

ACCULTURATION AND ENCULTURATION, MODEL MINORITY STEREOTYPE,
DISTRESS, AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN 1.5 GENERATION
ASIAN ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

According to Bartley and Spoonley (2008), 1.5 generation Asian Americans are those who move to the U.S. between the ages of six and thirteen from their countries of origin. These individuals are members of a unique population in that they can adapt to American cultural norms faster than their adult counterparts and can experience the process of acculturation and enculturation differently (Kim et al., 2003). As these individuals immigrate to the United States, they could be perceived by their peers and teachers as the model minority, which involves assumptions such as Asian individuals are hardworking, well-behaved, and intellectual (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Shen et al, 2011; Yoo & Miller, 2015). Additionally, the model minority label suggests that Asian Americans perceive themselves as experiencing fewer barriers and less racism compared to other racial groups (Kiang, Witkow, & Thompson, 2016; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010; Yoo et al., 2014). Over time, Asian Americans may internalize the model minority stereotype, which can have a

unique impact on their functioning and well-being (Gupta et al., 2011). In this research, I looked more closely at the model minority stereotype in a sample of 1.5 generation Asian American college students between the ages of 18 to 25 by examining the relationships among acculturation/enculturation, endorsement of the model minority stereotype, distress (i.e., affective and somatic), and life satisfaction. Path analysis revealed that both acculturation and enculturation significantly predicted the achievement orientation dimension of the model minority stereotype in that as acculturation and enculturation increased, the level of achievement orientation decreased. Also, results indicated that color-blind racial attitudes were a significant moderator between perceptions of unrestricted mobility and affective distress. The most notable limitation of the study was inadequate power in that the minimum sample size was not attained.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Education, have examined a dissertation titled “Acculturation and Enculturation, Model Minority Stereotype, Distress, and Life Satisfaction in 1.5 Generation Asian Adolescents,” presented by Monica Oh, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In terms of documented growth, approximately one million individuals obtained Lawful Permanent Residents (LPR) status in the United States in 2015 (Baugh & Witsman, 2017). About half of these new LPR were categorized as new arrivals. Additionally, the leading countries of birth for the LPR were Mexico, China, India, Philippines, and Cuba (Baugh & Witsman, 2017). Individuals from another country decide to move to a new country for a number of reasons, such as education and employment opportunities. These people are considered immigrants because they decide to reside in a country of which they are not natives. Furthermore, these individuals are considered 1st generation immigrants because they were born in a foreign country, but then moved to a new country later in life (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). When immigrants arrive in a new country, they are expected to adjust to a variety of new behavioral norms and values that differ from those of their countries of origin. In particular, immigrants go through the process of acculturation, which involves psychological and cultural changes that follow after contact with the new culture (Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2010). Cultural changes include language shifts and alterations to value systems whereas psychological changes include shifting attitudes toward the acculturation process and sense of belonging to a cultural group (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

Acculturation is a complex construct because there are numerous factors that exist both prior and during acculturation that can determine a person's adaptation (i.e., education level, reasons for migrating, obtaining employment; Berry, 1997). Furthermore, the acculturation framework includes both group level and individual level variables that

determine adaptation to a new culture (Berry, 1997). Examples of group level variables include economic and social structures; individual level variables include gender, age, and migration motivation (Berry, 1997). As individuals acculturate to their new country, they often face experiences that challenge their identity and feelings of belongingness in relation to their country of origin and to their new culture (Sam & Berry, 2010).

According to Berry (1997), some societies support cultural diversity, also known as cultural pluralism, by encouraging immigrants to maintain their cultural identities and ideologies. It is argued that cultural pluralism can lead to a positive acculturation experience because the host culture will be less likely to enforce marginalization or cultural loss (Berry, 1997). Although some societies are culturally plural, power differences continue to exist between different cultural groups. Thus, for the purpose of this study, I will use the language adopted by Berry (1997) and use the term “dominant” to refer to the culture that holds the most power and privileges when multiple cultures are present. The dominant culture’s behavior and values become the norm for the society. In addition, the terms “new culture” and “host culture” will be utilized to refer to the society of settlement (Berry, 1997). In contrast, the term “culture of origin” will refer to the culture that coexists with the dominant group but is considered subordinate (Berry, 1997).

Acculturation Strategies

According to Berry (1997), one of the main concerns that individuals face as they acculturate is contemplating the degree to which they should attempt to preserve the norms and values of their culture of origin, which is known as cultural maintenance. Along with this concern, immigrants may wonder to what extent they need to be involved with and interact with the dominant culture (Berry, 1997). These two concerns can determine the

strategy that individuals choose to acculturate to a new culture. Therefore, Berry (1997) proposed four different acculturation strategies, each of which has different implications for the way that immigrants relate and function to their host culture as well as their original culture. According to Berry et al. (2006), researchers could ostensibly determine a person's acculturation strategy by observing the extent to which they seek involvement with the dominant culture and the culture of origin.

The first acculturation strategy is *assimilation*, which occurs when a person becomes involved with the dominant culture and avoids interacting with members of their heritage culture (Berry et al., 2006). The *separation* strategy is observed when the individual is involved with their culture of origin but has little interest in being involved with the dominant culture (Berry et al., 2006). When a person is disinterested in interacting with both cultures, this is considered the *marginalization* strategy. Lastly, the *integration* strategy is evident when an immigrant individual is engaged with both their culture of origin and dominant culture (Berry et al., 2006).

Numerous studies have found that integration is the most adaptive acculturation strategy compared to the assimilation, separation, and marginalization strategies (Berry, 1997). Integration is considered the most adaptive because it involves having two social support systems. Additionally, individuals develop a relationship with their host culture while maintaining their cultural heritage. A meta-analysis from 325 studies on acculturation demonstrated that integration was positively associated with self-esteem, satisfaction with life, and positive affect; while being negatively associated with depression, anxiety, psychological distress, and negative affect (Yoon et al., 2012). The meta-analysis also supported Berry's findings that integration was related to positive mental health, followed by

assimilation and separation (Yoon et al., 2012). Marginalization was also found to be associated with mental health deficits (Yoon et al., 2012).

Enculturation

Acculturation is considered the process of adapting to a new culture whereas the adherence to one's culture of origin is known as enculturation (Miller, Yang, Hui, Choi, & Lim, 2011). Enculturation is considered maintaining the values, customs, and beliefs associated with one's original ethnic heritage (Yoon et al., 2013). Research on the process and effects of enculturation has produced mixed findings on its relationship with immigrant mental health (Yoon et al., 2013). For example, enculturation has been shown to be positively related to anxiety, suggesting that enculturated individuals may feel anxious in their host culture due to their lack of language fluency and cultural knowledge (Yoon et al., 2013). However, researchers have also found a positive relationship between enculturation and immigrants' affect, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life (Yoon et al., 2013). Thus, the adherence to one's culture and interacting with individuals from their culture of origin may help with managing day-to-day stressors (Yoon et al., 2013).

Bilinear Acculturation Model

Historically, acculturation has been conceptualized as unilinear in nature (Miller, 2007). A unilinear acculturation model focuses on the stronger connection that an immigrant develops toward their new culture, and also assumes that they simultaneously become less connected to their culture of origin (Dao, Teten, & Nguyen, 2011). Thus, this model does not consider the option of having a sense of belonging to both the new culture and the culture of origin (Miller, 2007). Therefore, Berry (1979) proposed a bilinear model of acculturation to suggest that it is possible for individuals to adhere to both the new culture and their culture

of origin without sacrificing one culture for another. In addition, a bilinear model proposes that immigrants can adopt the values and behaviors of more than one culture such that these processes are independent and can therefore, move along separate continuums (Dao et al., 2011). When testing different models of acculturation, it has been found that a bilinear model of acculturation is a more appropriate model of acculturation compared to a unilinear model of acculturation (Miller, 2007).

Asian Immigrants in the United States

When looking at the historical trends in immigration to the United States, the annual number of individuals who attain new LPR status has steadily increased since 1945 (Baugh & Witsman, 2017). According to the U.S. Census (2017), Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing groups in the United States. In fact, approximately half a million individuals from Asia immigrated to the United States in 2015, which resulted in an estimated number of 21 million Asian residents in the United States - an increase from approximately 17 million residents since 2010 (Baugh & Witsman, 2017; U.S Census, 2017). Additionally, from the number of new LPR that were granted in 2015, Asian individuals were the largest group to obtain LPR status and accounted for 39.9% of all new LPR in the United States, an increase of 7.7% since 2000 (Baugh & Witsman, 2017).

Asian individuals decide to move to the United States for various reasons, but many decide to move for educational and employment reasons. In fact, Asian students accounted for about 76% of international students enrolled at U.S. institutions in the 2014/2015 school year (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Furthermore, many Asian individuals with LPR obtained their status through employer sponsorship. In 2014, about 49% of Asian immigrants were

employed in high-skilled jobs including management, business, and science occupations (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Acculturation-Related Daily Stressors

Asian immigrants who move to the United States encounter a wide variety of acculturation-related obstacles due to cultural differences. For example, Asian cultures emphasize connectedness and conformity; thus, they are often referred as collectivistic cultures (Chung & Gale, 2006). In contrast, Western cultures are considered individualistic in nature, as they value autonomy and individualism (Chung & Gale, 2006). In order to understand the acculturation process for Asian individuals, it is crucial to comprehend the characteristics of both the culture of origin and the new culture, to estimate the amount of cultural distance between the cultures (Berry, 1997). It can be noted that a large cultural distance exists between individualistic and collectivistic cultures, which can cause Asian immigrants to experience hassles specific to the acculturation experience (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). These hassles that are specific to the acculturation process can be categorized as outgroup hassles and ingroup hassles (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001).

Outgroup hassles, which are stressors associated with interacting with individuals of the new culture, include experiencing discrimination and communication difficulties (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Numerous research studies have documented a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and immigrant well-being (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Smith and Khawaja (2011) found that lower level of English proficiency was a predictor of acculturative stress for Asian students, as the language barrier made it difficult for them to make friends with their American peers. In addition, English proficiency has been found to have a positive relationship with a broad spectrum of positive mental health

indicators (Yoon et al., 2012). These new social challenges can lead to decreased self-esteem among Asian immigrants, which can prevent them from experiencing social connectedness, which is a value that is strongly emphasized in Asian countries (Smith & Khawaja, 2011).

In contrast, ingroup hassles are hassles that people face when interacting with members of their own racial and/or ethnic group. These hassles can include family conflicts and lack of support from their ethnic community (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Multiple studies have shown that Asian children and adolescents encounter difficulties acculturating to the United States due to distress related to the conflict of deciding if they should follow the collectivistic values enforced by their parents or follow the individualistic values of the new culture (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). This conflict could lead to behavioral problems and low psychological adjustment in immigrant children and adolescents (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001).

