PATEL, PUJA P. Ph.D. Youth-Directed Racial Socialization: Developmental Processes That Contribute to Second-Generation Asian American Youth's Racial-Ethnic Socialization Messages to Parents. (2024)
Directed by Dr. Gabriela Livas Stein. 112 pp.

Asian Americans are the fastest growing monoracial group within the United States (U.S.; Pew Research Center, 2021), yet little is known about how Asian American families dialogue around integrating into a racially conscious society. Moreover, youth's role as initiators of conversations on race and ethnicity has largely been overlooked in the study of racial-ethnic socialization (RES). To address this gap in the literature, the current dissertation characterized the types of messages second-generation Asian American youth (n = 408; Mage= 21.04) provide their parents related to race and ethnicity (i.e., youth-directed RES) by creating and validating the adolescent-directed RES (ADRES) measure. Further, experiences of racial-ethnic discrimination, racial-ethnic identity, critical reflection, and internalized model minority myth were examined to better understand how these facilitators were associated with the frequency of youth-directed RES. Factor and preliminary validity analyses indicated that youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture (i.e., cultural socialization), awareness of discrimination (i.e., preparation for bias, avoidance of other minoritized groups, and avoidance of White people were distinct factors. Further, with regards to facilitators, results indicated that all four types of youth-directed RES messages were positively associated with discriminatory experiences. Additionally, public regard was associated with greater maintenance of heritage culture. Interestingly, avoidance of other minoritized groups was provided at a greater frequency when the youth endorsed internalized model minority myth, whereas youth who endorsed higher critical reflection provided fewer such messages. Taken together, the results of the current study highlight the youth's active role in RES as well as the complex racialized experiences faced by

second-generation Asian American youth. Broadly, this study opens up several avenues for

future investigation that require a sophisticated understanding of personal, interpersonal,

familial, and systemic processes that impact Asian American youth.

YOUTH-DIRECTED RACIAL SOCIALIZATION: DEVELOPMENTAL

PROCESSES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO SECOND-GENERATION

ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH'S RACIAL-ETHNIC

SOCIALIZATION MESSAGES TO PARENTS

by

Puja P. Patel

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro

2023

Approved by

_____
Dr. Gabriela Livas Stein
Committee Chair

DEDICATION

This one is for my Mummy Dadi. You walked so I could run, and I will never forget that.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by Puja P. Patel has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair

Dr. Gabriela Livas Stein

Committee Members

Dr. Stuart Marcovitch

Dr. Susan P. Keane

Dr. Michaleine Jensen

June 6, 2024
Date of Acceptance by Committee

June 12, 2023
Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this dissertation has been a challenging but deeply rewarding journey, and I am indebted to many individuals whose support and guidance have been invaluable. First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Gabriela Livas Stein, for paving the way for me and for showing me how to build a community that makes space for people who do not always have that privilege. Her unwavering support, insightful guidance, and encouragement throughout the course of my research have been instrumental in shaping this dissertation. I am also deeply grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Stuart Marcovitch, Dr. Susan P. Keane, and Dr. Michaeline Jensen, for their constructive feedback and valuable suggestions, which greatly enhanced the quality of this work. I would also like to thank my wonderful collaborators who encouraged and supported this work. On a personal note, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my family and friends for their unwavering support and understanding during this time. To my parents, for their endless encouragement and belief in my abilities. To my friends and chosen family, Adriana and Cristina, for their patience, love, and constant motivation, which kept me going even during the toughest times. You all have always helped me believe in myself and for that I am eternally grateful.

Lastly, in the famous words of Snoop Dogg, I want to take a moment to thank myself for the hard work and dedication that has brought me to this point:

"I wanna thank me for believing in me

I wanna thank me for doing all this hard work

I wanna thank me for having no days off

I wanna thank me for, for never quitting."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans are the fastest-growing monoracial group within the United States
(U.S.; Pew Research Center, 2021), and are projected to be the largest immigrant group by the
middle of the century (Pew Research Center, 2021). Notably, one in four children grow up in
immigrant families (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2021). Understanding the lived experiences of
these families is important, especially how they integrate into the racially conscious society of
the U.S. Although sociological research has examined immigrants' experiences with racism and
their understanding of their place in the American racial hierarchy (Adelman, 2016), there is less
work that integrates psychological and familial perspectives on how Asian immigrant families[1]
navigate the racial landscape of the U.S. Emerging research has explored how Asian American
parents provide messages to their youth on culture and race (see Juang et al., 2017 for a review),
but there are only two studies to date that have considered when and how second-generation[2]
Asian American youth initiate conversations about race with their immigrant parents (Aldana et
al., 2019; Young et al., 2020). Further, there is no past work testing the developmental processes
that set the stage for youth initiating these conversations. To address this gap in the literature, the
current dissertation first characterizes the types of messages second-generation Asian American
youth provide their parents related to race and ethnicity (i.e., youth-directed racial socialization),
and then examines how experiences of racial-ethnic discrimination, racial-ethnic identity, critical
reflection, and an internalized model minority myth are associated with the frequency of youth's
racial socialization messages to their parents.

---

[1] Immigrant families/ immigrant households are defined as ones who have at least one foreign-born parent.

[2] Broadly, second-generation youth is defined as those who are U.S. born and have at least one foreign-born parent.
However, for the purposes of this study, I define second-generation as youth with those who were U.S born and both
parents are foreign born.

Race and Ethnicity in Asian American Populations

In order to understand the nuanced role of race and ethnicity within Asian American immigrant communities, it is important to define the terms that guide this dissertation. While used interchangeably in everyday conversation, scholars have debated over the definition and conceptualization of race and ethnicity for decades (Helms, 1997; Phinney,1996; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Whereas ethnicity is defined as a sense of group membership based on shared cultural characteristics (e.g., language, religion, nativity; Neblett et al., 2011), race is conceptualized as a social construct, rooted in power and privilege, that classifies individuals based on physical characteristics (e.g., skin color, eye shape; Neblett et al., 2011). Racialized social systems (i.e., placement of people in racial categories) exist to maintain racial hierarchies where certain groups are privileged and empowered and others remain oppressed (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Song, 2004). In the U.S., the racial hierarchy serves to conserve White supremacy and power and has typically focused on the White-Black divide leaving Asian Americans in an uncertain position somewhere in the middle (Christian, 2019).

The racialization of Asian Americans is complicated by the fact that this group continues to be perceived as perpetual foreigners while at the same time being viewed through the model minority lens. Zou and Cheryan (2017) have framed this duality in their model of racial classification in which there are two axes: an "inferior-superior" axis and a "foreigner-American" axis. Within these axes, Asian Americans are racialized into the "superior-foreigner" group. The perception of "superior" comes from the long-standing model minority myth that Asian Americans, by function of their hard work and belief in the "American dream," are more academically, economically, and socially successful when compared to other minoritized groups (Yoo et al., 2010). While the model minority myth creates the illusion of equality with White

people, Asian Americans being perceived as perpetual foreigners (i.e., perceived as a foreigner regardless of citizenship, generational status, or length of residency; Wu, 2002) also shapes their racialized experiences in the U.S. Overall, this suggests that Asian American experiences of racism might be inherently different from other racial groups in the U.S. (e.g., Black Americans being perceived primarily as inferior; while Latinx populations being perceived as both inferior and foreign). The Zou and Cheryan (2017) model underscores the added layer of foreigner objectification as vital to consider when examining the unique racialized experiences of Asian American populations, and this experience is shared by Asian American immigrants across different ethnicities (e.g., Chinese American, Indian American, Filipinx American).

This racialization of Asian Americans lays the foundation for differential treatment rooted in race and ethnicity, which can be complex in its manifestation. Negative discriminatory actions towards Asian Americans can stem from a mixture of xenophobia (i.e., irrational fear or distrust of foreigners) and racism (i.e., stereotypes about different racial groups). Indeed, there has been a long-standing history of xenophobic laws and policies in the U.S. targeting Asian American populations (e.g., the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 and, the Muslim Travel ban in 2017). The xenophobic laws, and even the use of xenophobic rhetoric by elected officials, create hostile environments for immigrants and the broader Asian American community (Yakushko, 2009). These xenophobic beliefs, such as the belief that racial minority immigrants steal jobs from "American" workers (Gee et al., 2007), and stereotypes about Asian Americans being untrustworthy and inscrutable (Gee et al., 2007) are still prevalent in American society and lead to discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards Asian Americans. Currently, the confluence of these beliefs, stereotypes, and xenophobic laws and rhetoric (e.g., COVID-19 being called the "Chinese Virus;" Ng, 2020) leads to racist and discriminatory actions toward Asian Americans.

For example, recent studies find that 35% of Asian Americans report experiencing discrimination during interpersonal interactions, and 37% report having experienced institutional discrimination (Pew Research Center, 2021). Furthermore, FBI hate crime statistics showed a 73% increase in anti-Asian Hate crimes in 2021 (Community Service Report, 2020 FBI Hate Crime Statistics, 2021), this increase has likely contributed to the eight out of ten Asian Americans reporting that they feared being attacked or threatened in their day-to-day lives (Pew Research Center, 2021).

However, discriminatory experiences can vary across Asian American groups due to phenotype, language, religion, etc. South Asian American experiences of discrimination might be based on phenotype and ascribed group membership; for example, being called or treated as terrorists. In fact, South Asians have reported the highest interpersonal and institutional discriminatory experiences (41% and 46% respectively; McMurtry et al., 2019) relative to other Asian American subgroups (e.g., East Asians). Other Asian American subgroups also experience discrimination in unique ways. Filipino Americans reported persistent experiences of being laughed at (for speaking native language and/or traditional clothing), verbally harassed, and sometimes being the target of aggression (Tuason et al., 2007). Similar reports have been found among qualitative and quantitative investigations of racism and discrimination related experiences among Hmong populations as well (Vang et al., 2021). Even when racism and discrimination are ethnically driven (e.g., based on the clothes one wears or the language spoken), it is still wrapped in the veil of racial hierarchy.

Racial-ethnic Socialization in Asian American Families

Racial-ethnic socialization (RES) is a multifaceted construct that captures how families socialize their youth regarding membership in their own racial-ethnic group as well as the

broader racial-ethnic dynamics in their context. Generally, parental RES messages are categorized as cultural socialization (i.e., the passing down of cultural values, customs, traditions, history, and pride), preparation for bias (i.e., preparing youth for discrimination and providing skills to cope with it), promotion of mistrust (i.e., communicating the need to be wary or distrustful of other racial-ethnic groups without offering coping skills), and egalitarian (i.e., providing messages of equality among all racial-ethnic groups) messages (Hughes et al., 2006).

Yet, despite the racialization of Asian Americans in the U.S., the vast majority of the literature regarding RES processes in immigrant families has focused on ethnicity rather than race (Hughes et al., 2006; Juang et al., 2017). This is predominantly because ethnicity is the most salient driver of how immigrant families socialize, identify, and navigate the world around them (Hughes et al., 2006). Not surprisingly, second-generation youth find themselves immersed in their heritage culture as immigrant parents consistently and frequently pass down language, values, practices, and traditions on to their children (Juang et al., 2017).

Thus, although cultural socialization processes may be similar to how it is conceptualized in the broader literature, other aspects of RES may be different for Asian American families as the foundation of RES dimensions stems from research predominantly conducted with African American families (Hughes et al., 2006). These four core dimensions described above might overlook or underrepresent socialization practices that occur within immigrant and/or Asian American families. For example, encouraging youth to adapt to the American culture might be a type of assimilationist message minoritized parents might provide their children, however, it has not been as prominent in the broader RES literature and may be more salient and frequent in immigrant communities. Indeed, messages around "becoming American" can be found among RES messages provided within Asian American families (Juang et al., 2016). Additionally, we

5

still lack a comprehensive understanding of the unique differences in RES messages between Asian immigrant subgroups (e.g., East Asian vs. South Asian; Juang et al., 2017). Factors like historical context and current sociopolitical climate (e.g., 9/11, COVID-19 being called the "Chinese Virus", Muslim ban) can have a significant impact on the pressure families feel to acculturate and assimilate to the larger U.S. society along with ways in which they choose to pass down traditions, values, and beliefs.

Because immigrant families are quickly faced with navigating the racial hierarchy of the U.S. as they start integrating into the American culture, RES research with Asian Americans needs to consider racial socialization processes more fully. Families are ascribed racialized labels that may be new to them (e.g., the pan-ethnic label of Asian American vs. Chinese American) and deal with the resulting discrimination, prejudice, and racism. Further, they may also be exposed to beliefs, stereotypes, and prejudice that are uniquely American, not just about their own group (or pan-ethnic group) but also about other groups. Naive to American history, as well as the history of their own group in the U.S., many parents may lack the knowledge to provide racial socialization messages about discrimination and prejudice to their youth, and instead, choose to focus on ethnicity and culture (Juang et al., 2016). Finally, making it more complicated, some immigrant families may benefit from stereotypes and privileges (e.g., light-skinned; higher SES) while others bear the brunt of racist systems; this could lead families to provide messages that are consistent with the racial hierarchy and align with assimilationist ideas (e.g., model minority myth; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

In service of a more nuanced understanding of Asian American RES processes, Juang and colleagues (2016) conducted qualitative interviews with Asian American college students to characterize the unique aspects of RES in their community. These interviews revealed that the

current measures of RES were not adequately addressing the unique experiences of Asian American families. The findings of this study resulted in a new measure of RES for Asian Americans with six domains (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture, becoming American, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, promoting equality, minimization of race, and cultural pluralism; Juang et al., 2016). Although some of these overlap with existing RES conceptualizations (e.g., awareness of discrimination = preparation for bias; maintenance of heritage culture = cultural socialization; avoidance of outgroups = promotion of mistrust), the measure also included new domains such as "becoming American" (i.e., parents providing messages around ways to engage with American culture). Further, the measure also distinguishes cultural pluralism, minimization of race, and promoting equality in service of gaining a richer understanding of egalitarian RES messages. To stay consistent with the RES categories introduced by Juang and colleagues (2016), the following sections will use terms from the American Parental Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, becoming American, cultural pluralism, promotion of equality, and minimization of race) to classify relevant RES messages.

Using the American Parental Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016), scholars have linked parental RES messages with several psychosocial outcomes among Asian American youth. For example, high frequency of maintenance of heritage and cultural pluralism messages acted as a buffer between discrimination and psychological distress among Asian American youth (Atkin et al., 2019). Additionally, Asian American youth who endorse receiving greater frequency of messages around becoming American, treating everyone equally, and respecting diverse cultures, reported higher cognitive clarity and greater affective pride towards their racial-ethnic group membership compared to youth who received messages around

7

minimization of race and avoiding outgroups (Atkin & Yoo, 2020). These findings align with past work on RES that uses more traditional RES measures with Asian American families. Extant research finds that RES conversations play a role in key developmental processes for second-generation youth (Juang et al., 2017), as socialization messages are associated with a host of positive outcomes including racial-ethnic identity, higher self-esteem, higher academic achievement, and lower depressive symptoms (Huguley et al., 2019; Netblett et al., 2019). Furthermore, RES can also be protective against the negative effects of discrimination among Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017; Priest et al., 2014).

