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ASIAN AMERICAN PERCEIVED RACISM: ACCULTURATION, RACIAL IDENTITY, SOCIAL CONTEXT, AND SOCIOPOLITICAL AWARENESS AS PREDICTORS OF ASIAN AMERICAN PERCEIVED RACISM

by

JAE HYUN LEE

Under the Direction of Roderick J. Watts

ABSTRACT

Asian Americans are believed to be immune to social barriers and challenges, because of their successes in the U.S. society. This belief, also known as the model minority myth, has caused Americans including Asian Americans themselves to believe that they are not faced with social challenges such as racism. The goal of this study was to examine the relationship among acculturation, racial identity, social context and sociopolitical awareness. Series of multiple regressions were conducted to examine the predictive model. The findings suggested three plausible models of perceived racism among Asian Americans. First two models suggested that racism should be distinguished from stereotypes. Third possible model suggested that racial identity and social context may mediate the relationship between assimilation and perceived racism. The study's psychological and societal implications are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Asian American, Racism, Racial identity, Social context, Acculturation, Sociopolitical awareness

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by

JAE HYUN LEE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2007

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by

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August 2007

Dedication

For my father, Y. K.

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First, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the participants who volunteered in this study. This study would not have been possible without their valuable contribution.

I would also like to thank my committee for their endless support and patience. I thank Gabe Kuperminc and Julia Perilla for their constructive feedback and comments. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to Rod Watts for his support. I could not have asked for a more supportive committee. They have turned this cumbersome process into an enjoyable one. They have truly made this a learning process with their valuable insights.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AARRSI	Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CMI	Cultural Mistrust Inventory
DLE	Daily Life Experiences
GBJWS	General Belief of a Just World Scale
GSU	Georgia State University
MEIM	Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure
MESA	Multicultural Events Scale for Urban Adolescents
MIBI	Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity
MMRI	Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity
PDS	Perceived Discrimination Scale
PR	Perceived Racism
PR-G	Perceived Racism (General Racism Subscale)
PR-PF	Perceived Racism (Perpetual Foreigner Racism Subscale)
PR-SH	Perceived Racism (Socio-Historical Racism Subscale)
SCQ	Social Context Questionnaire
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SL-ASIA	Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation
SPA-Asian	Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness

Introduction

Imagine you are in a public facility and you are asked to leave because other Asians are being disruptive. In addition, most Asians you see on TV are portrayed as studious, non-athletic, submissive, and/or good with numbers. Do you consider these images racially offensive/biased?

People differ in terms of what they perceive as racism. Some are more sensitive to racism than others are. Some are aware that they have been discriminated against because of their race or ethnicity while others, under the same circumstances, are not aware of it at all or not to the same degree. The purpose of this research is to determine how perceptions of racism vary among Asian Americans. The influence of social context, racial identity, acculturation strategy, and sociopolitical awareness on perceived racism will be examined. A variety of terms such as perception, awareness, and attribution have been used to refer participants' awareness of racism. For example, Mellor et al. (2001) explained that perception of racism stems from attribution of racism based on the knowledge and awareness of situational and general racism. They have used multiple terms or phrases such as "interpretation of situations", "awareness of racism", and "attribution of racism" to define perception of racism. Both major and subtle differences in terminology complicate the picture. The complexity and variety make it difficult to distinguish one term from another. In this study, the terms perception and awareness are used interchangeably.

Racism is prevalent in the U.S. Some argue that it has diminished considerably. However, studies show that although the rate of overt racism has diminished, subtle

forms of racism, especially institutional racism, are on the rise (Harrell, 2000; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). Although racism has been documented consistently, most studies on racism have focused on the relations between Blacks and Whites, neglecting the experiences of Asians (Liang et al., 2004). Liang et al. (2004) listed evidences of racism against Asian Americans throughout U.S. history. The authors noted the frequent murders and lynching of Asians, legislation to ban Asians from immigrating to the U.S. and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. They also reported increases in recent racist incidents in the U.S. Racism against Asians is an ongoing issue and research must continue to further our knowledge on this issue. This is important for a number of reasons: its influence on psychological depression, psychological stress, community well-being, and culturally appropriate mental health services for Asian Americans in general. Thus, it is the goal of this study to understand the perceptions of racism among Asian Americans. More specifically, this study is designed to understand how to investigate the correlates of awareness of racism against Asian Americans.

Racism

The Literature on Racism and Perceived Racism

Objective versus subjective definitions of racism. There are variety of ways to define racism. In psychological literature, racism is defined as "the systematic subordination of members of targeted racial groups who have less political, social, and economic power in the United States (African Americans, Latinos/as, Native Americans, and Asian Americans – collectively referred to as peoples of color) by members of a racially privileged group (whites/Caucasians/European descended), with relatively more

social power (Miller & Donner, 2000)". However, by this definition, people can differ in their opinions as to what represents racism and what does not. In other words, although this is an established definition in the literature, it rests on subjective definition that can vary from person to person. U.S. law offers an objective definition of racism known as *adverse impact*. Adverse impact refers to any decision, practice, or policy that disproportionately result in negative effect on a group (Equal Opportunity Services Division) as compared to others. More specifically, adverse impact refers to "the substantially different rate of selection in hiring, promotion, transfer, training or in other employment decisions which works to the disadvantage of members of a race, ethnic, or sex group. If such rate is less than 80% of the selection rate of the race, sex, or ethnic group with the highest rate of selection, this will generally be regarded as evidence of adverse impact (Office of Equal Opportunity Programs)."

Whatever the definition, most scholars agree that racism persists in the U.S. (Harrell, 2000; Liang et al., 2004). However, the perception of racism varies by races (McNeilly, Anderson, Armstead, Clark, Corbett, Robinson et al., 1996). For example, according to McNeilly et al. (1996) Whites believe that no significant discrimination against Blacks exists, but Blacks report discrimination in various forms. This suggests that people have varying perceptions of racism. This difference in the views of Whites and Blacks may exist because of differences in social power. However, it can also reflect a different understanding of what a racist incident is. In this example of subjective definition of racism: particular incidents are evaluated as racism (or not) depending on the perspective of the agent or target.

Types of racism. Racism occurs in various ways, forms, and settings. According to Harrell (2000, p. 43), "racism can be both overt and covert as well as intentional and unintentional". In other words, racism can be as explicit as one's overt statement or behavior toward another (e.g., being followed in a store) or as implicit as the lack of representation of Asian history in the curriculum. Jones (1972) described three forms of racism: interpersonal, institutional, and cultural. Stereotyping is an example of interpersonal racism. Institutional racism refers to the systematic ways that oppress certain racial groups. An example of cultural racism is ethnocentrism. Harrell's (2000) theory is similar; but the focus is on settings. She suggests that these different forms of racism occur in interpersonal, collective, cultural-symbolic, and sociopolitical settings. For example, during a conversation, an individual may disclose stereotypical views of others, which reflect interpersonal (e.g., "You are Asian, you must be good at Math.") racism, institutional racism (e.g., "Asian are not represented in management positions.") or cultural racism (e.g., "Asians have assertiveness problems."). Similarly, according to Landrine and Klonoff (1996) "Being called racist names; being discriminated against by people in various professions; being discriminated against by strangers; being accused or suspected of wrongdoing (stealing, cheating)" (p. 145) reflect interpersonal racism while "being discriminated against by institutions such as banks and schools in loans, scholarships, and admittance, and so on" (p. 145) reflect institutional racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Constructs and measures of racism. Racism can be measured in various ways, depending on whether the aim is to measure its objective or subjective forms. Objective

forms can be measured statistically using the adverse impact method by calculating the proportion of people affected by an incident. For example, if a larger proportion of people in a racially minority group is affected by a policy or practice as compared to the number of people in the racially dominant group, then the policy or practice is considered racist.

Subjective forms are measured in many different ways. Most studies in the literature measured perceived racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; McNeilly et al., 1996; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996; Kohatsu et al., 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Lee, R. M., 2003; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Liang et al., 2004; Liebkind et al., 2004; Prelow et al., 2004; Lee, R. M., 2005). Some studies have used existing measurements such as Harrell's Daily Life Experiences (DLE; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), Gonzales et al.'s Multicultural Events Scale for Urban Adolescents (MESA; Prelow et al., 2004), Finch et al.'s Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS; Lee, R. M., 2003; 2005), and Terrell and Terrell's Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Kohatsu et al., 2000). Some created items for their studies (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Liebkind et al., 2004). Others were measurement studies that either developed or validated measurements of perceived racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; McNeilly et al., 1996; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996; Liang et al., 2004). The measures used in the listed studies were common on two points: measurement using the frequency method and measuring personal experiences of racism versus group's experience of racism. Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti measured the frequency of racial events in several publications (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind,

2001). Others measured subjective stress associated with experiences of racism as well as subjective frequency (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). McNeilly and her colleagues (1996) measured coping and emotional responses to racism as well as frequency. Prelow et al. (2004) asked their participants to identify whether they had experienced the racially motivated events listed by the authors. In other cases, researchers measured the stress levels associated with their experiences of racism (Liang et al., 2004; Harrell, 2000; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Kohatsu et al. (2000) measured racism through the level of racial mistrust. The studies mentioned above give examples of subjective measurements of racism. It is subjective because an event was evaluated as racially motivated based on one's opinions. Namely, the researchers prejudged the events and marked them as racially motivated in the studies mentioned above.

Most measurements used or created among the listed studies assess racism as experienced by African Americans (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; McNeilly et al., 1996; Prelow et al., 2004; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti measured perceived racism among various groups of people (e.g., Russians, Ingrian/Finnish returnees, Estonians, Somalis, Arabs, Vietanmese, Turks, and the Finnish) in several publications (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). In both of his studies, Lee (2003; 2005) used the PDS, which was originally developed for Hispanics. He modified the wordings to make those items relevant to Korean Americans. Similarly, Kohatsu et al. (2000) used the CMI, which was originally developed to assess the cultural mistrust that Black

Americans have of White Americans in interpersonal relationships. They modified the wordings to reflect the racial mistrust that Asian Americans have of Black Americans in interpersonal relationships. Noh and Kaspar (2003) developed their own measurement to assess perceive racism among Korean Canadians. Liang et al (2004) was the only study that identified a measurement of perceived racism that was specifically designed for Asian Americans.

There are some limitations to the existing measure, especially for the use with the Asian American population. First, most measurements employed in the reviewed studies relied on participants' recollection. Although the measurements have been useful, some authors argue that recalling the occurrences of events are as accurate as any other measures (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) whereas others are more skeptical about the recall method (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Another limitation of these recall methods is that the events listed on the measurement were identified by the researchers. This suggests that the events were selected based on the researchers' perception and not the participants'; the participant may not perceive the event that the researcher listed as a racist event. One of the items on Utsey and Ponterotto's (1996) measurement is, "You notice that crimes committed by White people tend to be romanticized, whereas the same crime committed by a Black person is portrayed as savagery, and the Black person who committed it, as an animal." Some people may perceive this as racism but others may not. It is the researchers' assumption that the participants agree that the listed incidents represent racism.

Secondly, many of the measurement used in the reviewed studies were intended to be used with racial groups other than Asian Americans. Most of the measurements reviewed were created specifically for Blacks (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; McNeilly et al., 1996; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996; Kohatsu et al., 2000; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Prelow et al., 2004). The measurement used in Lee (2003; 2005) was designed specifically for Hispanics. Using these measurements to measure perceived racism among Asian Americans may be problematic. As Liang et al. (2004) argued racism experienced by Asian Americans is qualitatively different from other racial groups. For example, unlike Blacks, Asian Americans have been perceived as foreigners although they have been in the U.S. for generations (Liang et al., 2004). In fact, the earliest generation of Asian Americans came to the U.S. as early as mid-1700s although it was not until the late 1800s that more Asian Americans began migrating to the U.S (Okihiro, 1994). Thus, it is important to address the unique experiences of Asian Americans.

These two limitations of existing measurements of perceived racism have been considered in determining how to measure the construct in the current study. The focus of this study is not on how frequently Asian Americans experience the listed events as chosen by the researchers. Instead, the focus of this study is to understand whether individuals evaluate such events as racism or not. In this way, the author does not define what events are racially motivated. Rather, it is defined by the participants' own perception and understanding.

Racism and Stereotype Experienced by Asian Americans

Although there is increasing attention to this subject, there still is little research done on racism experienced by Asian Americans (Liang et al., 2004; Sue, 1994; Lee, 2003; Sue et al., 1994). Of the few studies conducted, Lee (2003) and Liang et al. (2004) found that Asian Americans reported lower levels of racism than other racial groups. The interpretation of this finding has to be carefully drawn. This may not necessarily indicate that Asian Americans experience lower levels of racism in actuality. Rather, it may suggest that Asian Americans perceive less racism because they do not define their experiences in the larger political and historical context of racial relations. For example, there was an incident where a librarian singled out Asians to leave the facility. The reason for this was that a couple of Asian youth were being inappropriately loud at the facility disturbing other patrons. Despite the fact that only a small portion of Asians was being disruptive, the librarian asked all Asians to leave the facility. This incident affected more Asians than any other racial group in the facility; therefore this is, by definition, an example of objective racism. However, there are individual differences in evaluating this incident as racist or not. Some viewed it as racism and took action to file a formal complaint against the library whereas others blamed the youth for being there and their parents who left them there. As it is described in this example, a single incident can be evaluated as racially motivated by some people while by others it may not. The interest of this study is to understand what factors contribute to these differences in perception of racism.

Many seem to believe that Asian Americans are somehow immune to racism (Liang et al., 2004; Sue, 1994; Lee, 2003; Sue et al. 1994). This belief or stereotype is referred as the "model minority myth", which was first introduced in the literature by William Peterson (as cited in Liang et al., 2004). The myth evolved from studies, which had found that large numbers of Asian American participants reported "high educational levels, occupational successes, higher than average earnings, and positive indications of mental health (Sue, 1994)". In his review of studies on Asian Americans, Sue (1994) explained that this group of people was found to have "low rates of mental illnesses, divorce, and juvenile delinquency". These research studies have brought about the belief that Asian Americans rarely face any cultural or adjustment barriers in the U.S; thus, labeling this group of people as "model" minorities. A more culturally appropriate explanation of this high educational and economic attainment would be that in Asian cultures there is an emphasis on family names and pride (Sue, 1994). Therefore, it is more likely for people in this cultural group to want to maintain this value by being successful and to avoid family shame despite the barriers they face in the society. In other words, it is not that these individuals do not face barriers, but the barriers are overshadowed by their desire to meet cultural norms. Sue et al. (1994) also explain that the low reports on mental health problems may be due to cultural stigmas placed on mental health issues and lack of culturally appropriate mental health services available to Asian Americans. Due to the myth, many non-Asian Americans think that Asian Americans do not experience racism. However, the limited literature on this topic reveals that Asian Americans do experience racism and the experiences are related to some

mental health problems, such as depression.

Despite the seemingly positive term, it is argued that the myth has led the public, including Asian Americans themselves, to neglect the social and economic problems that are experienced by this group (Sue, 1994). As a result, this particular group has been left out of the mental health research as well (Sue, 1994). In the introduction of the special issue of research on mental health of Asian Americans, Sue et al. (1994) argued that this myth has slowed the advance of culturally appropriate research, intervention, and treatment of the mental health of Asian Americans.