Generational Status

In the United States, first generation immigrants are considered individuals who are born in a country outside of the United States, who as adults, have moved to the United States, whereas second generation immigrants were born and raised in the United States as children of first generation immigrants (Miller et al., 2011). However, individuals who move to a new country between the ages of six and 13 are considered 1.5 generation immigrants (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). The 1.5 generation individuals are different from first- and second-generation individuals in that 1.5 generation individuals immigrate to a new country as children or preteens and spend a large portion of their developmental years in the new country (Kim et al., 2003). Since 1999, there has been a 50% increase of Asian Americans in the United States, and about 35% of these individuals can be categorized as 1.5 generation

(Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003). Furthermore, in 2015, approximately 100,000 individuals between the ages of five and fourteen obtained permanent resident status in the United States. (Baugh & Witsman, 2017).

Asian American Adolescents

According to Berry (1997), the age that a person immigrates to a new country can reveal how the acculturation process will unfold for the individual. Specifically, immigrant youths often have a more difficult time acculturating than immigrant children (i.e., individuals who have not yet entered primary school) because they need to replace the behaviors of the original culture with the behaviors of the new culture to maximize adjustment, a process that is known as culture shedding and learning (Berry, 1997).

When observing the acculturation strategies of immigrant youths, a study with immigrant youth from 26 different cultural backgrounds found that about 36.4% of youth reported engaging in the integration strategy followed by separation (22.5%), marginalization (22.4%), and assimilation (18.7% Berry et al., 2006). Moreover, Berry et al. (2006) demonstrated that the integration acculturation strategy promoted better psychological and sociocultural adaptation in youth immigrants compared to the marginalization strategy. Thus, immigrant youth who engaged in both cultures perceived themselves as having an identity from both cultures and were socially engaged with peers from both cultures.

Positive Experiences of 1.5 Generation Asian Adolescents

Compared to 1st generation and 2nd generation Asian Americans, 1.5 generation Asian American youths may be able to adapt to U.S culture and norms faster than their adult counterparts; thus, the possibility of experiencing acculturative stress is lower for these individuals (Kim et al., 2003). If 1.5 generation individuals are able to adapt to U.S culture

while simultaneously holding on to the values of their country of origin, they are likely to establish bicultural competence (Kim et al., 2003). Some aspects of bicultural competence include knowledge of cultural beliefs and values of both cultures, positive attitudes toward both groups, proficient communication ability in both cultures, and sense of belonging in both cultures (Kim et al., 2003). In a qualitative study with ten 1.5 generation Asian participants, Kim et al. (2003) found that more than half of the participants reported bicultural competence. Therefore, a strength of 1.5 generation individuals may be the ability to operate proficiently between the culture of their country of origin and the culture of the new country. Thus, many of these individuals could meet the demands of both cultures and have high levels of socialization in both cultures (Kim et al., 2003).

Perceived Challenges of 1.5 Generation Asian Adolescents

Identity challenges. Despite the documented positive experiences of 1.5 generation Asian American individuals, studies have shown that they also experience unique difficulties that can negatively affect their adjustment to the United States (Kim et al., 2003). Although a 1.5 generation youth may value multiple cultures, it is sometimes difficult for them to transition between the two, thus they feel torn between labeling themselves as American or as a member of their country of origin (Kim et al., 2003). An adolescent may believe that they do not completely belong to either culture, so they feel “stuck.” When sharing their acculturation experiences, 1.5 participants in a qualitative study reported difficulties finding acceptance from both cultures in that when 1.5 generation individuals return to their country of origin, they are labeled “American,” but if they decide to stay in the United States, they are perceived as immigrants (Kim et al., 2003).

Along with being “stuck” between two cultures, Asian adolescent immigrants are also caught between two different stages of life: childhood and adulthood (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Pyon, 2011). Individuals who are acculturating to a new society can become confused about their identities, which causes great distress (Sam & Berry, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Adolescence is a time when teenagers start to question their identities and find their places in society (Lee & Cynn, 1991). It is also a time when individuals report moodiness, increased conflict with parents, and increased risky behavior.

Language challenges. According to Lee and Cynn (1991), 1.5 generation Korean Americans can quickly adapt to American cultural norms and do so faster than their parents. Therefore, 1.5 generation Asian adolescents will often serve the role of the “cultural” broker in the family (Kim et al., 2003). For example, 1.5 generation students are often relied on to take the role of the interpreter or translator which often forces them to renegotiate boundaries with their parents (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Parents who must suddenly rely on their children for communication could cause family conflict because the “parents’ roles in providing guidance and age-appropriate boundaries for their children may be compromised” (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008, p. 76).

Researchers have found that being proficient in English can help 1.5 Asian individuals to have a smoother transition from their country of origin to the United States (Kim et al., 2003). Not having English proficiency can have a negative impact on the ability to establish friendships and cause delays with educational attainment (Kim et al., 2003). Even though English as a Second Language courses may be available for immigrants to help them with English language proficiency, these language courses could negatively affect their adjustment (Pyon, 2011). For example, Pyon (2011) found that English as a Second

Language courses negatively affected 1.5 Korean American immigrants' social adjustment because they were constantly separated from the rest of their non-Asian peers.

Asian Americans and the Model Minority Stereotype

A sense of belonging to a social group has been linked to positive indicators of mental health. However, a person's membership in a group can influence how others perceive them; therefore, beliefs about certain individuals emerge based on the characteristics of the group that the individual belongs to (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011, p. 102). These positive and/or negative beliefs, which are known as stereotypes, are powerful because they can influence how individuals treat others (Gupta et al., 2011). A stereotype that is often associated with the Asian community is the model minority stereotype (Gupta et al., 2011).

The model minority stereotype emerged during the civil rights movement in order to identify a successful minority group among all the minority racial groups (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). During this time, there was racial tension between the White and African American community; however, the American media diverted its attention from the African American community's struggle for equality to the Asian American community (Li & Wang, 2008). The media commended how people from Asian cultures, specifically Chinese and Japanese, achieved economic and academic success; therefore, the media concluded that all racial groups have the potential to overcome racial adversity through hard work and perseverance (Gupta et al., 2011; Li & Wang, 2008).

Before the sudden attention from the media and the emergence of the model minority stereotype, the Asian community was ignored by the larger society due to its small numbers (Li & Wang, 2008). Furthermore, Asian Americans were viewed as perpetual foreigners and

were victims of anti-immigration laws and anti-Asian violence (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). Certain Asian countries (i.e., Japan and China) were perceived as an enemy of the United States due to the Vietnam War and the Cold War; thus, Asian Americans silenced their voices and conformed to the dominant culture to survive in an environment where their countries of origin were perceived as enemies of the United States (Li & Wang, 2008; Yoo, Miller, & Yip, 2015).

Therefore, it is not surprising that when the model minority label was first given to the Asian American community, the reaction from the Asian community was positive because the American media was depicting the members as successful (Li & Wang, 2008), due to their emphasis on education and hard work. As a result of past experiences of racism, it can be assumed that Asian Americans embraced the model minority label to protect themselves from dealing with racism (Alvarez et al., 2006). However, living as the model minority does not necessarily decrease the number of racially motivated crimes towards Asian individuals. In fact, Alvarez et al. (2006) conducted a study on Asian Americans' perception of racism and found that 99% of the participants reported experiencing at least one form of racism directed at Asian individuals. Additionally, labeling a racial group as the model minority emphasizes that there are racial groups that are not acting in the same ways as the "model", which can cause tension between minority racial groups (Li & Wang, 2008).

Dimensions of the Model Minority Stereotype

According to Yoo et al. (2015), the model minority stereotype consists of two dimensions. The first dimension, achievement orientation, consists of depicting Asians as hardworking, good in math and science, well-behaved, and intellectual (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Shen et al, 2011; Yoo et al., 2015). Another dimension of the model minority

stereotype is unrestricted mobility, which is the conviction that Asian Americans face fewer barriers and less racism compared to other racial groups (Kiang, Witkow, & Thompson, 2016; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010; Yoo et al., 2014). Also, unrestricted mobility refers to the stereotype that Asian Americans have strong beliefs in meritocracy (Yoo et al., 2010). For both dimensions, the focus is on comparative success. Thus, the model minority stereotype not only suggests that Asian Americans are successful, but it also suggests that they are more successful than other racial minority groups (Yoo et al., 2010).

Outcomes Associated with the Model Minority Stereotype

Research on the model minority stereotype has revealed mixed findings regarding how it affects adolescent adjustment. Studies have found the internalization of the model minority stereotype by Asian adolescents to be associated with better academic achievement and adjustment in Asian adolescents (Miller et al., 2011; Thompson & Kiang, 2010).

Thompson and Kiang (2010) demonstrated that the model minority myth can serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy; therefore, individuals internalize these favorable traits of being labeled as intelligent and hardworking, which leads to better academic outcomes (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). In a study that looked at 159 Asian American 9th and 10th graders, the results indicated that increased endorsement of the model minority myth by the participants was linked to higher self-esteem and school valuing (Kiang et al., 2016).

In addition, Yoo et al. (2015) observed that academic performance, which was assessed with Grade Point Average (GPA), was a significant moderator between the model minority stereotype and distress. Yoo et al. (2015) also found that if a student's GPA was incongruent with the stereotype, then the individual experienced distress because they perceived themselves as not living up to the model minority image. Thus, it could be

speculated that the strength of the relationship between the endorsement of achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction will depend on various levels of GPA.

Nevertheless, other studies have found the model minority stereotype to be linked with negative outcomes, such as fear of failure, low self-esteem, and academic expectations stress (Shen et al., 2011; Yoo et al., 2015). In addition, Yoo et al. (2010) found that the endorsement of the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility was positively correlated with affective and somatic distress in a sample of Asian American undergraduate students. Thompson and Kiang (2010) conducted a study on Asian adolescents and found that about 99% of the participants have experienced others making assumptions about them that were rooted in the model minority stereotype including generalizations about Asian Americans' work ethic, behavior, and intelligence. Thus, if adolescents hear messages from their peers that they need to live up to the model minority image, this can cause them to develop unrealistic expectations for themselves (Kiang et al., 2016). The model minority myth could lead to poor psychological adjustment for students who cannot meet the high, possibly unattainable standards of the model minority stereotype.

Even though there are studies that conclude the model minority myth is a positive stereotype, the stereotype misrepresents the racial reality of Asian Americans (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Underneath the positive traits of the model minority stereotype, there are negative implications associated with the stereotype. First, implying that Asian Americans are good at math and science suggests that Asian students will not be successful in other fields (Shen et al., 2011). Students who internalize the belief that they are only good at math and science courses may avoid taking classes that emphasize English communication abilities (Shen et al., 2011). Also, stereotyping that all Asians are intelligent and

hardworking can cause teachers to overlook the needs of Asian adolescents who may be struggling with math or other areas of their education (Kiang et al., 2016; Thompson & Kiang, 2010).

The model minority stereotype suggests that all Asian students are quiet and reserved, which can make it difficult for Asian students to express their feelings (Shen et al., 2011). Mental health, especially for Asian Americans, is a sensitive topic because Asian cultures emphasize self-control of one's mental health; thus, it is the individual's fault if they have mental health concerns (Sunmin et al., 2009). Those who internalize the stereotype may believe that all Asians are well adjusted, so these students should not have any mental health issues. However, it has been found that Asian American young men between the ages of 15-19 had the highest rate of suicidal deaths (37.2%) in 2014 compared to other racial groups (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017). Additionally, compared to other racial groups, Asian American women between the ages of 15 to 19 had the second highest rate of suicidal deaths (25.5%; CDC, 2017).