It is clear that racialization processes impact how families navigate RES. However, little is known about how the complex sociopolitical landscape plays a role in Asian American families as they engage in conversations about race, ethnicity, and culture; especially on how youth may play an active role in shaping these conversations. Parents are likely not the only sources of RES messages that may influence these processes in Asian American families. The messages that youth receive from their peers, media, school, and other sources coalesce with important shifts in cognitive development (Steinberg, 2005) that contribute to how youth understand their own group and others. Further, these shifts in cognitive development may also influence their perceptions of systemic oppression and racism (Bañales et al., 2020; Diemer & Li, 2011; Heberle et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2016). Although historically the youth's role in RES has been conceptualized as receivers of messages from their parents, as well as from other socialization sources, youth may be driving conversations about race in their homes due to the accelerated rate of acculturation to the American culture relative to their parents (i.e., change that occurs as a result of interaction with culturally dissimilar social circumstances; Gibson, 2001). The differential rates at which youth and parents acculturate to American society could lead the

youth to possess a more contemporary understanding of the social and racial hierarchy that exists in the U.S., thereby becoming the "deliverer" of messages on racial socialization rather than a unidirectional receiver.

As this dissertation focuses on youth-directed RES messages, it is important to acknowledge that within the bounds of traditionally conceptualized RES, researchers have explored ways in which youth impact parental RES. For example, parents adapt their socialization messages when youth disclose having experienced discrimination or racism (e.g., increased frequency of awareness of discrimination messages; Juang et al., 2017). Furthermore, parents may shift the content or frequency of their RES in response to changes in the youth's racial-ethnic identity (Juang et al., 2017; Priest et al., 2014). Yet, these familial processes may be dependent on other factors like acculturation. For example, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2013) examined the longitudinal associations between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity among Mexican-origin adolescents as they transition to college. The results revealed that adolescent's ethnic identity exploration at time 1 predicted higher parental ethnic socialization at time 2, but only for adolescents with U.S.-born parents (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). For adolescents with foreign-born parents, parental ethnic socialization at time 1 predicted ethnic identity exploration and resolution at time 2. Together, extant literature hints at the importance of exploring the ways in which youth's individual development (e.g., identity development), as well as contextual factors (e.g., discrimination), contribute to the provision of RES messages to their parents.

Developmental Considerations

The period of time between ages 18 to 23 is marked by a confluence of changes in biology, cognition, identity, family dynamics, and civic engagement (Hughes et al., 2006). These developmental changes set the stage for youth-driven RES messages. Continued social and

cognitive advances that take place across this period provide the foundation for understanding, not only how minoritized youth view themselves, but also, how they choose to civically engage with their immediate ecosphere across time (i.e., family, peers; Hope et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2016). While significant neurological changes occur throughout adolescence and continue into emerging adulthood, advances in neurocognitive research show unique brain changes that happen between the ages of 18-25 that could aid in our understanding of social engagement among minoritized youth (Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016). For example, mentalizing systems are engaged long before emerging adulthood, however, differences in pre-frontal cortex activation across time suggest that emerging adults show greater differentiation in or selectivity of responses to perspective-taking when compared to early adolescents (Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016). This is further supported by findings that demonstrate social changes in perspective-taking that come with age as well (Arnett, 2000). For example, perspective-taking during adolescence includes the ability to assume a third-party perspective within dyadic interactions. However, by emerging adulthood, one is able to engage in "societal" perspective-taking (i.e., coordinating and understanding perspectives of multiple individuals; Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016); this likely plays an important role in how youth comprehend broad, group-based social injustices and decide to engage in addressing and challenging oppressive systems.

Furthermore, the ability for societal perspective-taking alone might not fully explain the drive towards critical consciousness and racial awareness, as it is also important to consider the development of the youth's understanding of "self." During the stages of emerging adulthood, youth gain the ability to conceptualize themselves as a unified system of distinct elements and they attempt to consolidate these diverse aspects of themselves to achieve a unified self-concept (King & Kitchener, 2015). It is possible that in the pursuit of understanding themselves as a

10

unified whole, youth are engaging in exploration of their intersectional identities (e.g., racial-ethnic, national, political), which acts as a trigger for reflection on broader systemic inequalities faced by marginalized groups.

Consistently, scholars have described emerging adulthood (between the ages of 18 and 26) as ushering another wave of identity exploration that happens after high school (Syed &Mitchell, 2013). Syed and Azmitia (2008) argue that life transitions (i.e., entering/graduating from college, starting a new job), shifting relationships (e.g., new peer circles, coworkers), engagement in a broader spectrum of activities (e.g., joining cultural or political social groups), and greater potential for experiencing discrimination during emerging adulthood can prove to be fertile grounds for the renegotiation of one's racial-ethnic identity. Empirically, despite evidence of a stable sense of identity during high school, the transition to college (Zhou et al., 2019) or joining the workforce (Syed & Azmitia, 2010) has been associated with additional changes in identity exploration for minority young adults.

These processes are also taking place with changes in the ethnic composition of social context that tend to happen in emerging adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014); this, along with a newfound sense of autonomy, may lead emerging adults to reflect more about their behaviors and sense of self. Furthermore, college environments provide emerging adults with the opportunities to participate in cultural clubs that celebrate their racial-ethnic identity along with developing allyship by engaging in different levels of critical action (e.g., advocacy through student government, protesting, petitioning; Fish et al., 2020). There is currently a limited understanding of how young adults engage with their surroundings within the workforce environments and how it impacts their REI (Ahmed, 2019; Carrim, 2019). However, young adults often have to grapple with the dynamic process of racial-ethnic Identity as they contend

11

with the decision around the safety and utility of outwardly expressing their ethnic identity while at work (Carrim, 2019). Thus, emerging adulthood brings about changes in identity processes that may have implications for how youth engage with their parents around race and ethnicity. Taken together, cognitive, social, and identity changes result in greater sophistication in processing complex issues such as race and discrimination as well as responsibly engaging in critical action (Hope et al., 2019), making emerging adulthood an ideal time to study youth-directed RES.

Youth-directed Racial-ethnic Socialization

Youth-directed racial-ethnic socialization is defined as the socialization messages delivered by youth to their parents pertaining to both the racial-ethnic dynamics of the U.S. and cultural knowledge, values, beliefs, and practices. Based on the traditional conceptualization of RES (Hughes et al., 2006), youth-directed RES can similarly be broken down into two broad categories: cultural socialization (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture) and racial socialization (i.e., awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups). As both facets of RES play a key role in the lived experiences of second-generation Asian American youth, this dissertation explores how youth initiate conversations to seek heritage culture experiences (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture) as well as messages provided to parents about awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups.

To understand the facilitation of youth-directed RES messages, this dissertation draws on critical consciousness theory and emerging research in this area. Critical consciousness development is the process through which one becomes aware of the political, social, and economic systems of oppression and acts against them (Freire, 1974). Given the focus on socialization messages related to racial-ethnic dynamics of the U.S., I conceptualize youth's RES

messages as their attempt to bring about social change (e.g., challenging racist rhetoric within the family, celebrating unique aspects of heritage culture) within their immediate home environment. Using a youth participatory approach and a critical consciousness lens, Aldana and colleagues (2019) found that youth characterize their anti-racist action in three ways: communal (e.g., involvement in school or community efforts to address issues related to race, ethnicity, and discrimination), political (e.g., engaging with political officials and outlets, participating in protests), and interpersonal (e.g., challenging racist behaviors within their immediate interpersonal surroundings such as family and friends). The interpersonal realm includes things like "checking" or calling out family who use racial slurs or make racial-ethnic jokes. Thus, engaging family members in conversations about race and ethnicity was central to their understanding of youth anti-racist behaviors and critical action.

In the same vein, critical consciousness fosters youth's agency to engage with heritage culture rather than following socially determined cultural norms (e.g., learning heritage culture language to counter language norms of the broader American culture; Landry et al., 2022). Therefore, embracing and celebrating heritage culture experiences in the face of oppressive systems can be understood as a manifestation of critical consciousness. For example, seeking opportunities to learn and speak in the heritage culture language or asking parents to celebrate festivals and traditions from the heritage culture while receiving negative societal messages that these are not valued can constitute challenging assimilationist perspectives that attempt to minimize minoritized expression. Youth-directed RES may be conceptualized as purposeful engagement in heritage culture experiences as well as interpersonal anti-racist action as discussed above. However, the extant conceptualization of anti-racist action does not incorporate important aspects of youth-directed RES such as celebrating heritage culture, teaching parents

about broader racial dynamics in the U.S., or helping parents understand the discriminatory perceptions that may target their own group. Therefore, socialization of broader racial dynamics *along with* the challenging of racist behaviors might better capture how second-generation Asian American youth might enact socialization processes within their families. Together, the literature indicates that critical consciousness likely sets the stage for youth to engage in the provision of RES messages to their parents.

The first aim of this dissertation is to characterize youth-directed socialization messages through a new measure (Adolescent Directed Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale; ADRES scale). To capture youth-directed RES, I build off the only existing measure of RES in Asian American families in the U.S. by Juang and colleagues (2016). As the parental RES categories successfully capture the types of messages, I retain this categorization in my conceptualization of youth-directed RES. Therefore, I retained the subscales of maintenance of heritage culture (cultural socialization), awareness of discrimination subscale (preparation for bias), and avoidance of outgroup subscales (promotion of mistrust) as discussed in more detail below.

The measure attempts to capture youth-driven socialization messages around the seeking of heritage culture experiences (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture). While there is very little understanding of youth actively seek heritage cultural experiences (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture), qualitative studies have explored ways in which minoritized youth initiate the learning of heritage culture language, traditions, and values (i.e., enculturation; Bowen & Devin, 2011; Ferguson et al., 2016; Karim & Hue, 2022). For example, in a sample of Puerto Rican, adolescent females, authors categorized participants based on the adolescent's engagement with traditional food. The results indicated that U.S.-born adolescents were more likely to fall under the "seeker type," which meant that they would initiate conversations around the consumption of

14

traditional foods by asking family members to cook for them (Bowen & Devine, 2011). Similar patterns might also manifest among second-generation Asian American youth as they engage their parents in creating heritage cultural experiences.

In terms of awareness of discrimination, the Juang et al. (2016) measure does not fully capture messages related to coping with racist and discriminatory events, which has traditionally been conceptualized as a part of preparation for bias messages. Therefore, the ADRES measure includes a subscale (i.e., dealing with discrimination) that attempts to assess ways in which second-generation Asian American youth provide coping messages to their parents (e.g., teaching their parents how to verbally challenge someone who is discriminating against them). In this vein, Asian American adolescents report providing their parents with various strategies to deal with discriminatory events (e.g., encouraging the use of native language in public, challenging thoughts around minimization of cultural expression, teaching their parents possible ways to respond to racist comments; Patel et al., 2022, Young et al., 2020). Thus, the inclusion of items that assess youth-directed coping skills would aid in fully capturing all the ways in which youth prepare their parents for bias.

It is also possible that exposure to the racial hierarchy and broader racial dynamics could contribute to Asian American youth being wary of certain groups. In an attempt to protect their parents from experiencing racist or discriminatory events, Asian American youth might warn their parents to be vigilant in certain situations or to be cautious of certain groups of people (i.e., avoidance of outgroups). Historically, scholars have conceptualized avoidance of outgroups as the messages that caution against any group that is deemed "other" when compared to one's own racial-ethnic group (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Although this categorization might sufficiently capture the racial dynamics within the White-Black dichotomy,

it falls short of fully representing the complexity of the racial hierarchy that second-generation Asian American youth might have to contend with. Therefore, avoidance of outgroups might differ depending on the racial group (e.g., White people might be viewed differently when compared to other minorized groups) for Asian American youth. Of course, various factors must be considered in how messages of avoidance would manifest. For example, espousing the model minority myth could lead Asian American youth to adopt the perspectives that perpetuate xenophobia by believing other minoritized races are criminals, lazy, or taking away jobs (Yi & Todd, 2021). In comparison, facing unfair treatment and/or engaging in reflection of broader oppressive systems can lead Asian American youth to feel fearful for their parents and might advise them to be wary of White people. These mechanisms provide insight into how lived experiences likely impact the ways in which youth navigate interactions within the racialized society around them.

Thus, ADRES is comprised of three domains of youth-directed messages. The maintenance of heritage culture messages includes the active seeking of heritage culture experiences (e.g., asking parents to introduce heritage culture media). The awareness of discrimination messages includes the adolescent's attempts to introduce and explain racial dynamics within the U.S. as well as messages to their parents on ways to cope with racism and discrimination (e.g., making parents aware of the discrimination that they might face, explaining or identifying discriminatory events). Distinct from awareness of discrimination messages, the avoidance of outgroup subscale assesses the youth's messages regarding the avoidance of or being wary of certain racial-ethnic groups (e.g., showed your parents that you cannot trust people of other races or ethnicities, told your parents not to trust folks from other racial-ethnic background). The first goal of this dissertation was to validate, the maintenance of heritage

culture, awareness of discrimination, and avoidance of outgroup subscales of the ADRES measure. This will be accomplished by conducting initial validity tests (i.e., exploratory factor analysis, convergent validity, and divergent validity). Now, I turn to the next goal of this dissertation, which is to understand the factors that facilitate youth-driven RES in Asian American families.

Facilitators of Youth-directed Racial-ethnic Socialization

In order to assess Asian American youths' ability to challenge racist behavior and provide socialization messages, key facilitators related to youth's agency in socializing around racial-ethnic dynamics of the U.S. will be explored. I propose that critical reflection, discrimination, public regard, and endorsement of the internalized model minority myth will be uniquely associated with the types of youth-directed RES messages youth provide as described below.

Critical Reflection

Critical consciousness is usually conceptualized as consisting of three components (Heberle et al., 2020): critical reflection (cognitive), critical motivation (attitudinal), and critical action/interpersonal action (behavioral). Critical reflection centers on the analysis of social, political, and economic inequities and the moral rejection of oppressive systems that constrain human well-being and agency (Heberle et al., 2020). Critical action entails intentional behavioral engagement in activities that address social injustices and oppressive systems within broader society (e.g., voting and protesting; Heberle et al., 2020). In Freire's (1974) theory of critical consciousness, critical reflection serves as a foundation and precursor to critical action (Freire, 1974; Watts et al., 2011). Yet, in the recent growth of research on critical consciousness in adolescents and young adults, there has been a greater focus on critical reflection, but

17

unfortunately, without testing its links to critical action (Diemer et al., 2021). Thus, critical consciousness researchers have called for a recentering of critical action in this work as it is the fundamental outcome of the youth's growing awareness regarding oppressive systems within society (Diemer et al., 2021). Aligning with this call, for this dissertation, I conceptualize youth-directed RES messages as a specific type of critical action whereby youth actively seek to dismantle oppressive systems by informing their parents about the racial dynamics of the U.S. and ways to combat discrimination and racism. As such, I predict that critical reflection will prompt greater youth-driven RES, especially preparation for discrimination and promoting distrust.

