from all friends, co-ethnic friends, or cross-group friends. Discord can arise with cross-group friends as well as co-ethnic friends, which is consistent with our literature review.

Covariates. We selected covariates that have been shown to have a significant bearing on friendship experiences and mental health symptomatology for Asian Americans. Therefore, we controlled for a number of factors including sociodemographic background, county of residence, everyday discrimination, and ethnic identity. Social and demographic characteristics included age, gender (1 = female, 0 = male), education, household income, and nativity status. Nativity (U.S. born = 1, foreign born = 0) and county of interview (San Francisco = 1, Honolulu = 0) were dummy coded. Education (in years) was coded as grade completed from no formal education or schooling (0), elementary grade 2 (2), through college graduate (16). Graduate/professional school was coded as 19, while vocational/technical school was coded as 14. There were no respondents with an education score of 1 because no respondent had only a first grade education. Household income was initially coded at the midpoint of a seven-item ordered scale, with the final category topped at \$500,000 (see Table 1 for ordered categories); income was subsequently divided by 1,000. Finally, we controlled for everyday discrimination and ethnic identity, two important constructs closely related to Filipino American mental health symptoms (Gee et al., 2006; Mossakowski, 2003).

We also accounted for everyday discrimination, utilizing a nine-item measure of recent discrimination in the past month (reverse-coded; $\alpha = .87$). Participants rated how often (very often, fairly often, not too often, hardly ever, or never) they experienced prejudice, discrimination, harassment, insults, poorer service than others, and situations in which they were treated with less courtesy, less respect, and as if they were dishonest, someone to be feared, and

less than relative to others. The scale was constructed using procedures from prior research (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999); individual item responses were standardized, summed, and re-standardized using each individual's standardized mean score.

Another covariate, Filipino ethnic identity, was constructed using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), based on the same 11 items from prior research (Mossakowski, 2003). On a 4-point scale (1 = *strongly agree*, 4 = *strongly disagree*), respondents were originally asked to report on their sense of belongingness to Filipino culture, participation in Filipino cultural practices, among other attitudinal and behavioral indicators (e.g., cultural pride, ethnic identification, and cultural history). We reverse coded these items (0 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *strongly agree*) and constructed an averaged ethnic identity scale, with higher scores indicating higher levels of ethnic identity ($\alpha = .80$). This measure has been shown to be valid and reliable with Filipino American samples (David, 2008).

Modeling Strategy

We estimated OLS regression models on each of the dependent outcomes, employing survey weights to account for household probability of selection, gender distribution, and regional distribution (San Francisco vs. Honolulu). Before estimating the models, we utilized multiple imputation with chained equations to recover missing values (Royston, 2004). Initial missing values analyses indicated that female respondents and those living in San Francisco were more represented among those with missing information compared to respondents with a complete set of values. Missing values were imputed for income (251 cases), age (1 case), region (1 case), number of non-Filipino friends (15 cases), friendship discord (133 cases), everyday discrimination (76 cases), and Filipino ethnicity (10 cases). Regression diagnostics were initially conducted on unweighted models, which were subsequently re-estimated with robust standard

errors to account for heteroskedasticity; results did not differ substantively from the survey weighted models. Tests also indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern. For the OLS models, Models 1 and 2 present the main and mediated effects, without controlling for covariates. Models 3 and 4 adjust for the covariates. Finally, we employed structural equation modeling (SEM) to confirm mediation, in line with prior cross-group research testing mediational effects using SEM (Turner et al., 2008). The SEM models controlled for covariates, were estimated using maximum likelihood for missing values, and employed the sample weights.

Results

Descriptive statistics for the weighted data are presented in Table 1. Filipino Americans appeared to score low on both measures of depressive and anxiety symptoms ($M = 0.36$ and 0.23 , respectively). About one in every five Filipino American respondents had three or more very good friends who were not Filipino, while 80% reported having two or fewer non-Filipino friends. Friendship discord also appeared to be somewhat low among Filipino Americans ($M = 1.29$ on a scale from 0 to 3.83). While average everyday discrimination was low ($M = 0.38$), Filipino ethnic identity scores were fairly high ($M = 2.36$ on a scale from 0 to 3, with 3 indicating “strongly agree”).