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes

When Asian Americans were first labeled as the model minority, they were praised for overcoming racial adversity through their work ethic and perseverance. Thus, Asian individuals who are hard-working and have a high work ethic may believe that social structures do not play a role in one's path to success (Miller & Yoo, 2011). Therefore, it may be possible that Asians Americans who internalize the model minority myth could also endorse color-blind racial attitudes, which are beliefs that everyone, regardless of race, have the same opportunities to succeed (Neville et al., 2000). More importantly, color-blind racial

attitudes emphasize sameness and deemphasize the idea of white superiority and white privilege (Neville et al., 2000).

Specifically, for Asian individuals, Cheng (2015) observed that Asian Americans who view themselves as “honorary Whites” hold the beliefs that they have the same underlying privileges as White individuals living in a White dominant society; thus, they believe in unrestricted mobility. Because Asian Americans hear continual messages about their image of a successful racial minority group, they may view themselves as on the same playing field as White individuals when it comes to employment opportunities or job promotions (Cheng, 2015). Additionally, being labeled as the model minority, or “honorary Whites”, could cause Asian Americans to perceive themselves as being higher up on the racial hierarchy than other racial minority groups (Cheng, 2015).

Nevertheless, even if certain Asian Americans believe in a merit-based society, others around them may not perceive them as “honorary Whites” but perceive them as individuals from a racial minority group. For example, a study examined the extent to which various racial groups associated themselves and other racial groups as “American” and found that one is not viewed as “American” unless the individual is White (Devos & Banaji, 2005). This American equals White association has been supported in a cross-cultural study that found that White and African American participants viewed Asian Americans as less “American” than Whites and African Americans because they assumed that Asian Americans are less likely to be born in the United States (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Interestingly, there has been empirical support that Asian Americans also internalize the American equals White association (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Hence, Asian Americans could experience pride for

being labeled as “honorary Whites” because this suggests that they are Americans; thus, they have successfully acculturated to the United States (Chou & Feagin, 2008).

Therefore, color-blind racial attitudes could positively affect Asian American immigrants’ life satisfaction because they may not be aware of racism around them; thus, they are not in distress. Similar to academic performance (i.e., GPA), color-blind racial attitudes could act as a moderator of the relationship between perceptions of unrestricted mobility and life satisfaction in that high levels of color-blind racial attitudes could decrease the negative effect of unrestricted mobility on life satisfaction. Additionally, high levels of color-blind racial attitudes could act as a buffer for students who internalizes unrestricted mobility in that they may report lower levels of distress than those who have low levels of color-blind racial attitudes.

The Current Study and Hypotheses

Acculturation research has focused on both first- and second- generation youth, but research on the acculturation process of 1.5 individuals is limited. Furthermore, the literature on the internalization of the model minority stereotype in 1.5 generation young adults and its relationship with acculturation/enculturation, distress, and life satisfaction is sparse. It is not clear if acculturation and/or enculturation leads to the internalization of the model minority stereotype, which in turn predicts distress and life satisfaction.

From previous research, it is understood that acculturation for Asian young adults is a difficult process due to the large cultural differences between Asian and American culture. Also, the model minority stereotype has been synonymous with the Asian community; thus, it may be difficult for Asian immigrants to not be labeled as the model minority (Lee, 2015). However, individuals who are acculturated and adhere to Western values and behaviors may

be more inclined to reject the model minority stereotype by claiming that the stereotype is inaccurate and harmful (Lee, 2015). These individuals could also be more aware than enculturated individuals about how the stereotype was created to identify a successful racial minority group (Lee, 2015). In addition, strongly acculturated Asian Americans may be more cognizant about the systemic racism that exists in the United States (Lee, 2015), and therefore, may feel less pressure to live up to the stereotype.

On the contrary, 1.5 Asian young adults may believe that living up to the model minority stereotype can help them gain greater acceptance in the dominant culture and perhaps move up the social ladder (Lee, 2015). Additionally, education, hard work, and perseverance are all virtues that are highly valued in Asian cultures, so enculturated individuals would adhere to these values and apply them in their daily lives (Lee, 2015). 1.5 Asian young adults who adhere to the values typically associated with collectivistic cultures may endorse higher levels of the model minority myth.

Therefore, this study is intended to further the research on 1.5 generation Asian youth adults (college students) by looking at the relationships between acculturation/enculturation, the model minority stereotype, GPA, color-blind racial attitudes, levels of distress, and life satisfaction. The positive and negative influences of acculturation/enculturation on well-being may be explained through participants' level of endorsement of the model minority myth (i.e., achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility). Thus, the following hypotheses were tested among a sample of 1.5 generation Asian American college students (see Appendix A for a visual depiction of the hypotheses):

Hypothesis 1: Acculturation will be negatively related to the endorsement of the model minority stereotype, such that acculturated Asian Americans will demonstrate

low levels of achievement orientation and perceptions of unrestricted mobility.

However, enculturation will be positively related to the endorsement of the model minority stereotype, such that enculturated Asian Americans will demonstrate high levels of achievement orientation and perceptions of unrestricted mobility

Hypothesis 2: The endorsement of the model minority myth, specifically achievement orientation, will be positively related to life satisfaction and negatively related to distress (i.e., affective and somatic). In contrast, the endorsement of the model minority myth, specifically the perceptions of unrestricted mobility will be negatively related to life satisfaction and positively associated with distress (both affective and somatic).

Hypothesis 3: The endorsement of both dimensions of the model minority stereotype (i.e., Achievement Orientation and Unrestricted Mobility) will at least partially mediate the relationships between acculturation/enculturation, distress, and life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction will be moderated by GPA. Specifically, the positive relationship between achievement orientation and life satisfaction will be stronger at higher levels of GPA and weaker at lower levels of GPA. Additionally, the negative relationship between achievement orientation and distress (i.e., affective and somatic) will be stronger at lower levels of GPA and weaker at higher levels of GPA.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between unrestricted mobility, distress, and life satisfaction will be moderated by color-blind racial attitudes. Specifically, high levels of color-blind racial attitudes will decrease the negative effect of unrestricted mobility

on life satisfaction. Also, high levels of color-blind racial attitude will decrease the positive effect of unrestricted mobility on distress (i.e., affective and somatic).

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

The participants for this study were 94 college students (undergraduate and graduate) who were also 1.5 generation Asian young adults/adolescents (women=59; men=33; transgender=2) from several universities around the United States. Twenty-eight students were living in the Midwest (29.8%), 20 students were living in the Northeast (21.3%), 23 students were living in the South (24.5%), and 23 students were living in the West (24.5%) at the time they completed the survey. The ages of participants ranged from 18 to 25 ($M = 21.47$, $SD = 2.07$). For this study, 10 students identified themselves as Freshman (10.6%), 18 as Sophomore (19.1%), 16 as Junior (17.0%), 22 as Senior (23.4%), and 28 as Graduate students (29.8%). The students identified their countries of origin as India (8.5%), China (22.4%), South Korea (35.1 %), Vietnam (12.8%), Taiwan (5.4%), Bangladesh (1.1%), Japan (3.2%), Singapore (2.2%), Pakistan (3.2%), or Philippines (6.4%). The age that the participants immigrated to the United States ranged from less than one year to 22 years ($M = 7.65$, $SD = 4.88$). In regards to socioeconomic status, 6 students identified themselves as low class (6.4%), 27 as low middle class (28.7%), 40 as middle class (42.6), and 21 as upper middle class (22.3%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through e-mail listservs of Asian student college organizations and psychological organizations such as the American Psychological Association and the Asian American Psychological Association after approval from the

University of Missouri-Kansas City Institutional Review Board. The e-mail contained a brief explanation of the study and had a link to an online survey.

Individuals were eligible for the study if they considered themselves to be 1.5 generation Asian Americans in that they immigrated to the United States as children or preteens and spent a large portion of their developmental years in the United States. Also, Asian college students between the ages of 18 to 25 were eligible to complete the study. Participation for this survey was completely voluntary. A statement indicating that there would be no individually identifying information asked on the survey was provided to the participants. Lastly, participants could choose to withdraw from the study without penalty at any time during the survey by exiting the online survey.

Participants responded to items about demographics, the modified Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans- Revised (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995), Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010), Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2007), Hopkins Symptom Checklist- 21 (HSCL-21; Green, Walkey, McCormick, & Taylor, 1988), and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Upon completion of the survey, participants were taken to a webpage that provided an option to enter their name and e-mail address to enter a raffle for one of four \$25 gift cards. No identifying information was recorded on the survey so that the participant's responses on the survey were anonymous. Additional participants were recruited through the snow-balling method by encouraging the participants to forward the research opportunity to other students.

Measures

Demographic Information

The on-line survey included a brief demographic section that asked participants to provide information about their age, gender, country of origin, region of the United States, number of years in college, socioeconomic status (SES), religious identity, cumulative college GPA thus far, age of immigration, number of times the participants visited their country of origin after their move, and years lived in the United States.

Acculturation and Enculturation

To assess participants' acculturation and enculturation levels, the modified Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans- Revised (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) was used. The measure, which has been modified for Asian Americans (Miller et al., 2011), consists of 30 items and 2 subscales: Anglo Orientation Subscale (AOS) and Asian Orientation Subscale (AAOS). The items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely often or almost always*). Cuellar et al. (1995) recommend using the mean subscale scores of the ARSMA-II, such that higher scores represent greater orientation to Western culture or Asian culture. Examples of items in the AOS include “*I speak English*” and “*I like to identify myself as an American*”. Examples of items in the AAOS include “*My friends now are of Asian origin*” and “*I speak an Asian language*”. The scale demonstrated good internal reliability with coefficient alpha levels of $\alpha = .90$ (AAOS) and $\alpha = .79$ (AOS) in an Asian sample (Miller et al., 2011) and coefficient alpha levels of $\alpha = .90$ (AAOS) and $\alpha = .84$ (AOS) in the current study. The ARSMA-II has been found to differentiate Asian participants according to variables such as generational status and psychological adjustment, which provides some evidence for criterion validity (Miller et al., 2011).

Model Minority Stereotype

The degree that sample participants internalized the Model Minority Stereotype was measured with the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4; Yoo et al., 2010). The measure consists of 15 items and 2 subscales: Achievement Orientation (MM-Achievement) and Unrestricted Mobility (MM-Mobility). The items are rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Yoo et al. (2010) recommends using the mean subscale scores with higher scores representing higher levels of internalized model minority stereotype. Each subscale score can range from 1 to 7. Examples of items in the scale include “*In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science*” (MM-Achievement), and “*In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more likely to be treated as equals to European Americans*” (MM-Mobility). The IM-4 showed good internal consistency in an Asian American college sample, which consisted of first, second, and third generation students: MM-Achievement = .91, MM-Mobility = .77. Results from the current study found the following reliability coefficients: MM- Achievement = .94, MM-Mobility = .90. Evidence of discriminant validity was found because the MM-Achievement subscale was unrelated with Emotional Self-Control and Humility. Additionally, the MM-Mobility subscale did not correlate with the Collectivism and Family Recognition through Achievement subscales from the Asian American Values Scale-Multidimensional (Shen, 2011). Convergent validity with MM-Mobility has been demonstrated via correlations with general distress and somatic distress. Also, MM-Achievement was positively correlated with Performance Difficulty, demonstrating convergent validity (Yoo et al., 2010).