Critical reflection for Asian American youth likely develops based on the societal messages they receive from other sources like their peers, media, and schools (Heberle et al., 2020). In examining the predictors of critical reflection within the youth's immediate surroundings, experiences at school (i.e., promotion of open conversations on social and political issues by teachers) have received notable attention in the broader literature. The ability to openly engage in discussions regarding oppressive systems and political issues in school leads to more critical reflection and critical action for youth of color (Heberle et al., 2020). Lessons on these topics introduce social justice issues to youth, help them relate social justice to their own experiences, encourage discussion of these issues with each other, and allow youth to challenge biased ideas (Heberle et al., 2020; Tyson, 2002). Thus, Asian American youth likely learn about U.S. racial dynamics at school and college (e.g., cultural groups, affinity clubs, exposure to racism and discrimination; Kornbluh et al., 2021). This knowledge likely fosters deeper critical reflection, prompting youth to have more RES conversations in their home environment. Consistent with this notion, youth in immigrant households who have been exposed to literature

with themes of critical action (e.g., stories about MLK, and Rosa Parks,) identify their home context as an avenue for critical action (e.g., celebrating unique aspects of diverse cultures, standing up for their parents in the face of discriminatory treatment or taking time to explain racialized systems to their parents; Aldana et al., 2019).

Overall, greater critical reflection is associated with critical action in youth of color. A systematic review on critical consciousness development indicated that critical action among minoritized youth was contingent upon reflection of oppression (i.e., critical reflection) and the following, ongoing process of engaging in reflection based on the attainment of new knowledge and/or new experiences (Pillen et al., 2020). For example, among African American and Latinx youth, critical reflection regarding perceived inequalities with broader society predicted protesting and voting behaviors (Diemer & Rapa, 2015). Similarly, critical reflection on societal views and oppression predicted collective action against social injustices among LGBTQ Chinese youth in Hong Kong (Chan & Mak, 2020). Consistently, Asian American students who had the opportunity to learn about the racial-ethnic history of their group reported engaging in activities to combat oppression and seek community with like-minded people (Trieu & Lee, 2018). Therefore, youth who engage in critical reflection might be more motivated to purposefully seek meaningful cultural experiences (i.e., cultural socialization) as well as provide more racial socialization messages (i.e., awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroup) in an attempt to bring awareness of oppressive systems within their immediate home environment.

Experiences of Discrimination

Discrimination experiences are likely a key driver of how immigrant families learn about the U.S. as a racialized society and serve to prompt parent-directed RES messages as parents

hope to help their youth navigate racism and discrimination in broader society (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). Not surprisingly, parental discrimination is a robust predictor of more awareness of discrimination and cultural socialization messages (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). The recognition of oppressive systems within the broader society is at the core of critical consciousness development (Diemer et al., 2011), oftentimes this could take place because youth might experience interpersonal or systemic discrimination themselves (Tyler et al., 2020). Theoretically, experiences of discrimination act as an "awakening" triggering the development of critical consciousness, and more specifically, prompting critical action (Anyiwo et al., 2018). Consistently, among a sample made up of majority immigrant female youth, Singh et al. (2021) found that experiences of racism were positively associated with critical action. Similarly, in a study of Black and Latinx youth, discrimination predicted higher public prosocial behavior for Latinx youth (Tyler et al., 2021). Public prosocial behavior often includes attempts to improve dominant cultural perceptions of the Latinx community (Richman & Leary, 2009). In addition, when faced with discriminatory events, youth may be more purposeful in engaging with their parents about heritage culture experiences to counter the oppressive social system that contributes to negative experiences (Landry et al., 2022).

Together, this suggests that youth's experiences of discrimination might play a role in actively seeking cultural experiences as well as the provision of messages related to awareness around social injustice in an attempt to counter the impact of unfair treatment. Therefore, I hypothesize that youth's discrimination experiences will be positively associated with greater frequency of maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, and avoidance of outgroups (i.e., other minoritized groups as well as White people).

Racial-ethnic Identity (REI) – Public Regard

REI is defined as the sense of belonging one feels towards their racial-ethnic group, including the significance and meaning one assigns to their group membership (Sellers et al., 1997). The multidimensional model posits that there are four major components to a REI: centrality, regard, ideology, and salience. The broader literature on immigrant youth highlights the role of ethnic-racial centrality and regard on psychosocial development (e.g., Yip et al., 2014). Centrality refers to the degree to which an individual believes their racial group membership is important to their sense of self (Phinney, 1990), whereas regard refers to the valence of feelings about one's own racial-ethnic group. Regard is further split into two subcomponents: private regard (the individual's own belief of the value placed on their group membership) and public regard (the individual's belief of how others value the racial-ethnic group they are a part of; Phinney, 1990). This dissertation focuses on public regard as youth's perception of how broader society views their own racial-ethnic group likely impacts the RES messages they provide.

This premise is supported by extant literature that links minoritized parents' REI with the frequency of their delivery of RES messages to youth (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Parents' ethnic identity predicted engagement in socialization practices as well as a greater frequency of cultural socialization messages (Kulish et al., 2019). Further, Puerto Rican and Dominican parents who reported stronger ethnic identity also reported more frequent cultural socialization messages (Derlan et al., 2017; Hughes, 2003). Notably, Knight and colleagues found that immigrant parents' ethnic identity was also associated with more frequent preparation for bias messages among Latinx families (Knight et al., 1993).

Thus, REI prompts greater parental RES, suggesting it can play a similar role for youth. Specific to messages about racism and discrimination, it can be theorized that second-generation Asian American youth are more embedded within the American culture, and therefore, more attuned to societal perceptions of their racial-ethnic group. It is these perceptions of how others view their group that may be the most relevant as to whether they help their parents understand the racialized experiences of Asian Americans in the U.S., especially if they perceive the broader U.S. culture perceiving Asian Americans relatively more negatively. Consistent with this notion, scholars have theorized that the relationship between public regard and interpersonal action (e.g., youth-driven RES) depends on the racial-ethnic group the youth identifies with and the level of awareness they have of their group's politicized history within the U.S. (Mathews et al., 2019). For second-generation Asian American youth, despite narratives of model minority myth, they may become aware of how their group has experienced discrimination and oppression via social media or in school leading them to develop a more negative public regard. Indeed, discrimination experiences predict more negative public regard (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017). As youth may be aware of these negative stereotypes and experiences, they may be more motivated to teach their parents about what they are learning and want to engage in youth-directed racial socialization (e.g., awareness of discrimination).

In contrast, youth who endorse positive public regard might not feel that change is necessary (Mathews et al., 2019). Asian American youth traditionally demonstrate high and increasing levels of public regard when compared to other minoritized groups (Mathews et al., 2019; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008), and youth reporting these higher levels of public regard might not see the need to break status quo (likely due to internalized model minority stereotype; Mathews et al., 2019). Therefore, second-generation Asian American youth who endorse higher

levels of public regard might engage in higher levels of maintenance of heritage culture messages in an attempt to align themselves with a group that is perceived favorably in American society. In comparison, youth endorsing lower levels of public regard are likely to be the ones engaging in greater youth-directed racial socialization (i.e., awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups).

Internalized Model Minority Myth

The label of model minority came to existence around the 1960s by political conservatives in an attempt to package the success of Asian Americans as a testimony to the promise of the American Dream for all racial groups and to discredit claims of racism and discrimination made by other minoritized groups (Yoo et al, 2010). In this perspective, Asian Americans are believed to have unbridled social mobility and are more successful because they are hard-working, intelligent, and value education (McGowan & Lindgren, 2006). The model minority label is a myth because: 1) it does not account for the selective immigration laws that only allowed "skilled" individuals (who were more likely to be from a median income family in their home country) to immigrate thereby facilitating their success in the U.S.; 2) it masks that while some Asian American groups have higher levels of education and income, there is wide variability by ethnicity and many Asian American immigrants face similar economic barriers as other racial-ethnic groups 3) it minimizes the racist and discriminatory experiences of Asian Americans. However, only recently the focus has shifted from the model minority label being a myth to exploring how it psychologically impacts Asian Americans (Yoo et al., 2010).

Positive stereotypes, such as the model minority, are easy to internalize as they are perceived to elicit admiration and praise from other groups (Gupta et al., 2011). Scholars have suggested that the internalization of the model minority label, even when positive (i.e., promotes

23

hard work and high achievement), can be psychologically harmful to Asian Americans (Yoo et al., 2010). For example, Asian American youth who endorsed internalized model minority myth also reported experiencing high levels of distress (e.g., pressure of high achievement; Atkin et al., 2018, Gupta et al., 2011) and unfavorable help-seeking attitudes (e.g., not showing weakness; Kim & Lee, 2014).

The internalization of the model minority myth also likely leads youth to not see the need for disrupting the racial hierarchy in the U.S. as they believe that success for Asian Americans has indeed been the result of hard work and cultural values, and these youth likely do not consider the role of other privileges in helping some Asian American populations gain social mobility in the U.S. (e.g., parental higher level of education; higher levels of parental income). Aligning with this view, Asian American students who internalized the model minority myth were more likely to espouse color-evasive attitudes and oppose efforts such as affirmative action (Yi & Todd, 2021). Youth espousing the model minority myth may perceive themselves as having unconstrained social mobility and may be less motivated to change the racial status quo. Therefore, similar to public regard, second-generation Asian American youth who internalize the model minority myth are likely motivated to actively engage in heritage culture experiences as it is tied to a perceivably privileged position in the racial hierarchy. However, these youth are also less likely to provide youth-directed racial socialization messages as they might believe in the meritocracy of the American dream.

Aims & Hypotheses

Moving beyond the traditional conceptualizations of RES, this study aimed to assess youth-directed racial socialization and its contributing factors among second-generation Asian American youth in late adolescence and emerging adulthood. The first aim is to validate the

subscales of the ADRESS to capture youth-directed messages regarding culture, racism, and discrimination. Consistent with the parental RES literature, I hypothesize that 1) based on exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, youth-directed RES messages will fall into six primary categories: maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, cultural pluralism, becoming American, and egalitarianism. Consistently, items from the dealing with discrimination subscale will load onto the awareness of discrimination factor. 2) Since I am primarily interested in cultural and racial socialization, I will further validate awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups by assessing convergent and divergent validity. In terms of convergent validity, I hypothesize that maintenance of heritage culture will be positively correlated with a measure of enculturation (Chung et al., 2004). Further, I hypothesize that awareness of discrimination will be positively correlated to a measure of anti-racist action (Aldana et al., 2019). Similarly, avoidance of outgroup subscale will positively correlate with a measure of prejudicial attitudes (Ponterotto et al., 1995). In assessing divergent validity, I expect youth-directed cultural and racial socialization to have a small or non-significant correlation with academic motivation (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003), global self-efficacy (Chen et al., 2001), and behavioral activation (Manos et al., 2011). Academic motivation was chosen to establish divergent validity as it is potentially salient for Asian American youth but was thought to not share conceptual overlap with RES. In other words, the efficacy that would undergird academic motivation would not be associated with motivation to provide RES messages to parents. In the same vein, I sought to establish that global self-efficacy would not be similar to the specific self-efficacy necessary to provide RES messages. Finally, a measure of behavioral activation was selected as general activation was conceptualized as distinct from activation to provide RES.

My second aim is to assess the facilitators that set the stage for second-generation Asian American youth to provide RES messages to their parents. I hypothesize that racial-ethnic critical reflection, racial-ethnic discrimination, public regard, and internalized model minority myth will be associated with each of the youth-directed racial socialization subcategories (i.e., awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups) as well as cultural socialization (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture); specifically, I would expect higher racial-ethnic discrimination and critical reflection would be associated with higher provision of both maintenance of heritage culture and racial socialization messages. Additionally, I expect higher public regard and internalized model minority would be associated with lower engagement with youth-directed awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroups and higher levels of maintenance of heritage culture messages. Further, it would be important to consider the level of parent's own understanding of broader social dynamics (i.e., acculturation) as well as how communicative the parents and child are as these would be relevant factors in youth providing RES messages to their parents. Therefore, the parent's level of acculturation as well as broader parent-child communication will be included as control variables in the path model.

Because historically in the U.S. individuals have been classified into discrete racial groups regardless of heritage, the experiences of multiracial (i.e., parents are from different racial groups) and multiethnic (i.e., parents are from different ethnic backgrounds) families have differed significantly when compared to families who identify as monoracial/monoethnic (Remedios & Chasteen, 2013). Harris (2019) discussed the unique marginalization faced by multiracial individuals due to society's rigid application of strict monoracial categorization (e.g., "one drop rule"), and this applies to members of the pan-ethnic Asian community as well (Suyemoto & Tawa, 2008; e.g., participants who identify as East Asian/South Asian, Southeast

Asian/East Asian). Multiracial/multiethnic Asian Americans report higher rates of discrimination and experience worse outcomes relative to their monoracial/monoethnic counterparts (e.g., greater substance use; Choi et al., 2006). Due to their unique experiences, multiracial/multiethnic youth might socialize their parents differently based on the race of the parent (as that is the case for how parents of multiracial/multiethnic youth choose to socialize their children; Atkin & Yoo, 2019). While it is important to understand RES within the context of multiracial/multiethnic families, it would be erroneous to confound the complexities of multiracial/multiethnic experiences with those of monoracial/monoethnic ones. Therefore, the current study will only focus on monoracial/monoethnic racialized experiences.

CHAPTER II: METHOD

Participants

A total of 425 second-generation Asian American youth between the ages of 18 and 23 were recruited via Prolific (national online subject pool). From the full dataset, 17 cases were removed for having less than 70% of the survey completed. Thus, the final dataset comprised of 408 Asian American participants. All participants identified as second-generation Asian Americans (i.e., the participant is U.S.-born while both parents are foreign-born). The mean age of the participants was 21.06 (SD = 1. 46) with 190 identifying as female (46.6%), 201 as male (49.3%), and 9 as non-binary (2.2%) (8 participants preferred not to answer; 1.9%). The sample was made up of participants who identified ethnically as follows: Chinese (n = 116), Vietnamese (n = 75), Indian (n = 69), Filipino (n = 53), Korean (n = 44), Pakistani (n = 15), Bangladeshi (n = 8), Taiwanese (n = 8), Cambodian (n =5), Laotian (n = 4), Sri Lanka (n = 3), Hmong (n = 5), Nepalese (n = 1), Malaysian (n = 1), Fijian (n = 1). The majority of the participants were college or university students (n = 282; 69.1%). About half (n = 206; 49.3%) of the sample lived with their parents and the majority (n = 256; 62.7%) reported a household yearly income of greater than $60,000. With regards to parental education, 62.5% (n = 255) of the mothers and 65.2% (n = 266) of the fathers had at least a bachelor's degree. Detailed demographic information can be found in Table A1.

Procedures

Upon registering the study on Prolific, the system advertised the current study to people who were eligible based on the pre-selected filters (i.e., age, race/ethnicity, birthplace). As Prolific does not have preset filters for all the exclusion criteria (i.e., generational status and parents' nativity status), participants were screened through an opt-out feature on the Qualtrics

survey. A total of 452 participants took the Qualtrics screening survey. Once the participants

passed the screening (n = 425), they were presented with the consent form. The participants then

completed a 20-30 minute Qualtrics survey. All participants received the same measures in the

same order. Participants were compensated approximately $23.50/hour through the Prolific

portal.