Table 2 presents the results of the multivariate analyses estimating level of depressive symptoms. Models 1 through 4 indicate that Filipino respondents with three or more very good non-Filipino friends had greater endorsement of depressive symptoms (Model 4, $b = 0.10$, $p < .01$), supporting our hypothesis. The effect of the proposed mediator, friendship discord, can be seen by comparing the effect sizes of non-Filipino friends in Model 1 and Model 2, as well as in Model 3 and Model 4, which control for covariates. As Model 2 and Model 4 in Table 2 indicate, the effect of non-Filipino friends on depressive symptoms decreases after controlling for

friendship discord.

Table 3 presents the multivariate results for OLS models estimating anxiety symptoms. The results largely mirror those found for depressive symptoms in Table 2. Again, Filipino American respondents who had three or more very good non-Filipino friends also had greater endorsement of anxiety symptoms (Model 4, $b = 0.10$, $p < .001$). Comparisons of this effect size between Model 1 and Model 2, and then again between Model 3 and Model 4, suggest that friendship discord partially mediates this association.

We conducted sensitivity analyses to test the robustness of our models. First, some might speculate that respondents with zero non-Filipino friends may be socially isolated from the mainstream, possibly increasing their risk for mental health symptomatology and therefore underestimating the hypothesized main effect. We therefore disaggregated the reference category of respondents into three separate binary variables indicating respondents with zero, one, and two non-Filipino friends (see Table 1 for weighted distributions for these disaggregated response categories). We then re-estimated Model 3 from both Table 2 and 3, adding dummy variables for respondents with two non-Filipino friends and zero non-Filipino friends, with respondents having one non-Filipino friend as the reference category. The results of these models did not differ substantively from the main results; there were no significant differences in depression and anxiety symptoms between respondents with zero, one, or two non-Filipino friends, while those with three or more non-Filipino friends were at higher risk (see Appendix A).

Second, another plausible alternative might attribute the greater endorsement of depressive and anxiety symptoms among those with three or more non-Filipino friends to a simultaneously low number of Filipino friends, suggesting some level of Filipino cultural tension or isolation. To control for this possibility, we utilized another survey item – the number of very

good friends in general – to construct a ratio of very good non-Filipino friends to total number of very good friends. Interestingly, a non-trivial proportion of the sample (4%) reported more close non-Filipino friends than reported total number of close friends (ratio > 1). Among respondents with complete data, the unweighted average ratio of very good non-Filipino friends to total number of very good friends was 0.26 ($SD = 0.36$). The original models were re-estimated with and without this specific subsample with no substantive change in the results. Though the main predictor variable and the new ratio variable were moderately correlated (simple $r = .46$), they were both included in Model 3 from Table 2 and 3 with careful attention paid to possible standard error instability (VIF were less than 2.50 in an unweighted regression). The ratio of non-Filipino friends to total friends was not significantly tied to the depressive or anxiety scales, while having three or more non-Filipino friends remained a significant risk factor (results available upon request). Therefore, the main effect from three or more non-Filipino friends is not attributable to a low ratio of Filipino to non-Filipino friends.⁵

Structural equation modeling was used to confirm our theoretically-derived model whereby friendship discord partially accounts for the association between Filipino Americans' symptoms of depression and anxiety and having three or more non-Filipino friends. Figure 2 presents the structural model for depressive symptoms, though covariates and their effects are omitted for easier presentation. The total effect of three or more non-Filipino friends on Filipino Americans' depressive symptoms was 0.113 ($p < .001$). This total effect can be decomposed into a direct effect of 0.093 ($p < .001$) and an indirect effect of 0.02 ($p < .001$). This total effect of non-Filipino friends on depressive symptoms approximates the effect sizes estimated in Table 2

⁵ Third, we examined the possibility that substance use might account for the association between non-Filipinos and depressive and anxiety symptoms, as substance use may increase Filipinos' interactions with non-Filipinos. Among the various substances queried in the survey, only two substances were reportedly used by more than 5% of the sample: marijuana (20%) and cocaine (6%). Regardless, controlling for the use of various substances (e.g. marijuana, cocaine, heroin, hallucinogens, stimulants, sedatives, etc.) had little or no effect on our main associations.

(Model 3 and Model 4). Likewise, Figure 3 presents the structural model for anxiety symptoms. The total effect of three or more non-Filipino friends on anxiety was 0.11 ($p < .001$), which can be decomposed into a direct effect of 0.094 ($p < .001$) and an indirect effect of 0.016 ($p < .01$, two-tailed). These results also approximate those presented in Table 3 (Model 3 and Model 4).