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes

To assess color-blind racial attitudes, the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) was used (Neville et al., 2007). This 20-item scale is comprised of three subscales: Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues. The items are rated on a 6-point Likert Scale that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The total score of the CoBRAS will be used with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes. Examples of items include “*Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension*” and “*Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich*” (Neville et al., 2007). The alpha level of the scale was found to be .72. Additionally, in a 1.5 generation Asian sample, the scale demonstrated acceptable internal reliability with the following coefficient alphas: Racial Privilege = .68; Institutional Discrimination = .81, and Blatant Racial Issues = .80 (Keum, Miller, Lee, & Chen, (2018). In regards to the total scale, Keum et al. (2018) found the scale to have good internal consistency with an alpha level of .89. The CoBRAS had significant correlations with the Belief in Just World Scale and the Modern Racism Scale, which supports concurrent validity. Discriminant validity has been demonstrated because the total CoBRAS score was not significantly correlated with social desirability (Neville et al., 2007).

Due to the study’s small sample size, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale could not be conducted to identify items that were poor factor indicators on an Asian sample. However, the reliability statistics of the full scale indicated a Cronbach’s Alpha of .88, demonstrating high internal consistency.

Distress

The Hopkins Symptom Checklist- 21 (HSCL-21), a short-form of the Hopkins Symptom Checklist, was used to assess levels of distress (Green, Walkey, McCormick, & Taylor, 1988). The scale, which consists of 21 items and three subscales, asks about how the students felt over the last 7 days. The subscales are the following: Affective Distress, Somatic Distress, and Performance Difficulty; however, only two of the subscales will be used for this study (i.e., Affective Distress and Somatic Distress) because these subscales have been found to be significantly correlated with the internalization of the model minority myth (Yoo et al., 2010). The items are rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). Green et al. (1988) recommends using the mean subscale scores in that higher subscale scores indicate lower levels of psychological adjustment. Examples of items on the scale include “*Soreness of your muscle*” and “*Feeling inferior to others*”. The Affective Distress and Somatic Distress subscales have been found to have good internal consistency in an Asian American sample with an alpha level of .84 and .85 respectively (Yoo et al., 2010). The current study found internal consistency estimates of .87 (Affective Distress) and .90 (Somatic Distress).

Life Satisfaction

Participants’ life satisfaction was measured with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The scale consists of 5 items rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Diener et al. (1985) recommends using the total score of the SWLS with higher scores representing higher levels of life satisfaction. Life satisfaction scores can range from 7 to 35. Examples of items on the scale include “*I am satisfied with my life*” and “*The conditions of my life are*

excellent". Evidence of concurrent validity was observed in a college sample due to positive relationships between scores on the SWLS and similar scales that measure well-being such as the Flourishing Scale (Diener et al., 2009) and the Self-Anchoring Ladder (Kilpatrick & Cantril, 1960). Jin, Yu, and Hui (2009) used this scale with Chinese university students and found an alpha level of .76 and the current study's alpha level was .90, which indicated good reliability.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis

The data were screened for missing values, univariate outliers, multivariate outliers, and violation of assumptions. Of the 211 cases that were collected for the study, only 97 met criteria. Specifically, 114 of the cases included participants who were outside the ages of 18-25, did not identify as Asian, or at least 50% of the data were missing. According to the histograms, skewness, and kurtosis statistics, the variables were normally distributed. For a model with 9 degrees of freedom, the Mahalanobis cutoff was 27.88. The Mahalanobis distance and the scatterplots between each pair of variables indicated three multivariate outliers in the data; thus, three cases were removed from the analysis. No missing data was found in the final sample of 94 cases. Lastly, the preliminary correlations did not identify any demographic variables that needed to be controlled in the main analyses.

However, acculturation and enculturation were found to be significantly correlated, which could be a sign of multicollinearity (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Therefore, a variance inflation factor (VIF) test was conducted to determine the strength of the relationship. The test found a value of 1, which indicated that acculturation and enculturation were not affected by multicollinearity (Kline, 2011).

Main Analysis

Hypotheses 1 and 2

The bivariate correlations in Table 1 revealed that there were no significant correlations between variables with the exception of the following relationships: AOS (acculturation) and AAOS (enculturation), AOS and GPA, MM-AO (Achievement

Orientation) and MM-UM (Unrestricted Mobility), MM-AO and GPA, MM-AO and CoBRAS (color-blind racial attitudes), MM-UM and CoBRAS, GPA and AD (affective distress), and GPA and SWLS (life satisfaction). Specifically, acculturation was negatively correlated with enculturation and positively correlated with GPA. Achievement orientation was found to be positively correlated with unrestricted mobility and color-blind racial attitudes and negatively correlated with GPA. There was a positive correlation between unrestricted mobility and color-blind racial attitudes. The outcome variables (AD, SD, and SWLS) were also significantly correlated with each other in that affective distress was positively correlated with somatic distress and negatively correlated with life satisfaction. Somatic distress and life satisfaction were negatively correlated with each other. However, acculturation, enculturation, achievement orientation, and unrestricted mobility did not significantly correlate with the outcome variables. Therefore, these non-significant correlations failed to support hypotheses 1 and 2.

Table 1

Distributional statistics and intercorrelations of the variables in the model (N=94)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. AOS	1.00								
2. AAOS	-.43**	1.00							
3. MM-AO	-.07	-.01	1.00						
4. MM-UM	.03	-.13	.25*	1.00					
5. GPA	.25*	.00	-.22*	-.01	1.00				
6. CoBRAS	.00	.00	.40**	.24*	.00	1.00			
7. AD	-.01	-.03	.01	.02	-.29**	-.10	1.00		
8. SD	-.18	.02	.02	.04	-.03	-.02	.42**	1.00	
9. SWLS	.15	-.03	-.14	.00	.26**	-.16	-.46**	-.25*	1.00
Minimum	2.25	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	25.00	1.00	1.00	5.00
Maximum	5.00	4.75	7.00	6.80	4.00	96.00	3.88	3.67	33
<i>M</i>	3.98	3.53	4.11	3.43	3.63	48.35	2.01	1.62	22.18
<i>SD</i>	.59	.71	1.34	1.39	.35	13.81	.67	.57	6.99

AOS acculturation, *AAOS* enculturation, *MM-AO* achievement orientation, *MM-UM* unrestricted mobility, *GPA* grade point average, *CoBRAS* color-blind racial attitudes, *AD* affective distress, *SD* somatic distress, *SWLS* life satisfaction

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Path Analysis

Path analysis, which is a structural model of observed variables, was used to test the third, fourth, and fifth hypotheses. Before creating the path model, I generated interaction terms in order to test moderation in the model. Thus, the interaction terms of MM-AO x GPA and MM-UM x CoBRAS were created and added to the model. GPA scores and

CoBRAS score were continuous variables. Any significant moderation effects will be explored through graphing one standard deviation above and below the mean of color-blind racial attitudes. Path analysis was the most appropriate analysis for this study because there was a single measure of each theoretical variable and previous studies have focused on the causal relationship among these variables of interest (Yoo et al., 2010; Yoo et al., 2015).

The path model was theoretically identified because there were no feedback loops, the latent variables were set to a scale, and the degrees of freedom were greater than zero (Kline, 2011). However, the model was overidentified, so degree of fit was ascertained by obtaining the fit indices (Kline, 2011). The fit indices measure global fit, which observes the fit of the model as a whole. Although there are numerous fit indices, Kline (2011) recommends that the following fit indices should be acquired and reported: Model chi-square (χ^2), Steiger-Lind Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Bentler Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). A model is considered to have good fit if it has a non-significant chi-square value, RMSEA is lower than .05, CFI is higher than .95, and SRMR is lower than .08 (Kline, 2011). A 90% confidence interval is also provided with a RMSEA output. A model has good fit if the lower confidence interval is lower than .05 and the higher confidence interval is lower than .08 (Kline, 2011). Along with global fit indices, local fit can be assessed to determine if there were any specific problems to the model. This can be accomplished by looking at the standardized residual covariances. Good local fit is achieved if the standardized residual covariances do not have any values that are higher than |2.00|.

Proposed Model. For the proposed model, the following fit statistics were obtained: $\chi^2(18) = 80.43, p = .00, CFI = .93, SRMR = .14, RMSEA = .19,$ and 90% CI [.15, .24].

Although the CFI was acceptable because it was higher than .90, model fit was deemed poor based on the significant chi-square value. Additionally, RMSEA showed signs of poor fit because the value was higher than .05 and the upper confidence interval was not close to .1. SRMR was higher than .08, which indicated poor fit. Lastly, local fit was poor given that the standardized residual covariances showed multiple values that exceeded the recommended standardized residual values of less than|2.00|. Each standardized covariance residual greater than |2.00| indicated a bivariate relationship that the model did not represent well. The following covariances demonstrated standardized residual values greater than |2.00|: AOS and GPA, AAOS and MM-UM, MM-AO and MM-UM, MM-AO and CoBRAS, MM-AO x GPA and CoBRAS, AAOS and MM-UM x CoBRAS, MM-AO x GPA and MM-UM x CoBRAS, SWLS and SD, and SWLS and AD. Therefore, the standardized differences between the covariances of the proposed model and the observed covariances were large. These large differences negatively affect the overall goodness of fit and needed to be addressed.

Modified Model. Due to poor global and local fit, modifications were made to the model. Specifically, the covariances with residual values greater than |2.00| were allowed to correlate with each other to address concerns with model fit. Adding covariances between the residuals increased the model parameters from 48 to 57. However, adding the additional relationships in the model substantially increased model fit. After the modifications, the following fit statistics for the path model were obtained: $\chi^2(9) = 16.78$, $p = .052$, $CFI = .99$, $SRMR = .05$, $RMSEA = .10$, and 90% CI [.00, .17]. Overall, the model demonstrated adequate global fit because chi-square was found to be non-significant and CFI and SRMR indicated good model fit with the exception of the value for RMSEA. In particular, RMSEA showed

signs of poor global fit because the value was higher than .05 and the upper confidence interval was not close to 1. Nevertheless, there were signs of good local fit because the standardized residual covariances did not have any values that were less than |2.00|. The highest standardized residual covariance value was -1.66.

Post-hoc Test. A post-hoc test, specifically the chi-square difference test, was implemented to detect differences between the proposed and modified model. The chi-square difference test found the models to be significantly different from each other $\chi^2_{\text{diff}}(9) = 63.65, p < .001$, such that the re-specified model demonstrated better fit than the proposed model. Also, the modified model had a non-significant chi-square and had better fit indices than the proposed model. It is clear that the modifications to the model had a substantial impact on model fit.