<div align="center">

Measures

</div>

Outcome Measures

Youth-directed Racial Socialization.

The Asian American Parental Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale (Table B10; Juang et al.,

2016) was modified to create the ADRES scale. The original scale consists of the following

subscales: maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups,

minimization of race, promotion of equality, cultural pluralism, and dealing with discrimination.

Items were adapted to position the youth as the deliverer of RES messages. Additionally, new

items were created to fully capture a broader range of youth-directed messages: awareness of

discrimination and avoidance of outgroups. From the original measure, 12 items were adapted

and 11 were newly created for a total of 26 items for three subscales that account for

maintenance of heritage culture (n = 8), awareness of discrimination messages (n = 13 including

3 dealing with discrimination items), and avoidance of outgroup messages (n = 5) (Table A2).

Items are rated on a 1 = *never* to 5 = *very often* scale. The adapted items were reviewed by

several RES experts in the field of Asian American child development (including the creator of

the original scale, Dr. Linda Juang)[3], all of whom provided detailed feedback on the adaptation

---

[3] Experts include Dr. Lisa Kiang (Wake Forest University), Dr. Linda Juang (University of Potsdam), Dr. Charissah
Cheah (University of Maryland, Baltimore County), and Dr. Richard Lee (University of Minnesota, Twin Cities).

of the measure as well as new items. For example, experts suggested slight modifications in the sentence structure and wording to improve the clarity of the items. It was suggested that items use words such as "introduced" or "explained" rather than "taught" for items that capture the adolescents' attempt to socialize the parents on the history of their racial-ethnic group within the U.S. See Table A2 for sample items for each subscale.

While the full scale was used for the factor analyses, only maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, and the avoidance of outgroups (White and minoritized groups) were used for convergent and divergent validity. Additionally, only the maintenance of heritage culture (Cronbach's α = 0.86), awareness of discrimination (Cronbach's α = 0.94), and avoidance of outgroups (other minoritized racial group - Cronbach's α = 0.90, White people - Cronbach's α = 0.92) subscales were used in the path analysis.

Convergent Validity

Enculturation

To assess the convergent validity of the maintenance of heritage culture subscale, the Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS; Table B11; Chung et al., 2004). AAMAS assessed the dynamic nature of acculturation and enculturation among Asian American youth. A total of 9 items assessed youth's enculturation across domains of cultural identity, language, cultural knowledge, and food consumption. Example items include "How much do you like the food of:" and "How knowledgeable are you about the history of:" For each item, participants are asked to rate their engagement in cultural activities across heritage culture and American culture on a six-point Likert scale (1 = *Not very much* to 6 = *very well*). The scores of the questions that assessed the youth's engagement with their own culture were averaged to obtain an enculturation score. Higher scores indicated higher levels of enculturation. The scale

showed adequate reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.75; Chung et al., 2004) among Asian American young adults. Additionally, the scale demonstrated adequate criterion, convergent, and divergent validity (Chung et al., 2004). With the current sample, the scale exhibited excellent reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.84).

Racial Attitudes

To assess the convergent validity of the avoidance of outgroup subscales, the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI) by Ponterotto et al. (1995) was used (Table B12). QDI assessed cognitive and affective attitudes towards race and discrimination. The interpersonal interaction with a racially diverse group of individuals has seven items that capture youth's attitudes regarding interpersonal interactions with racially diverse populations. Example items include "My friend circle is very racially mixed," "I think it is better if people marry within their own race," and "Most of my close friends are from my own racial group." Items are scored on a five-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Not Sure*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Two items required reverse coding, after which higher scores indicated higher levels of prejudicial attitudes. The scale showed adequate reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.75; Srivastava, 2012) when used with a sample of second-generation Asian American adults (ages 18 to 35). Additionally, the scale demonstrated satisfactory criterion and construct validity (Ponterotto et al., 1995). The scale exhibited excellent reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.96).

Interpersonal Anti-racist Action

In order to assess convergent validity of the awareness of discrimination subscale on ADRES, the Anti-Racism Action Scale by Aldana and colleagues was used (2019; Table B13). The scale contains five items that captured youths' responses to family, peers, nonparental

adults, and stranger's expressions of racism (e.g., "Challenged or checked a family member who used a racial slur or made a racial joke"). Items are scored on a binary (0 = *No* and 1 = *Yes*). Higher scores indicated more anti-racism action. When tested for reliability among a racially and ethnically diverse sample of adolescents, the scale showed acceptable reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.88; Aldana et al., 2019). Additionally, the scale demonstrated construct and convergent validity with a diverse sample of adolescents (Aldana et al., 2019). The scale exhibited adequate reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.88).

Divergent Validity

Academic Motivation

An academic motivation scale (Table B14; Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003) was used as it assesses whether the ways in which youth's willingness to exert effort towards academics is qualitatively different from their willingness to place effort on providing RES messages to parents. Academic motivation was assessed with a 5-item scale designed to measure participants' effort exerted in school, the importance of grades and education, the extent of finishing homework on time, and liking school (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). Sample items include "I try hard in school," "Grades are very important to me," and "I usually finish my homework on time." The response choices are as follows: 1= *strongly disagree*, 2= *disagree*, 3= *agree*, and 4= *strongly agree*. The items were averaged to create a mean score for the scale with higher numbers indicating higher academic motivation. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability when used with Mexican-origin adolescents (Cronbach's α = 0.71; Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). Furthermore, the scale exhibited construct validity as well (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). With the current sample, the scale showed excellent reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.90).

Global Efficacy

The General Self-efficacy Scale (Table B15; Chen et al., 2001) was used to assess whether the youth's belief in their ability to accomplish goals is qualitatively different from the provision of RES messages to their parents. The global self-efficacy scale is comprised of 7 items. Sample items include "I believe I can succeed at most any endeavor to which I set my mind." and "I will be able to achieve most of the goals that I have set for myself." Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-efficacy. When reliability was tested among a racially diverse sample of college students, the scale demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.88; Greenberger et al., 2003) Additionally, the scale exhibited adequate content, construct, and discriminant validity (Chen et al., 2001). Similarly, excellent reliability was shown with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.95).

Behavioral Activation

The behavioral activation for depression scale–short form (Table B16; Manos et al., 2011) was used as it assesses whether the action of providing RES messages is qualitatively different from general behavioral activation. Sample items include "I did something that was hard to do but it was worth it" and "I engaged in a wide and diverse array of activities." Items were rated on a seven-point scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*completely*), with the midpoint falling between "*a little*" and "*a lot*." Higher scores indicate high levels of activation. In previous studies on diverse undergraduate students, the scale has shown adequate reliability (Cronbach's α = 0.84; Manos et al., 2011). Manos et al. (2011) also found support for construct and predictive validity. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.90).

Facilitators

Critical Reflection

The Short Critical Consciousness Scale (ShoCCS; Table B17; Diemer et al., 2020) was used to assess critical reflection among the participants. The ShoCCS critical reflection subscale includes four items (example item: "Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead" and "Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead"). Items are scored on a scale of 1 = *strongly disagree* and 6 = *strongly agree*. When tested on a nationally representative sample of youth across several major metropolitan cities, the scale showed adequate reliability (Cronbach's α = .80) and adequate construct validity (Diemer et al., 2020). Similarly, the scale demonstrated excellent reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.92).

Public regard

The public regard scale from the adapted MIBI (Table B18; Sellers et al., 1998; Kiang et al., 2006) was used to assess public regard (one's beliefs about how other ethnic groups view one's ethnic group). Sample items include, "In general, others respect members of my ethnic group" and "Society views members of my ethnic group as an asset." Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The scale demonstrated excellent construct validity among African American adults (Sellers et al., 1998) as well as adequate reliability among Asian American adolescents (Cronbach's α = .80; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). The scale demonstrated excellent reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.93).

Internalized Model Minority Myth.

The Internalization of Model Minority Myth Measure (Table B19; IM-4; Yoo et al., 2010) – achievement orientation subscale is a 10-item self-report measure of the extent to which individuals believe Asian Americans are more successful than other racial minority groups based

on values emphasizing achievement and hard work. Sample items include "Asian Americans are harder workers" and "Despite experiences with racism, Asian Americans are more likely to achieve academic and economic success." The response format for the measure was a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores representing greater internalization of the model minority myth and lower scores representing the opposite. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability as well as construct, convergent, and divergent validity among Asian American Adolescents (Cronbach's α = .91; Yoo et al., 2010). The scale also demonstrated excellent reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.97).

Ethnic-racial Discrimination

The Foreigner Objectification Scale (Table B20; Armenta et al., 2013) is a 9-item measure that asks participants to indicate whether they experienced specific events in the past year. Originally validated with ethnically diverse college students, sample items include, "Asked by strangers, 'where are you from?' because of your ethnicity/race" and "Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or rude way." Items are scored on a 1 = *never* to 4 = *five or more times* scale. For a population of second-generation Asian American and Latinx American adolescents, the Cronbach α was .85. Additionally, the scale demonstrated adequate construct, convergent, and divergent validity (Armenta et al., 2013). The scale demonstrated adequate reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's α = 0.79).

Control Variables

Parental Acculturation

Items from the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth (Table B21; SASH-Y; Barona & Miller, 1994) were used to assess parental acculturation as parent's level of acculturation could play a role in their own understanding of broader racial-ethnic dynamics,

which might impact youth's frequency of youth-directed RES messages. The scale uses language use as a proxy for acculturation level. The items were adapted as follows: "In general, what language do you speak at home?" was adapted to "In general, what language do your caregivers speak at home?" Items assessing parents' language acquisition also included, "In general, what language are the TV programs that your caregivers watch?"; associated response options were *heritage culture language* and *English*. The scale exhibited adequate construct validity (Barona & Miller, 1994). The scale demonstrated adequate reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$).

Parent-child Communication

The openness subscale of Olson's (1985) Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale (Table B22; PACS) was used to assess the young adult's perceived openness of communication with their parents as youth's perception of openness in communication could impact how often they might engage in sensitive conversations such as RES. Sample items include "If I were in trouble, I could tell my mother/father" and "I find it easy to discuss problems with my mother/father." Items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale as follows, 1= *strongly disagree*, 2= *moderately disagree*, 3= *neither agree or disagree*, 4= *moderately agree,* and 5= *strongly agree.* The scale demonstrated adequate reliability with the current sample (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.89$).

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

All analyses were conducted in R Studio (2020). Given the novelty of the youth-directed

RES construct, there are no readily available effect sizes to use for a-priori power analysis.

Therefore, using the effect size ($r = .15$) reported by Huguley et al. (2019) in their meta-analysis

of parental RES in relation to youth REI, sensitivity analysis was conducted in G*Power. Power

analysis indicated that with the effect size of .15, and current sample size, the analysis will be

sufficiently powered at .95.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

I conducted an EFA on the original 47 items using the Lavaan SEM package in R Studio

(i.e., a statistical package developed for the R software to estimate a variety of multivariate

statistical models; Rosseel, 2012). The EFA was carried out using principal axis extraction

(Comrey, 1988) with oblimin (oblique) rotation in anticipation of non-orthogonal dimensions of

the variables (Loehlin, 1992). The scree plot showed a clear "elbow" after the third factor.

However, the eigenvalues for the first 7 factors were over 1 (Kaiser-Guttman Rule; Kaiser,

1960). To determine the optimal number of factors to retain, I evaluated the Parallel Analysis

(PA) scree plot, which is considered one of the most reliable methods in terms of determining the

number of factors to retain in an EFA (Finch, 2020). The PA scree plot output (Figure A1)

suggested retaining 7 factors.

To further confirm the decision of retaining seven factors, I evaluated the fit indices of

EFA outputs with four, five, six, and seven factors (Table A3). Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) and

Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) were used to determine fit as these are

found to be more accurate in identifying the optimal number of factors to retain when conducting

an EFA (Finch, 2020). Based on the fit indices across each of the EFA analyses, it was evident

37

that the seven-factor structure demonstrated the best fit. Therefore, I decided to retain a seven-factor structure for further analyses.

I next evaluated each item based on the pattern matrix factor loading using a .50 cut off for factor retention (Table A4), as .50 has been suggested as a rigorous cutoff for newly developed items (Awang, 2014); based on this cut-off criteria, six items were removed from the overall scale. Factor 1 consisted of nine items that represented the youth-initiated messages around raising awareness of discrimination and ways to cope with racialized experiences (i.e., youth-directed awareness of discrimination). Factor 2 included five items that represented messages indicating a need to avoid individuals from other minorized groups (i.e., youth-directed avoidance of minoritized groups) as well as three items that capture the downplaying of the importance of race and its impact on individuals (i.e., minimization of race). Factor 3 included five items that represented messages indicating the parent's needing to avoid White individuals (i.e., youth-directed avoidance of White people). Factor 4 included three items that represent messages regarding treating individuals from racial-ethnic backgrounds as equals (i.e., youth-directed promotion of equality). Factor 5 had seven items that represented the desire to maintain heritage culture by asking one's parents to engage in cultural activities such as cooking traditional food, speaking in heritage language, and celebrating cultural holidays (i.e., youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture). Factor 6 consisted of two items that represented messages around engaging in "American" activities such as making American friends, eating American food, and consuming American media (i.e., youth-directed messages on becoming American). Factor 7 consisted of three items that represented messages on actively encouraging parents to engage with individuals from other racial-ethnic backgrounds (i.e., cultural pluralism).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA)

To examine the stability of the 7-factor solution derived from the EFA, I conducted a CFA using the Lavaan SEM package in R Studio (Rosseel, 2012) on the same sample. I specified the model with seven correlated first-order factors, labeled awareness of discrimination, avoidance of minoritized groups, avoidance of White people, maintenance of heritage culture, cultural pluralism, promotion of equality, and becoming American.

I used broadly recommended indices (Quintana & Maxwell, 1999) to assess goodness of fit, which included confirmatory fit index (CFI; accepted score: $\geq$ .90), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI; accepted score: $\geq$ .90), root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; accepted score: $\leq$ .08), and standardized root-mean-squared residual (SRMR; accepted score: $\leq$ .08). Taken together, results indicate that the 7-factor model (CFI = .905; TLI = .897; RMSEA = .063; SRMR = .054) of ADRES has an acceptable fit to the data and supported the factor structure suggested in the EFA (Finch & West, 1997; Quintana & Maxwell, 1999; Table A5).

Divergent and Convergent Validity

Correlations between the ADRES subscales (i.e., awareness of discrimination, avoidance of minoritized groups, and avoidance of White group), behavioral activation, academic motivation, self-efficacy, enculturation, antiracist action, and prejudicial attitudes (Table A6) were assessed to determine convergent and divergent validity. In partial support of divergent validity, youth's behavioral activation, academic motivation, and self-efficacy showed either non-significant or small correlations with maintenance of heritage culture, youth-directed awareness of discrimination, avoidance of minoritized groups, and avoidance of White people. Notably, youth's academic achievement ($r = .16$, $p < .01$) and self-efficacy ($r = .12$, $p < .05$) had a small but significant correlation with youth-directed awareness of discrimination. Convergent

validity was also supported by the moderate positive correlation between the maintenance of heritage culture and youth's enculturation level ($r = .51$, $p < .01$). Further, youth-directed awareness of discrimination subscale and youth's endorsement of anti-racist action ($r = .40$, $p < .01$) as well as youth-directed avoidance of minoritized groups and youth's prejudicial attitudes ($r = .39$, $p < .01$). However, there was not a significant correlation between youth-directed avoidance of White people and youth's prejudicial attitudes ($r = - 0.01$). Weighted correlations (i.e., allowing latent items to vary in weight based on factor loadings) were also assessed. Weighted correlations showed a similar pattern as the non-weighted correlation matrix, suggesting that the relationship between variables remained the same even when items were allowed to vary in weight based on their factor loadings.