Discussion

Cross-group relationships are complex, and close, ethnically heterogeneous friendships may not necessarily provide only the typical benefits of friendship, at least for Filipino Americans. The present study investigated novel but counterintuitive hypotheses concerning the potential negative effects of close cross-group friendships for Filipino Americans, and the results confirmed both hypotheses. Filipino Americans who reported three or more close non-Filipino friends had greater endorsement of depressive and anxiety symptoms than those who reported two or less non-Filipino friends. As hypothesized, friendship discord also mediated these associations, though only partially. The indirect effects of ethnically heterogeneous friendships were small but significant for both depressive and anxiety symptoms. Even taking the friendship discord mediator into account, ethnically heterogeneous friendships still bear a significant direct relationship to depressive and anxiety symptoms.

Unpacking and explaining these residual associations may prove to be a vibrant area of future research. Based on sociological research documenting Filipino intra-Asian friendships, a potential mediator is perceived status anxiety arising from cross-group friendships with other Asian ethnic groups (Ocampo, 2013). Research has already identified subjective social status as tied to depression (Singh-Manoux, Adler, & Marmot, 2003). At the minimum, the residual associations underscore the possibility that perceived status hierarchies between Filipino Americans, on the one hand, and Asian groups and other racial groups on the other not only

exist, but also may be consequential in domains such as mental health.

Discrimination is an important form of social inequality that affects intergroup contact and mental health. Ancillary analyses revealed that everyday discrimination plays some role in the relationship between friendship discord and mental health symptoms in the present study. Omitting the measure of everyday discrimination yielded significantly higher effect sizes for friendship discord for both depression ($p < .001$) and anxiety ($p < .001$), according to the Karlson-Holm-Breen method for calculating and testing indirect effects (Karlson & Holm, 2011). There are at least a few potential explanations (indirect and direct) to account for discrimination as a component of friendship discord, though future research is required to examine and confirm these possibilities. First, perceived discrimination experienced in everyday interactions outside an individual's close friendships may lead to race-based rejection sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002) or heighten vigilance (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004), which may adversely affect comfort typically associated with close friendships. Second, Filipino Americans may perceive some small level of discrimination through their heterogeneous friendships; such discrimination could then act as a major stressor that counteracts the salubrious effects of friendship on mental health. Third, failures or problems in accurately understanding how ethnically or racially different friends think and feel may impede or disrupt cross-group relationships, including friendships between Whites and racial minorities, especially when individuals are aware of race or racial boundaries (Holoien, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015).

Cultural competence and sensitivity on behalf of in-group and/or out-group friends may also be important in the context of ethnically heterogeneous close friendships. The positive association between mental health symptomatology and close cross-group friendships appears to

converge with some studies on racial and ethnic patient-clinician concordance in health service delivery (Cooper et al., 2003). While these studies highlight the importance of shared beliefs and values, respect, and communication ease in patient-clinician interactions, similar factors (and strains) could presumably be at work within racially or ethnically concordant (and discordant) close friendships.

There are several caveats to consider in light of the aforementioned research findings. The cross-sectional design of the epidemiological study precludes making causal inferences. However, it is important to note that we both utilized the extant literature on cross-group interactions to develop our hypotheses and controlled for a number of possible confounds to address typical concerns raised about the use of cross-sectional data. Had there been literature, for instance, indicating that symptoms of depression and/or anxiety cause individuals to seek out cross-group friendships, we might give more weight to a reverse causal argument. It is important to note that our data does not preclude the possibility that friendship discord may not only lead to increased mental illness symptoms, but may also compel individuals to seek friendships outside their ethnic group. While sociological, ethnographic research has suggested friendship discord may operate as a third variable, with questioned ethnic authenticity leading to co-ethnic alienation and promoting cross-group friendships (Jimenez, 2009), the psychological studies we reviewed suggested a mediation rather than a third variable effect (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015).