The Psychological Impact of Racism on Asian Americans

The experiences of racism have negative psychological impact on the well-being of individuals as well as the well-being of communities (Lee, 2003; Lee, 2005; Liang et al., 2004; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). With respect to Asian Americans, Lee's (2003) study of Asian American college students found that racial discrimination at the individual level was related to negative psychological effects, such as low self-esteem, increased presence of depressive symptoms, and decreased level of social connectedness. Similarly, studies on Korean Americans (Lee, 2005) and Korean Canadians (Noh & Kaspar, 2003) found that perceived ethnic and racial discrimination was positively related to depressive symptoms. In their measurement study, Liang et al. (2004) also discovered that the experiences of racial discrimination were also positively related to the stress levels experiences by Asian Americans. The relationship between community well-being and presence of racial tension was analyzed (Lee, 2003). Lee (2003) found that the presence of racial tension on college campuses was related to decreased levels of sense of

community among Asian American college students. Based on their analysis of Helms's racial identity theory and perceived racism, Alvarez and Kimura (2001) argue that racism is a significant factor in the psychological health of Asian Americans. They suggest that the experiences of racism should be considered when providing this population with psychological health services. Because of its influence on Asian American psychological health, racism against Asian Americans should be studied.

The Current Study

There are several promising candidates for predicting perceptions of racism among Asian Americans. Based on theory and the literature, social context, acculturative strategies, racial identity, and sociopolitical awareness were selected as predictor variables for this study (see Figure 1). The following sections will describe each of these predictors and the framework of this study.

Figure 1. A Model of Perceived Racism for Asian Americans

Sociopolitical Awareness

Sociopolitical awareness is a potential predictor variable for perceived racism because sociopolitical awareness refers to the understanding of societal structures. In other words, a person with sociopolitical awareness has an understanding of what race means socially and not just biologically.

Literature on Sociopolitical Awareness

Freire (2003) and Watts et al. (2003) emphasize the importance of being aware that the social status of an individual is not solely shaped by the abilities of the person but also by the social, cultural, and economic structures of the society. The term used in this study, sociopolitical awareness, refers to the awareness of the societal factors that influence one's status in the society. For example, under-representation of Asian Americans in the U.S. government is not a reflection of the lack of abilities of Asian Americans but the societal structure that may hinder it.

Sociopolitical Awareness and Perceived Racism

Understanding of the sociopolitical aspects of the society will allow individuals to see racism when it exists and understand that oppression occurs systematically as well as individually. It has been suggested that individuals' acknowledgement of the societal structure and sociopolitical factors that cause racism or racial discrimination can serve as protective factors against negative effects, such as psychological distress (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). This may be because they realize that unfair treatment is not their own fault but it is because of the sociopolitical structure of society that permits the unfair treatment. In contrast to individuals who blame themselves for racist or racially

discriminatory incidents, people who place the blame on factors that are beyond themselves search for reasons elsewhere (i.e., societal level, systems level). It is theorized that sociopolitical awareness is critical for individuals to understand racism or racial discrimination properly. In other words, people who have higher sociopolitical awareness are more likely to perceive a phenomena or incident as racist or racially discriminatory and in turn search for societal factors that contributed to such phenomena or incident rather than to find the reasons within themselves.

Acculturation

Acculturation is another important concept to include in studies of Asian Americans because Asian Americans are either immigrants or descendents of immigrants. Ever since acculturation was introduced in the literature, it has been studied extensively (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Pooringa, 1990; Salant & Lauderdale, 2003). Salant and Lauderdale (2003) discovered that the influence of acculturation in the lives of immigrants in the U.S. and other English-speaking countries, such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom has been studied. They also found that acculturation has an important role in the lives of immigrants. Acculturation is a concept that describes the process of balancing different cultures; therefore, it is assumed that acculturation plays a major role in Asian American lives and especially related to perceived racism.

Literature on Acculturation

Researchers in this field use the definition first presented by Redfield (Segall et al., 1990; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Redfield et al. (1936) explains acculturation

as the changes that occur within individuals when people with different cultural backgrounds come into continuous contact. In other words, the attitudes, behaviors, and belief systems of one's heritage culture are influenced by the new culture with which they come in contact. Thus, this contact brings about change in the individual's attitudes, behaviors, and belief systems. Redfield et al. (1936) argues that this change also occurs within the new or mainstream society. According to Redfield et al. (1936), mainstream society also goes through changes in attitudes, behaviors, and belief systems due to the exposure to the cultures brought on by immigrants. Although it is implied that changes occur in both (heritage and mainstream) cultures, in reality, the changes are more explicit in one culture than in the other (Redfield et al., 1936). Segall et al. (1990) also explains that the changes occur in both societies but one goes through changes more explicitly than the other. They call the former the "acculturating culture (or society)" and the latter the "dominant culture (or society)".

Debates on the process of acculturation have mainly revolved around two issues: domains and dimensions. In earlier studies of acculturation, researchers only examined a single domain of life to measure acculturation. Developments in the literature led many to believe that acculturation occurs in various domains (Chang et al., 2005). In other words, acculturation occurs in numerous aspects of life (e.g., language ability, cultural identity, social relationships, cultural values, and participation in cultural activities).

Many have examined the applications of unidimensional and bidimensional models of acculturation (Abe-Kim, Okazaki, & Goto, 2001; Chang, Tracey, & Moore, 2005; Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000).

The unidimensional model of acculturation asserts that individuals, who come in continuous first-hand contact with individuals of a different culture, are either likely to preserve their heritage culture or adopt the mainstream culture. The researchers that support a unidimensional model explain that losing one's culture and gaining a different culture are mutually exclusive (Chang, Tracey, & Moore, 2005; Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001). In other words, as an individual gains some aspects of mainstream culture, the person at the same time loses some aspects of their heritage culture. Thus, this model suggests that after continuous contact with the mainstream culture, these individuals will ultimately fully assimilate to that culture. In this model, it is expected that immigrants lose all of the aspects of their cultures of origin and at the same time, they fully gain the aspects of the new culture (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Unidimensional Model of Acculturation

On the other hand, researchers who support the bidimensional model (Berry, 1992) of acculturation explain that retaining/gaining and losing of one's own culture (heritage) and the new culture (mainstream) are independent (Abe-Kim, Okazaki, &

Goto, 2001; Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003; Ryder et al., 2000). In other words, individuals can retain their heritage culture and at the same time gain the mainstream culture. Based on this model, immigrants do not necessarily fully lose the heritage culture. Berry (1992) proposed that immigrants might acquire both cultures, acquire one culture and lose the other, or lose both cultures (see Figure 3).

		Gain Mainstream Culture	
		Yes	No
Retain Heritage Culture	Yes	Integration (Multiculturalism)	Separation (Segregation)
	No	Assimilation (Melting Pot)	Marginalization (Exclusion)

Figure 3. Bidimensional Model of Acculturation and Acculturation Strategies for Non-Dominant Group and Dominant Group (Terms for dominant group are presented in parentheses.)

The findings for these two models are mixed. Chang et al. (2005) found support for the unidimensional model whereas others found evidence for the bidimensional model (Lee et al., 2003; Ryder et al, 2000). Lee et al. (2003) criticized that the unidimensional model for overlooking the difference between bicultural (i.e., individuals who retain heritage culture and at the same time gain mainstream culture) and marginalized

individuals (i.e., individuals who have limited association with both heritage and mainstream cultures). Flannery et al. (2001) found supporting evidence for both models, and they suggest that the two models predict different aspects of acculturation: according to their findings, the unidimensional model predicts generational status and bidimensional model predicts Asian preferences, cultural knowledge, ethnic identification, and openness to experience. After examining both of the acculturation models, the bidimensional model seemed to be more appropriate for the current study.

In multicultural societies, individuals must decide how they will acculturate to the society. Based on the bidimensional model of acculturation, Segall et al. (1990) and Berry (1992; 2003) explain that there are four acculturative strategies. The researchers explain that the terms used for the acculturative strategies differ depending on the group being considered: dominant/majority group or non-dominant/minority group, also shown in Figure 2. As this is a study of a particular non-dominant/minority group in the U.S. (i.e., Asians or Asian Americans), the terms, integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization will be further considered.

Individuals who are able to function in both heritage and mainstream cultures are classified as the integration group. These individuals have knowledge about both cultures and are able to employ behaviors of the two cultures in different settings. Additionally, these individuals are open to interactions with members of their heritage cultural groups and members of other cultural groups. Members of the assimilation group tend to be more knowledgeable about the mainstream culture than the heritage group and therefore tend to employ behaviors of the mainstream culture in their daily lives. These individuals

tend to seek daily interactions with members of other cultural groups. The separation group is more comfortable with their heritage culture and this leads them to employ behaviors of their heritage cultures in daily lives. These individuals prefer interactions with their heritage groups to the interactions with other cultural groups. Individuals who prefer to interact with neither group (i.e., heritage or mainstream), employ the marginalization strategy.

Chang et al. (2005) suggest that although immigrants typically are divided into these four groups within-group differences exist. Chang et al. (2005) suggest that within group differences occur because variations exist among the acculturation strategies on different domains of life. For example, an individual may choose the integration strategy in language preference/usage. At the same time, the same individual may use the separation strategy in family values.

In summary, there is a range of ways in which individuals may acculturate to the new society. After moving to a new society, depending on their exposure to the new society, some individuals will make efforts to thrive in the mainstream culture. Some will try to do this by entirely absorbing the mainstream culture by letting go of their heritage cultures. Others may choose to acculturate differently.

Acculturation and Perceived Racism

Various factors influence one's way of acculturating to the new society. Socioeconomic background, previous exposure to the mainstream society, or education level may be those factors. Another possible factor is the immigrants' desire. Some may want to assimilate to mainstream society and others may want to retain their heritage

culture. This difference may stem from lack of understanding of negative societal structures in the new society that oppress certain racial groups. Those who idealize the new society are more susceptible to acculturate by assimilation, because these individuals may opt not to perceive anything negative about the new society. In contrast, the individuals who choose to be integrated or those who chose to be separated may have chosen to do so because they saw the value in retaining their cultural heritage. Compared to the individuals who idealize mainstream society, separated or integrated immigrants are more willing to see negative aspects of the host culture (i.e., racism). Thus, different acculturative strategies ought to predict variations in perceptions of racism.

Lee et al. (2003) found empirical evidence to support that different acculturation strategy groups have different levels of perceived discrimination. Liu, Pope-Davis, Nevitt, and Toporek (1999) found that people who indicated being both more Westernized (based on SL-ASIA) and more Asian-identified (based on Asian and Anglo Acculturation Scale) tended to be more sensitive regarding prejudice and had less prejudicial attitudes. These individuals may have acknowledged both positive and negative societal structures of their heritage and mainstream cultures (Liu et al., 1999). In other words, these individuals may be more sensitive toward prejudice because they are knowledgeable of the oppression and discrimination that persists in both cultures. Thus, the examination of acculturative strategies as predictors of perceived racism is necessary.

Integration group, separation group and perceived racism. One theory is that the experiences of "persistent foreigner racism" (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004) may convince individuals that no matter what they do or how long they have lived in the U.S., they will

always be victims of racism. In other words, these individuals learn that they will never gain the same privileges of Whites, regardless of how much they lose their heritage culture and gain mainstream culture. In consequence, these individuals may choose to retain their heritage culture. These individuals either are members of the integration strategy group or the separation strategy group. The two groups both retain heritage culture. The difference is that the individuals of the former group acquire the mainstream culture as well however the individuals of the latter group do not. Landrine and Klonoff (1996) found that African Americans who were identified as being more traditionally oriented reported experiencing more racism than those who were more assimilated to the White society, which suggests that the integration or separation strategy groups may perceive more racism.

Within group differences (Chang et al., 2005) may exist. Members of the separation group may vary in their perceptions of discrimination although the group itself may perceive more racial discrimination than other acculturation groups (i.e., assimilation or marginalization). There will be individuals who choose to be in this group after learning the persistent racial structure in mainstream cultures. Others may be in this group without choice from the beginning of their move to the new society. For example, individuals, who immigrate to a part of the U.S. where there is an established ethnic community, may not need to interact with mainstream culture at all in order to function in the new society. These individuals may never have the opportunity to become a part of the mainstream culture or never need to become a part of it. Therefore, these individuals may be in the separation strategy group regardless of their perceptions of racial

discrimination. This suggests that the social context of the individual may be an important factor in the perception of racial discrimination. The concept of social context will be explored in the later part of this study.

Assimilation and perceived racism. It is likely that individuals in the assimilation strategy group will have lower perceptions of racism. These individuals prefer to be associated with mainstream culture. They may prefer this association because they feel that they are fully accepted as "American" in the mainstream society. This belief may be due to their limited understanding or perception of the racial structure in mainstream society. On a different note, these individuals may choose to assimilate to the new culture because they believe that if they become fully assimilated, they will be accepted as "American". Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000), examined the experiences of racism and levels of psychological stress among different ethnic groups in Finland and found that individuals from groups that are more culturally preferred by the host culture experience less racism. Although "culturally preferred" was not statistically measured, the findings suggest that the more one is assimilated to mainstream culture (more similar to mainstream culture therefore preferable), the less racism the person experiences. Another theory suggests that individuals may have decided to assimilate to mainstream culture because they wished to adapt the values of the dominant/mainstream culture. Consequently, these individuals accept the values of the dominant/mainstream culture. Liu et al. (1999) argued that individuals who acculturate to mainstream culture accept the values and beliefs, including prejudicial beliefs, of mainstream culture as their own, thus providing evidence that individuals in the assimilation group perceive less racism.

Racial Identity

Racial identity among Asian Americans is important to consider because, as Helms (1994) noted, as a member of a racially diverse society, it is important to understand what race means to oneself. In her chapter on racial identity development, she notes that being a member of a racial group becomes essential especially in the U.S. because there is an emphasis on race and racial classifications due to positive (e.g., White privilege) and negative (e.g., racial discrimination) consequences attached to racial group membership. Therefore, understanding the importance of race in the first place is necessary to critically evaluate the society, which has historically emphasized the role of race.

For immigrants from racially homogenous societies, the development of racial identity becomes extremely important. It is possible that these individuals do not identify themselves in terms of race. Identifying oneself in terms of race may indicate that the individual has grasped an understanding of what race means in the society. Additionally, it is suggested that understanding the meaning of race is probably necessary to perceive racism in the society. For example, Kohatsu (1992) found that Asian American students who acquired more developmentally complex racial identity had more awareness of racism in the society.

Literature on Racial Identity

Racial identity has been widely studied, especially among African Americans (Broman, Neighbors, & Jackson, 1988; Caldwell, Sellers, Bernat, & Zimmerman, 2004; Meshreki & Hansen, 2004; Miller, 1999; Parham & Helms, 1985; Rowley, Sellers,

Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Racial identity has also been studied in Asian Americans and Hispanics (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2000; Khanna, 2004, Kohatsu et al., 2000; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997; Porter & Washington, 1993, Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004;). Although the literature on racial identity has expanded to a variety of racial groups (Kohatsu et al., 2000), there still is a dearth of studies that examine Asian American racial identity.