Testing the Strength of Correlations (Fisher's Test)

The relationships between the divergent validity variables (i.e., behavioral activation, academic motivation, and self-efficacy) showed small but significant correlations with maintenance of heritage culture and awareness of discrimination variables, which might require further investigation before validity can be established. Therefore, Fisher's test was conducted to assess whether the correlations for convergent validity were significantly different from the relations examined for divergent validity. When assessing maintenance of heritage culture, results revealed that all three variables, behavioral activation (*z-test statistic* = -6.44, *p-value* = <.001), academic motivation (*z-test statistic* = -4.53, *p-value* = <.001), and self-efficacy (*z-test statistic* = -5.27, *p-value* = <.001) were significantly different than the relationship between maintenance of heritage culture and enculturation (variable used for convergent validity). With regards to awareness of discrimination, behavioral activation was not significantly correlated with awareness of discrimination, therefore it has not been included here.

40

Results reveal that the correlation between awareness of discrimination and academic motivation (*z-test statistic* = -3.73, *p-value* = <.001), as well as self-efficacy (z-test statistic = -4.31, p-value = <.001), was significantly different when compared to anti-racist action.

Preliminary Analysis for Path Model

Overall, the sample means indicate descriptive differences in the frequency of providing youth-directed messages. Youth provided higher levels of maintenance of heritage culture ($\bar{x}$ = 2.73, *SD* = 0.93; range 1 to 5) and awareness of discrimination ($\bar{x}$ = 2.33, *SD* = 0.99; range 1 to 5) messages to their parents when compared to avoidance of minoritized groups ($\bar{x}$ = 1.35, *SD* = 0.63; range 1 to 5) and avoidance of White people ($\bar{x}$ = 1.43, *SD* = 0.76; range 1 to 5). Further, the sample endorsed high levels of internalized model minority myth ($\bar{x}$ = 4.88, *SD* = 1.11; range 1 to 7) and relatively high public regard ($\bar{x}$ = 3.55, *SD* = 0.82; range 1 to 5). The participants report moderate rates of discriminatory experiences ($\bar{x}$ = 1.62, *SD* = 0.60; range 1 to 4) and high engagement in critical reflection ($\bar{x}$ = 4.80, *SD* = 0.96; range 1 to 5).

At the bivariate level, youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture messages were significantly related to youth's public regard (r = .19, p < .01) and experiences of discrimination (r = .26, p < .01) such that endorsement of high public regard and higher discriminatory experiences was related to increased seeking of activities from the heritage culture. Youth-directed awareness of discrimination socialization messages showed a significant positive relation with youth's experiences of discrimination (r = .47, p < .01). While youth-directed avoidance of minoritized groups was negatively related to critical reflection (r = - .13, p < .01), it was positively correlated to discriminatory experiences (r = .25, p < .01) and internalized model minority myth (r = .19, p < .01). Finally, youth-directed avoidance of White people was positively related to discriminatory experiences (r = .43, p < .01) only. Weighted correlations

(i.e., allowing latent items to vary in weight based on factor loadings) reflected similar patterns of relations between the variables.

Path Analysis

In order to test the second set of hypotheses, a path analysis using factor scores from the validity analysis was conducted using the Lavaan SEM package in R Studio (Rosseel, 2012). The model showed adequate fit (Figure A2; CFI = .92, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .04; Table A10). Controlling for parental language use and parent-child communication, youth's discriminatory experiences were associated with all four types of youth-directed RES messages (Table A11). Specifically, youth's experiences of discrimination were related to greater frequency of youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture messages (b = .55, SE = .10, $p <$ .001), youth-directed avoidance of minoritized groups messages (b = .50, SE = .09, $p < .001$), youth-directed avoidance of White people messages (b = .96, SE = .12, $p < .001$), and youth-directed awareness of discrimination messages (b = 1.01, SE = .13, $p < .001$). Youth's critical reflection was negatively associated with youth-directed messages of avoidance of other minoritized groups (b = -.62, SE = .03, $p < .01$), but was not associated with avoidance of White people, awareness of discrimination, or maintenance of heritage culture. Youth's public regard was related to greater frequency of youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture (b = .14, SE = .05, $p < .05$). However, public regard was not associated with youth-directed RES messages pertaining to awareness of discrimination, avoidance of minoritized groups, or avoidance of White people. Finally, youth's level of internalized model minority myth (b = .10, SE = .34, $p <$ .01) was associated with greater frequency of youth-directed avoidance of minoritized groups but was not associated with youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture, avoidance of White people, or awareness of discrimination messages.

Post-Hoc Analysis

Current Living Situation

Given that close to half (48.7%) of the sample lived with their parents, it would be important to assess whether there was an impact of this proximity on youth-directed RES. Therefore, I first added the variable, "current living situation" (living with parents = 1 and not living with parents = 0), in the correlation table to examine its relationship with the other variables in the main analysis. Of the four outcome variables, the youth's current living situation was positively correlated with youth-directed avoidance of White group messages ($r = .10, p < .05$), suggesting that living at home was related to youth providing greater messages around avoiding interaction with White individuals to their parents. However, when added to the path model as a control variable, the pattern of findings remains the same.

T-Tests

Gender

Men and women differed only on how frequently they provided messages around avoidance of minoritized groups, where women provided these messages at a greater rate when compared to men ($t(389) = -2.79, p < .001$).

South Asian vs East Asian

South Asian American youth provide a greater amount of avoidance of White people ($t(262) = 1.64, p < .01$) messages when compared to East Asian youth.

East Asian vs Southeast Asian

East Asians significantly differ from Southeast Asians in the provision of avoidance of White people, where Southeast Asians provide greater avoidance of White people ($t(233) = 2.88, p < .001$) messages when compared to East Asians.

South Asian vs Southeast Asian

No significant differences were seen between South Asian and Southeast Asian groups.

California Residents vs Non-California Residents

There was no significant difference between California and non-California residents across all four youth-driven RES messages.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION

Drawing from a critical consciousness framework, the current study sought to understand if and how second-generation Asian American youth provide their immigrant parents with RES socialization messages fostering more heritage cultural maintenance, awareness of discrimination, and messages about interacting with outgroups. First, to characterize the types of youth delivered RES messages in immigrant Asian American households, I developed the ADRES measure and aimed to establish its preliminary measurement properties. Second, to further understand the mechanisms that contribute to varying frequencies of youth-directed RES messages, I explored relevant facilitators (i.e., discrimination, critical reflection, public regard, and internalized model minority myth).

In characterizing the types of youth-directed RES messages, I found seven distinct groups of messages (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, becoming American, avoidance of White people, avoidance of other minoritized groups, cultural pluralism, promotion of equality), which is mostly consistent with the broader literature on Asian American RES (Juang et al., 2017). Overall, the scale functioned as expected since the factor analysis indicated a factor structure that was largely consistent with the initial hypotheses. Additionally, I found adequate support for convergent and divergent validity as well as good reliability. Overall, ADRES rendered comparatively lower means than parental RES among Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017). However, the fact that these conversations are occurring within the context Asian American household is noteworthy. Asian American youth likely contend with highly regarded values such as filial piety and reverence of elders, which can make initiation and provision of messages around race and ethnicity difficult to convey.

Since this study was focused on understanding how youth provide cultural (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture) and racial socialization messages (i.e., awareness of discrimination, avoidance of White people, and avoidance of other minoritized groups) messages to their parents, the following discussion is focused on those messages specifically.

Cultural Socialization Messages

With regards to cultural socialization messages, the maintenance of heritage culture subscale assessed the purposeful ways in which youth asked their parents to jointly engage in heritage culture experiences. For example, asking their parents to teach them traditional cooking skills, speak to them in their heritage culture language, visit relatives from their heritage culture, observe traditional holidays, introduce media from their heritage culture, and visit country of heritage.

Youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture messages were the most highly endorsed when compared to awareness of discrimination and avoidance of outgroup messages, which parallels the findings from existing parental RES literature on Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017). On average, youth reported "*sometimes*" seeking cultural socialization. The current findings highlight that RES within Asian American households might be far more complex than the traditional conceptualization of parents assuming the primary role of "deliverer" of cultural socialization. Discussions around heritage culture might be more synergistic where parents' provision of cultural socialization messages occurs alongside youth's efforts to actively create heritage cultural experiences. However, existing literature fails to fully capture youth's agency in cultural socialization processes by limiting its considerations of bidirectionality to the shifts in parental RES messages based on *parent's perception* of change in youth's racial-ethnic experiences (e.g., change in identity, cognitive development; Hughes et al., 2006). This narrow

understanding of bidirectionality within RES processes might be obscuring the experiences of youth.

Given that bidirectionality is inevitable in such conversations, it is imperative that there is some clarity in how the exchange of cultural socialization messages is conceptualized. In developing the ADRES scale, the items measuring cultural maintenance focused on youth soliciting cultural socialization as opposed to delivering these messages. This was purposeful as it hypothesized that parents are likely viewed as experts on heritage culture, which could lead youth to initiate conversations to engage in enculturation rather than provide socialization messages to their parents. However, this current conceptualization might overlook ways in which youth might engage in providing enculturation messages, therefore, future research would benefit from broadening the conceptualization of youth-directed cultural socialization to include items assessing the bidirectionality of such messages.

Further, youth between the ages of 18 and 23 likely have a higher degree of social separation from their parents when compared to younger adolescents (Jiang et al., 2017), which might lead to a gap in parents' perception of youth's experiences and needs for cultural socialization. Youth-directed RES during this period could provide additional insight into how second-generation Asian American youth engage their parents in ascertaining cultural experiences that fulfill their needs. For example, current findings indicate that youth might seek maintenance of heritage culture messages in response to discriminatory experiences as evidenced by the path model where discrimination experiences served to predict greater frequency of delivering these messages to parents. Similar to existing literature demonstrating the protective nature of parental cultural socialization (Neblett et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), youth might be exercising their agency by seeking heritage culture experiences as a way to counter the

negative impacts of unfair treatment. Neblett and colleagues (2012) posited that engaging in cultural socialization likely combats the impact of discrimination by promoting positive self-perception and increasing resistance against negative treatment. These skills likely aid in the youth's ability to face challenges and navigate a racialized society (Neblett et al., 2012). Therefore, youth might seek heritage culture experiences as a way to bolster positive perceptions of themselves and their group when faced with discriminatory treatment.

Moreover, it is possible that youth engage their parents in cultural socialization for more than just coping. Current findings hint at the possibility that youth might be creating situations for active engagement in heritage culture experiences from a critically conscious lens. This is supported by the positive correlation between the maintenance of heritage culture and anti-racist action, which suggests that youth might be leveraging their parent's openness regarding discussions on heritage culture to integrate a more critical perspective on the matter. Instead of just imbibing messages from their parents, youth might be integrating parental cultural socialization messages with their own understanding of broader racial dynamics and initiating maintenance of heritage culture in a more purposeful, critically conscious way. For example, youth asking parents to speak to them in their native language in public spaces could be a way to maintain a connection with cultural heritage as well as a direct way to combat oppressive systems that make it uncomfortable for minoritized individuals to freely speak their own language (Landry et al., 2022). Notably, youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture was not significantly correlated to youth's critical reflection. It is possible that the critical reflection measure, which assesses one's reflection on a broader range of injustices (e.g., gender, socioeconomic), might not capture youth's action towards reducing bias within their immediate surroundings (i.e., anti-racist action).

Another avenue for youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture messages might be in response to societal perceptions of one's group. Being perceived in a positive light by broader society (e.g., model minority labeling) can certainly impact how one chooses to critically engage with heritage culture as well as how one aligns oneself within the racial hierarchy. As evidenced by the current findings, public regard was positively associated with maintenance of heritage culture. This finding suggests that when the broader society thinks favorably of your group, youth are more likely to actively engage in heritage culture experiences as there might be social benefit in doing so.

Together, the current findings highlight the existence of youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture and highlight the complex mechanisms (i.e., coping, social benefit, critical action) that might play a role in the provision of such messages. Existing literature has not parsed out the differential drivers of such messages therefore it is difficult to pinpoint what factors play a role in motivating youth to seek cultural experiences; however, it is likely that a confluence of these messages might be playing a role messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Furthermore, it is also important to keep the duality of seeking heritage culture experiences as youths might have different motivations in doing so. For example, some youth might create situations for cultural experiences so as to cope with discrimination, whereas others might be doing so to align themselves with a culture that might be viewed favorably in broader society (i.e., positive public regard). Therefore, future studies should take a closer look into the complex mechanisms that might contribute to the youth-directed maintenance of heritage culture.

Awareness of Discrimination Messages

The second most prominent type of youth-directed RES was the awareness of discrimination messages (also known as preparation for bias). On average, youth reported

49

"*sometimes*" providing awareness of discrimination messages. These messages were meant to prepare parents for potential unfair treatment. For example, youth informed parents of how their racial-ethnic background/racial positioning might be a cause for differential treatment, explained racial slurs, explained the historical systems of oppression faced by their own group as well as other minoritized groups, and challenged biases endorsed by parents. Historically conceptualized as a predominantly parent-driven process (Juang et al., 2017; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), the current findings expand on this understanding by highlighting ways in which youth are active initiators of awareness of discrimination messages. This novel conceptualization sheds light on the fact that youth bring their own unique perspective on broader racial dynamics and exercise their agency by attempting to enact change within the family context.

Importantly, youth are engaging in more than just teaching about race and ethnicity within the U.S. to fully prepare their parents to deal with potential unfair treatment. As supported by the factor analyses, youth-initiated conversations on coping with discriminatory events were also captured within the awareness of discrimination subscale. For example, challenging parents' minimization of their own culture out of fear of discrimination as well as helping parents think about dealing with discriminatory events. This is an especially novel contribution to literature as existing parental RES measures have largely omitted coping messages (Priest et al., 2014), despite traditional definitions of RES conceptualizing preparation for bias as inclusive of them (Hughes et al., 2006).

Further, in characterizing youth-directed awareness of discrimination, correlational evidence suggests that the provision of such messages is related to youth's self-efficacy and academic motivation. This small but significant association likely exists because teaching parents about broader racial dynamics and challenging their biased views likely requires facets of self-

50

belief. The correlation may be tapping into the latent factors that contribute to youth feeling comfortable in their ability to teach complicated concepts to their parents as well as being motivated enough to engage in initiating social change. In contrast, telling one's parents to simply avoid the threat of discrimination by minimizing interaction with certain groups of people might not require the same level of knowledge transfer or motivation to have difficult conversations. Furthermore, results indicate that providing awareness of discrimination messages might be a way for youth to enact social change within their immediate surroundings as evidenced by a positive correlation with anti-racist action. It is possible that shielding parents from racialized systems that they might not be fully aware of as well as challenging parent's own racialized beliefs help youth combat injustices happening within their own context.