Additional caveats pertained to the characteristics of the dataset. Due to the nature of self-report, respondents' perceptions of friendship discord, discrimination, ethnic identity, and mental health symptoms may not necessarily reflect accurate estimates (e.g., under-reporting or over-reporting). Furthermore, the study involved sampling Filipino Americans in two specific

geographic locales, and as a result, questions remain whether the present results generalize to other geographic settings or different ethnic/racial groups in the United States. The low rates of ethnically heterogeneous friendships in these two diverse settings are consistent with prior research documenting homophily (e.g., Chen & Graham, 2015). Although it is often utilized to measure acculturation, nativity status served as a proxy for acculturation, in contrast to dynamic forms of acculturation. Relatedly, the data did not allow us to examine colonial mentality or closeness of attachment to American culture, precluding explorations of a bimodal or bicultural identity that reflects both Filipino ethnicity and American identity, which would be important to examine in future research. The strength of one's ethnic identity may also relate to cross-group friendships, especially among those who lack an ethnic bond when encountering discrimination, and as a consequence, experience distress.⁶ In addition, the measure of cross-group friendships did not indicate the proportion of friends from majority vs. minority status groups (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009). The dataset used in our analyses did not allow us to disaggregate these groups by different-ethnicity or different-race in that respect. Because validated measures with multiple indicators were not available, assessing the number of very good non-Filipino friends provided the only means of discerning whether respondents' friendships were ethnically diverse. However, it is important to note that single-item measures have shown to be practical and meaningful alternative forms of assessment in psychological research (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001). This measurement issue may also explain the modest effects obtained in the present analyses. Nonetheless, small effects may have tremendous value in demonstrating the persistence of effects under unlikely conditions (Prentice & Miller, 1992). Future research will

⁶ While it is reasonable to posit that ethnic identity may be associated with the number of cross-group friendships, it is important to note that there was no correlation between ethnic identity and the number of very good non-Filipino friends ($r = 0.0053$) in this study.

have to identify and assess sources of friendship discord. Given this study tested a novel contribution, the present findings regarding non-specific friendship discord help inform and motivate future research utilizing more specific measures. Because limited research has examined the quality of ethnically heterogeneous friendships among diverse ethnic/racial groups (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003), future research examining dimensions of friendship quality is warranted.

To our knowledge, this study is the first to present evidence that diverse friendships for Filipino Americans are linked to both depressive and anxiety symptoms, and friendship discord appears to partially mediate this relationship. Yet, further research is needed to explicate these associations. It is critical to examine whether these patterns are unique to Filipino Americans. Replications with other Asian American and ethnic/racial groups would reveal whether the present findings reflect a distinctive Filipino American experience or an (Asian) American experience. What may be unique to the experiences of Filipino Americans is the construct of colonial mentality, which refers to feelings of oppression that are internalized and foster the rejection of Filipino values and the like (David & Okazaki, 2006)—this would be valuable to investigate in future studies. Although in the present study Filipino American respondents from multicultural urban settings scored relatively high on the measure of ethnic identity, future research may be needed to elucidate the influence of colonial mentality on cross-group friendships and perceived relationship quality, which was beyond the scope of this study.

It is also imperative to investigate additional factors that may mediate the association between cross-group friendships and mental health symptoms, since friendship discord represents only one indicator of the nature of the relationship and was only a partial mediator. There was a residual unexplained association between ethnically heterogeneous friendships and

symptoms of depression and anxiety, even after controlling for friendship discord and everyday discrimination. Other factors, such as relationship intimacy, help, guidance, and emotional security or trust, may be important measures to differentiate between high- and low-quality friendships (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Hunter & Elias, 1999). Peer reports would also be valuable to ascertain consistency in perceptions of friendship quality. It is important to note that it was beyond the scope of the present study to identify which aspects of cross-group friendship discord or differences may possibly inhere in ethnically heterogeneous friendships (e.g., social distance or disagreements over inequality attributions or pluralistic ignorance), leaving additional theoretical testing for future research. Finally, other covariates may be valuable to consider (e.g., involvement with peers in delinquency or other activities), but they were beyond the study's scope and data constraints.

It is also important to recognize additional directions for future research. Friendships may be regarded differently depending on the age and developmental life stage of the individual. Although we found no relation between age and number of friendships, the ethnic composition of close friendships and friendship discord may matter differently for young adults relative to older adults. Given that age and developmental periods are important factors to consider in understanding mental health, future studies are necessary to examine the variability of an individual's friendship networks over the lifespan. In addition, because the present data were not set up to identify a threshold (the dependent variables were continuous, not binary or ordinal), we were not able to identify threshold effects regarding the number of cross-group friendships and binary mental health outcomes (depressed vs. non-depressed, anxious vs. non-anxious). Identifying these effects would be a valuable endeavor for future research.