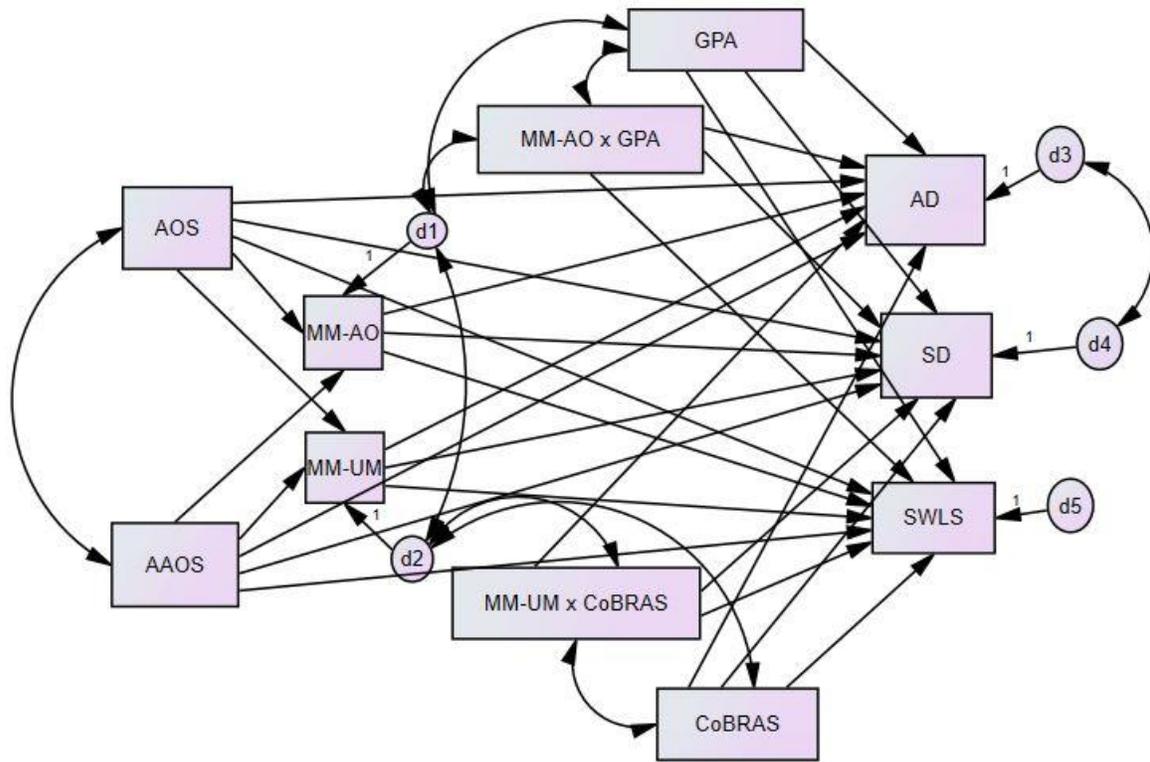


Figure 1. Visual depiction of the proposed model.

Table 2

Parameter estimates of the proposed path model (N = 94)

Path	Direct path coefficients		Variable	Variances	
	Unstand. (SE)	Stand.		Unstand. (SE)	R ²
MM-AO ← AOS	.03 (.02)	.01	AOS	.34 (.05)***	
MM-UM ← AOS	.17 (.08)*	.07	AAOS	.50 (.07)***	
MM-AO ← AAOS	.01 (.02)	.004	GPA	.12 (.02)***	
MM-UM ← AAOS	.16 (.06)**	.08	CoBRAS	188.74 (27.68)***	
AD ← AOS	-.01 (.13)	-.01	MM-AO x GPA	22.76 (3.34)***	
SD ← AOS	-.20 (.11)	-.20	MM-UM x CoBRAS	8392.08 (1230.68)***	
SWLS ← AOS	.95 (1.34)	.08	Dis1 (AO)	1.77 (.26)***	.00
AD ← AAOS	.01 (.11)	.01	Dis2 (UM)	1.99 (.29)***	.01
SD ← AAOS	-.05 (.10)	-.06	Dis3 (AD)	.38 (.06)***	.15
SWLS ← AAOS	-.02 (1.11)	-.002	Dis4 (SD)	.31 (.05)***	.06
AD ← MM-AO x GPA	-.17 (.17)	-1.23	Dis5 (SWLS)	42.45 (6.23)***	.09
SD ← MM-AO x GPA	.18 (.15)	1.47			
SWLS ← MM-AO x GPA	.35 (1.79)	.24			
AD ← GPA	.17 (.77)	.09			
SD ← GPA	-.72 (.69)	-.43			
SWLS ← GPA	3.01 (8.08)	.15			
AD ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	.01 (.004)*	1.06			
SD ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	.001 (.003)	.11			
SWLS ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	-.03 (.04)	-.37			
AD ← CoBRAS	-.03 (.01)*	-.65			
SD ← CoBRAS	-.01 (.01)	-.13			
SWLS ← CoBRAS	.02 (.15)	.04			
AD ← MM-AO	.63 (.62)	1.25			
SD ← MM-AO	-.62 (.55)	-1.44			
SWLS ← MM-AO	-1.54 (6.49)	-.30			
AD ← MM-UM	-.33 (.18)	-.69			
SD ← MM-UM	-.02 (.16)	-.04			
SWLS ← MM-UM	1.50 (1.84)	.30			

Table 2--Continued

Unstandardized Covariances		
Variable	Unstand. (SE)	r
AOS ↔ AAOS	-.19 (.05)***	-.45
GPA ↔ AO x GPA	.21 (.17)	.13
MM-UM x CoBRAS ↔ CoBRAS	905.95 (160.80)***	.72
Dis1 ↔ Dis2	.01 (.004)*	.01
Dis 1 ↔ GPA	-.09 (.05)	-.19
Dis 2 ↔ MM-UM x CoBRAS	109.02 (17.52)***	.84
Dis 2 ↔ CoBRAS	5.50 (2.09)**	.28
Dis 1 ↔ MM-AO x GPA	6.01 (.91)***	.95
Dis 3 ↔ Dis 4	.16 (.04)***	.45

AOS acculturation, *AAOS* enculturation, *MM-AO* achievement orientation, *MM-UM* unrestricted mobility, *GPA* grade point average, *CoBRAS* color-blind racial attitudes, *AD* affective distress, *SD* somatic distress, *SWLS* life satisfaction

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

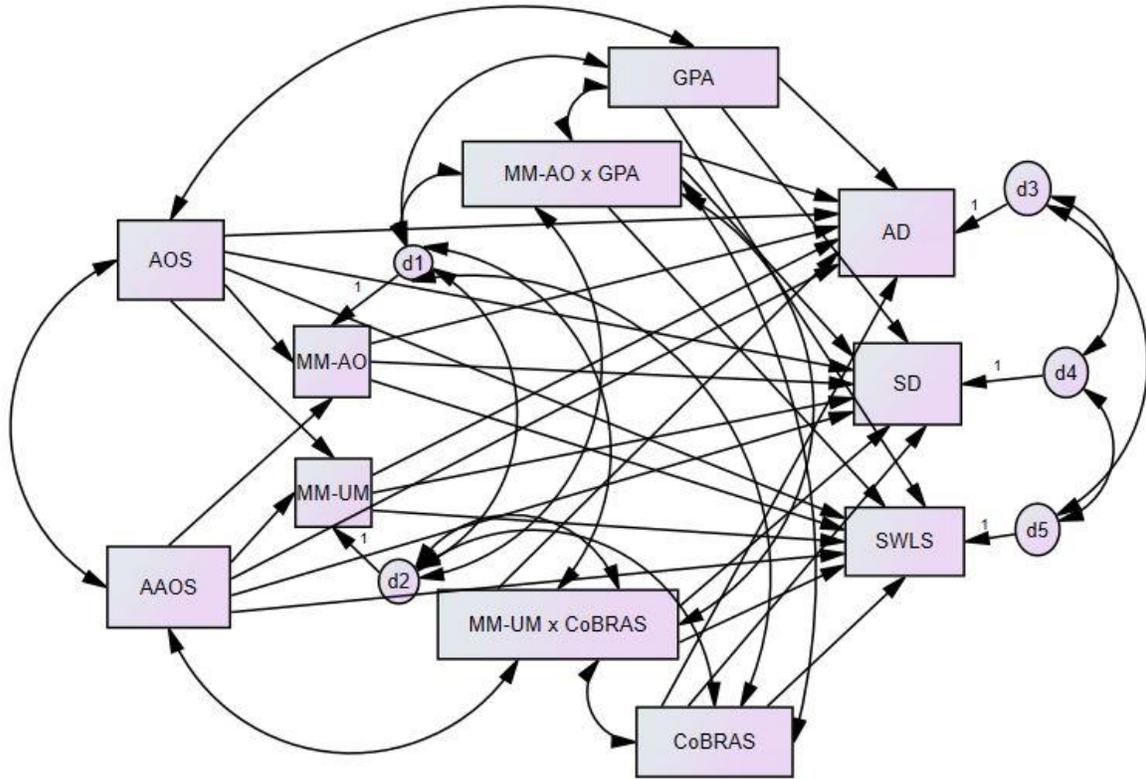


Figure 2. Visual depiction of the modified model.

Table 3

Parameter estimates of the modified path model (N = 94)

Direct path coefficients			Variances		
Path	Unstand. (SE)	Stand.	Variable	Unstand. (SE)	R ²
MM-AO ← AOS	-.20 (.08)**	-.09	AOS	.33 (.05)***	
MM-UM ← AOS	-.06 (.12)	-.02	AAOS	.49 (.07)***	
MM-AO ← AAOS	-.08 (.03)*	-.04	GPA	.12 (.02)***	
MM-UM ← AAOS	-.27 (.20)	-.14	CoBRAS	188.74 (27.68)***	
AD ← AOS	-.01 (.13)	-.01	MM-AO x GPA	22.58 (3.30)***	
SD ← AOS	-.20 (.12)	-.20	MM-UM x CoBRAS	8016.49 (1163.40)***	
SWLS ← AOS	.95 (1.38)	.08	Dis1 (AO)	1.80 (.26)***	.01
AD ← AAOS	.01 (.11)	.01	Dis2 (UM)	1.85 (.27)***	.02
SD ← AAOS	-.05 (.10)	-.06	Dis3 (AD)	.38 (.06)***	.15
SWLS ← AAOS	-.02 (1.11)	-.002	Dis4 (SD)	.31 (.05)***	.05
AD ← MM-AO x GPA	-.17 (.18)	-1.23	Dis5 (SWLS)	42.45 (6.23)***	.11
SD ← MM-AO x GPA	.18 (.16)	1.47			
SWLS ← MM-AO x GPA	.35 (1.85)	.24			
AD ← GPA	.17 (.78)	.09			
SD ← GPA	-.72 (.70)	-.43			
SWLS ← GPA	3.01 (8.25)	.15			
AD ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	.01 (.004)*	1.04			
SD ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	.001 (.003)	.10			
SWLS ← MM-UM x CoBRAS	-.03 (.04)	-.36			
AD ← CoBRAS	-.03 (.02)*	-.65			
SD ← CoBRAS	-.01 (.01)	-.13			
SWLS ← CoBRAS	.02 (.16)	.04			
AD ← MM-AO	.63 (.63)	1.27			
SD ← MM-AO	-.62 (.57)	-1.46			
SWLS ← MM-AO	-1.54 (6.63)	-.30			
AD ← MM-UM	-.33 (.18)	-.67			
SD ← MM-UM	-.02 (.16)	-.04			
SWLS ← MM-UM	1.50 (1.90)	.30			