Racial identity is defined in various ways. It may refer to how positive or negative the person evaluates the racial group that they belong to and their membership to these groups (Cross, 1971; Alvarez & Helms, 2001). According to Alvarez and Helms (2001), racial identity is one of the tools that racial minorities use in order to overcome negative psychological consequences of the racial oppression they experience. Racial identity can also be understood as how much an individual accepts the fact that they belong to a certain racial group regardless of their evaluation of that group (Vandiver et al., 2002). Sellers et al. (1998) defined racial identity as the significance and meaning that one places on being a member of the racial group. The following is a review of different models of racial identity.

Cross (1971) was one of the first people to introduce a stage model of racial identity. The original five-stage model was later revised to four stages (Cross, 1995) and then it was expanded by Cross and Vandiver (2001). This model is focused on the racial identity of African Americans; therefore, the racial group that is referred to in this model is Blacks. The revised Cross's model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) has 4 stages: Pre-

Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emmersion, and Internalization. In the Pre-Encounter stage, there are three identities: Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred. Individuals who consider that race is not important (Vandiver et al., 2002) are classified as having the Assimilation identity. These individuals consider Whites as their reference group. The individuals holding the Miseducation identity have negative stereotypes of Blacks. Those holding the Self-Hatred identity tend to have negative views about themselves due to the negative views that they have about Blacks in general. Individuals in the Pre-Encounter stage hold Whites as their reference group, meaning that their social group membership is Whites. An individual who is at the Encounter stage begins to re-evaluate his or her social group membership (e.g., Whites). In the Immersion-Emmersion stage, there are two identities: Intense Black Involvement and Anti-White. At this stage, the reference group of individuals becomes Blacks. An individual with Intense Black Involvement identity over-idealizes Black experience. The Anti-White identity refers to the stage where individuals completely reject Whites and their culture. The Internalization stage has three identities, which are Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist Inclusive. At this stage, individuals hold Blacks as their reference group and at the same time engage in empowering others. Black Nationalists accept themselves as Blacks and work to empower the Black community. Biculturalists and Multiculturalists identify themselves as Blacks and at the same time identify themselves with one other group or multiple groups, for Biculturalists or Multiculturalists, respectively.

Atkinson et al. (1989) and Helms (1990) have adapted Cross's model and created similar models of racial identity. With these models, the researchers depicted the

development of racial identity across all racial minority groups. Both models have five stages: Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emmersion (or Resistance and Immersion), Internalization (or Introspection), and Integrative Awareness. The Conformity stage is similar to the Pre-Encounter stage, in which minority individuals conform to the White culture and at the same time minimize the importance of race. Individuals in the Dissonance stage are much like those explained by Cross's Encounter stage. These individuals develop a sense of confusion about their identities. They begin to feel uncomfortable identifying with the White culture and at the same time confused about identifying with their own racial group. In the Immersion-Emmersion of Helms' model and the Resistance-Immersion stage of Atkinson et al.'s model, individuals accept their own racial group and reject the White standards and values. Individuals in the Internalization (or Introspection) stage attempts to balance out the values that they have for their own racial groups and the White group. At the final stage of racial identity development (i.e., Integrative Awareness), individuals are able to have a meaningful racial identity and at the same time respect other racial groups.

Helms (1994) revised her stage model of racial identity and developed a model that describes the ego statuses of individuals. Racial identity was differently conceptualized in this model. The stage models suggest that individuals progress through stages. However, Helms (1994) argues that the revised model refers to ego statuses, which do not assume individuals' progression through these statuses, but rather individuals can move back and forth among the ego statuses depending on the contextual factors. For example, in the stage model, people move from Pre-Encounter to Encounter,

and once they do progress to Encounter stage, they do not regress to the previous stage. In the revised model, Helms (1994) suggests that people can hold an Encounter status then hold a Pre-Encounter status. In the ego-status model, for example, a person may hold the Integrative Awareness status at one point, but later hold Immersion-Emmersion status. Although Helms's (1995) people of color racial identity model was used to examine racial identity among Asian Americans (Kohatsu et al., 2000), one of the major criticism of this model is that it assumes that experiences of people of color are similar (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

Sellers and his colleagues (1998) have created a model of racial identity that organized what constitutes of racial identity somewhat differently from previously mentioned models. In contrast to the models presented earlier, Sellers's Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) focuses on the qualitative meaning of individuals' racial identity (Sellers et al., 1998). According to the MMRI, there are four dimensions of racial identity: Salience, Centrality, Regard, and Ideology. Salience dimension refers to how important one thinks that race is in a given situation. This may change due to situational variables. Centrality refers to how much in general individuals identify themselves in terms of their racial background. According to Sellers et al. (1998), Centrality is a more stable dimension than Salience in that the level of importance an individuals places on race may depend on the situation, whereas how central race is to the individual may be consistent regardless of the situation or environment the person is in. Regard refers to how positively and negatively individuals evaluate their racial group. There are two components to this dimension: Private Regard and Public Regard. Private

Regard is how individuals personally evaluate their own racial group and Public Regard is how individuals believe others evaluate their own racial group. Finally, the Ideology dimension refers to the beliefs and attitudes they believe people of their own racial group should have. This dimension is made up of four components: Nationalist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilationist, and Humanist. People who have a Nationalist view believe their own racial group is unique and that they should be able to control their own future. People with the Oppressed Minority ideology tend to believe that the experiences of all other racial minority groups are similar and therefore are more likely to believe that connections with other racial groups are important. Assimilationists believe that the experiences of their racial group are similar to those of the mainstream society, more specifically, Whites. These people believe that it is important to interact with Whites and that any kind of social change can happen only when Blacks become adapt to the ways of the mainstream society. Lastly, the Humanists do not believe in fostering political and social identities based on race. These people believe that there is only one race in the society, which is the human race. Usually these people believe in a colorblind society.

Racial Identity and Perceived Racism

Kohatsu et al. (2000) and Alvarez and Helms (2001) have examined the factors that lead one to perceive racism. In both studies, perceived racism was measured using Terrell and Terrell's (1981) Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) and the participants' racial identity was assessed using Helms' racial identity model. Both studies found that racial identity was related to perceived racism.

Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that racial centrality was positively associated

with perceived racial discrimination. Additionally, they found that the meanings individuals place on their racial identity (i.e., racial ideology and racial regard) acted as buffers of negative psychological effects of perceived racial discrimination. In an earlier study (Shelton & Sellers, 2000), they found that African Americans who placed importance of their racial background when identifying themselves more readily labeled ambiguous situations as racist events. Similarly, Operario and Fiske (2001) found evidence that individuals who highly identified themselves with their own ethnic group were more likely to report ambiguous situations as racist.

Despite its previous use with Asian Americans (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Kohatsu et al., 2000; Yeh et al., 2004), Helms' (1995) people of color racial identity model is less useful than the MMRI for the study of perceived racism. The major difference of the MMRI and Helms's model or Cross's model is that Cross's model places the identity on a developmental stage model, implying that the identity at a later stage is more complex and sophisticated than the identity that comes before it. In their model, Sellers et al. (1998) do not make any value judgments on the racial identities. They suggest that one's racial identity may change throughout one's life. Sellers et al.'s MMRI emphasizes on the status of racial identity at a given point in time in one's life. In the current research, the status of one's racial identity rather than the developmental stage is of interest.

Developing an understanding of race and attributing political meaning to one's race seems necessary to perceive racism in the society. As evidenced by Sellers and Shelton's (2003) study, those who considered race as a significant factor in self-identity perceived more racism in their lives. This seems especially true for individuals who are

from societies that are not racially diverse, such as the two Koreas, Japan, and China. Because the society in which they lived was not racially diverse, the person may not have an understanding of the concept of race or the social status attached to it. They first need to understand what race is and what it means to them in order to perceive racism in the society. Therefore, it is expected that racial identity will be related to perceptions of racism.

Two dimensions of racial identity are included in this study. Because Sellers et al.'s MMRI was developed specifically for Black Americans, it is necessary to examine what dimensions are relevant to the experiences of Asian Americans. Racial centrality was included in this study because as Sellers et al. (1998) suggested racial centrality is a more stable dimension compared to the racial salience dimension, which tend to vary depending on the situation. In order to examine the meaning of race, Nationalist ideology was also used. In their study of racial identity and discrimination among African Americans, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that racial centrality and Nationalist ideology were significantly correlated with perceived discrimination. Additionally, they found that racial centrality was a significant predictor of perceived discrimination. Although the experiences of Asian Americans and African Americans are different, it can be assumed that the significance and meaning of their racial identity may have similar relationships with their perception of racism.

Social Context

Just as one's racial identity may predict the level of perceived racism, it is also plausible for one's social context to predict the level of racism he/she perceives. For

example, a person who works at a more racially diverse environment may have more opportunities to experience racism in the work place than someone who works in an environment that is predominantly composed of members of their own racial group. In contrast, individuals may choose to be in a racially homogenous living, working, or social environment because the individual wishes to avoid the social context where he/she may be more at risk to experience racism.

Literature on Social Context

In her thesis work, Austria (1997) explored Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) by adding two new components (e.g., environment and experiences of discrimination) to the existing measure. Although the focus of her study was on the development of ethnic identity, it is relevant to cite her rationale for adding those components to explain the inclusion of social context as a predictor of perceived racism in the current study. Austria (1997) predicted that the ethnic diversity in the neighborhood and the experiences of discrimination play a significant role in ethnic identity development. Similarly, Garcia and Lega (1979) explored the relationship between ethnic identity and neighborhood ethnic density. They found that individuals who lived in a neighborhood with more members of their own ethnic group had stronger ethnic identity. In addition, Austria (1997) predicted that neighborhood ethnic diversity was related to discriminatory experiences. In a study with African American adolescents, Sanders Thompson (1991) found that there was a relationship between the racial diversity in schools with the level of comfort regarding their race. In was concluded that in more racially diverse environment, African Americans were less comfortable with their race in

terms of the physical meaning of race as well as the sociocultural meaning of race, suggesting that the social context of individuals may have influenced individuals' perception of racism.

Despite her expectations, Austria (1997) did not find significant relationships between the ethnic diversity environment and experiences of discrimination. This may have occurred because numerous reasons why people choose to live in a particular social environment were not reflected in her study. Reasons such as financial constraints or liberty may be more influential in choosing a place to live rather than the person's ethnic identity. People may live in a mostly White neighborhood because they are financially affluent. However, their choice of living standards may not reflect the degree of their ethnic identity. Reflecting on this critique, social context in this study will examine the neighborhood as well as the working and social environment.

Social Context and Perceived Racism

Social context is presumed to have an influence on individual's perception of racism. People who are involved in more racially diverse contexts may be exposed to higher levels of racial discrimination than those in less racially diverse contexts. On the other hand, individuals who have experienced increased levels of racism may choose to live, work, and socialize in racially homogenous settings. It is hypothesized that individuals that perceive more racism are more likely to involve themselves in a less racially diverse setting in hopes to reduce any negative interactions with other racial groups.

Current Study

Overview

In the preceding literature review, four major variables were considered as predictor variables of perceived racism. Unfortunately, at this point there is no existing theory that connects these variables together. This study is designed to explore these relationships and contribute to theory development. As depicted in Figure 1, a person needs a sociopolitical understanding of society to perceive racism. In this case, the person needs to understand the implications of the sociopolitical structure on Asian Americans to perceive racism against the group in the U.S. It is likely that the individual's acculturative strategy is related to the level of sociopolitical awareness this individual holds. More specifically, a person using the assimilation strategy idealizes her or his new society, which in turn may result in a naïve understanding of race relations, and a denial of negative features, such as oppression or discrimination. Additionally, the social context of the individual may be related to the person's acculturative strategy – a person who desires to be a part of the mainstream society may also desire to live and work in an environment that consists of mainly Whites, and maintain idealized, naïve understandings of race relations. In order to explore the connection among the predictor variables and the outcome variable, a simultaneous multiple regression model will be employed. Although the main statistical analysis in question is multiple regression analysis, a variety of other statistical tests will be conducted to examine the following hypotheses.

Research Questions

The key research questions of the current research are: Do Asian Americans vary in their perceptions of racism? If so, what factors contribute to this variation?

From these questions, the following hypotheses were derived:

1) Hypothesis 1:Most Asian Americans see little racism in U.S. society. As a group, statistically speaking, their perceptions of racism will be positively skewed.

2) Hypothesis 2: People in different acculturative strategy groups will differ in their perceptions of racism. More specifically:

a. People who use integrative strategies or separation strategies are more likely to perceive higher levels of racism than the other two groups.
b. People who are more assimilated are less likely to perceive racism compared to those in the separation group.

3) Hypothesis 3: People who hold stronger racial identity are more likely to perceive racism. More specifically:

a. People who view race as central to their identity (i.e., higher centrality) are more likely to perceive racism.
b. People who hold stronger Nationalist ideology are more likely to perceive racism.

4) Hypothesis 4: Individuals living, working, and/or socializing in racially more homogenous environment are more likely to perceive racism.

5) Hypothesis 5: People with higher levels of sociopolitical awareness are more likely to perceive racism.

6) Hypothesis 6: A significant amount of variance of perceived racism will be accounted for by the four predictor variables.

7) Hypothesis 7: Each predictor variable will account for unique variance of perceived racism.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 99 adults, who were at least 18 years of age or older and of Asian heritage. This sample was 37% male. The mean age of the participants was 23.7 years (SD = 3.94). Most participants (83%) were full time students, approximately 67% of them undergraduates. Other participants included a post baccalaureate individual, recent college graduates, upcoming freshmen, and graduate students. Participants came from a variety of majors (49 majors) including Accounting, Aerospace Engineering, Art, Business, Languages, Law, and Psychology. On average, the education level of caretakers of the participants was at least 1 year of college education (mean = 5.35, SD = 1.29).

Less than half of the participants (42.4%) were born in the U.S. On average, participants who were born outside the U.S. came to the U.S. when they were 14.5 years old (SD = 8.33). Of these individuals, most were born in South Korea (37%) and Vietnam (19%). Others were born in China, Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand. Four respondents indicated that they were born neither in Asia nor in the U.S. They were born in Canada, Costa Rica, France, and Spain. Most participants (72%) have lived outside the U.S. The mean number of years lived in the U.S. was 11.55 (SD = 7.23).

Recruitment

Participants were recruited using multiple methods: flyers were posted around the Georgia State University campus, were handed out personally by the researcher around campus (e.g., library, cafeteria, the plaza, etc.), and sent electronically to Asian student organizations. In addition, electronic messages were sent out to students who had Asian last names, such as Ahn, Bae, Chu, Do, Eun, Feng, etc. Students' email addresses were collected through the GSU web directory. Participants were also encouraged to invite their Asian friends to participate in the study. Each participant received a movie pass, worth $6, to a local theater as an incentive.

A total of 134 individuals were recruited for the study and out of those recruited, 102 completed the surveys. Only the responses from the completed surveys were analyzed for this study. In order to minimize the variability of the study sample, the responses of three participants who were 40 years of age or older were excluded.

Procedure

Prior to collecting data, the researcher conducted a pilot study with 5 individuals from the community to assess the readability and comprehension of survey items, clarity of language used, and to calculate the time it took to complete all measures.