The ability to comprehend complex racial dynamics and explain these concepts to their parents might require the youth to possess a certain level of cognitive sophistication that likely comes with age (Hope et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2016; Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016). At the core of youth-directed awareness of discrimination seems to be the youth's ability to engage in societal perspective-taking (Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016), which is a skill that is developmentally salient among college-aged youth. The ability to understand broader social injustices and actively engage parents in addressing oppressive systems might be key to youth-directed awareness of discrimination.

Furthermore, as the majority of the sample is currently in a college environment (~87% being in undergraduate or graduate school), youth are presented with the unique opportunity to engage in a wide range of social activities that likely stretch the youth's previous understanding of race as they are thrusted into a racialized context within which they must renegotiate their REI (Syed & Mitchell, 2013). Importantly, current findings suggest that not all facets of REI might

contribute to youth-directed awareness of discrimination in the same way as there was no correlation between public regard and youth's messages around preparation for bias. It has been theorized that public regard likely contributes to youth's belief in enacting social change (Mathews et al., 2019), however, it might be other individual facets of REI (i.e., centrality and private regard) are more key to youth providing RES messages to their parents.

Interestingly, the youth's own discriminatory experiences were the only facilitator that was positively associated with the provision of awareness of discrimination messages. Similar to findings within the parental RES literature (Umana-Taylor et al., 2020), the youth's own experience of discrimination might prompt them to teach their parents about racial slurs, the history of their own racial-ethnic group within the U.S., as well as broader racial dynamics. This is corroborated by the findings from the path analysis, which suggests experiences of discrimination might have the strongest impact on youth-directed awareness of discrimination messages even after accounting for the level of critical reflection, public regard, and internalized model minority myth. This is consistent with broader literature that suggests facing unfair treatment is one of the most robust predictors of engagement in critical action (Anyiwo et al., 2018). For example, in a sample of diverse adolescents, those who reported facing the highest levels of discrimination were the ones engaging in the highest amount of interpersonal action when compared to participants who reported being in positive or average school environments (Byrd & Ahn, 2020). Thus, regardless of how youth reflect on broader injustices or how they perceive themselves within the racial hierarchy, facing differential treatment seems to trigger a need for action against the status quo that allows the mistreatment of minoritized individuals (Anyiwo et al., 2018). Furthermore, providing awareness of discrimination messages could prove to be protective for Asian American youth as this allows them to regain a feeling of agency when

faced with discriminatory events that might make them feel as though they have been stripped of any control (Branscombe & Ellmers, 1998).

Interestingly, critical reflection did not show a positive relationship with the provision of awareness of discrimination messages. Since youth-driven RES has been conceptualized as a manifestation of critical action, it is surprising that critical reflection was not associated with a greater frequency of youth-directed awareness of discrimination messages, especially since the broader literature supports critical reflection as being a predictor of critical action (Watts et al., 2011). Notably, given that the sample endorsed high levels of internalized model minority myth as well as high levels of critical reflection, the results might be capturing youth's reflection on matters that "do not impact" Asian Americans. Young and colleagues (2020) shared similar findings from qualitative interviews with second-generation Asian Americans where participants reported that racial discrimination does not impact them (i.e., internalized model minority myth), but at the same time, they actively challenged their parents' biases regarding other racial-ethnic groups. It is important to note that while Young et al. (2020) found evidence for youth engaging in anti-racist action by challenging their parents' biased views, the ADRES measure assesses ways in which youth teach their parents about the broader social injustices and oppressive systems. It can be speculated that when Asian American youth endorse greater internalized model minority myth, they might engage in pushing back on biased views as an ally, but they might not teach their parents about the U.S.'s history of oppression or help their parents identify experiences of discrimination. However, correlational analysis indicates there is a negative relation between internalized model minority myth and critical reflection, which likely points to a complicated relationship between these factors. Therefore, future research should take a closer

look at how these factors manifest and interact in the day-to-day lives of second-generation

Asian American youth.

Avoidance of Outgroup Messages

Lastly, youth-directed avoidance of outgroups was the least endorsed message, which is

consistent with the broader literature on parental RES that shows that parents tend to provide

cultural socialization and preparation for bias at a higher frequency when compared to avoidance

of outgroup messages (also known as promotion of mistrust; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). On

average, youth reported "*rarely*" providing avoidance of outgroup messages. Avoidance of

outgroup was meant to assess youth-directed messages on being wary or mistrustful of a

particular group. These messages are often provided in hopes of protecting the receiver from

facing discriminatory treatment by avoiding any interaction with the "other" group (Hughes et

al., 2006; Juang et al., 2017). For example, "asked parents to avoid sitting next to or being

friends with someone from a particular group", or even "asked parents to be extra careful when

in neighborhoods that are predominantly occupied by a particular group". In examining the

properties of avoidance of outgroups subscale, I found that Asian American youth approached

the avoidance of White people differently from avoidance of other minoritized groups.

Importantly, past research has not historically distinguished between "outgroups" when assessing

avoidance of outgroup messages, and it has usually been conceptualized as largely comprised of

individuals from the dominant group as the initial research on RES was conducted within the

context of the white-black dichotomy (Hughes et al., 2006). However, given the unique

positioning of Asian Americans within the racial hierarchy (i.e., superior-foreign, positioned

somewhere between the White-black dichotomy), it is likely that Asian American youth's

perception of outgroups might go beyond this dichotomy (as evidenced by factor and validity analyses).

Extant literature does not provide much insight into this phenomenon. Therefore, it is important to understand the mechanisms that might contribute to the differential avoidance messages between White people and other minoritized groups. It is possible that being exposed to historical (e.g., colonization, slavery) and contemporary (e.g., perpetuation of systemic racism, prejudicial rhetoric from White politicians) narratives that position Whiteness with power and privilege (Watts et al., 2011) could impact how Asian American youth perceive individuals belonging to the dominant racial group. Not only are youth reflecting on these unjust systems in their surroundings, but they are also contending with ways in which, intentionally or unintentionally (Hyland, 2005), unfair treatment and social inequities are perpetuated by those who benefit from racial privilege. Together, these sentiments could impact how youth choose to provide avoidance of White group messages in an attempt to protect their parents from any potential unfair treatment from the dominant group.

Youth-directed avoidance of other minoritized groups could be rooted in the internalization of broadly perpetuated racist and stereotypical narratives of other minoritized groups (e.g., other minoritized groups being lazy, taking away jobs, being criminals; Gee et al., 2007). It is possible that these perceptions are further cemented via internalization of the model minority myth and colorism as Asian American youth might view other minoritized groups negatively based on their racial positioning in relevance to Whiteness (Christian, 2019). Furthermore, it is important to note that avoidance of minoritized groups was positively correlated with prejudicial attitudes, whereas avoidance of White people was not. This further illustrates a potentially fundamental reason why messages around avoidance of White people

55

might differ from those of minoritized groups. Specifically, it could be speculated that youth-directed avoidance of White people might stem from fear of mistreatment rather than prejudice. On the contrary, prejudicial attitudes towards other minoritized groups could be rooted in exposure to racist narratives (Oliver & Ramasubramanian, 2009) exacerbated by the espousing to the model minority myth (Tokeshi, 2021). For example, in a sample of Asian American college students, the higher endorsement of internalized model minority myth was positively associated with greater anti-black sentiment (Yi & Todd, 2021). Similarly, the current findings show a positive relationship between internalized model minority and avoidance of minoritized groups. Therefore, while broader RES literature has not made a distinction between avoidance of White people and minoritized groups, it is important to consider as it provides vital insight into how second-generation Asian American youth perceive and navigate the world around them.

With regards to facilitating factors of avoidance of outgroup messages, discriminatory experiences were associated with youth providing both avoidance of White people as well as other minoritized group messages to their parents. Unsurprisingly, research shows that experiences of discrimination can prompt feelings of rejection and alienation from American society, which can lead youth to feel "less" American (Schmitt et al., 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). This is likely to be especially true for second-generation youth as they were born and raised in the U.S. consider themselves to be American and call the U.S. their primary home (Asher, 2008). Feeling rejected from the American culture, which has often been thought of as synonymous with Whiteness (Devos & Banaji, 2005), can cause Asian American youth to fear mistreatment from the dominant group. This fear likely manifests in the provision of messages that promote weariness and distrust towards members of the dominant group. Even among the parental RES literature, evidence can be found for parent's own experience of discrimination

predicting higher promotion of mistrust (i.e., avoidance of outgroup) messages (Espinoza et al., 2016; McNeill-Smith et al., 2016; Woo et al., 2020).

Because the extant literature has conceptualized avoidance of outgroups to consist of all groups deemed "other," there is little knowledge of the mechanisms that contribute to the distinction between avoidance of White people compared to other minoritized groups in the face of discrimination. However, it can be speculated that the race-ethnicity of the perpetrator of discrimination likely plays an important role in the youth's threat perception of that group. The current findings are limited by the lack of information on who (i.e., what racial-ethnic group) the youth were discriminated by. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude whether the provision of messages around avoiding both groups is a direct or indirect outcome of being discriminated against by a particular group. It is possible that under the threat of differential treatment, youth take a far less critical approach to navigating the racial landscape and are motivated to protect their parents from unfair treatment more broadly, regardless of the race-ethnicity of the "other" group. However, when youth do critically engage with American society (i.e., greater critical reflection), they provide fewer messages of avoidance of minoritized groups but critical reflection is unrelated to youth-directed avoidance of White people messages. This partially supports my hypothesis as it suggests that even after accounting for the internalization of model minority myth, youth who critically reflect on broader oppressive systems are likely to engage in reducing social inequities by providing messages to their parents that actively fight against racist or stereotypical perceptions of other minoritized groups. This is precisely why critical reflection might not be related to avoidance of White people. It is possible that reflecting on social injustices is more closely related to fighting against racist paradigms rather than perpetuating prejudicial attitudes regarding individuals belonging to the majority group.

57

Taken together, youth-directed RES among second-generation Asian American youth presents a complex phenomenon that requires further exploration. The current study provides insight into the types of RES conversations Asian American youth prioritize within their familial context. While the assessed facilitators (i.e., discrimination, critical reflection, public regard, and internalized model minority myth) provide essential background for a deeper understanding of youth's agency in RES, the current study sheds light on several key covariates that must be considered (e.g., allyship) in order to gain a robust understanding of this phenomenon.

Limitations and Future Directions

This dissertation is not without its limitations. First, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow for temporal assessment. Not only would longitudinal assessment aid in parsing out the causality of the key facilitators included in this study, but it would also provide insight into how youth-directed RES messages can change over time. Based on longitudinal work on parental RES, the content and frequency of messages can shift over time depending on the youth's cognitive development and lived experiences (e.g., facing discrimination or change in REI; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Future studies would benefit from studying ways in which parents' racialized experiences influence the type and frequency of youth-directed RES.

Second, despite recognizing the vast diversity within the pan-ethnic Asian American label, this study was underpowered to conduct ethnicity-specific analysis. The phenotypical and ethnic diversity in the Asian American community contributes to unique lived experiences (e.g., discrimination experiences by South Asian Americans qualitatively differ in comparison to East Asian Americans; Lee et al., 2020; Yip et al., 2021). It would be important for future studies to parse out ways in which youth-directed RES might differ among the diverse Asian American

subgroups. For example, South Asian families must contend with dual racialization experiences of being labeled as model minorities as well as being perceived as a threat because of their phenotype (e.g., being called a terrorist; Patel et al., 2022). Therefore, messages from South Asian American youth might differ from other Asian American subgroups that might have to contend with different types of racialized experiences.

Third, the lack of generational diversity leads to a narrow understanding of how this phenomenon would manifest across first-generation or even third-generation Asian American youth. Given the exploratory nature of the current study, it was necessary to set clear parameters on the sample demographics, however, future studies would benefit from understanding the complexity of youth-driven RES across different generations. It is likely that first-generation Asian American youth might share a similar grasp of the broader racial landscape as their parents, however, future studies could assess the trajectory of acculturation, critical consciousness development, and thereby youth-directed RES over time. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see how third-generation Asian American youth contend with having such sensitive conversations. It is likely that third-generation youth might inherently have more space within the parent-child relationship to discuss matters of race (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020), however, it would be important to assess how these differ from second and first generation Asian American youth. Mainly, the differences in conversations should also be assessed with several key developmental outcomes (e.g., REI, communal critical action, mental well-being) as these would be the natural next step for investigation and clinical application.

Fourth, there are several key contextual factors (e.g., neighborhood context, school diversity, peers) that were not included in the data collection for the current study. These contextual factors likely provide important insight into how the sociopolitical landscape

contributes to Asian American youth's reflection, motivation, and readiness for sensitive conversations around race and ethnicity. Future work should explicate how youth's immediate surroundings impact the frequency and content of youth-directed RES.

Fifth, it is rare that RES messages manifest in isolation from one another (Atkin & Yoo, 2021). The exploratory nature of the current study required the outcome variables to be assessed individually, however, it would be important to assess youth-directed RES messages in tandem as a potential next step. Consistently, data from the current study suggests that all four of the youth-directed RES messages are highly correlated with each other, suggesting that these messages might shift and evolve together. Parental RES messages show similar correlation patterns that have been further assessed using profile analyses. For example, Atkin and Yoo (2021) assessed latent profiles of parental RES messages among Asian American families and found three distinct profiles encompassing varying levels of each type of RES message. Similarly, Atkin and Ahn (2022) assessed RES messages from mothers and fathers separately to assess the types of profiles they generated as well as how those profiles impacted Asian American youth's anti-black and colorblind perspectives. Across both of these studies, authors found distinct RES profiles that were related to important youth outcomes (e.g., REI, racialized attitudes, belongingness; Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Atkin & Yoo, 2021) and likely provide a more accurate representation of Asian American youth's lived experiences. Applied to youth-directed RES, profile analyses might shed light on how youth combine RES messages to help socialize their parents.

Sixth, since the current sample consists of only college-aged students, the findings are limited in their generalizability. The confluence of biological, cognitive, and identity changes occur across development (Hughes et al., 2006) and provide the foundation of our understanding

of not only how minority adolescents view themselves but also how they choose to civically engage in their immediate ecosphere across time (i.e., family, peers; Hughes et al., 2016). Importantly, as early as early adolescence (aged 10-14), youth can identify social inequalities and differential social treatment (Diemer et al., 2017; Watts et al., 2011), which means that youth are contending with a racialized society across different stages of sociocognitive development. Notably, the prominence of social media use among younger adolescents likely exposes them to a much wider range of social inequalities and oppressive systems, opening an avenue for critical reflection and civic engagement (Diemer & Li, 2011). For example, Diemer et al. (2015) found that early adolescents showed signs of critical reflection and action, especially during a politically charged climate (e.g., 2016 election; Diemer & Li, 2011).