Table 3--Continued

Unstandardized Covariances		
Variable	Unstand. (SE)	r
AOS ↔ AAOS	-.16 (.04)***	-.41
GPA ↔ AO x GPA	.15 (.14)	.09
MM-UM x CoBRAS ↔ CoBRAS	868.75 (155.20)***	.71
MM-AO x GPA ↔ CoBRAS	27.78 (7.33)***	.43
MM-AO x GPA ↔ MM-UM x CoBRAS	155.77 (46.4)***	.37
AAOS ↔ MM-UM x CoBRAS	-7.70 (3.98)	-.12
AOS ↔ GPA	.05 (.02)**	.25
Dis1 ↔ Dis2	.45 (.19)*	.25
Dis2 ↔ MM-UM x CoBRAS	99.28 (16.19)***	.82
Dis2 ↔ CoBRAS	4.50 (1.99)*	.24
Dis 1 ↔ MM-AO x GPA	6.10 (.91)***	.95
Dis 1 ↔ GPA	-.09 (.04)*	-.20
Dis 1 ↔ CoBRAS	7.43 (2.02)***	.40
Dis 1 ↔ MM-UM x CoBRAS	40.49 (12.80)**	.34
Dis 2 ↔ MM-AO x GPA	1.69 (.69)*	.26
Dis 3 ↔ Dis 4	.16 (.04)***	.45
Dis 3 ↔ Dis 5	-1.78 (.46)***	-.44
Dis 4 ↔ Dis 5	-.89 (.39)*	-.25

AOS acculturation, *AAOS* enculturation, *MM-AO* achievement orientation, *MM-UM* unrestricted mobility, *GPA* grade point average, *CoBRAS* color-blind racial attitudes, *AD* affective distress, *SD* somatic distress, *SWLS* life satisfaction

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Overall, according to the modified model output, acculturation (AOS) and enculturation (AAOS) explained 1.7% of the variance in unrestricted mobility (MM-UM) and .01% of the variance in achievement orientation (MM-AO). Acculturation, enculturation, achievement orientation, unrestricted mobility, color-blind racial attitudes, GPA, and the two interaction terms (MM-AO x GPA; MM-UM x CoBRAS) explained 5.4% of the variance in somatic distress and 10.5% of the variance in life satisfaction. Acculturation, enculturation, achievement orientation, unrestricted mobility, color-blind racial attitudes, GPA, and the two interaction terms (MM-AO x GPA; MM-UM x CoBRAS) explained 14.5% of the variance in affective distress. The direct path from acculturation to achievement orientation was statistically significant, $p < .01$. The direct paths from enculturation to achievement orientation, $p = .03$, and the path from color-blind racial attitudes to affective distress were significant, $p = .03$. Lastly, the path from the interaction term (MM-UM x CoBRAS) to affective distress was significant, $p = .04$. The direct paths had effect sizes that ranged from small (e.g., $\beta = -.01$) to large (e.g., $\beta = 1.47$). Due to overall good model fit, I was able to interpret these findings and move forward to testing hypotheses 3, 4, and 5.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 was tested by conducting the bootstrapping procedure via AMOS to assess for possible mediation effects. The bootstrapping procedure, which is a resampling procedure, is the only way to conduct a significance test of indirect effects in AMOS. It must be noted that bootstrapping has its own limitations in that bootstrapping produces sample-specific results. Nevertheless, the bootstrapping procedure found that the upper and lower bounds of the confidence intervals included zero; thus, the results did not support the hypothesis that the dimensions of the model minority stereotype (ie., achievement orientation

and unrestricted mobility) would act as mediators between acculturation/enculturation, distress, and life satisfaction.

Hypotheses 4 and 5

The 4th and 5th hypotheses were tested by examining the direct paths of the model. The results indicated that the interaction term MM-UM x CoBRAS, was positive and statistically significant, $p = .04$, suggesting that the negative relationship between unrestricted mobility and affective distress was stronger at lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes and weaker at higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes. However, it must be noted that the interaction effect was small in that the decline of high levels of CoBRAS began at .64 and the decline of low levels of CoBRAS began at .68. A visual depiction of the interaction effect is illustrated in Figure 3. This pattern indicates that color-blind racial attitudes buffered the negative relationship between unrestricted mobility and affective distress. However, all the direct paths from MM-AO x GPA to the outcome variables and the direct paths from MM-UM x CoBRAS to somatic distress and life satisfaction were non-significant. Therefore, hypothesis 4 was not supported (i.e., GPA is a significant moderator), and hypothesis 5 was partially supported by the model.

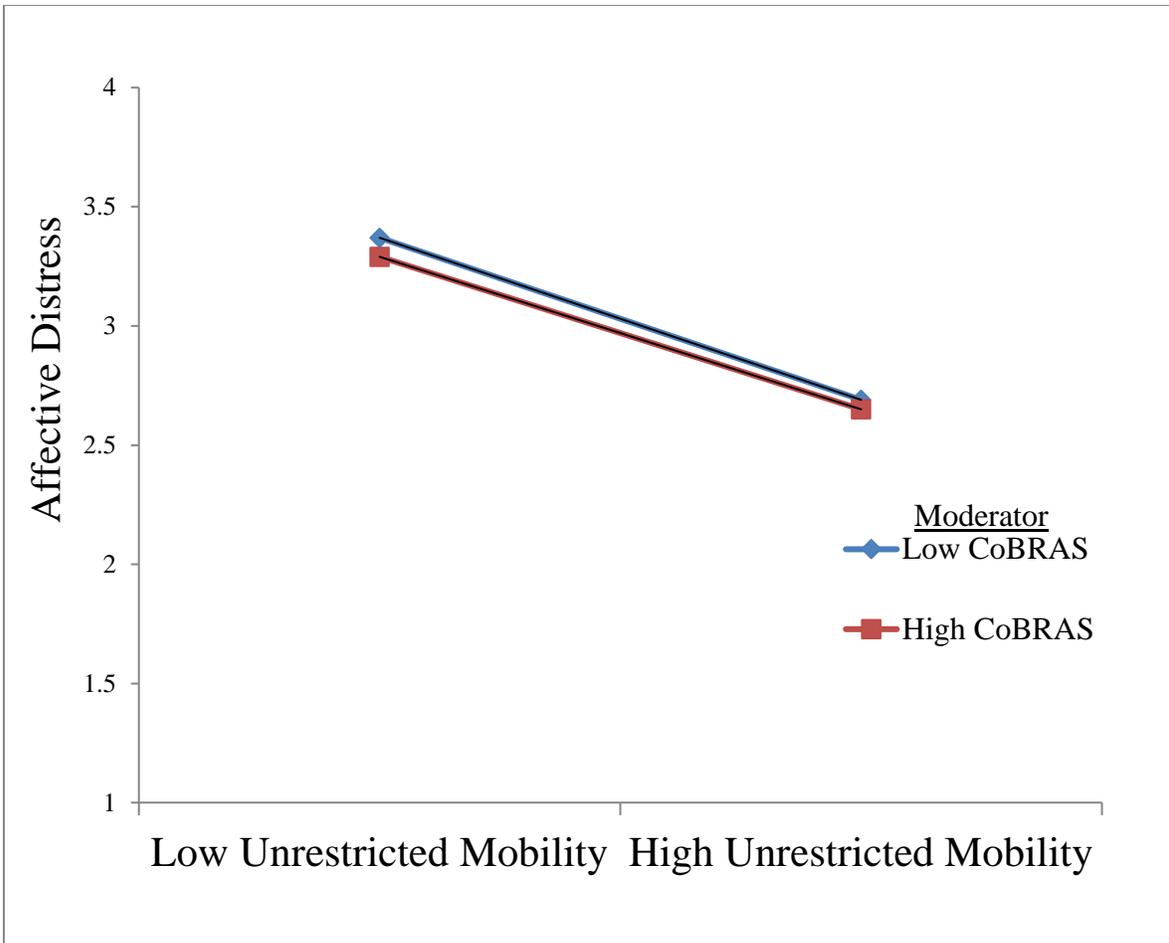


Figure 3. Visual depiction of the interaction effect.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

Summary of Results

Overall, most of the hypotheses were not supported by the results obtained in this study. The results of this study were not consistent with the first hypothesis that acculturation would be negatively related to the endorsement of the model minority stereotype and that enculturation would be positively related to the endorsement of the model minority stereotype in 1.5 generation Asian adolescents. Instead, the study found no significant relationship between acculturation/enculturation and the two dimensions of the model minority stereotype (i.e., achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility) in this sample of 1.5 generation Asian adolescents. Also, the study tested the second hypothesis that the dimensions of the model minority stereotype would be related to distress (i.e., somatic and affective) and life satisfaction; however, the results were inconsistent with the hypothesis in that no significant relationship was observed between the internalization of the model minority stereotype, distress, and life satisfaction in 1.5 generation Asian adolescents.

The bivariate correlations failed to support the first and second hypotheses. Specifically, the magnitude of the correlation coefficients suggested that there were no relationships between acculturation/enculturation, the dimensions of the model minority stereotype, affective distress, somatic distress, and life satisfaction.

Hypothesis three stated that the dimensions of the model minority stereotype would at least partially mediate the relationship between acculturation/enculturation, distress, and life satisfaction in 1.5 generation Asian adolescents. However, evidence of mediation was not observed in that achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility did not account for a

significant amount of variance between acculturation/enculturation, distress (i.e., somatic and affective), and life satisfaction. Therefore, the influence of acculturation/enculturation on distress and life satisfaction did not operate through participants' level of endorsement of the model minority stereotype.

In testing hypothesis four, GPA was not a significant moderator between achievement orientation, affective distress, somatic distress, and life satisfaction; thus, GPA did not moderate the relationship between these variables. However, the results partially supported the fifth hypothesis, which proposed that color-blind racial attitudes would moderate the relationship between perceptions of unrestricted mobility, affective distress, somatic distress, and life satisfaction. It was found that color-blind racial attitudes moderated the relationship between unrestricted mobility and affective distress but did not moderate the relationship between unrestricted mobility, somatic distress, and life satisfaction.

Although there were a few significant findings, the findings have to be interpreted with caution due to low power associated with the study's small sample size and small effect sizes. In regards to non-significant findings, it must be noted that without substantial power, the probability of making a Type II error was high in that I may have failed to observe a difference when in fact there were statistically significant findings. Kline (2011) recommended using a sample size of at least 5 to 10 cases per parameter. The model in this study had 57 free parameters; therefore, a sample size of at least 285 participants were needed to attain the minimum five cases per parameter ratio. However, I was unable to attain the minimum sample size to observe the true relationships in the model.