Initially, the researcher required the participants to complete the survey at the researcher's lab in order to ensure that the participants were of Asian heritage. However, after a few trials this verification was found unnecessary because the recruitment flyers also stated the requirements. In addition, requiring the participants to come to a specific location minimized the benefits of using a web-based survey. Therefore, the direct web

address to the survey was available for subsequent participants. This allowed the participants to complete the survey at their own convenience (i.e., time and place). The online survey program allowed the participants to save their responses if they needed more than one logging in to complete the survey. At the completion of the survey, the participants were given instructions to contact the researcher for their movie passes.

The online survey program generated an automated respondent number for each participant at the completion of the survey. This number served as verification of their participation. A few were mailed out when the participants were not able to pick it up in person.

Measurements

The survey (see Appendix A) consisted of six measures with 110 questions in total.

Demographic Questionnaire

This questionnaire consisted of thirteen demographic questions designed to assess participants' age, gender, birthplace, age when they arrived to the U.S., years living in the U.S. and ethnicity.

Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992)

The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992) is a widely used measurement of acculturation among Asian Americans (Abe-Kim, Okazaki, & Goto, 2001; Lee et al., 2003; Ryder et al., 2000). The SL-ASIA is a 26-item scale that assesses the acculturation strategies of Asian Americans.

There are three parts to this scale. Part I consists of 21 multiple choice items. The response options of each of the 21 items are synchronized so that a score of "1" or "low score" reflects highly separated individuals, "3" of "mid range score" reflects bicultural (or integrated) individuals, and "5" or "high score" reflects highly assimilated individuals. The average of the 21 items are calculated as the combination score. There are two ways to interpret the results of this measure. One way is to use the scores just as if you would with any other scores of an ordinal scale. Another way is to use it as a grouping criterion. Individuals with lower scores (e.g., scores ranging from 1.00 to 2.44) would be classified as the "Separation" group, middle scores as "Integration" group, and higher scores as "Assimilation" group.

In the current study, 4 items were excluded. Three of these items asked about the ethnic make up of respondents' friends and peers in different stages of her/his life (e.g., as a child up to age 6, as a child from 6 to 18, now in the community) and one question asked about the respondents' preference of association. These items were excluded because the multiple choice options of these items did not seem to accurately measure acculturation. For example, the lower option read "Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals". As discussed previously, selecting a lower option reflects higher separation. However, associating almost exclusively with Asian-Americans should not equate associating almost exclusively with Asians. If a person mostly associated with Asian-Americans, then this individuals should have a higher acculturation score, reflecting assimilation. Another individual who mostly associated with Asians (who are not Americans) should have a lower acculturation score, reflecting separation. Therefore,

these items were excluded resulting in a 17-item questionnaire. For the current respondents, the item mean ranged from 1.65 to 4.18 on a five-point scale. The mean of this sample was 2.83 (SD = .58). No outliers were present. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .87. In a previous study, Flannery et al. (2000) reported an alpha coefficient of .84.

The second set of the items assess the degree of belief in Asian and Western values (value items) and the degree of fit with the Asian and Western group (fit items). These items are ranked on a 5-point scale. Higher scores reflect higher belief in the values or better fit with the groups. These items are used to place individuals in the four acculturative strategy groups. Individuals who scored low on both Western and Asian values (or fit) would be grouped as "Marginalization" group, high on Asian and low on Western as "Separation", high on Western and low on Asian as "Assimilation", and high on both Western and Asian as "Integration" group. Cronbach's alpha of these value items was .21 and the fit items was .48.

The third part of the SL-ASIA consisted of one item that asked the respondents to self identify their acculturation group. Suinn et al. (1992) suggest using these three parts to determine where to place the individual within the four acculturation groups. Although the Part 2 and 3 items seem most relevant to the two-dimensional acculturation model, these items were not part of the grouping mechanism utilized in this study because of two reasons: low reliability and minimal number of items. Also, the groups formed by using these items did not appear to be different from the groups formed using the Part 1 items. Therefore, the data analyses reported used the Part 1 items. Because the score on Part 1

items refer to the level of Assimilation rather than distinctive Acculturative groups, the term Assimilation was used where necessary.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers at el., 1997)

Two subscales (i.e., racial centrality and Nationality ideology) of the original MIBI was used in the current study. The original items were created specifically to measure the racial identity of Black Americans. Thus, the items were revised to assess the racial identity of Asian Americans (i.e., the word "Black" was changed to "Asian"). For example, "Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself." was changed to "Overall, being Asian has very little to do with how I feel about myself." The revised Nationalist ideology subscale consists of items such as "Asians would be better off if they adopted Asian values." The items were ranked on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree to (7) "strongly agree". Item means were calculated. For the current sample, the item mean of the Centrality subscale ranged from 1.00 to 6.75 and the Nationalist subscale from 1.00 to 7.00. The means of the two subscales were 4.58 (SD = 1.08) for Centrality subscale and 3.08 (SD = 1.06). The reliability coefficients of the two subscales were .80 (for Centrality) and .79 (for Nationalist). When used to examine the racial centrality among Black Americans, these subscales had reliability coefficients of .75 (for racial centrality) and.69 (for Nationalist ideology) as reported in Sellers and Shelton (2003).

A combined score of Racial Identity was also calculated by taking the mean of both subscales. The mean score of Racial Identity ranged from 1.00 to 7.00 and the mean

of this sample was 3.80 (SD = .93). Cronbach's alpha for Racial Identity was .85 for this sample. There were no significant outliers.

Social Context Questionnaire (SCQ)

A 7-item questionnaire was created specifically for this study based on the environment subscale of Austria's (1997) version of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). As discussed previously, Austria's version was modified because it focused solely on the neighborhood environment of the respondents. As the goal of this study is to examine the social context of individuals, the subscale was expanded to include social context beyond the individual's neighborhood environment. The items were ranked on a 4-point Likert scale (from (1) "strongly disagree to (4) "strongly agree"). The items included statements such as "Most of the students who I hang out with at school are members of my own ethnic or racial group.", "Most of the people in the organizations or social groups that I have joined are members of my own ethnic or racial group.", and "Most of the people who go to my church, temple, or other religious institution are members of my own ethnic or racial group." Higher scores on this scales reflect racial homogeneity in the individuals' social context. The item means were calculated. The item means for the current sample ranged from 1.00 to 4.00 (n = 98). The mean was 2.12 (SD = .73). The variable was positively skewed: most of the scores were near the lower end of the scale. This tendency was expected as the data came from a college sample. The data was not transformed because the distribution did not differ significantly from normal (i.e., the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic was not significant;

Field, 2004). Cronbach's alpha for this sample was .83. The reliability coefficient reported on Austria's version of the SCQ was .71 (Austria, 1997).

General Belief of a Just World Scale (GBJWS; Dalbert, 1999)

The *GBJWS* is a 6-item scale that assesses a person's general belief that the world is a just place. Items are ranked on a 6-point Likert scale (from (1) "strongly agree" to (6) "strongly disagree"). Examples of the items are "I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve" and "I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices." These items were reverse calculated so that higher scores would reflect stronger beliefs in an unjust world. The item mean on GBJWS of the current sample was 3.25 (SD = 1.02), with a minimum value of 1.00 and a maximum value of 5.50. Dalbert (1996) reported a reliability coefficient of .68. For this sample, Cronbach's alpha was .78.

Three items reflecting the experiences specific to Asian Americans were included as an Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness (SPA-Asian) measure. These items were measured on the same 6-point Likert scale. Higher scores reflect stronger beliefs in the injustices in the U.S. society against Asians / Asian Americans. These items were "Asian Americans do not have much voice in the U.S. government", "Asian Americans need to work harder than any other people in the U.S. to be successful in the U.S." and "Asian Americans need to work harder to be accepted by the mainstream society". Item means of this Asian specific items of this sample ranged from 1.00 to 6.00, with a mean of 4.31 (SD = 1.13, n = 98). The reliability coefficient of this sample was .74.

A total of 9 items (GBJWS and Asian specific items combined) were used to assess Sociopolitical Awareness of Asians / Asian Americans. The item mean of these 9

items ranged from 1.79 to 4.87, with a mean of 3.51 (SD = .65, n = 98). Cronbach's alpha of the combined measure was .66 for the current sample.

Although SPA-Asian was not correlated with GBJWS, its validity can be implied from the strong correlations with variables such as Racial Identity (r = .47, p <. 001) and Socio-Historical Racism subscale of Perceived Racism (r = .51, p < .001; see Table 2). Due to lack of correlation between SPA-Asian and GBJWS (r = .08, p = .42) the statistical analyses were conducted using the two measures separately instead of the full measure that combines both measure.

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI; Liang et al., 2004)

The AARRSI was the only measurement that specifically addresses racism experienced by Asian Americans. The AARRSI was developed by Liang and her colleagues (2004) in order to assess the stress associated with racism experienced by Asian Americans. Liang et al. (2004) discovered that the AARRSI had three factors structure: Socio-Historical Racism (14 items), General Racism (8 items), and Perpetual Foreigner Racism (7 items). The reliability coefficient of the full scale was .95. The reliability coefficients of each factor were also reported: .93 for Socio-Historical Racism, .86 for General Racism, and .84 for Perpetual Foreigner Racism. Sample items for each factor were "You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions" for Socio-Historical Racism, "Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung" for General Racism, and "You are asked where you are really from" for Perpetual Foreigner Racism.

The Perceived Racism (PR) scale is a modified version of the AARRSI. Instead of asking participants to rate on how many times they experienced and how much they were affected by the listed events (as in AARRSI), the participants were prompted to evaluate how much they perceive the given item as racially motivated. The prompt read "Read the following statements or situations carefully and indicate if each statement describes racism against Asians / Asian Americans: Is it racism or not?". A 5-point Likert type scale: (1) No, (2) Rarely, (3) It depends, (4) Usually, and (5) Yes. Some items were modified to fit the given prompt. For example, the original Socio-Historical Racism item on AARRSI was revised from "You see a TV commercial in which an Asian character speaks bad English and acts subservient to non-Asian characters." to "Subservient (to non-Asian characters) or insignificant roles of Asian characters in American TV." Higher scores on this measure reflected higher perceptions of racism. For each subscale, item means were calculated: 3.51 for Socio-Historical Racism (SD = .63, *n* = 98, min = 1.79, max = 4.87; PR-SH), 3.35 for General Racism (SD = 1.00, *n* = 98, min = 1.00, max = 5.00; PR-G), and 3.46 for Perpetual Foreigner Racism (SD = .93, *n* = 98, min = 1.00, max = 5.00; PR-PF). The mean of the full scale was 3.45 (SD = .69). The reliability coefficients for each subscale were .82, .86, .82 respectively for PR-SH, PR-G, and PR-PF. Cronbach's alpha for the full Perceived Racism scale was .92 for this sample.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics predictor and outcome variables appear in Table 1. The following provides an overview of the variables including group comparisons by place of birth (born in the U.S. or not). Gender differences were not found among the demographic variables (e.g., age, SES, age coming to the U.S., years living in the U.S.) and the variables of interest, both predictor and outcome variables.

Significant differences were found on Assimilation between those born in the U.S. (M = 3.32, SD = .32, n = 42) and those born elsewhere (M = 2.48, SD = .45, n = 57; (t(97) = -10.25, p < .001). Individuals who were born in the U.S. were more assimilated to the U.S. society compared to foreign-born individuals. Similarly for Racial Identity, respondents born outside the U.S. (M = 4.75, SD = 1.14, n = 56) tended to be see race as a more central aspect of their identity than who were U.S. born (M = 4.37, SD = .96, n = 42; t(97) = 1.75, p = .084). In addition, those who were foreign born had higher scores on Nationalist subscale (i.e., perceived more than U.S. born individual that the Asian race was unique and Asians would benefit more if they had the control of their own future; M = 3.29, SD = 1.21, n = 57) than U.S. born individuals (M = 2.79, SD = .73, n = 42; t(97) = 2.42, p < .05). When the mean scores of the full Racial Identity scale were compared between U.S. born individuals (M = 3.53, SD = .72, n = 42) and foreign born individuals (M = 4.00, SD = 1.02, n = 57), the difference was statistically significant (t(97) = 2.53, p

< .05). Thus, foreign born individuals considered race as a more important part of who they are than U.S. born individuals.

Mean scores in social context were also compared between the two birthplace groups. The means were not statistically different. The item means of the two groups were not statistically different on the General subscale of Sociopolitical Awareness as well. However, there was a significant difference between the two groups on the Asian subscale of Sociopolitical Awareness ($t(96) = 2.84$, $p < .01$). Foreign born individuals ($M = 4.58$, SD = 1.10, $n = 56$) had a substantially higher sociopolitical awareness on Asians than U.S. born individuals ($M = 3.95$, SD 1.07, $n = 42$). In summary, foreign born individuals were believed that the U.S. society is generally unjust toward Asians / Asian Americans than those born in the U.S.

Additional difference between U.S. born and foreign-born respondents was found on Perceived Racism. Although the item means of the two subscales (e.g., Sociopolitical Racism and Perpetual Foreigner Racism) were not different, the mean scores of the General Racism subscale were statistically different ($t(96) = -2.03$, $p < .05$). Individuals who were born in the U.S. perceived more general type racism ($M = 3.58$, SD = .92, $n = 42$) than those born outside the U.S. ($M = 3.17$, SD = 1.03, $n = 57$).

Table 1.

Means, Standard Deviations of Predictor and Outcome Variables

Variables		*n*	Mean	SD
Assimilation:	Part 1 (17-items)	99	2.83	.58
Racial Identity:	Centrality	98	4.58	1.08
	Nationalist	99	3.08	1.06
	Full	99	3.80	.93
Social Context	Homogeneity	98	2.12	.73
Sociopolitical Awareness	GBJWS	98	3.25	1.02
	SPA-Asian	98	4.31	1.13
Perceived Racism	Socio-Historical Racism	98	3.51	.62
	General Racism	98	3.35	1.00
	Perpetual Foreigner Racism	98	3.46	.93
	Full	98	3.45	.69

Correlations

Zero-order correlations for demographic and variables of interest are given in Table 2. These include the subscales and full scales of the variables where applicable.

Respondents' age was correlated with several variables. Older participants came to the U.S. at older ages ($r = .55$, $p < .001$). Thus, older participants were in the U.S. less

number of years compared to younger participants (r = -.21, p < .05). The younger the participants were less likely to hold Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness (r = .21, p < .05). Also, younger participants were more assimilated than the older participants (r = -.37, p < .001).

Zero-order correlations revealed than the education levels of the caretakers were correlated with participants' age coming to the U.S. (r = -.24, p < .05). Participants whose caretakers had higher levels of education were more likely to have come to the U.S. at earlier ages. Participants length of stay in the U.S. (r = .23, p < .05), and Assimilation level (r = .22, p < .05) were also related to the caretakers' education levels. The parental education level was higher for participants who were in the U.S. longer. Also, participants who were more assimilated to the U.S. indicated higher parental education level.

In addition, individuals who came to the U.S. at an older age considered race as an important part of who they were (r = .31, p < .01). These individual also indicated that their social context was more racially homogenous than those who came to the U.S. at a younger age (r = .26, p < .01). It was also found that the older the participants were when arriving in the U.S. the more aware they were sociopolitically on Asian issues (r = .36, p < .001). Similarly, age of arrival in the U.S. was related to levels of assimilation to the U.S. society: the older the participants were when arriving in the U.S. the less assimilated they were (r = -.83, p < .001). The relationships with length of stay in the U.S. corresponded with these findings (see Table 2).