Given the paucity of research on ethnic heterogeneity in friendships, our findings invite

future research on diverse friendships for Filipino Americans and their association with mental health symptoms. While previous research has documented the difficulty in initiating interracial interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2005), the present study, though focused on cross-group friendships, suggests that difficulties may continue to persist in cross-group interactions between close friends. Interestingly, our results do differ from some research on the beneficial effects of cross-group friendships on psychosomatic symptoms (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Mendes, 2014) and cortisol reactivity and anxious mood (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008). Differences may be due to the cross-group friendship measures utilized in these studies, which measured the level of interaction with cross-group friends rather than the number of cross-group friends.

Increasingly ethnically and racially diverse social contexts represent the future of the U.S. While there may be strong in-group preferences that favor homogeneous or same-group friendships, there are innumerable benefits to fostering multiculturalism and diversity through cross-group friendships, such as fostering complex social identities, favorable intergroup attitudes (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014), and multicultural sensitivity (Hunter & Elias, 1999). Positive perceptions of multiculturalism may also enhance empathy toward diverse out-groups (Chang & Le, 2010). Rather than contesting the benefits of diverse friendships, the present results suggest that intergroup relations even between very good friends are complicated by a host of social, contextual, and structural factors. When friendships are strained by discord, the psychological adjustment and well-being of Filipino Americans may be impaired, suggesting that interpersonal ties are an important source of influence for individuals in interdependent or collectivist contexts. As such, it may be critical to improve cross-group friendships because friend support may be a potential means of referral for unmet mental health needs among Asian

Americans (Chang, Chen, & Alegría, 2014). Continuing to investigate the factors associated with diverse friendships and the impact on mental health symptoms will help illuminate the complexities of cross-group interactions and both risk and protective factors related to such relationships.

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Table 1
Sample Descriptives (Weighted)

Dependent Variables				
Depression (Symptom Checklist)		Mean = 0.36 (SD = 0.5); Range (0 - 3.7)		
Anxiety (Symptom Checklist)		Mean = 0.23 (SD = 0.4); Range (0 - 3.5)		
Independent Variable				
Non-Filipino Friends: Three or more		19.1%	One	13.7%
Two		9.4%	Zero	57.7%
Mediator: Friendship Discord		Mean = 1.29 (SD = 0.49); Range (0.2 - 3.3)		
Control Variables				
Age		Mean = 41.7 (SD = 13.4); Range (18 - 65) ^a		
Gender				
Female		51%		
Male		49%		
Education ^{b c}				
Less than high school		29.2%	College graduate	22.2%
High school graduate		20.0%	Graduate/Professional	3.4%
Some College/Vocational/Technical		25.1%		
Household Income ^a				
Less Than \$25,000		30.6%	\$200,000 - \$299,999	1.6%
\$25,000 - \$49,999		24.7%	\$300,000 - \$499,999	0.6%
\$50,000 - \$99,999		24.5%	More Than \$500,000	0.3%
\$100,000 - \$199,999		7.7%	Missing	9.9%
Nativity				
U.S. Born		21%		
Foreign Born		79%		
Area of Interview				
San Francisco County		43%		
Honolulu County		57%		
Everyday Discrimination		Mean = 0.38 (SD = 0.6); Range (0 - 3.8)		
Ethnic Identity		Mean = 2.36 (SD = 0.5); Range (0 - 3)		

Data: Filipino American Community Epidemiological Survey (FACES), 1995-1999

^a Coded as continuous in estimation models

^b A 7 year old respondent ($n=1$) was recoded as missing

^c Continuous responses collapsed into categories for ease of presentation

$N = 2,280$ (except Depression measure, $N = 2,231$ due to missing data)

Table 2

OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Estimating Depressive Symptoms (N = 2,231)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Non-Filipino Friends (Three or more)	0.145*** (0.033)	0.101** (0.032)	0.120*** (0.032)	0.101** (0.031)
Mediator: Friendship Discord		0.239*** (0.029)		0.121*** (0.025)
Age			-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Female			0.183*** (0.020)	0.177*** (0.020)
Education (years)			0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Household Income (thousands)			-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0003 (0.0002)
U.S. Born			0.079* (0.031)	0.072* (0.031)
San Francisco County			0.213*** (0.028)	0.203*** (0.027)
Everyday Discrimination			0.143*** (0.014)	0.131*** (0.014)
Filipino Ethnicity			-0.077** (0.025)	-0.080** (0.027)
Constant	0.328*** (0.012)	0.0328 (0.034)	0.366*** (0.070)	0.233** (0.073)