While early adolescents might be critically engaging with their surroundings, they might not possess the cognitive ability to fully process complex racial dynamics. Therefore, the provision of youth-directed RES messages might look quite different during this period. For example, early adolescents might engage in seeking heritage cultural experiences and in challenging their parents on biased views, however, they might not feel fully competent to explain the complex racial history of the U.S. to their parents. The level of competence to grapple with and explain the racial landscape of the U.S. could evolve with the youth's cognitive advancement. Therefore, later adolescents might be more equipped to teach their parents the complexities of a racialized society as well as feel confident in supporting their parents in the face of unfair treatment. Together, youth across several stages of development might be positioned to provide youth-directed RES messages but these might manifest in considerably different ways. As such, future studies would benefit from assessing ways in which individual and social factors play a role in setting the stage for adolescents to provide RES messages.

Seventh, in assessing the youth-directed RES among second-generation Asian American youth, the results have shed light on just how nuanced the racialized experience of Asian Americans might be. For example, a deeper understanding of how Asian American youth perceive and engage in allyship would be an essential next step. Mainly, Asian American youth endorse internalized model minority myth and report engaging in critical action (e.g., challenging parents' biased views; Daga & Raval, 2018; Young et al., 2020). However, little is known about what mechanisms contribute to youth's reasoning behind engaging in critical action (e.g., allyship) when they might have internalized the idea that their racial group has a higher position within the racial hierarchy due to inherent racial characteristics. It could be that Asian American youth view allyship as the "right thing to do" but not necessarily a group effort to fight the oppression that impacts all racial groups. Therefore, performing in ways akin to an ally while thinking that they enjoy the privilege of not being impacted by the biases they might be fighting against (Kalina, 2020). However, future research must parse out the relationship between critical reflection, allyship, and internalized model minority myth to better understand the unique mechanisms that impact Asian American youth's engagement with the broader racialized society.

Conclusion

Traditional conceptualization of RES overlooks the youth's agency as a contributor to the complex conversations around race and ethnicity. This study is the first to characterize the types of youth-directed RES messages as well as assess the ways in which key facilitating factors impact the frequency of these messages. This study contributes to the literature through the development of ADRES, which can be used to assess the types of RES messages youth provide their parents. Similar to parental RES, youth-directed cultural socialization and awareness of

discrimination were the most frequently provided messages, which suggests that youth might be leveraging the culturally rich context of immigrant households to initiate complex conversations around broader racial-ethnic dynamics. Furthermore, the results highlight the complex intersection of internalization of positive stereotypes and reflections that might stem from exposure to broader social injustices. The relationship between facilitating factors (i.e., discrimination, critical reflection, public regard, internalization of model minority myth) and youth-directed RES might not be as straightforward for Asian American youth and likely requires a deeper understanding of covariates such as allyship. Broadly, this study opens up several avenues for future investigation that require a sophisticated understanding of personal, interpersonal, familial, and systemic processes that impact Asian American youth.

REFERENCES

Adelman, R. M., & Tsao, H. (2016). Deep South demography: New immigrants and racial hierarchies. *Sociological Spectrum*, *36*(6), 337–358.

Aldana, A., Bañales, J., & Richards-Schuster, K. (2019). Youth Anti-Racist Engagement: Conceptualization, Development, and Validation of an Anti-Racism Action Scale. Adolescent Research Review, 4(4), 369–381. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-019-00113-1

Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2021). 2021 kids count data book. https://www.aecf.org/resources/2021-kids-count-data-book

Anyiwo, N., Bañales, J., Rowley, S. J., Watkins, D. C., & Richards-Schuster, K. (2018). Sociocultural Influences on the Sociopolitical Development of African American Youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, *12*(3), 165–170. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12276

Armenta, B. E., Lee, R. M., Pituc, S. T., Jung, K.-R., Park, I. J., Soto, J. A., Kim, S. Y., & Schwartz, S. J. (2013). Where are you from? A validation of the Foreigner Objectification Scale and the psychological correlates of foreigner objectification among Asian Americans and Latinos. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(2), 131.

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469.

Asher, N. (2008). Listening to hyphenated Americans: Hybrid identities of youth from immigrant families. *Theory into practice*, *47*(1), 12-19.

Atkin, A. L., & Ahn, L. H. (2022). Profiles of racial socialization messages from mothers and fathers and the colorblind and anti-Black attitudes of Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *51*(6), 1048-1061.

Atkin, A. L., & Yoo, H. C. (2021). Patterns of racial-ethnic socialization in Asian American families: Associations with racial-ethnic identity and social connectedness. *Journal of counseling psychology*, *68*(1), 17.

Atkin, A. L., & Yoo, H. C. (2020). Patterns of racial-ethnic socialization in Asian American families: Associations with racial-ethnic identity and social connectedness. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000435

Atkin, A. L., Yoo, H. C., Jager, J., & Yeh, C. J. (2018). Internalization of the model minority myth, school racial composition, and psychological distress among Asian American adolescents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*(2), 108.

Atkin, A. L., Yoo, H. C., & Yeh, C. J. (2019). What types of racial messages protect Asian American adolescents from discrimination? A latent interaction model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *66*(2), 247.

"Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial or ethnic group in the U.S." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (June 11, 2021), https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/09/asian-americans-are-the-fastest-growing-racial-or-ethnic-group-in-the-u-s/

Awang, Z. (2014). *A handbook on SME: For Academicians and practitioners*. MPWS Rich Resources.

Bañales, J., Marchand, A. D., Skinner, O. D., Anyiwo, N., Rowley, S. J., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2020). Black adolescents' critical reflection development: Parents' racial socialization and attributions about race achievement gaps. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *30*, 403–417.

Barona, A., & Miller, J. A. (1994). Short acculturation scale for Hispanic youth (SASH-Y): A preliminary report. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *16*(2), 155-162.

Benner, A. D., & Kim, S. Y. (2009). Intergenerational Experiences of Discrimination in Chinese

American Families: Influences of Socialization and Stress. *Journal of Marriage and*

Family, *71*(4), 862–877. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00640.x

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. *American*

Sociological Review, *62*(3), 465–480. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657316

Bowen, R. L., & Devine, C. M. (2011). "Watching a person who knows how to cook, you'll

learn a lot". Linked lives, cultural transmission, and the food choices of Puerto Rican

girls. *Appetite*, *56*(2), 290-298.

Branscombe, N. R., & Ellemers, N. (1998). Coping with group-based discrimination:

Individualistic versus group-level strategies. In *Prejudice* (pp. 243-266). Academic Press.

Byrd, C. M., & Ahn, L. H. (2020). Profiles of ethnic-racial socialization from family, school,

neighborhood, and the Internet: Relations to adolescent outcomes. *Journal of Community*

Psychology, *48*(6), 1942-1963.

Carrim, N. M. H. (2019). Minority Employees' Ethnic Identity in the Workplace. In *Oxford*

Research Encyclopedia of Business and Management.

https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190224851.013.196

Chan, R. C., & Mak, W. W. (2020). Empowerment for civic engagement and well-being in

emerging adulthood: Evidence from cross-regional and cross-lagged analyses. *Social*

Science & Medicine, *244*, 112703.

Chen, G., Gully, S. M., & Eden, D. (2001). Validation of a new general self-efficacy scale.

Organizational Research Methods, *4*(1), 62–83.

Choi, Y., Harachi, T. W., Gillmore, M. R., & Catalano, R. F. (2006). Are multiracial adolescents

at greater risk? Comparisons of rates, patterns, and correlates of substance use and violence

between monoracial and multiracial adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *76*(1), 86-97.

Christian, M. (2019). A Global Critical Race and Racism Framework: Racial Entanglements and Deep and Malleable Whiteness. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *5*(2), 169–185. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649218783220

Chung, R. H., Kim, B. S., & Abreu, J. M. (2004). Asian American multidimensional acculturation scale: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *10*(1), 66.

Community Relations Service | *2020 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics*. (2021, November 17). https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2020-hate-crimes-statistics

Comrey, A. L. (1988). Factor-analytic methods of scale development in personality and clinical psychology. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, *56*(5), 754.

Daga, S. S., & Raval, V. V. (2018). Ethnic–racial socialization, model minority experience, and psychological functioning among south Asian American emerging adults: A preliminary mixed-methods study. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*(1), 17.

Derlan, C. L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Updegraff, K. A., & Jahromi, L. B. (2017). Longitudinal relations among Mexican-origin mothers' cultural characteristics, cultural socialization, and 5-year-old children's ethnic–racial identification. *Developmental Psychology*, 53(11), 2078.

Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American= white?. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *88*(3), 447.

Diemer, M. A., Frisby, M. B., Pinedo, A., Bardelli, E., Elliot, E., Harris, E., McAlister, S., & Voight, A. M. (2020). Development of the short critical consciousness scale (ShoCCS). *Applied Developmental Science*, 1–17.

Diemer, M. A., & Li, C.-H. (2011). Critical Consciousness Development and Political

Participation Among Marginalized Youth. *Child Development*, *82*(6), 1815–1833.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01650.x

Diemer, M. A., Pinedo, A., Bañales, J., Mathews, C. J., Frisby, M. B., Harris, E. M., &

McAlister, S. (2021). Recentering Action in Critical Consciousness. *Child Development*

Perspectives, 15(1), 12-17.

Diemer, M. A., & Rapa, L. J. (2015). *Unraveling the Complexity of Critical Consciousness,*

Political Efficacy, and Political Action Among Marginalized Adolescents.

Diemer, M. A., Rapa, L. J., Park, C. J., & Perry, J. C. (2017). Development and validation of the

critical consciousness scale. *Youth & Society*, *49*(4), 461–483.

Douglass, S., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2017). Examining discrimination, ethnic-racial identity

status, and youth public regard among Black, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of*

Research on Adolescence, *27*(1), 155–172.

Else-Quest, N. M., & Morse, E. (2015). Ethnic variations in parental ethnic socialization and

adolescent ethnic identity: A longitudinal study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority*

Psychology, *21*(1), 54–64. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037820

Espinoza, G., Gonzales, N. A., & Fuligni, A. J. (2016). Parent discrimination predicts Mexican-

American adolescent psychological adjustment 1 year later. *Child development*, *87*(4),

1079-1089.

Finch, W. H. (2020). Using fit statistic differences to determine the optimal number of factors to

retain in an exploratory factor analysis. *Educational and psychological measurement*, *80*(2),

217-241.

Finch, J. F., & West, S. G. (1997). The investigation of personality structure: Statistical

    models. *Journal of Research in personality*, *31*(4), 439-485.

Fish, J., Aguilera, R., Ogbeide, I. E., Ruzzicone, D. J., & Syed, M. (2020). When the personal is

    political: Ethnic identity, ally identity, and political engagement among Indigenous people

    and people of color. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.

Freire, P. (1974). "CONSCIENTISATION." *Cross Currents*, 24(1), 23–31.

Ferguson, G. M., Costigan, C. L., Clarke, C. V., & Ge, J. S. (2016). Introducing remote

    enculturation: Learning your heritage culture from afar. *Child Development*

    Perspectives, *10*(3), 166-171.

Gee, G. C., Spencer, M. S., Chen, J., & Takeuchi, D. (2007). A Nationwide Study of

    Discrimination and Chronic Health Conditions Among Asian Americans. *American Journal*

    of Public Health, *97*(7), 1275–1282. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2006.091827

Gibson, M. A. (2001). Immigrant adaptation and patterns of acculturation. *Human Development*,

    44(1), 19–23.

Gupta, A., Szymanski, D. M., & Leong, F. T. (2011). The "model minority myth": Internalized

    racialism of positive stereotypes as correlates of psychological distress, and attitudes toward

    help-seeking. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *2*(2), 101.

Hagelskamp, C., & Hughes, D. L. (2014). Workplace discrimination predicting racial/ethnic

    socialization across African American, Latino, and Chinese families. *Cultural Diversity and*

    Ethnic Minority Psychology, *20*(4), 550–560. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035321

Harris, J. C. (2019). Multiracial campus professionals' experiences with racial

    authenticity. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *52*(1), 93-107.

Heberle, A. E., Rapa, L. J., & Farago, F. (2020). Critical consciousness in children and

    adolescents: A systematic review, critical assessment, and recommendations for future

    research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *146*(6), 525–551. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000230

Helms, J. E., & Talleyrand, R. M. (1997). Race is not ethnicity. *American Psychologist*, *52*(11),

    1246–1247. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.52.11.1246

Hope, E. C., Gugwor, R., Riddick, K. N., & Pender, K. N. (2019). Engaged against the machine:

    Institutional and cultural racial discrimination and racial identity as predictors of activism

    orientation among Black youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *63*(1–2), 61–

    72.

Hope, E. C., Smith, C. D., Cryer-Coupet, Q. R., & Briggs, A. S. (2020). Relations between racial

    stress and critical consciousness for black adolescents. *Journal of Applied Developmental

    Psychology*, *70*, 101184. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2020.101184

Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino Parents' Messages to Children

    About Ethnicity and Race: A Comparative Study of Racial Socialization. *American Journal

    of Community Psychology*, *31*(1–2), 15–33. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023066418688

Hughes, D. L., Watford, J. A., & Del Toro, J. (2016). A Transactional/Ecological Perspective on

    Ethnic–Racial Identity, Socialization, and Discrimination. In *Advances in Child

    Development and Behavior* (Vol. 51, pp. 1–41). Elsevier.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2016.05.001

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006).

    Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future

    study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747–770. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-

    1649.42.5.747

Huguley, J. P., Wang, M.-T., Vasquez, A. C., & Guo, J. (2019). Parental ethnic–racial
socialization practices and the construction of children of color's ethnic–racial identity: A
research synthesis and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *145*(5), 437–458.
https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000187

Hyland, K. (2005). Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic
discourse. *Discourse studies*, *7*(2), 173-192.

Juang, L., Kim, S. Y., Lee, R., Qin, D., Swartz, T., & Lau, A. (2017). Reactive and Proactive
Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices of Asian American Second Generation Parents. *Asian
American Journal of Psychology*, *9*. https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000101

Juang, L. P., Shen, Y., Kim, S. Y., & Wang, Y. (2016). Development of an Asian American
parental racial–ethnic socialization scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority
Psychology*, *22*(3), 417.

Juang, L., Yoo, H., & Atkin, A. (2017). A Critical Race Perspective on an Empirical Review of
Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization. *Asian American Parenting.* 11-35.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63136-3_2

Kaiser, H. F. (1960). The application of electronic computers to factor analysis. *Educational and
psychological measurement*, *20*(1), 141-151.

Kalina, P. (2020). Performative allyship. *Technium Soc. Sci. J.*, *11*, 478.

Karim, S., Hue, M. T., & Ullah, R. (2021). Acculturative challenges among Pakistani secondary
school students in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *82*, 1-11.

"Key findings about U.S. immigrants." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (June 11, 2021),
https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

Kiang, L., Yip, T., Gonzales-Backen, M., Witkow, M., & Fuligni, A. J. (2006). Ethnic identity and the daily psychological well-being of adolescents from Mexican and Chinese backgrounds. *Child development*, *77*(5), 1338-1350.

Kim, P. Y., & Lee, D. (2014). Internalized model minority myth, Asian values, and help-seeking attitudes among Asian American students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*(1), 98.