Table 2.

Correlations of Variables of Interest and Demographic Variables.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Age	-															
2. SES	-.07	-														
3. Gender	.02	.06	-													
4. Birthplace	-.28**	.26*	.01	-												
5. ASSIM	-.37***	.22*	.00	.72**	-											
6. RI:C	.11	-.13	-.06	-.18	-.40***	-										
7. RI: N	.11	-.08	.11	-.24*	-.41***	.46***	-									
8. RI	.12	-.13	.02	-.25*	-.48***	.85***	.88***	-								
9. SC	.01	-.04	-.04	-.14	-.38***	.44***	.46***	.52***	-							
10. SPA:G	-.02	-.09	-.02	.16	.11	.17[a]	-.02	.10	-.09	-						
11. SPA:A	.21*	-.15	-.02	-.28**	-.42***	.33**	.45***	.47***	.28**	-.08	-					
12. SPA	.10	-.17	-.04	-.01	-.12	.33**	.21*	.33**	.05	.86***	.44***	-				
13. PR:SP	.13	-.16	-.04	.06	-.00	.30**	.31**	.35***	.21*	-.05	.51***	.21*	-			
14. PR:G	-.08	-.00	.05	.20*	.21*	.08	.15	.11	.15	-.05	.19[a]	.04	.52***	-		
15. PR:PF	-.04	.09	.02	.13	.20*	.04	.09	.06	.10	-.07	.23*	.04	.57***	.81***	-	
16. PR	.01	-.04	.01	.15	.14	.18[a]	.22*	.22*	.19[a]	-.06	.37***	.12	.83***	.88***	.89***	-

Born in U.S. or outside U.S. (Birthplace), Assimilation (ASSIM); Racial Identity – Centrality (RI: C); Racial Identity – Nationality (RI: N); Racial Identity (RI); Social Context (SC); Sociopolitical Awareness – General (SPA: G); Sociopolitical Awareness – Asian (SPA: A); Sociopolitical Awareness (SPA); Acculturation – Original 21 (ACC); Perceived Racism – Sociopolitical Racism (PR: SP); Perceived Racism – General Racism (PR: G); Perceived Racism – Perpetual Foreigner Racism (PR: PF); Perceived Racism (PR). *Note*. *n* ranged from 95 to 99; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, a. $p < .10$

Main Analyses

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 predicted low levels of perceived racism and thus a positive skew in the distribution of scores for this variable. However, skewness alone is not sufficient to show that most individuals perceived low levels of racism because it is possible to have a positively skewed distribution at the higher end of the scale. For example, a distribution that has most scores gathered at the lowest end of the scale and tailing off to the right as well as a distribution that has most scores gathered in the middle range of the scale and tailing off to the right are both described as positively skewed. Therefore quartiles and medians were also examined. The proportions of the responses for each response category (i.e., each of the 5 options on the 5-point scale) were also calculated.

Skewness. Table 3 summarizes the skewness statistics and their z-scores of the Perceived Racism scales. Contrary to the predictions, all of the skewness statistics were negative values indicating negative skews (Field, 2004). In fact, the Perpetual Foreigner subscale had a significant negative skew. The findings indicated that most responses were at the higher end of the scale and the numbers of responses trickling down towards the lower end of the scale, which means that the participants perceived Perpetual Foreigner racism more frequently. No transformation was performed because the skewness was not significant at .001 alpha level, which is a conventional alpha level used for small to moderate sample size (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Table 3.

Skewness Statistics of Perceived Racism Scales.

Scales	Skewness	z_{skew}
Perceived Racism: Sociopolitical Racism	-.29	-1.18
Perceived Racism: General Racism	-.44	-1.81*
Perceived Racism: Perpetual Foreigner	-.49	-2.02**
Perceived Racism: Full	-.44	-1.78*

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Quartiles and medians. The quartiles were included in this analysis because they indicate the scores of lowest 25% of responses as well as the highest 25% of responses. The 25th percentiles indicate that with the exception of the General Racism subscale 75% of the responses were greater than 3 on a five-point scale (see Table 4). In other words, most participants evaluated the given situations as racist some of the times or more frequently (i.e., Participants chose options “Sometimes this is racism and sometimes not”, “I usually consider this as racism”, “Yes. I always consider this as racism” more frequently.)

Table 4.

Quartiles and Medians of Perceived Racism Scales.

Scales	25th Quartile	Median	75th Quartile
Perceived Racism: Sociopolitical Racism	3.13	3.49	3.93
Perceived Racism: General Racism	2.75	3.38	4.25
Perceived Racism: Perpetual Foreigner	3.00	3.57	4.14
Perceived Racism: Full	3.00	3.50	3.90

Proportions of responses. The item means were used as scores for each subscale and the full scale, so these values did not map onto the 5 response items perfectly. Therefore, cutoff ranges of these scores had to be set to categorize these scores into 5 response categories. For example, scores ranging from 1.00 to 1.44 on the subscale was categorized as response category "1" which reflects that the respondents grouped in this category indicated that they "never" evaluated the given situation as racist event. Scores ranging from 1.45 to 2.44 would be categorized as response category "2" indicating that the respondents in this category evaluated that the given situation as racist "rarely". The full list of cutoff ranges used in this analysis is displayed in Table 5. The percentages of responses for each subscale is displayed in Table 6 and Figure 4.

With an exception to the General Racism subscale, more than half of the participants perceived racism more than "usually": approximately 56.1% of participants

perceived socio-historical racism usually or all the time and approximately 52.0 % did so for perpetual foreigner racism.

Table 5.

Categorization of Aggregated Means of Perceived Racism Subscales and the Full Scale.

Score Range	Groups
1.00 ≤ score < 1.45	No. I never consider this as racism.
1.45 ≤ score < 2.45	I rarely consider this as racism.
2.45 ≤ score < 3.45	Sometimes this is racism and sometimes not.
3.45 ≤ score < 4.45	I usually consider this as racism.
4.45 ≤ score ≤ 5.00	Yes. I always consider this as racism.

Table 6.

Percentages of Responses to Perceived Racism Scales.

	Socio-Historical Racism (n = 98)	General Racism (n = 98)	Perpetual Foreigner Racism (n = 98)	Full (n = 97)
No. I never consider this as racism.	None	5.1%	4.1%	1.0%
I rarely consider this as racism.	5.1%	11.2%	11.2%	7.2%
Sometimes this is racism and sometimes not.	38.8%	36.7%	32.7%	40.4%
I usually consider this as racism.	49.0%	31.6%	34.7%	46.4%
Yes. I always consider this as racism.	7.1%	15.3%	17.3%	5.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. The participants were asked to indicate whether the given scenario represented racism against Asians or Asian Americans.

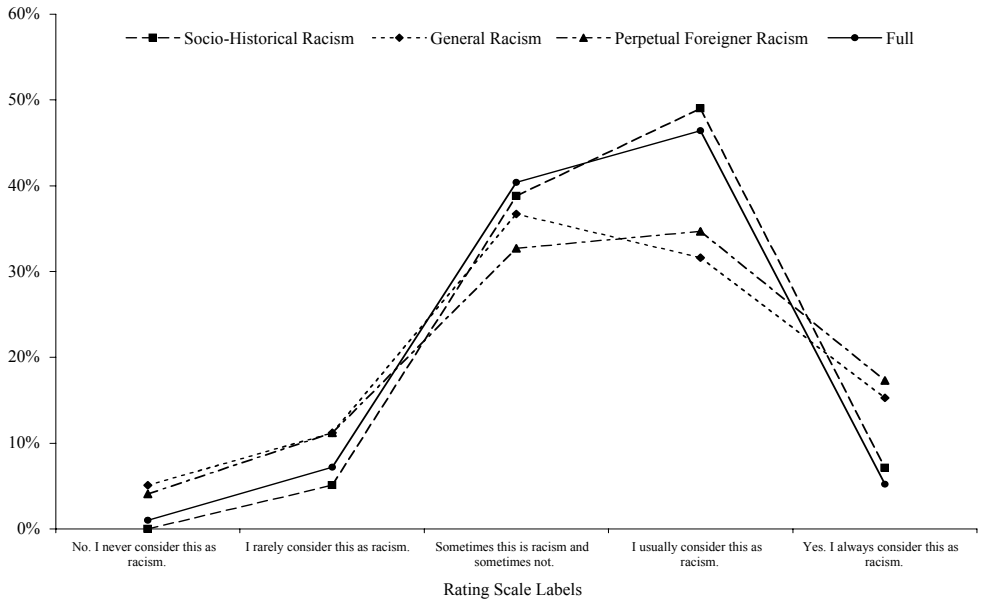

Figure 4. Percentages of Responses to Perceived Racism Scales.

None of the data on skewness, quartiles, or frequency of responses indicate support for hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 stated that individuals in different acculturative strategy groups would report significantly different levels of perceived racism. More specifically, the hypothesis predicted that the “Separation” group would perceive more racism than “Marginalization” and/or the “Assimilation” groups. It was also predicted that the perceived racism scores of the “Integration” group would be higher than the “Marginalization” and/or the “Assimilation” group.

A series of one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were conducted on the subscales and the full scale of the outcome (or predicted) variable. As discussed earlier, the SL-ASIA can be used in four different ways to group individuals in four acculturative strategy groups. Due to low reliability of Part 2, Part 3, and Part 4 items, only Part 1 was used in the following analysis

Thus, the following report only covers the analyses of the groups created using the SL-ASIA (Part 1) items.

As suggested by the authors (Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992), the participants were sorted into three acculturation groups: Separation, Integration, and Assimilation based on their mean scores on SL-ASIA (Part 1). Participants with a score of less than 2.50 on SL-ASIA (Part 1) were labeled as Separation group, those with scores above 3.50 as Assimilation group. Participants with scores between 2.50 and 3. 50 were labeled Integration group. Using the SL-ASIA (Part 1) items, it was not plausible to identify Marginalized individuals because the items do not assess individuals who do not identify with either culture. Table 7 summarizes the means of these three groups on four Perceived Racism scales (Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, Perpetual Foreigner Racism, and full scale). Mean differences on the General Racism subscale were statistically significant (F (2,95) = 3.98, $p < .05$): post-hoc Tukey HSD analyses revealed a significant difference between Separation and Assimilation groups (t(45) = -2.86, $p < .01$). Three acculturation strategy groups differed on Perpetual Foreigner Racism as well (F (2,95) = 3.66, $p < .05$). Further examination showed that the Separation group had a significantly lower mean on Perpetual Foreigner Racism than the Assimilation group

($t(45) = -2.83$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, the difference between these two groups on the full Perceived Racism scale approached statistical significance ($t(45) = -1.97$, $p = .06$).

The prediction that the Integration group would have a higher perceived racism score than the Assimilation group was not supported, nor was the prediction that the Separation group would perceive more racism as compared to the Assimilation group. On the contrary—the opposite was found. The Assimilation group perceived higher levels of racism compared to the Separation group (see Table 7).

Table 7.

Item Means and Standard Deviations (given in parentheses) on Perceived Racism scales by Acculturation Groups (using SL-ASIA (Part 1)).

Acculturative Groups	Separation (n = 32)	Assimilation (n = 15)	Integration (n = 51)
Perceived Racism: Sociopolitical Racism	3.54 (.61)	3.51 (.12)	3.48 (.68)
Perceived Racism: General Racism	3.06 (1.03)[a]	3.91 (.74)[a]	3.37 (.98)
Perceived Racism: Perpetual Foreigner	3.26 (.87)[b]	4.02 (.82)[b]	3.42 (.95)
Perceived Racism: Full	3.34 (.70)[c]	3.74 (.49)[c]	3.44 (.72)

Note. a. b. Significant mean difference ($p < .05$). c. Mean difference that is approaching significance ($05 < p < .10$

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis predicted a strong positive correlation between racial identity scales and perceived racism scales. A series of Pearson's correlations were conducted between the racial identity scales (e.g., Centrality, Nationalist, Full) and the perceived racism scales (e.g., Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, Perpetual Foreigner Racism, Full) confirmed all of these expectations. The correlation between Centrality and Socio-Historical Racism scales was significant ($r = .30$. $p < .01$, $r^2 = .09$) as was that between the Nationalist scale and Sociop-Historical Racism scale ($r = .31$, $p < .01$, $r^2 = .10$) and the full Perceived Racism scale ($r = .22$, $p < .05$, $r^2 = .05$). Lastly, the full Racial Identity scale was significantly correlated with Socio-Historical Racism scale ($r = .35$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .12$) and the full Perceived Racism scale ($r = .22$, $p < .05$, $r^2 = .05$).

Thus, prediction that individuals for whom race was central to their identity would perceive higher levels of racism was supported by the findings. More specifically, Asians who evaluate their race more central to their identity were more likely to perceive more socio-historical racism against Asians. Individuals who believed strongly that Asians would benefit from having more control over their future perceived more sociopolitical racism and racism in general.

Hypothesis 4

The fourth prediction was that the individuals who socialize in more racially homogenous settings were more likely to perceive racism. In other words, positive correlations among the Social Context scale and the Perceived Racism scales were expected. A series of Pearson's correlations were conducted and the results indicated that

Social Context scale and the Socio-Historical Racism scale were significantly correlated in a positive direction ($r = .21$, $p < .05$, $r^2 = .04$). Moreover, the correlation between the Social Context scale and the full Perceived Racism scale approached statistical significance ($r = .19$, $p = .07$, $r^2 = .04$). Thus, the fourth hypothesis was supported. Individuals who socialized in a more racially homogenous settings were more likely to perceive racism. In other words, the racial make up of the settings in which individuals socialize tended to be related with the likelihood of the level of racism that these individuals perceived. More specifically, individuals who described their social context in the neighborhood, school, work, stores, religious places as more racially diverse, perceived less racism.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 predicted a positive correlation between sociopolitical awareness and perceived racism. A series of Pearson's correlations supported this prediction. Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness subscale (SPA-Asian) was significantly correlated with Socio-Historical Racism subscale ($r = .51$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .26$), Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscale ($r = .23$, $p < .05$, $r^2 = .05$), and the full Perceived Racism scale ($r = .37$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .14$). The correlation between SPA-Asian and General Racism subscale approached statistical significance (r = .19, p = .06, $r^2 = .04$). The GBJWS was not correlated with any of the Perceived Racism scales. Thus, the fifth hypothesis was partially supported. There was a tendency that the more individuals were sociopolitical aware the more they perceived racism in general. More specifically, individuals who were more aware about the unjust societal structure against Asians or Asian Americans

were more likely to perceive socio-historical and perpetual foreigner racism. Thus, these individuals were more likely to perceive racism in general.

Hypothesis 6

I predicted that a significant amount of variance in perceived racism would be accounted for by the predictor variables (Hypothesis 6). Simultaneous multiple regressions were conducted in order examine the model. As mentioned in a previous section, due to lack of correlation between GBJWS and SPA-Asian scales two different regression models were examined. Instead of combining two unrelated subscales to form a full Sociopolitical Awareness scale, the two subscales that were originally selected were entered in the regression separately. The regression model with GBJWS as a measure of SPA is labeled Model 1 and the one that includes SPA-Asian as a measure of SPA is labeled Model 2.