Note. *N* differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data.*b* and corresponding standard errors in parentheses are reported.*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Table 3
OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Estimating Anxiety Symptoms (N = 2,280)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Non-Filipino Friends (Three or more)	0.124*** (0.028)	0.091** (0.028)	0.11*** (0.027)	0.099*** (0.027)
Mediator: Friendship Discord		0.18*** (0.022)		0.098*** (0.020)
Age			-0.0001 (0.0007)	-0.0007 (0.0007)
Female			0.106*** (0.018)	0.102*** (0.018)
Education (years)			-0.0003 (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.002)
Household Income (thousands)			-0.0006** (0.0002)	-0.0006** (0.0002)
U.S. Born			0.045+ (0.027)	0.040 (0.026)
San Francisco County			0.157*** (0.024)	0.150*** (0.023)
Everyday Discrimination			0.116*** (0.013)	0.106*** (0.013)
Filipino Ethnicity			-0.024 (0.021)	-0.026 (0.021)
Constant	0.206*** (0.010)	-0.0178 (0.03)	0.170** (0.062)	0.0625 (0.065)

Note. *b* and corresponding standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Figure 1. Weighted Sample Distribution of Non-Filipino Friends

Figure 2. Structural equation model estimating effect of non-Filipino friends on depressive symptoms, mediated by friendship discord. Covariates are not displayed.

*** $p < .001$

Figure 3. Structural equation model estimating effect of non-Filipino friends on anxiety symptoms, mediated by friendship discord. Covariates are not displayed.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

Appendix A

OLS Regression Models (Weighted) using Partially Disaggregated Predictors

	Depression	Anxiety
Non-Filipino Friends (Three or more)	0.113** (0.0406)	0.0873* (0.0351)
Non-Filipino Friends (Two)	-0.0111 (0.0408)	-0.0396 (0.0342)
Non-Filipino Friends (One): <i>Reference Category</i>	--	--
Non-Filipino Friends (Zero)	-0.00143 (0.0314)	-0.0242 (0.0269)
Age	-0.00125 (0.000826)	-0.000249 (0.000708)
Female	0.179*** (0.0206)	0.100*** (0.0181)
Education (years)	0.00114 (0.00219)	-0.000172 (0.00185)
Household Income (thousands)	-0.000246 (0.000240)	-0.000481* (0.000217)
U.S. Born	0.0773* (0.0321)	0.0442 (0.0275)
San Francisco County	0.217*** (0.0282)	0.165*** (0.0242)
Everyday Discrimination	0.142*** (0.0143)	0.113*** (0.0127)
Filipino Ethnicity	-0.0739** (0.0251)	-0.0215 (0.0216)
Constant	0.369*** (0.0726)	0.193** (0.0634)
Observations	2,239	2,288

Note. *N* differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data. *b* and standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Appendix B

OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Predicting Depressive Symptoms ($N = 2,231$)
by Different Binary Operationalizations

	1 or more	2 or more	3 or more
Non-Filipino Friends	0.0405+ (0.0223)	0.0769** (0.0257)	0.120*** (0.032)
Age	-0.000912 (0.000788)	-0.000904 (0.000784)	-0.001 (0.001)
Female	0.180*** (0.0205)	0.181*** (0.0204)	0.183*** (0.020)
Education (years)	0.00103 (0.00219)	0.00112 (0.00217)	0.001 (0.002)
Household Income (thousands)	-0.000244 (0.000237)	-0.000274 (0.000237)	-0.0003 (0.0002)
U.S. Born	0.0946** (0.0319)	0.0837** (0.0319)	0.079* (0.031)
San Francisco County	0.214*** (0.0279)	0.212*** (0.0276)	0.213*** (0.028)
Everyday Discrimination	0.143*** (0.0142)	0.143*** (0.0142)	0.143*** (0.014)
Filipino Ethnicity	-0.0738** (0.0248)	-0.0772** (0.0246)	-0.077** (0.025)
Constant	0.353*** (0.0710)	0.359*** (0.0703)	0.366*** (0.070)