Acculturation/Enculturation and Unrestricted Mobility

Despite the non-significant correlations, the results from the path analysis indicated that acculturation significantly predicted achievement orientation, such that as acculturation increased, the endorsement of achievement orientation decreased. This result is consistent with previous research that indicated that Asian individuals who are acculturated and internalize Western values are more likely to reject the model minority stereotype (Lee, 2015). Interestingly, enculturation also significantly predicted achievement orientation. As enculturation increased, the level of achievement orientation decreased. This finding was inconsistent with the literature in that prior research suggested that enculturated Asian individuals may internalize values that are associated with the model minority stereotype, specifically achievement orientation (Lee, 2015). Overall, the results suggest that when 1.5 generation Asian adolescents report greater adherence to Western culture or Asian culture, they reported lower endorsement of the belief that Asian individuals are more hardworking, well-behaved, and better in math and science compared to other racial groups. It appears that both acculturated and enculturated 1.5 generation Asian adolescents reject this dimension of the model minority stereotype and claim it as inaccurate.

According to Gupta et al. (2011), self-perception, which is the perception of oneself, is important to consider when determining how people “form conceptions about themselves and the racial group they belong to” (p. 103). Therefore, Asian individuals may be aware of the stereotype associated with Asians (i.e., model minority stereotype), but how these individuals conceptualize and internalize the model minority stereotype could determine the effects the stereotype has on Asian individuals’ levels of distress and life satisfaction (Gupta

et al., 2011). Also, Gupta et al. (2011) noted that an individual's behavior could be influenced by how deep the stereotype is entrenched in their internal consciousness.

For example, academics is an area where Asian individuals are labeled by other racial groups as being the model minority stereotype. The internalization of achievement orientation emphasizes that Asian Americans have the belief that they perform better in school and excel in math and science courses compared to other individuals from other racial minority groups; thus, it could be assumed that Asian American college students feel more inclined to pursue STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) majors in college than individuals from other racial groups in order to live up to the stereotype. Also, if Asian people internalizes the stereotype, then the behavior that aligns with the stereotype could be pursuing a math or science related field. In fact, according to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS; 2012), the highest percentage of individuals majoring in a STEM field were Asian individuals in that approximately 30% of Asian college students majored in a STEM field in the 2012-2013 academic year. Although Asian students have the highest percentage of bachelor's degree in STEM majors compared to other racial groups, the data system also found that the most popular majors chosen by Asian college students include non-STEM majors such as Business Administration, Psychology, and Sociology (Hinrichs, 2015; IPEDS, 2012). Moreover, the data in the current study showed that the participants were majoring in both STEM and non-STEM fields.

The results regarding achievement orientation are significant because the results provide evidence that both acculturated and enculturated 1.5 generation Asian adolescents are challenging the stereotype and the "favorable" traits associated with the stereotype including being perceived by others as intelligent and hardworking. It appears that these

individuals do not feel the need to live up to the stereotype in order to validate their own academic success.

A possible explanation of why both acculturation and enculturation significantly predicted lower levels of achievement orientation is that the participants could have endorsed bicultural competence. A unique positive experience for 1.5 generation Asian individuals is the ability to operate proficiently between their country of origin and the culture of the new country, thus having high levels of socialization in both cultures. The bilinear model of acculturation also states that it is possible for individuals to adopt the values and behaviors of more than one culture. According to Keum et al. (2018), acculturated individuals are more likely to identify racism than recent Asian immigrants. Thus, it could be hypothesized that 1.5 generation individuals who demonstrate bicultural competence could have better awareness of racism in the U.S. and be more conscious of the model minority label than highly enculturated individuals. The conscious awareness of the model minority stereotype could allow biculturally competent Asian Americans to not attribute themselves as the model minority. The significant findings in my study regarding acculturation, enculturation, and achievement orientation suggest that future research should explore the extent to which 1.5 generation Asian individuals report bicultural competence and investigate its relationship with the model minority stereotype.

Achievement Orientation and GPA

Past research has found GPA to be a significant moderator of the relationship between model minority stereotype and distress (Yoo et al., 2015); thus, it was hypothesized that the strength of the association between achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction would depend on various levels of GPA. The bivariate correlations indicated

relationships between GPA, achievement orientation, affective distress, and life satisfaction, which suggested a possible moderation effect. Unfortunately, I did not find any evidence that GPA played a unique role in the relationship between achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction in 1.5 generation Asian adolescents such that individuals who endorse high levels of achievement orientation and higher GPA would report higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of distress compared to individuals who report lower GPA. This finding was inconsistent with the findings of Yoo et al. (2014).

A possible reason for a discrepancy between my study and Yoo et al. (2014) and the absence of significant moderation was a ceiling effect; the distribution of GPA scores clustered toward the highest possible GPA score (i.e., 4.0). GPA scores ranged from 2.00 to 4.00 with a mean score of 3.63 ($SD = .35$), but about 75% of participants noted that their current cumulative GPA was at or above 3.5, indicating that majority of the students reported high GPA scores. The lack of variability in GPA scores may have contributed to the absence of an interaction effects. Also, it appears that the majority the participants in my study were performing well academically as evidenced by their high GPAs. Thus, the high GPA scores could have caused the limited effects found between the endorsement of achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction. Overall, the GPA scores of 1.5 generational Asian college students did not affect the relationship between the endorsement of achievement orientation, distress, and life satisfaction.

Additionally, utilizing GPA may have been a poor indicator of academic achievement due to the various factors that affect GPA scores such as the individual's institution, course, and instructor. Also, many participants in my study did not indicate their GPA because they were freshmen who were in the middle of completing their first semester of college.

Therefore, for this study, GPA may have not been a reliable indicator of measuring academic success. Future studies may benefit from using a standardized test score, such as the SAT, ACT, or GRE to measure academic achievement. Most higher education institutions require students to submit these standardized test scores because it is assumed that these tests measure college readiness and perceived college academic performance. In fact, Hezlett et al. (2001) found that in a sample of over one million students, SAT scores were a predictor of college freshmen's GPA scores. It could be assumed that standardized test scores can be used instead of college GPA scores to measure academic achievement. Also, these standardized scores can capture the academic achievement level of incoming freshman students.

Unrestricted Mobility and Color-blind Racial Attitudes

As hypothesized, the relationship between perceptions of unrestricted mobility and affective distress was moderated by color-blind racial attitudes in 1.5 generation Asian individuals. Essentially, color-blind racial attitudes acted as a buffer for 1.5 generation Asian adolescents. Asian individuals who internalize the model minority stereotype, specifically unrestricted mobility, have strong beliefs that Asian Americans face fewer barriers and less racism than other racial groups (Kiang et al., 2016; Yoo et al., 2010; Yoo et al., 2014). If these individuals also endorse high levels of color-blind racial attitudes, they may believe in meritocracy and that they have the same underlying privileges as White individuals.

A possible explanation of why 1.5 generation Asian American adolescents endorse color-blind racial attitudes could be due to lack of awareness about modern, subtler forms of racism (Keum et al., 2018; Neville et al., 2000). Color-blind racial attitudes may protect Asian Americans from recognizing racist acts by establishing an "ignorance is bliss" attitude.

These individuals may be able to identify overt racism, but they may not be able to recognize subtle forms of racism such as microaggressions, which are everyday “slights, insults, putdowns, invalidations, and offensive behaviors that people of color experience.” (Sue et al., 2019, p. 129).

For people of color who endorse color-blind racial attitudes, it may be difficult for them to critically examine systemic racism in the United States because these individuals are more likely to internalize racial stereotypes than individuals who endorse low levels of color-blind racial attitudes (Keum et al., 2018). Along with internalizing racial stereotypes, people of color who endorse high levels of color-blind racial attitudes could engage in “victim blaming, identify with the oppressor, and justify the existing social inequities as means to survive within the system” (Keum et al., 2018, p. 150). In fact, Keum et al. (2018) noted that Asian Americans with high levels of color-blind racial attitudes may adopt a worldview that minimizes both their own personal experiences with racism and the reality of racial issues in American society.

If 1.5 generation Asian students endorse both unrestricted mobility and color-blind racial attitudes, then it could be assumed that these individuals believe that their successes were due to hard work, thus instilling themselves with meritocratic beliefs and a sense of privileged status and pride (Keum, et al., 2018; Li & Wang, 2008). Asian Americans who have less awareness about privileged and oppressed identities may become confused or patronize their racial/ethnic peers when they notice these individuals struggling to succeed (Li & Wang, 2008). These Asian individuals may believe that the reason why their peers are unsuccessful is due to lack of perseverance and hard work (Li & Wang, 2008).

However, holding on to these meritocratic beliefs can cause Asian students to have difficulties forming meaningful relationships with individuals from minority racial groups because these Asian adolescents may rank themselves higher on the racial hierarchy. They could also view themselves as having the same underlying privileges as White individuals (Keum et al., 2018). Additionally, these Asian individuals could foster racist attitudes towards individuals of color, which can cause tension and misunderstandings between them and people from other minority racial groups. In fact, Neville et al. (2000) stated that embracing color-blind racial attitudes led to greater levels of racial prejudice.

When the Pew Research Center (2019) conducted a study on group relations between Asian individuals and individuals from other racial groups, it was found that eight in ten Asian Americans reported getting along either “very well” or “pretty well” with white individuals. On the contrary, about 70% and 60% of Asian Americans noted getting along “very well” or “pretty well” with Hispanics and black individuals, respectively (Pew Research Center, 2019). These data provide evidence that Asian Americans reported having a better relationship with white individuals than Hispanics and black individuals, which suggests possible racial tension between Asian Americans and other racial minority groups. It could be that students from minority racial groups express resentment towards Asian American students because they also perceive Asian Americans as higher on the racial hierarchy. The tension between minority racial groups can divide minority racial groups from each other, which preserves the initial motive for establishing the model minority stereotype in that White Americans wanted to create a “model” minority group among racial minority groups (Li & Wang, 2008).

According to Li and Wang (2008), Asian American students have fewer friends of different racial/ethnic backgrounds compared to other students of color. Furthermore, Keum et al. (2018) stated that Asian Americans who internalize color-blind racial attitudes are more likely to distance themselves from other people of color and also from other Asian Americans who have greater awareness about racism in the U.S. This finding is detrimental to 1.5 generation Asian adolescents because a unique challenge that 1.5 generation Asian students experience is a lack of belongingness and acceptance from their country of origin and the new culture (Kim et al., 2003). If these students are unable to find social support from people with similar and/or different racial backgrounds, then they may notice an increase in isolation and mental health concerns (Kim et al., 2003). With increasing racial diversity in the U.S., it is certain that 1.5 generation Asian college students would interact with people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. In order to increase social connectedness and decrease social isolation in 1.5 generation Asian individuals, it may be important to address Asian students' color-blind racial attitudes and endorsement of unrestricted mobility. It could be hypothesized that decreasing color-blind racial attitudes and the endorsement of unrestricted mobility may allow these students to have positive interracial interactions and experience social connectedness.