Age, gender, SES, and place of birth (U.S. born or not) were entered in the first step as they tended to be confounded with the predictor variables. The predictor variables were entered at the second step. After controlling for the demographic variables, the first model accounted for 15% of the variance on perceived racism ($F(4,86) = 3.93$, $p < .01$). Thus the hypothesis was supported. Assimilation seemed to be the best predictor ($\beta = .42$, $p < .05$; see Table 8). Racial Identity was a good predictor as well ($\beta = .33$, $p < .05$). Each contributed 6% and 7% of the variance in perceived racism respectively. The statistical significance of the amount of variance is examined in the following sections. A further examination of the standardized regression coefficients revealed that a suppressor effect

may be present. More specifically, the standardized regression coefficients (absolute values) were larger than the correlations coefficients (.14 for Assimilation and .22 for Racial Identity). Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) suggest that there is no way to determine how much difference between the standardized regression coefficient and the correlation coefficient is enough to imply statistical significance. They advise that the interpretations of the findings with the suppressor effect must be carefully drawn. In other words, Assimilation and Racial Identity (more so with Assimilation) becomes a significant predictor of Perceived Racism only when other predictors in the model are held constant.

The second model using the SPA-Asian scale was examined. Consistent to the first model, the demographic variables were entered in the first step and the four predictor variables in the second. The second regression produced somewhat different results. After controlling for the demographic variables, the model accounted for 27% of the variance in perceived racism ($F(4,86) = 8.29$, $p < .001$). Thus, both the Assimilation ($\beta = .49$, $p < .05$) and the Asian Sociopolitical Awareness ($\beta = .44$, $p < .001$) proved to be good predictors of perceived racism (see Table 8). More specifically, the more assimilated the individuals were to U.S. society the more racism they perceived and the more they were aware of Asian specific injustices in the society more likely they were to perceive racism. The comparisons between the correlation coefficients (.14 for Assimilation and .37 for SPA-Asian) suggested a suppressor effect. The second model supported the hypothesis as well. However, the amount of variance in perceived racism accounted for by this model was greater (27%) than the first model (15%). In both

models, Assimilation was a good predictor of perceived racism. Although Sociopolitical Awareness as a full scale was not a significant predictor, when only the Asian specific items were entered in the model, the SPA-Asian became a significant predictor.

Table 8.

Simultaneous Multiple Regressions of Perceived Racism

Variables	Model 1 (GBJWS)			Model 2 (SPA-A)		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Step 1						
Age	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.06
SES	-0.05	0.06	-0.09	-0.05	0.06	-0.09
Gender	0.02	0.15	0.01	0.02	0.15	0.01
Birthplace	0.27	0.16	0.19	0.27	0.16	0.19
Step 2						
Age	0.02	0.02	.13	0.02	0.02	.03
SES	-0.05	0.05	-.10	-0.03	0.05	.09
Gender	0.01	0.14	.01	0.04	0.13	-.06
Birthplace	0.06	0.21	.04	0.03	0.19	.02
Assimilation	0.50	0.20	.42*	0.59	0.19	.49*
Racial Identity	0.25	0.09	.33*	0.11	0.09	.15
Social Context	0.15	0.11	.16	0.16	0.10	.17
Sociopolitical Awareness	-0.10	0.07	-.14	0.27	0.07	.44***

Note. Model 1: $R2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R2 = .15$ for Step 2 (*ps* < .05); Model 2: $R2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R2 = .27$ for Step 2 (*ps* < .001); * *p* < .05. *** *p* < .001.

The final hypothesis predicted that each of the four predictor variable would account for unique variance in the outcome variable. A series of hierarchical multiple regressions were performed to test for unique variance for each predictor variable. Similar to the analyses for Hypothesis 6, two regressions were done for each predictor variable: first using the GBJWS (Model 1; Table 9) and second using the Asian subscale (Model 2; Table 10). Age, gender, SES, and birthplace were entered in the first step as demographic variables. The three predictor variables were entered simultaneous at Step 2. The variable of interest was entered at the final step. The changes in R^2 were obtained to assess unique variances. Detailed information regarding these multiple regressions are attached as Appendix B.

Table 9.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Perceived Racism: Model 1.

Variables	*B*	*SE B*	β	ΔR^2
Step 3				
Assimilation	0.50	0.20	.42*	.06*
Racial Identity	0.25	0.09	.33*	.07*
Social Context	0.15	0.11	.16	.02
Sociopolitical Awareness: GBJWS	-0.10	0.07	-.14	.02

Note. At step three each predictor variable was entered alone. The $\Delta R2$ for each predictor variable when entered alone are listed.

Table 10.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Perceived Racism: Model 2.

Variables	*B*	*SE B*	β	ΔR^2
Step 3				
Assimilation	0.59	0.19	.49**	.08**
Racial Identity	0.11	0.09	.15	.01
Social Context	0.16	0.10	.17	.02
Sociopolitical Awareness: SPA-Asian	0.27	0.07	.44***	.14***

Note. At step three each predictor variable was entered alone. The Δ*R*2 for each predictor variable when entered alone are listed.

Unique variance of assimilation. In Model 1, Assimilation accounted for 6% of variance above and beyond the variance accounted for by the demographic variables and the other predictors in the model. Unique variance of Assimilation was statistically significant ($F(1,86) = 6.17$, $p < .05$; see Table 9). Similarly in Model 2, Assimilation significantly accounted for 8% of the variance in perceived racism above and beyond the effect of other predictors in the model (F (1,86) = 9.83, p <.01). The unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients produced in the hierarchical multiple regression of Model 2 are summarized in Table 10.

Unique variance of racial identity. Racial Identity was entered in the last step of the hierarchical multiple regression to determine the unique variance of Racial Identity.

Again, both models were examined. In Model 1, Racial Identity significantly accounted for approximately 7 % of the variance in Perceived Racism above and beyond the variance accounted for by other predictors in the model ($F(1,86) = 7.01$, $p < .05$). The regression coefficients are displayed in Table 9.

The hierarchical multiple regression using the Asian subscale as Sociopolitical Awareness scale (Model 2) revealed that Racial Identity did not account ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, p = ns) for additional variance in Perceived Racism above and beyond the effects of Assimilation, Social Context, and Asian Sociopolitical Awareness. Interestingly, the variables entered at the second step accounted for much of the variance in Perceived Racism ($\Delta R^2 = .26$, $p < .001$). The standardized regression coefficients of all of the three variables entered in the second step were statistically significant different from zero (see Appendix B).

Unique variance of social context. Similar to previously discussed predictor variables, in order to assess the unique variance of Social Context, the variable was entered in the last step of the hierarchical multiple regression. Two regressions were performed and the regression results are summarized in Table 9 (regression with full Sociopolitical Awareness scale; Model 1) and Table 10 (regression with Asian subscale; Model 2).

An additional 2 % of the variance was accounted for by Social Context above and beyond the effects of Assimilation, Racial Identity, and Sociopolitical Awareness (Model 1). In Model 2, similar results were observed. Social Context explained approximately 2

% of the variance in Perceived Racism above and beyond the effects of the three predictor variables entered in step 2. In both models, the variables entered in the step 2 of the hierarchical multiple regression also accounted for a significant amount of variance in Perceived Racism ($\Delta R^2 = .13$, $p < .05$ (Model 1); $\Delta R^2 = .25$, $p < .001$ (Model 2)).

Unique variance of sociopolitical awareness. Sociopolitical Awareness was entered at the last step of each hierarchical multiple regression to assess the unique variance accounted for by Sociopolitical Awareness above and beyond the amount of variance accounted for by Assimilation, Racial Identity and Social Context.

The two regressions produced contrasting results. According to the first regression (GBJWS was used) Sociopolitical Awareness did not account for any variance above and beyond the amount of variance accounted for by Assimilation, Racial Identity, and Social Context. However, the second regression revealed that 14% of variance ($F(1,86) = 16.99$, $p < .001$) of Perceived Racism was accounted for by Asian Sociopolitical Awareness above and beyond the 13% of the variance ($F(3,87) = 4.56$, $p < .01$). accounted for by Assimilation, Racial Identity, and Social Context. See tables 9 and 10 for results of first and second regressions, respectively.

In summary, hypothesis 7 was partially supported. When combining the results of the regression conducted with GBJWS, Sociopolitical Awareness did not account for a unique variance or was a significant predictor of Perceived Racism. Assimilation, Racial Identity, and Social Context together seemed to best predict Perceived Racism according to the regressions conducted with GBJWS.

The second set of regressions (regressions with Asian subscale of Sociopolitical Awareness) supported the prediction stated in hypothesis 7. However, the unique variance accounted for by Racial Identity and Social Context was very small. According to these regressions, Asian Sociopolitical Awareness seemed to account for the largest amount of unique variance among all the predictor variables entered. In summary, although there seems to be a suppressor effect in both models, Assimilation and Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness were good predictors of Perceived Racism. Racial Identity and Social Context seem to affect one another because when one is excluded from the model, the other becomes a significant predictor of the dependent variable.

Post Hoc Regressions

In order to explicate the amount of variance accounted for by each variable, additional regressions were conducted each equation with individual predictor at a time. The confounding variables were entered in the first step in order to control for their relationship with the dependent variable. The results are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11.

Regressions of Perceived Racism for Each Predictor Variable.

Predictor Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	ΔR^2
Assimilation	0.13	0.19	.11	.01
Racial Identity	0.20	0.08	.27*	.07*
Social Context	0.20	0.10	.21*	.04*
Sociopolitical Awareness: Asian	0.27	0.06	.44***	.18***

Note. For each regression, the confounding variables were entered at Step 1 (R2 = .03 for Step 1). The results displayed are for each predictor variable when they were entered at Step 2 of each regression separately.

* p < .05. *** p < .001.

Clearly, Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness is a good predictor of perceived racism. When entered in the regression equation alone (without considering other significant variables) it accounted for 18% ($F(1,89) = 19.91$, $p < .001$) of the variance in Perceived Racism. In the hierarchical multiple regression, it was found that Sociopolitical Awareness (Asia specific) accounted for 14% of the variance, suggesting that approximately 4% of the variance is shared by Assimilation, Racial Identity, and Social Context. When entered alone in the regression, Racial Identity and Social Context predicted approximately 7% ($F(1,89) = 6.51$, $p < .05$) and 4% ($F(1,89) = 4.28$, $p < .05$) of

variance in Perceived Racism, respectively. When these statistics were compared to the hierarchical multiple regression results, it was found that most of the variances accounted for by each Racial Identity and Social Context was shared with Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness. Interestingly, unlike other predictor variables in this study, the amount of unique variance accounted for by Assimilation was greater than the amount it predicted without controlling for other predictor variables.

Summary of Results

All of the predictor variables were correlated with Perceived Racism. However their correlations varied depending on the subscales of Perceived Racism. Socio-Historical Racism appeared to be correlated with all of the predictor variable with the exception of Assimilation. General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism were correlated with Assimilation and Asian Sociopolitical Awareness. Although the predictor variables were correlated with one another, the relationships did not violate the assumptions necessary for regression analyses. Taken together, the results of the regression analyses showed that the variables were good predictors of perceived racism. Among the variables, Assimilation and Sociopolitical Awareness (Asian specific) were best. However, the utility of Assimilation was not straightforward because a suppressor effect was detected. Assimilation was significantly associated with the outcome variable only when the other predictor variables were controlled. Thus, Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness was the only predictor variable in the model that contributed unique variance of perceived racism.

Discussion

The two main purposes of the current research were to confirm a predicted pattern of variability in the perception of racism among Asian and Asian Americans and to find which factors best predicted perceptions of racism. The results confirmed that the respondents varied in their perception of racism, and the predictor variables acted together as well as individually in the prediction of perceived racism. However, the degree to which the respondents perceived racism and its relationship to the predictor variables was not always as expected.

Asian Specific Sociopolitical Awareness

Overall, Asian-specific Sociopolitical Awareness was identified as a meaningful predictor variable for this sample of Asian / Asian American college students. In other words, individuals' acculturative strategy, their identification with Asian racial group, and their Asian social context did not matter as long as they had an awareness of the unjust social forces faced by Asians or Asian Americans in the U.S. Thus it suggests that individuals need to develop sociopolitical awareness in order to perceive racism. In other words, in order to help Asians see racism against their racial group, their sociopolitical awareness must be addressed. The following section discusses a potential approach to increasing sociopolitical awareness among Asians / Asian Americans.

Assimilationists vs. Separationists

The main difference among the Acculturation groups was between the Assimilation group and the Separation group. General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism were more perceived by the Assimilation group compared to the Separation group. This

is notable because of two reasons: 1) the differences observed in the two acculturative groups suggest that the two groups may hold different perspectives and possibly expectations of the U.S. society and 2) the data implies that a distinction between the General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism and Socio-Historical Racism should be made. The latter issues are examined in the next section more thoroughly.

The difference between the two groups was confirmed by the negative relation between acculturation and the two perceived racism subscales (e.g., General, Perpetual Foreigner). When the two subscales were closely examined, the two subscales appeared to list more racism that may be classified as stereotypes. For example, a General Racism subscale item was "Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty" and a Perpetual Foreigner Racism item was "Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you." These items do not imply the subtle power differential that is portrayed by a Socio-Historical Racism item such as "You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions." Possibly, more assimilated individuals may have expectation of being accepted as Americans by the mainstream society of the U.S. than those who are less assimilated. For example, it is possible for an individual who was born in the U.S. and lived in the U.S. for her/his entire life, to expect to be accepted as any other American. This individual may not want to be treated differently from any other American, just because of her/his race. However, when assimilationists are exposed to situations that confirm that the mainstream American society still see them as different, such as the incidents listed under General Racism and Perpetual Foreigner Racism, their expectations are not met and they may rate these events

as racist than more so than other individuals. On the other hand, individuals who have separated themselves from the U.S. society because they have not acquired the skills to assimilate to it (i.e., speak the language, associate more with Americans, have been here for generations, etc.) may not perceive similar events as racist. This may be because they expect to be different. It should be acknowledged that separationists in theory are not only classified by their acquisition of the skills, rather they consider the values as well. However the acculturation measure that was used in the study, SL-ASIA, only measures the skills acquired. Therefore, the interpretation of the findings needs to be carefully drawn.

Stereotypes vs. Racism

Another notable finding was that General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism and Socio-Historical Racism appeared to be qualitatively different. More specifically, both General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism seem to refer to stereotypical views people have about Asians / Asian Americans whereas Socio-Historical Racism seems to be the actual power differential that occurs between Asians and the mainstream U.S. Racism occurs when there is a differential in power among different racial groups in the society (Jones, 1997). For example, in U.S. society, White Americans have more power in general. If this power leads to unequal treatment of members of other racial groups, this is referred as racism. Stereotypes, on the other hand, do not necessarily involve a power differential (Jones, 1972).

Further examination of the items used in AARRSI reveals that General Racism items (e.g., “Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty”)

and Perpetual Foreigner Racism items (e.g., “Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you”) are stereotypes against Asians whereas Socio-Historical Racism (e.g., “You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions”) speak to power differentials in society and awareness of unfair treatment. Although the authors of AARRSI include these stereotypes in their definition of racism, current findings suggest that they may be different constructs.