Note. N differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data. b and standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Appendix C

OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Predicting Anxiety Symptoms ($N = 2,280$)

by Different Binary Operationalizations

	1 or more	2 or more	3 or more
Non-Filipino Friends	0.0461* (0.0194)	0.07** (0.023)	0.11*** (0.027)
Age	-0.000003 (0.0007)	-0.0001 (0.0007)	-0.0001 (0.0007)
Female	0.104*** (0.018)	0.106*** (0.018)	0.106*** (0.018)
Education (years)	-0.0003 (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.002)
Household Income (thousands)	-0.0005* (0.0002)	-0.0006** (0.0002)	-0.0006** (0.0002)
U.S. Born	0.0564* (0.027)	0.045+ (0.027)	0.045+ (0.027)
San Francisco County	0.160*** (0.024)	0.157*** (0.024)	0.157*** (0.024)
Everyday Discrimination	0.116*** (0.013)	0.116*** (0.013)	0.116*** (0.013)
Filipino Ethnicity	-0.0200 (0.022)	-0.024 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.021)
Constant	0.156* (0.063)	0.170** (0.062)	0.170** (0.062)

Note. N differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data. b and standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Appendix D

OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Predicting Depressive and Anxiety Symptoms
by Continuous Measure and Outlier Exclusion/Inclusion

	Depressive symptoms without outliers	Depressive symptoms with outliers	Anxiety symptoms without outliers	Anxiety symptoms with outliers
Non-Filipino Friends (continuous)	0.00652* (0.00322)	0.00217* (0.00107)	0.00925** (0.00326)	0.00149+ (0.000870)
Age	-0.00111 (0.000801)	-0.00101 (0.000790)	-0.000259 (0.000712)	-0.000103 (0.000706)
Female	0.177*** (0.0206)	0.182*** (0.0205)	0.104*** (0.0178)	0.104*** (0.0178)
Education (years)	0.000808 (0.00221)	0.00157 (0.00218)	-0.000498 (0.00186)	0.000395 (0.00184)
Household Income (thousands)	-0.000296 (0.000236)	-0.000233 (0.000236)	-0.000535* (0.000212)	-0.000481* (0.000211)
U.S. Born	0.0912** (0.0322)	0.100** (0.0309)	0.0500+ (0.0276)	0.0659* (0.0265)
San Francisco County	0.224*** (0.0279)	0.210*** (0.0277)	0.168*** (0.0239)	0.154*** (0.0235)
Everyday Discrimination	0.140*** (0.0142)	0.144*** (0.0143)	0.113*** (0.0127)	0.117*** (0.0127)
Filipino Ethnicity	-0.0778** (0.0250)	-0.0762** (0.0249)	-0.0241 (0.0216)	-0.0212 (0.0215)
Constant	0.379*** (0.0710)	0.367*** (0.0707)	0.183** (0.0626)	0.170** (0.0626)
Observations (<i>N</i>)	2,193	2,231	2,237	2,280

Note. *N* differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data. *b* and standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)

Appendix E

Additional Sensitivity Analysis: OLS Regression Models (Weighted) Predicting Depressive and Anxiety Symptoms by Categorical Predictor without Outliers

	Depressive symptoms without outliers	Anxiety symptoms without outliers
Non-Filipino Friends (Three or more)	0.120*** (0.0331)	0.120*** (0.0291)
Age	-0.00114 (0.000794)	-0.000236 (0.000707)
Female	0.178*** (0.0205)	0.105*** (0.0178)
Education (years)	0.000784 (0.00219)	-0.000334 (0.00184)
Household Income (thousands)	-0.000350 (0.000234)	-0.000577** (0.000211)
U.S. Born	0.0773* (0.0318)	0.0420 (0.0271)
San Francisco County	0.223*** (0.0277)	0.165*** (0.0236)
Everyday Discrimination	0.139*** (0.0141)	0.112*** (0.0126)
Filipino Ethnicity	-0.0773** (0.0249)	-0.0229 (0.0216)
Constant	0.374*** (0.0706)	0.176** (0.0626)
Observations (<i>N</i>)	2,193	2,237

Note. *N* differs from Table 1 due to multiple imputation of missing data. *b* and standard errors in parentheses are reported.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, + $p < .10$ (two-tailed)