In addition, people may believe that the model minority stereotype is harmless because it protects Asian Americans from experiencing distress. However, holding on to the stereotype perpetuates the invisibility of Asian Americans, which can make it difficult to address their concerns because their struggles stay hidden (Li & Wang, 2008). In fact, studies have found that in school settings, teachers overlook Asian students' needs because they believe that these students are self-sufficient and well adjusted; thus again, their needs

stay invisible (Li & Wang, 2008). Furthermore, embracing the stereotype and internalizing color-blind racial attitudes reinforces the color-blind racial ideology, but this ideology does not accurately reflect Asian American experiences in the United States, in that Asian Americans continue to experience racial discrimination (Cornejo, Agrawal, Chen, Yeung, & Trinh, 2019). Asians individuals who internalize meritocracy and the message that “race does not matter” discount Asian Americans’ experiences with racism and continue to preserve white superiority and white privilege. For non-Asian individuals, failure to challenge the stereotype allows them to continue holding on to the belief that Asian American are well-adjusted. However, this attitude will prevent both Asian Americans and their allies from implementing change and addressing discrimination. Additionally, in order to address systemic racial privilege, intergroup efforts need to be made by racial minority groups (Keum et al., 2018) However, if racial tension continues between Asian Americans and other racial minority groups, then it will be difficult for minority groups to come together and promote racial equality in the U.S. (Keum et al., 2018).

Limitations

A notable limitation of this study was inadequate power due to a combination of small effect sizes and small sample size. For this study, the minimum sample size of at least 5 to 10 cases per parameter in the model was not attained. The model in this study had 57 free parameters; therefore, a sample size of at least 285 participants was needed. Thus, the lack of statistically significant results could be due to inadequate power. At the same time, statistically significant findings should be interpreted with caution in that I may have observed significant differences when in fact there were non-significant findings (Type I

error). Further research should observe the relationship between the variables with a larger sample size to have adequate power.

Additionally, it was difficult to collect data on 1.5 generation Asian individuals due to the various definitions of the term “1.5 generation.” It seems like there may have been confusion about the definition of “1.5 generation” among participants because there is no clear definition, even in the literature, about who they are. For example, Bartley and Spoonley (2008) stated that an individual is considered 1.5 generation if they moved to the U.S. between the ages of six and thirteen from their countries of origin. However, Kim et al. (2003) did not provide an exact age range but reported that an individual is considered 1.5 generation if they moved to the U.S. as a child or an adolescent. In my study, I did not specify an age parameter, but I provided the following definition of 1.5 generation: Individuals are considered 1.5 generation if they immigrated to a new country as children or preteens and spent a large portion of their developmental years in the new country. Although I provided a definition, many of the participants who completed the survey reported that they were born in the United States, which classifies them as 2nd generation Asian Americans. I had to remove these cases, which caused the total sample size to drastically decrease.

A possible explanation of why the term “1.5 generation” could have caused confusion among possible participants is that the term may not be a familiar term in certain Asian cultures. The term “1.5 generation” is widely used in Korean communities, and most of the literature on 1.5 generation individuals is on Korean immigrants (Pyon, 2011). Although Pyon (2011) stated that the term is being used in academia to describe immigrants from other Asian countries including Vietnam, Philippines, and Cambodia, it appears that the term is not widely used in all Asian ethnic groups. Both the confusion about the definition of “1.5

generation” and the unfamiliarity of the term appears to have caused difficulties with collecting data on 1.5 generation Asian individuals. In the future, it may be beneficial to define “1.5 generation” as a continuous variable rather than a categorical variable so that the variable is not restricted to particular values. This could be implemented by measuring the amount of time the participants resided in the U.S.

Another limitation of this study was that a convenience sample was used in that the participants were selected due to their accessibility. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize the results of the study to all 1.5 generation Asian individuals in that I cannot generalize the findings beyond Asian college students. It is also worth noting that I utilized the standardized residual covariances as the basis for modifying the proposed model, which resulted in a data-driven, sample-specific model; this hinders the generalizability of the findings. Another limitation of the study is that the study focused on Asian Americans as a racial group without accounting for intra-ethnic variations. It could be that Asian individuals from different regions and/or countries could endorse various levels of the model minority stereotype. Due to the numerous Asian cultural groups, future research should look at the various levels of acculturation, enculturation, model minority stereotype, distress, and life satisfactions between ethnic groups in order to make comparisons across various Asian ethnic groups.

Lastly, it should be noted that Keum et al. (2018) supported the use of the total score of the Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) in an Asian sample, so I utilized the total score of the CoBRAS to measure color-blind racial attitudes in the participants. However, Keum et al. (2018) also performed a measurement invariance of the CoBRAS and found that a bifactor, with one general factor and three group factors (i.e., Unawareness of

Blatant Racial Issues, Institutional Discrimination, and Racial Privilege) was the best fitting model in a sample of 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation and beyond Asian Americans. If subscales are to be used in future studies, Keum et al. (2018) recommends specifying the bifactor in SEM because the original three-factor model would make it difficult to ascertain if the “scores reflect variance due to general factor or the respective subscale variance” (p. 155).

Implications for Practice and Research

In conclusion, my results highlighted the various levels of endorsement of the model minority stereotype in acculturated and enculturated 1.5 generation Asian adolescents and how the internalization of the model minority stereotype affects their level of distress. This finding has substantial implications for clinical practice in that therapists need to be attentive to 1.5 generation Asian adolescents’ level of acculturation, enculturation, and endorsement of the model minority stereotype. One of the unique positive experiences of 1.5 generation Asian adolescents is that they immigrated to a new country as children or preteens, so they can establish bicultural competence in that they have high levels of socialization in both cultures. However, 1.5 generation Asian adolescents could also be susceptible to feeling a lack of belongingness in their country of origin and in the new culture, which can affect their adjustment to the U.S. When therapists are working with 1.5 generation adolescents, it would be beneficial for therapists to understand the acculturation process for these individuals to determine if they are experiencing any identity challenges.

Furthermore, the results demonstrated that the effect of perceptions of unrestricted mobility on affective distress depended on one’s level of color-blind racial attitudes; thus, therapists should be aware that 1.5 generation Asian individuals who endorse high levels of unrestricted mobility and color-blind racial attitudes could report less distress but also report

difficulties with interracial social interactions. Also, therapists may have 1.5 generation Asian adolescent clients who internalize the message that the model minority stereotype as a positive stereotype. It may be important to engage in a conversation about the racial reality of Asian Americans and the negative implications associated with the stereotype. Therapists and 1.5 generation Asian adolescent clients may need to develop coping skills to manage symptoms associated with race-based discrimination.

Lastly, the findings have research implications in that it speaks to the importance of further examining the endorsement of the model minority stereotype and color-blind racial attitudes in 1.5 Asian American adolescents. An important question that needs to be asked is how can the model minority stereotype be addressed and debunked? The findings highlight the need to increase multicultural competency. Thus, it may be advantageous for schools to adopt a multicultural education system where conversations about cultural diversity are encouraged and students are able to learn about different cultural backgrounds (Alghamdi, 2017). Another advantage of implementing a multicultural education system is that dialogues about white privilege and color-blind racial attitudes could be discussed among students and teachers. These conversations could address and dismantle the model minority stereotype and many other racial stereotypes.

APPENDIX A

Demographics

1. Age _____
2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____ Other (please specify): _____
3. What is your socioeconomic status?
Low _____
Lower Middle _____
Middle _____
Upper Middle _____
High _____
4. What is your current student status?
Freshman _____
Sophomore _____
Junior _____
Senior _____
Graduate _____
5. What is your religious identity?
Buddhist _____
Christian (Protestant) _____
Christian (Catholic) _____
Hindu _____
Jewish _____
Muslim _____
Atheist _____
Agnostic _____
Other (please specify): _____
6. What is your major?
7. What is your cumulative college GPA?
8. What is your country of origin?
9. At what age did you immigrate to the United States?

10. How many years have you been living in the United States?

11. How many times have you visited your country of origin after you moved to the United States?

12. What area of the United States are you currently living?

Northeast _____ Midwest _____ South _____ West _____

APPENDIX B

The Hopkins Symptom Checklist- 21 (HSCL-21)

How have you felt during the past seven days including today? Use the following scale to describe how distressing you have found these things over this time.

	Not at all 1	A little 2	Quite a bit 3	Extremely 4
1. Blaming yourself for things	1	2	3	4
2. Pains in the lower part of your back	1	2	3	4
3. Feeling lonely	1	2	3	4
4. Feeling blue	1	2	3	4
5. Your feelings being easily hurt	1	2	3	4
6. Feeling others do not understand you or are unsympathetic	1	2	3	4
7. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you	1	2	3	4
8. Feeling inferior to others	1	2	3	4
9. Soreness of your muscles	1	2	3	4
10. Hot or cold spells	1	2	3	4
11. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body	1	2	3	4
12. A lump in your throat	1	2	3	4
13. Weakness in parts of your body	1	2	3	4
14. Heavy feelings in your arms or legs	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX C

Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item.

	Strongly disagree							Strongly agree			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I am satisfied with my life.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX D

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

Directions: Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues in the United States (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale below, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of	1	2	3	4	5	6

the color of their skin.

10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX E

Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4)

Below are statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item.

Strongly disagree								Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7	
1. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans have stronger work ethics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are harder workers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), despite experiences with racism, Asian Americans are more likely to achieve academic and economic success.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more motivated to be successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans generally have higher grade point averages in school because academic success is more important.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans get better grades in school because they study harder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans generally perform better on standardized exams (i.e., SAT) because of their values in academic achievement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans make more money because they work harder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

9. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more likely to persist through tough situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are less likely to face barriers at work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are less likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are less likely to experience racism in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are more likely to be treated as equals to European Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African American, Hispanics, Native Americans), it is easier for Asian Americans to climb the corporate ladder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX F

Modified Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans- Revised (ARSMA-II)

Please read each statement carefully and decide how much the statement is generally true of you on a 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely often or almost always*) scale.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all				Extremely often or Almost always
1. I speak English.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My thinking is done in the English language.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I enjoy reading in English (e.g., books).	1	2	3	4	5
4. I write in English.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I enjoy English language movies.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I associate with Anglos.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I enjoy listening to English language music.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My friends now are of Anglo origin.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I enjoy English language TV.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My friends while I was growing up were of Anglo origin.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I like to identify myself as an American.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My contact with the USA has been . . .	1	2	3	4	5
13. I associate with Asians and/or Asian Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I enjoy listening to Asian language music.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I enjoy Asian language movies.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I enjoy Asian language TV.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My friends now are of Asian origin.	1	2	3	4	5
18. My family cooks Asian foods.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I write in an Asian language (e.g., letters).	1	2	3	4	5
20. I enjoy reading in an Asian language (e.g., books).	1	2	3	4	5
21. I speak an Asian language.	1	2	3	4	5
22. My thinking is done in an Asian language.	1	2	3	4	5
23. My contact with Asia has been . . .	1	2	3	4	5
24. My friends while I was growing up were of Asian origin.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I enjoy speaking an Asian language.	1	2	3	4	5
26. My father identifies himself as "Asian"	1	2	3	4	5
27. My mother identifies herself as "Asian"	1	2	3	4	5
28. I like to identify myself as an Asian	1	2	3	4	5

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