Examination of the Model

The findings suggest that the proposed model could be refined in four ways. The proposed model included four predictors: Assimilation, Racial Identity, Social Context, and Sociopolitical Awareness. The findings suggest that Sociopolitical Awareness construct should be specified to the unique group experiences. Thus, Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness (see Figure 5) should replace the full Sociopolitical Awareness construct.

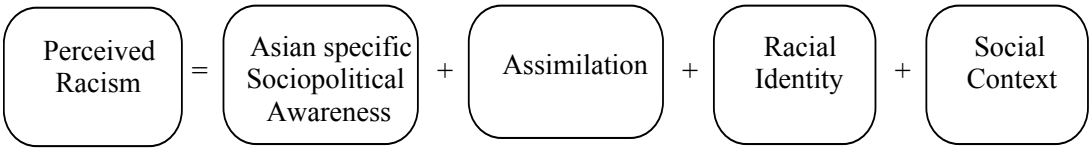

Figure 5. Refined Model of Asian Perceived Racism.

Further findings suggested that Perceived Racism as measured by the modified AARRSI may be separated into two separate constructs: stereotypes and racism. Moreover, these two constructs may be explained by different models. For example, stereotypes (as measured by General and Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscales) appeared to be more related to the level of acculturation (or the degree of assimilation to the U.S. society; see Figure 6). Because Socio-Historical Racism subscale was correlated with other three predictor variables (e.g., Racial Identity, Social Context, and Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness), perhaps an improved model may include only three of these variables (see Figure 7).

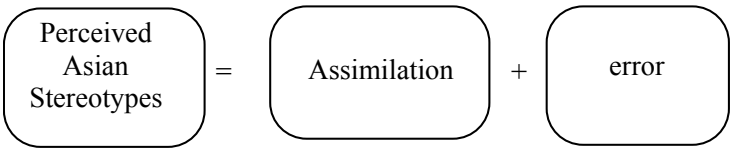

Figure 6. A Model of Perceived Asian Stereotypes

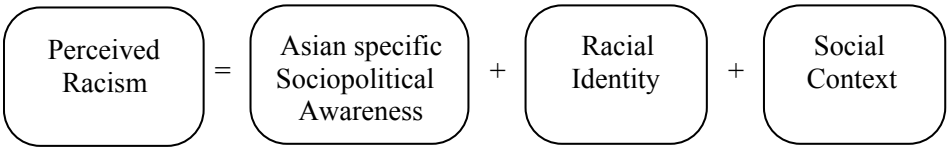

Figure 7. A Model of Perceived Asian Racism (as measured by Socio-Historical Racism subscale of the modified AARRSI).

In addition, the suppressor effect of Assimilation suggests a mediation model (see Figure 8). More specifically, the relationship between Assimilation and Perceived Racism may be actually due to the relationship between the mediating variable (e.g., Racial Identity, Social Context) and Assimilation and Perceived Racism (arrows do not imply causal relationships).

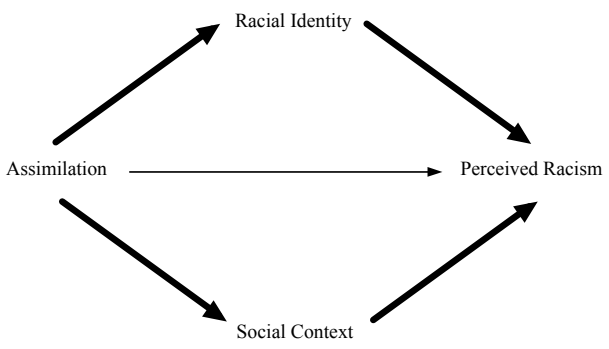

Figure 8. A Mediation Model of Perceived Racism among Asian Americans.

Measurement Issues

SL-ASIA

The findings of this study confirmed the ongoing debate of the use of SL-ASIA. As the general criticism of the measure is that the measure is based on the uni-dimensional model of acculturation. This uni-dimensional model has been debated over the years, now suggesting a bi-dimensional and multi-level approach to acculturation

(Birman, 1996). However, despite the theoretical advances made, the development of an Asian acculturation measurement has not made much progress. One example is that SL-ASIA a mainly a uni-dimensional acculturation measurement, although it has been revised to reflect the bi-dimensional model, has been used widely in studies of Asians. Although it is a standardized and a very popular measure of acculturation of Asians, there were some noteworthy flaws associated with the measurement. For example, the give multiple choice options did not accurately match so that lower scores would indicate lower levels of assimilation and higher scores would indicate higher levels of assimilation. Although Part 2 and Part 3 were added to reflect the two-dimensional model of acculturation, due to the limited reliability and validity of the items, only Part 1 was used in the study. In addition, the grouping method suggested by the authors (Suinn et al., 1992) was unclear and complicated and many of the grouping methods were not able to be used for the study. Although the measure present potential problems, it can be beneficial as long as the interpretations of the results are carefully done.

AARRSI

As previously discussed, two subscales of AARRSI (e.g., General Racism and Perpetual Foreigner Racism) appeared to measure stereotypes against Asians rather than racism, which has more sociopolitical implications. Perhaps the measure needs to be separated because stereotypes and racism appear to be qualitatively different constructs which may have theoretical implications.

Psychological and Societal Implications

There are both psychological and societal implications for this study's findings. Harrell (2000) states that in order to prevent racial minorities from negative psychological well-being it is crucial that these individuals develop the awareness of racism. Her explanation is that the avoidance of racism, in other words not perceiving racism leads to negative psychological health because these individuals fail to evaluate the mistreatment in the sociopolitical and historical context resulting them to victimize themselves. Therefore it was important to find out how individuals become aware of racism. It was especially important for Asians / Asian Americans because they are susceptible to the negative effects of the Model Minority Myth, which prevent1`s them and other individuals in the society to acknowledge the barriers experienced by this group.

Implications for Application

Current findings indicate that perceptions of racism are predicted by individuals' acculturative strategy, their level of racial identity, racial homogeneity of their social context, as well as by their awareness of societal barriers of their own racial group. The results imply that perceptions of racism may be increased by intervention programs designed to help individuals become more sociopolitically aware regarding Asian / Asian American issues. This may have long-term consequences of preventing negative psychological well-being that results from racial discrimination.

Intervention to Increase Sociopolitical Awareness among Asians

The underlying assumption of the current research was that increase in certain variables would lead to an increase in another. For example, students who socialize mainly in an Asian setting may do so because of their racial or cultural identification. Those holding stronger identifications may also be more aware of injustices against their group than those who are less identified. This in turn could lead to a greater awareness of racism in the future. The zero-order correlations certainly showed that these variables (i.e., Racial Identity, Social Context, Sociopolitical Awareness) were all positively correlated with one another, which partially suggests that the underlying assumption may possibly be true. However the directionality of these relations was beyond the scope of this cross-sectional research. In summary, the positive relationships among Racial Identity, Social Context, and Sociopolitical Awareness present potential to strategy development to promote increased sociopolitical awareness as well as perceived racism.

Prevention of Negative Psychological and Physical Consequences

Although it is argued that perception of mistreatment or in this case racism is important for individuals not to blame themselves for those mistreatments, it should also be acknowledged that individuals may be overloaded with negative information about the society especially when it is beyond their control or if they cannot deal with the situation constructively. They may feel helpless and possibly depressed because the society that they live in is unjust to certain groups of people. This may be especially true for the immigrant population - those that immigrated to the U.S. for a better quality of life. Therefore, it is suggested that actions against the unfair treatments must be combined

with raised awareness or perceptions of racism in order to achieve positive psychological consequences. A literature review of hypertension and racism among Black Americans (Brondolo et al., 2003) show that studies have found active coping mechanisms to be mediating variables between racism and hypertension. This suggests that negative psychological and physical health may be prevented by a program that helps individuals be more aware sociopolitically combined with a program that helps individuals deal with racism or stereotypes in a constructive way.

Limitations

The generalizability of the findings is limited because of sample characteristics. The current sample was from a diverse southern U.S. university with an unusual rate of diversity (i.e., unlike other major universities, the composite proportion of racial minority groups superceded the proportion of Whites). The college sample is a very limited sample which raises questions about generalization.

Issues of history must be addressed. During the data collection period, the Virginia Tech shootings occurred, in which the perpetrator was an Asian man. This may have led the participants of this study to think about their race and racism.

Although all of the measures appeared to be reliable, their validity is questionable. For example, the MIBI is a measure that was developed especially for Black Americans. The measure was revised to assess Asian racial identity only by replacing the word "Black" with "Asian". The Social Context measure was also revised to assess the social context beyond individuals' neighborhood settings. Although this measure has been used in a previous study (Austria, 1997), its validity needs to be tested.

In addition, the measure of Asian specific Sociopolitical Awareness (SPA-A) has potential problems. The measure only contains three items and it was developed especially for this study, which means that it has not been validated. It is disturbing that the SPA-A is not correlated with the GBJWS, which is a widely used measure. This suggests two possibilities. Asian may not have developed the awareness to see the injustices in the U.S. society while they have developed awareness of the injustices that is placed on their own racial group. Another possibility is that GBJWS may not be an appropriate measure to assess sociopolitical awareness. The goal was to use both subscales to measure sociopolitical awareness of Asians, however, the GBJWS was dropped because it did not appear to be correlated with other predictor variables.

Lastly, the original Perceived Racism scale was modified to reflect the perceptions of racism rather than the stress levels associated with experiences of racism. The items used had to be reworded to fit the research questions of the current study. More specifically, the original AARRSI measures personal experiences of racism as well as psychological stress associated with it. The modified version (which was used in this study) differed from the original measure by the use of the scale. The participants were asked to evaluate the given events rather than to report their personal experiences. This difference may be substantial because the actually reported incidents are more dependent upon the social context of the individuals (i.e., if a person is involved mostly in an environment where his/her own race is the majority group the person may not experience racism at all). The difference of the current study and Liang et al.'s (2004) study is that

although the items were similar, the latter assessed personal experiences rather than their perceptions.

Future Directions

Future studies should consider improving the measurements used in this study. Many of the measures were new or modified versions which need to be tested on their reliability and validity. SL-ASIA is a valuable measure but need a different approach to assessing acculturation. For example, two separate subscales should be developed: Asian Oriented and Western Oriented. Instead of asking participants which language they use, asking them how often they use a certain language may be more accurate. More specifically, an example item on the Asian Oriented subscale would be "Describe the use of your Asian language. How often do you use this Asian language with friends? How often do you use Asian language with your family? How often do you use Asian language at school / work / religious places, etc.?" This method would assess the bi-dimensional aspect of acculturation. The MIBI subscales (e.g., Centrality and Nationalist) appear to be general enough to be used across different race groups, however this should be validated. Also, as sociopolitical awareness appears to be an important construct in predicting perceived racism, measurement development seems critical. According to the findings, sociopolitical awareness may be qualitatively different among different racial groups. Therefore, group specific measure as well as a measure that assess sociopolitical awareness in general needs to be developed.

Further exploration of the Perceived Racism scale is recommended as well because it is speculated that each subscale may be measuring qualitatively different

constructs: stereotypes and racism. For example, similar analyses should be conducted for each subscale of Perceived Racism. Acculturation may become a significant predictor of General and/or Perpetual Foreigner Racism. Moreover, a mixed method approach may be useful in understanding the qualitative meaning race for Asians / Asian Americans, the meaning of being "American" as well as their perception of the mainstream society and their understanding of the injustices placed against their own racial group.

As mentioned previously more practical application is needed as well. This study has showed that sociopolitical awareness predicts perceived racism; therefore, this finding should be applied to train individuals to be more sociopolitically aware so that they perceive more racism. For example, current study may have served as an intervention tool; this study may have initiated the conscious raising among Asian / Asian American college students. However, this needs to be combined with the skills to take actions so that it would prevent any psychological harm that may be associated with increase awareness of racism.

A different approach to this issue is also proposed. Rather than focusing on what the victims of racism perceive and how to react to the situations, future studies should focus on the perpetrators of racism. Studies that would explicate why stereotypes and racism exist in the society in the first place may be useful. This would help identify the cause and would inform us how to take action against stereotypes and racism as well as to prevent these events. Studies of those who perpetrate such stereotypes and racism in the society may help prevent these events by teaching these perpetrators to become more culturally and racially aware of their actions and their surroundings.

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Appendix A

Asian / Asian-American Experience in U.S. Society

<<Demographics>>

1) What is your gender?

2) What year were you born?

3) Where were you born?

4) If you were born outside the U.S., approximately at what age did you first come to the U.S.? (Approximate age in years.)

5) In total, approximately how many years have you lived in the U.S.?

6) Describe your ethnic and racial background. (If you prefer not to answer, please write "I prefer not to answer".)

7) Please select the country or countries of origin of your ancestors. (Select ALL that apply.)

8) What year are you in school?

9) What is your major?

10) Are you a member of any campus organization?

11) If answered "Yes" to #10, then provide the name of the organization. (If you prefer not to answer, please write "I prefer not to answer".

Please select the highest level of education completed by your parents. If you grew up in a single parent home, select the response of your one parent. If you grew up with legal guardian(s) other than your parents, then select the highest level completed by your legal guardian(s).

If the category below does not apply to you, select N/A.

12) What is the highest level of education completed by your parent(s)/legal guardian?

(1) Less than 7th grade
(2) Junior high / Middle school (9th grade)
(3) Partial high school (10th or 11th grade)
(4) High school graduate
(5) Partial college (at least one year)
(6) College education
(7) Graduate degree
(8) I prefer not to answer.
(9) N/A

13) Are you a full-time student?

<<General Belief of Racism against Asians / Asian Americans>>

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree

14) I believe that racism against Asian Americans (or Asians) exist in the U.S.

15) Racism is a significant problem for Asian Americans (or Asians).

16) In general, racism does not influence the social status of Asian Americans (or Asians) in the U.S.

17) Racism is just another way to blame others for your problems.

18) Asian Americans (or Asians) will be successful no matter what. Racism is not a barrier for Asian Americans (or Asians).

<<SL-ASIA - modified>>

The questions which follow are for the purpose of collecting information about your historical background as well as more recent behaviors which may be related to your cultural identity. Choose the one answer which best describes you.

19) What language can you speak?
(1) Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
(2) Mostly Asian, some English
(3) Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
(4) Mostly English, some Asian
(5) Only English
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

20) What language do you prefer?
(1) Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
(2) Mostly Asian, some English
(3) Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
(4) Mostly English, some Asian
(5) Only English
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

21) How do you identify yourself?
(1) Oriental
(2) Asian
(3) Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.
(4) Asian-American
(5) Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, Vietnamese-American, etc.
(6) American
(7) I prefer not to answer.

(8) Other (Please specify)
(9) Other:

22) Which identification does (did) your mother use?
(1) Oriental
(2) Asian
(3) Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.
(4) Asian-American
(5) Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, Vietnamese-American, etc.
(6) American
(7) Don't know.
(8) I prefer not to answer.
(9) Other (Please specify)
(10) Other:

23) Which identification does (did) your father use?
(1) Oriental
(2) Asian
(3) Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.
(4) Asian-American
(5) Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, Vietnamese-American, etc.
(6) American
(7) Don't know.
(8) I prefer not to answer.
(9) Other (Please specify)
(10) Other:

Questions 24 through 27 ask about the people you have associated with. Please rate (using a scale of 1 to 5) the level of association you have / had with each group listed below (Use the same group for 24 through 27).

- Use "**1**" to indicate **NO / MINIMUM** association and "**5**" to indicate **MOST** association.
- If you have associated with two or more groups equally same, then use the same number to indicate same level of association.
- If you prefer not to answer, put "1" next to "I prefer not to answer".

24) Please rate (using a scale of 1 to 5) the level of association you had with each group listed below as a child up to age 6.

- Anglos (non-Americans)
- Anglo Americans
- Asians (of the same ethnic background)
- Asians (of different ethnic background)
- Asian Americans (of the same ethnic background)
- Asian Americans (of different ethnic background)
- Blacks (non-Americans)
- Black Americans
- Hispanics (non-Americans)
- Hispanic Americans
- Other non-Asian ethnic groups (non-American)
- Other non-Asian Americans
- I prefer not to answer.

25) Please rate (using a scale of 1 to 5) the level of association you had with each group listed below as a child from 6 to 18.

26) Please rate (using a scale of 1 to 5) the level of association you have had with each group listed below as an adult (since you were 18 and older).

27) Please rate (using a scale of 1 to 5) the level of association you prefer to have with each group listed below.

28) What is your music preference?
(1) Only Asian music (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
(2) Mostly Asian
(3) Equally Asian and English
(4) Mostly English
(5) English Only
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

29) What is your movie preference?
(1) Asian-language movies only
(2) Asian-language movies mostly
(3) Equally Asian- language / English-language movies
(4) Mostly English-language movies
(5) English-language movies only
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

30) What generation are you? (Select the generation that best applies to you:)
(1) 1st generation = I was born in Asian or country other than U.S.
(2) 2nd generation = I was born in U.S., either parent was born in Asia or country other than U.S.
(3) 3rd generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and all grandparents born in Asian or country other than U.S.
(4) 4th generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and at least one grandparent born in Asia or country other than U.S. and one grandparent born in U.S.
(5) 5th generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and all grandparents also born in U.S.
(6) Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information.
(7) I prefer not to answer.
(8) Other (Please specify)

31) Where were you raised?
(1) In Asia only
(2) Mostly in Asia, some in U.S.
(3) Equally in Asia and U.S.
(4) Mostly in U.S., some in Asia
(5) In U.S. only
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

32) What contact have you had with Asia? (Choose ONE that BEST describes you.)
(1) Raised one year or more in Asia
(2) Lived for less than one year in Asia
(3) Occasional visits to Asia
(4) Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Asia
(5) No exposure or communications with people in Asia
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

33) What is your food preference at home?
(1) Exclusively Asian food
(2) Mostly Asian food, some American
(3) About equally Asian and American
(4) Mostly American food
(5) Exclusively American food
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

34) What is your food preference in restaurants?
(1) Exclusively Asian food
(2) Mostly Asian food, some American
(3) About equally Asian and American

(4) Mostly American food
(5) Exclusively American food
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)
(8) Other:

35) Please select the statement that best describes you.
(1) I read only an Asian language.
(2) I read an Asian language better than English.
(3) I read both Asian and English equally well.
(4) I read English better than an Asian language.
(5) I read only English.
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)

36) Please select the statement that best describes you.
(1) I write only an Asian language.
(2) I write an Asian language better than English.
(3) I write both Asian and English equally well.
(4) I write English better than an Asian language.
(5) I write only English.
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)

37) If you consider yourself a member of the Asian group (Oriental, Asian, Asian-American, Chinese-American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have in this group?
(1) Extremely proud
(2) Moderately proud
(3) Little proud
(4) No pride but do not feel negative toward group
(5) No pride but do feel negative toward group
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)

38) How would you rate yourself?
(1) Very Asian
(2) Mostly Asian
(3) Bicultural
(4) Mostly Westernized
(5) Very Westernized
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)

39) Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?
(1) Nearly all
(2) Most of them
(3) Some of them
(4) A few of them
(5) None at all
(6) I prefer not to answer.
(7) Other (Please specify)

Using the following scale, rate yourself on how much you believe in...

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
	Do not believe in the values				Strongly believe in the values

40) Asian values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work)
41) American (Western) values

Using the following scale, rate yourself on how well you fit when with other...

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
	Do not fit				Fit very well

42) Asians of the same ethnicity
43) Asians of other ethnicity

44) Americans who are Asian
45) Americans who are non-Asian (Whites)
46) Americans who are non-Asian (non-Whites)

There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?
47) I consider myself...
(1) ...basically an Asian person (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.). Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself basically as an Asian person.
(2) ...basically as an American. Even though I have an Asian background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American.
(3) ...as an Asian-American, although deep down I always know I am an Asian.
(4) ...as an Asian-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.
(5) ...as an Asian-American.
(6) ...as both. I have both Asian and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.
(7) I prefer not to answer.
(8) Other (Please specify)

<<MIBI-modified>>

Beginning of the survey, you were asked to write your ethnic or racial group. Were you thinking about people of your own ethnic group, or people who share the same nationality, or Asian group in general? Use the term you used to describe yourself to answer the following questions.

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
	Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

48) Overall, being Asian has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
49) In general, being Asian is an important part of my self-image.

50) My destiny is tied the destiny of other Asian people.
51) Being Asian is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
52) I have a strong sense of belonging to Asian people.
53) I have a strong attachment to other Asian people.
54) Being Asian is an important reflection of who I am.
55) Being Asian is not a major factor in my social relationships.
56) It is important for Asian people to surround their children with Asian art, music and literature.
57) Asian people should not marry interracially.
58) Asians would be better off if they adopted Asian values.
59) Asian students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Asians.
60) Asian people must organize themselves into a separate Asian political force.
61) Whenever possible, Asians should buy from other Asian businesses.
62) A thorough knowledge of Asian history is very important for Asians today.
63) Asians and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.
64) White people can never be trusted where Asians are concerned.

<<Social Context>>

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree

65) Most of the students who I hang out with at school are members of my own ethnic or racial group.
66) Most of the people in the neighborhood that I live in are members of my own ethnic or racial group.
67) Most of the people who go to my church, temple, or other religious institution are members of my own ethnic or racial group.
68) The stores or shops that I usually go to are mostly run or owned by people of my own ethnic or racial group.
69) Most of the people in the organizations or social groups that I have joined are members of my own ethnic or racial group.

70) Most of the people that I see for health services are members of my own ethnic or racial group.

71) I work mostly with members of my own ethnic group.

<<GBJWS>>

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

72) I think basically the world is a just place.

73) I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve.

74) I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice.

75) I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices.

76) I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule.

<<SPA-Asian>>

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Scale:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

77) I think people try to be fair when making important decisions.

78) Asian Americans do not have much voice in the U.S. government.

79) Asian Americans need to work harder than any other people in the U.S. to be successful in the U.S.

80) Asian Americans need to work harder to be accepted by the mainstream society.

<<AARRSI – modified to reflect Perceived Racism>>

Read the following statements or situations carefully and indicate if each statement describes racism against Asians / Asian Americans.

"Is it racism or not?"

		No	Rarely	It depends	Usually	Yes
81)	A murder of an Asian / Asian American by a non-Asian person.	1	2	3	4	5
82)	Relatively small representation of Asians / Asian Americans in management positions.	1	2	3	4	5
83)	People say that Asians / Asian Americans have assertiveness problems.	1	2	3	4	5
84)	Asian characters in American TV shows either speak bad or heavily accented English.	1	2	3	4	5
85)	Relatively small representation of Asians / Asian Americans in American TV.	1	2	3	4	5
86)	In American movies, male Asian leading character rarely engaging in physical contact (kissing, etc.) with leading female characters even when the plot would seem to call for it.	1	2	3	4	5
87)	U.S. history books offer no or very little information of the contributions of Asian / Asian Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
88)	Subservient (to non-Asian characters) or insignificant roles of Asian characters in American TV.	1	2	3	4	5
89)	An Asian American government scientist is held in solitary confinement for mishandling government documents when his non-Asian coworkers are not punished for the same offence.	1	2	3	4	5
90)	People say that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions.	1	2	3	4	5
91)	Non-Asian Americans' ignorance of the oppression and racial prejudice Asian Americans have endured in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5
92)	A white couple who came in after an Asian couple at a restaurant is served first.	1	2	3	4	5

93)	Immigration quotas on Asian peoples were severely restricted until the later half of the 1900s, whereas quotas for European immigrants were not.	1	2	3	4	5
94)	Someone tells you that it's the Blacks that are the problem, not the Asians.	1	2	3	4	5
95)	Someone tells you that Asian Americans are not targets of racism.	1	2	3	4	5
96)	Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.	1	2	3	4	5
97)	People expect you to be good in math because you are Asian / Asian American.	1	2	3	4	5
98)	Someone tells you that they heard that there is a gene that makes Asians smart.	1	2	3	4	5
99)	Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.	1	2	3	4	5
100)	Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.	1	2	3	4	5
101)	Someone tells you that you or your Asian female friend looks just like Connie Chung, Lucy Liu, Sandra Oh, Lisa Ling, Yoonjin Kim, etc.	1	2	3	4	5
102)	Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate.	1	2	3	4	5
103)	Someone you do not know asks you to help him/her fix his/her computer.	1	2	3	4	5
104)	Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.	1	2	3	4	5
105)	Someone asks you if all your friends are Asian Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
106)	Someone tells you that "you people are all the same."	1	2	3	4	5
107)	Someone tells you that all Asian people look alike.	1	2	3	4	5
108)	You are told that "you speak English so well."	1	2	3	4	5
109)	Someone asks you what your real name is.	1	2	3	4	5
110)	You are asked where you are really from.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Detailed Regression Tables of Unique Variances of Each Predictor Variable

1) Model 1: GBJWS as Sociopolitical Awareness

A. Unique variance accounted for by Assimilation

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	RI	SC	GBJWS	ASSIM
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.01	0.01	-0.05	0.39	0.18	0.08	-0.09	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.16	0.09	0.11	0.07	
	β	0.05	0.01	-0.09	0.28*	0.24	0.08	-0.13	
3									
	B	0.02	0.01	-0.05	0.06	0.25	0.15	-0.10	0.50
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.21	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.20
	β	0.13	0.01	-0.10	0.04	0.33*	0.16	-0.14	0.42*

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .09 for Step 2 (ps < .05); ΔR^2 = .06 for Step 3 (ps < .05); * p < .05.

B. Unique variance accounted for by Racial Identity

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	SC	GBJWS	RI
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.02	0.03	-0.06	0.09	0.34	0.27	-0.06	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.21	0.20	0.11	0.07	
	β	0.12	0.02	-0.11	0.06	0.29	0.29*	-0.09	
3									
	B	0.02	0.01	-0.05	0.06	0.50	0.15	-0.10	0.25
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.21	0.20	0.11	0.07	0.09
	β	0.13	0.01	-0.10	0.04	0.42*	0.16	-0.14	0.33*

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .08 for Step 2 (*ps* < .05); ΔR^2 = .07 for Step 3 (*ps* < .05); * *p* < .05.

C. Unique variance accounted for by Social Context

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	RI	GBJWS	SC
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.02	0.00	-0.05	0.10	0.43	0.30	-0.11	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.20	0.20	0.09	0.07	
	β	0.11	0.00	-0.10	0.07	0.36*	0.40**	-0.16	
3									
	B	0.02	0.01	-0.05	0.06	0.50	0.25	-0.10	0.15
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.21	0.20	0.09	0.07	0.11
	β	0.13	0.01	-0.10	0.04	0.42*	0.33*	-0.14	0.16

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .13 for Step 2 (*ps* < .01); ΔR^2 = .02 for Step 3 (*p* = .19); * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01.

D. Unique variance accounted for by Sociopolitical Awareness (GBJWS)

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	RI	SC	GBJWS
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.02	0.02	-0.04	0.02	0.49	0.22	0.17	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.20	0.20	0.09	0.11	
	β	0.12	0.01	-0.08	0.01	0.41*	0.30*	0.18	
3									
	B	0.02	0.01	-0.05	0.06	0.50	0.25	0.15	-0.10
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.21	0.20	0.09	0.11	0.07
	β	0.13	0.01	-0.10	0.04	0.42*	0.33*	0.16	-0.14

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .13 for Step 2 (*ps* < .01); ΔR^2 = .02 for Step 3 (*p* = .17); * *p* < .05.

2) Model 2: SPA-Asian as Sociopolitical Awareness

A. Unique variance accounted for by Assimilation

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	RI	SC	SPA-A	ASSIM
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.00	0.03	-0.03	0.42	0.04	0.08	0.24	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.15	0.09	0.11	0.07	
	β	0.00	0.02	-0.05	0.30^{**}	0.06	0.08	0.40^{**}	
3									
	B	0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.11	0.16	0.27	0.59
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.09	0.10	0.07	0.19
	β	0.09	0.03	-0.06	0.02	0.15	0.17	0.44^{***}	0.49^{**}

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .19 for Step 2 (p < .001); ΔR^2 = .08 for Step 3 (ps < .01); $^{**}p$ < .01. $^{***}p$ < .001.

B. Unique variance accounted for by Racial Identity

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	SC	SPA-A	RI
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.05	0.53	0.21	0.29	
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.18	0.10	0.06	
	β	0.08	0.03	-0.06	0.03	0.44^{**}	0.22^{*}	0.48^{***}	
3									
	B	0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.59	0.16	0.27	0.11
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.19	0.10	0.07	0.09
	β	0.09	0.03	-0.06	0.02	0.49^{**}	0.17	0.44^{***}	0.15

Note. $R^2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .26$ for Step 2 (*ps* < .001); $\Delta R2 = .01$ for Step 3 ($p = .22$); * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

C. Unique variance accounted for by Social Context

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	RI	SPA-A	SC
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.03	0.07	0.51	0.16	0.27	
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.18	0.08	0.07	
	β	0.06	0.02	-0.05	0.05	0.43^{**}	0.22	0.44^{***}	
3									
	B	0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.59	0.11	0.27	0.16
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.19	0.09	0.07	0.10
	β	0.09	0.03	-0.06	0.02	0.49^{**}	0.15	0.44^{***}	0.17

Note. $R^2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .25$ for Step 2 (*ps* < .001); $\Delta R^2 = .02$ for Step 3 ($p = .13$). ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

D. Unique variance accounted for by Sociopolitical Awareness (SPA-A)

Step		Age	Gender	SES	Birth	ASSIM	RI	SC	SPA-A
1									
	B	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.27				
	SE B	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.16				
	β	0.06	0.01	-0.09	0.19				
2									
	B	0.02	0.02	-0.04	0.02	0.49	0.22	0.17	
	SE B	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.20	0.20	0.09	0.11	
	β	0.12	0.01	-0.08	0.01	0.41^{*}	0.30^{*}	0.18	
3									
	B	0.02	0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.59	0.11	0.16	0.27
	SE B	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.19	0.19	0.09	0.10	0.07
	β	0.09	0.03	-0.06	0.02	0.49^{**}	0.15	0.17	0.44^{***}

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .13 for Step 2 (*ps* < .01); ΔR^2 = .14 for Step 3 (*ps* < .001).; * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001