King, P. M., & Kitchener, K. S. (2015). Cognitive development in the emerging adult: The emergence of complex cognitive skills. *The Oxford Handbook of Emerging Adulthood*, 105–125.

Knight, G. P., Bernal, M. E., Garza, C. A., Cota, M. K., & Ocampo, K. A. (1993). Family socialization and the ethnic identity of Mexican-American children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 24(1), 99–114.

Kornbluh, M., Johnson, L., & Hart, M. (2021). Shards from the glass ceiling: Deconstructing marginalizing systems in relation to critical consciousness development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *68*(1–2), 187–201. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12512

Kulish, A. L., Cavanaugh, A. M., Stein, G. L., Kiang, L., Gonzalez, L. M., Supple, A., & Mejia, Y. (2019). Ethnic–racial socialization in Latino families: The influence of mothers' socialization practices on adolescent private regard, familism, and perceived ethnic–racial discrimination. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 25(2), 199.

Landry, R., Allard, R., Deveau, K., & St-Onge, S. (2022). Minority language learning and use: Can self-determination counter social determinism?. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *41*(3),

Lapsley, D., & Woodbury, R. D. (2016). *Social cognitive development in emerging adulthood.*

Lee, D. B., Anderson, R. E., Hope, M. O., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2020). Racial discrimination trajectories predicting psychological well-being: From emerging adulthood to adulthood. *Developmental psychology*, *56*(7), 1413.

Loehlin, J. C. (1992). Guttman on factor analysis and group differences: A comment. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *27*(2), 235–237.

Manos, R. C., Kanter, J. W., & Luo, W. (2011). The behavioral activation for depression scale–short form: Development and validation. *Behavior Therapy*, *42*(4), 726–739.

Mathews, C. J., Medina, M. A., Bañales, J., Pinetta, B. J., Marchand, A. D., Agi, A. C., Miller, S. M., Hoffman, A. J., Diemer, M. A., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2019). Mapping the intersections of adolescents' ethnic-racial identity and critical consciousness. *Adolescent Research Review*, 1–17.

McGowan, M. O., & Lindgren, J. (2006). Testing the model minority myth. Nw. UL Rev., 100, 331.

McMurtry, C. L., Findling, M. G., Casey, L. S., Blendon, R. J., Benson, J. M., Sayde, J. M., & Miller, C. (2019). Discrimination in the United States: Experiences of Asian Americans. *Health Services Research*, 54, 1419–1430.

McNeil Smith, S., Reynolds, J. E., Fincham, F. D., & Beach, S. R. (2016). Parental experiences of racial discrimination and youth racial socialization in two-parent African American families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *22*(2), 268.

Neblett Jr, E. W. (2019). Racism and health: Challenges and future directions in behavioral and psychological research. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *25*(1), 12.

Neblett, E. W., Gaskin, A. L., Lee, D. B., & Carter, S. E. (2011). Discrimination, Racial and Ethnic.

Encyclopedia of Adolescence. Academic Press, 53-58.

Neblett Jr, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and

ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child*

development perspectives, *6*(3), 295-303.

Oliver, M. B., Ramasubramanian, S., & Kim, J. (2009). Media and racism. In *Communication*

and Social Cognition (pp. 285-304). Routledge.

Olson, D. H. (1985). Family inventories. *St. Paul, MN; Family Social Science, University of*

Minnesota.

Patel, P., Romaro M.Y., Raval., V.V., Stein, G. (2022) Racial/Ethnic Socialization Within the

Context of Indian American Families. *Asian American Journal of Psychology.*

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: review of research.

Psychological Bulletin, 108(3), 499.

Phinney, J. S. (1996). When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean? *American*

Psychologist, 51(9), 918.

Pillen, H., McNaughton, D., & Ward, P. R. (2020). Critical consciousness development: A

systematic review of empirical studies. *Health Promotion International*, *35*(6), 1519–1530.

Plunkett, S. W., & Bamaca-Gomez, M. Y. (2003). The relationship between parenting,

acculturation, and adolescent academics in Mexican-origin immigrant families in Los

Angeles. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *25*(2), 222–239.

Ponterotto, J. G., Burkard, A., Rieger, B. P., Grieger, I., D'Onofrio, A., Dubuisson, A.,

Heenehan, M., Millstein, B., Parisi, M., & Rath, J. F. (1995). Development and initial

validation of the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI). *Educational and Psychological*

Measurement, *55*(6), 1016–1031.

Priest, N., Walton, J., White, F., Kowal, E., Baker, A., & Paradies, Y. (2014). Understanding the Complexities of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Processes for Both Minority and Majority Groups: A 30-Year Systematic Review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *43*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.08.003

Quintana, S. M., & Maxwell, S. E. (1999). Implications of recent developments in structural equation modeling for counseling psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *27*(4), 485-527.

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2008). A closer look at peer discrimination, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being among urban Chinese American sixth graders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*(1), 12–21.

Rosseel, Y. (2012). lavaan: An R package for structural equation modeling. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *48*, 1–36.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and constuct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*(4), 805.

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2(1), 18–39.

Singh, S., Berezin, M. N., Wallach, L. N., Godfrey, E. B., & Javdani, S. (2021). Traumatic Incidents and Experiences of Racism and Sexism: Examining Associations with Components of Critical Consciousness for System-Involved Girls of Color. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *67*(1–2), 64–75. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12479

Steinberg, L. (2005). Cognitive and affective development in adolescence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *9*(2), 69–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2004.12.005

Suyemoto, K. L., & Tawa, J. (2008). Multiracial Asian Americans. In *Asian American Psychology* (pp. 431-448). Psychology Press.

Remedios, J. D., & Chasteen, A. L. (2013). Finally, someone who "gets" me! Multiracial people value others' accuracy about their race. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(4), 453.

Richman, L. S., & Leary, M. R. (2009). Reactions to Discrimination, Stigmatization, Ostracism, and Other Forms of Interpersonal Rejection. *Psychological Review*, 116(2), 365–383. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015250

Schmitt, M. T., Spears, R., & Branscombe, N. R. (2003). Constructing a minority group identity out of shared rejection: The case of international students. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*(1), 1-12.

Song, M. (2004). Introduction: Who's at the bottom? Examining claims about racial hierarchy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(6), 859–877. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000268503

Syed, M., & Mitchell, L. L. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and emerging adulthood: Retrospect and prospects. Emerging Adulthood, 1(2), 83–95.

Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the identity status model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(4), 1012.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In *Political psychology* (pp. 276-293). Psychology Press.

Tokeshi, M. (2021). Anti-black prejudice in Asian American public opinion. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 1-24.

Trieu, M. M., & Lee, H. C. (2018). Asian Americans and internalized racial oppression: Identified, reproduced, and dismantled. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *4*(1), 67–82.

Tuason, M., Teresa, G., Taylor, A. R., Rollings, L., Harris, T., & Martin, C. (2007). On both sides of the hyphen: Exploring the Filipino-American identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *54*(4), 362.

Tyler, C. P., Geldhof, G. J., Settersten Jr, R. A., & Flay, B. R. (2021). How do discrimination and self-esteem control beliefs affect prosociality? An examination among Black and Latinx youth. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *41*(2), 282–308.

Tyler, C. P., Olsen, S. G., Geldhof, G. J., & Bowers, E. P. (2020). Critical consciousness in late adolescence: Understanding if, how, and why youth act. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *70*, 101165. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2020.101165

Tyson, C. A. (2002). "Get Up Offa That Thing": African American Middle School Students Respond to Literature to Develop a Framework for Understanding Social Action. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *30*(1), 42–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2002.10473178

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Hill, N. E. (2020). Ethnic–Racial Socialization in the Family: A Decade's Advance on Precursors and Outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 244–271. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12622

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., & Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and Racial Identity During Adolescence and Into Young Adulthood: An Integrated Conceptualization. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Zeiders, K. H., & Updegraff, K. A. (2013). Family Ethnic Socialization and Ethnic Identity: A Family-Driven, Youth-Driven, or Reciprocal Process? *Journal of Family Psychology : JFP : Journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association (Division 43)*, *27*(1), 137–146. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031105

"U.S. Population Projections: 2005-2050." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (February 15, 2021), http://www.pewhispanic.org/2008/02/11/us-population-projections-2005-2050/.

Vang, C., Sun, F., & Sangalang, C. C. (2021). Mental health among the Hmong population in the US: A systematic review of the influence of cultural and social factors. *Journal of Social Work*, 21(4), 811–830.

Watts, R. J., Diemer, M. A., & Voight, A. M. (2011). Critical consciousness: Current status and future directions. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2011*(134), 43–57. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.310

Woo, B., Maglalang, D. D., Ko, S., Park, M., Choi, Y., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2020). Racial discrimination, ethnic-racial socialization, and cultural identities among Asian American youths. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *26*(4), 447.

Wu, F. H. (2002). *Yellow: Race in America beyond black and white*.

Yakushko, O. (2009). Xenophobia: Understanding the roots and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 37(1), 36–66.

Yi, J., & Todd, N. R. (2021). Internalized model minority myth among Asian Americans: Links to anti-Black attitudes and opposition to affirmative action. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.

Yip, T., Cheah, C. S., Kiang, L., & Hall, G. C. N. (2021). Rendered invisible: Are Asian Americans a model or a marginalized minority?. *American Psychologist*, *76*(4), 575.

Yip, T., Douglass, S., & Sellers, R. M. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity. *APA handbook of multicultural psychology, Vol. 1: Theory and research*. (pp. 179-205). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14189-010

Yoo, H. C., Burrola, K. S., & Steger, M. F. (2010). A preliminary report on a new measure: Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4) and its psychological correlates among Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57(1), 114.

Young, J. L., Kim, H., & Golojuch, L. (2020). "Race was something we didn't talk about": Racial Socialization in Asian American Families. *Family Relations*.

Zhou, X., Lee, R. M., & Syed, M. (2019). Ethnic identity developmental trajectories during the transition to college. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(1), 157.

Zou, L. X., & Cheryan, S. (2017). Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112(5), 696.

Table A1. Demographic Table

	N	%
Gender		
Male	193	46.6
Female	214	49.3
Non-binary	9	2.2
Prefer not to answer	3	2
Current Academic Status		
High School Graduate	16	3.9
Freshmen	20	4.9
Sophomore	59	14.5
Junior	74	18.1
Senior	118	28.9
College Graduate	20	4.9
Graduate Student	70	17.2
Other	3	0.7
Prefer not to answer	28	6.7
Current Living Status		
Alone	29	7.1
With Parents	201	49.3
With Roommates	79	19.4
With Romantic Partner	18	4.4
College/University Dormitory	74	18.1
Other	7	1.7
Ethnicity		
Chinese	116	28.4
Vietnamese	75	18.4
Indian	74	17.0
Filipino	53	13.0
Korean	44	10.8
Pakistani	15	3.7
Bangladeshi	8	2.0
Taiwanese	8	2.0
Cambodian	5	1.2
Laotian	4	1.0
Sri Lankan	3	0.7
Hmong	5	1.2
Nepalese	1	0.2
Malaysian	1	0.2

Fijian	1	0.2
Mother's highest Degree		
< High School	47	11.5
High School	106	26
College	138	33.8
Post-baccalaureate	24	5.9
Associates	24	5.9
Master's	49	12
Doctorate/MD	20	4.9
Father's Highest Degree		
< High School	43	10.5
High School	99	24.3
College	122	29.9
Post-baccalaureate	23	5.6
Associates	27	6.6
Master's	58	14.2
Doctorate/MD	36	8.8
Household Income		
< $60,000	146	35.8
> $60,000	256	62.7
Missing	6	1.5

Table A2. Item level comparisons for the ADRES scale.

Items from Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization scale (Juang et al., 2016)	Items from Adolescent-driven racial-ethnic socialization scale
Maintenance of heritage culture (8 items)	**Maintenance of heritage culture (8 items)**
Routinely cooked Asian food for you.	Asked your parents to cook or teach you to cook traditional food
Spent time with relatives who are from their home country.	Asked your parents to take you to spend time with relatives who are from your heritage culture
Told you to speak in their heritage language.	Asked your parents to speak to you in your heritage language
Visited stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of their own ethnicity/culture.	Asked your parents to visit stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of your own ethnicity/culture
Showed you that because they are immigrants they have worked hard to come to this country.	Asked your parents about how they feel about being an immigrant in this country
Celebrated your heritage culture's holidays.	Asked your parents to celebrate your heritage culture's holidays
Used "ethnic" media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows).	Asked your parents to introduce you to or read/watch "ethnic" media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows)
Took you to visit their home country.	Asked your parents to take you to your country of heritage
Awareness of discrimination (4 items)	**Awareness of discrimination (10 items)**
Talked to you about why some people will treat you unfairly because your Asian background.	Told your parents why some people will treat members of your family unfairly because your racial/ethnic background.
Told you that people may try to take advantage of you because of your Asian background.	Told your parents that people may try to take advantage of members of your family because of your racial/ethnic background.
Told you that people may limit you because of your Asian background.	Told your parents that people may limit members of your family because of your racial/ethnic background.

Told you that you have to work a lot harder in order to get the same rewards as others because of your Asian background.	Told your parents that they have to work a lot harder in order to get the same rewards as others because of your racial/ethnic background.
	Explained or identified racial slurs or other discriminatory experiences that members of your family might encounter because of your racial/ethnic background.*
	Explained the history of your racial/ethnic group within the United States to your parents.*
	Explained the history of oppression within the United States and discrimination faced by other racial/ethnic groups to you parents.*
	Helped your parents learn about racial dynamics within your own group (e.g., colorism).*
	When your parents have experiences of unfair treatment as discrimination, you have helped them identify it.*
	When your parents has expressed racial/ethnic biases, you have challenged them. *
	Dealing with discrimination (3 quant and 1 qual items)
	Helped your parents think about how to deal with people who treat them unfairly based on their racial/ethnic background.*
	Helped your parents think about how to handle a situation where people use racial slurs against them.*
	Challenged your parents' minimization of their own racial/ethnic heritage out of fear of discrimination? (e.g., avoiding speaking native language in public, avoiding wearing traditional attire in public, etc.)*
	Are there other ways in which you have helped your parents deal with racial/ethnic discrimination: *
Avoidance of outgroups (4 items)	**Avoidance of outgroups (5 items)**
Told you to avoid another racial or ethnic group.	Told your parents to avoid another racial or ethnic group.
Moved away from sitting or standing next to a person of another race.	Urged your parent to move away from sitting or standing next to a person of another race.
Showed you that you cannot trust people of other races or ethnicities.	Showed your parent that you cannot trust people of other races or ethnicities.
Showed you that you should not be friends with people of certain racial/ethnic backgrounds.	Showed your parent that they should not be friends with people of certain racial/ethnic backgrounds.

	Told your parents to be careful when in neighborhoods or areas where the majority of the population is not of your ethnic/racial group*

*newly added items based on expert feedback

Table A3. Fit indices across 4, 5, 6, and 7 factor outputs based on the Exploratory Factor Analysis

	TLI	RMSEA
Cutoffs	*≥.90*	*<.08*
7 factor	0.878	0.058
6 factor	0.841	0.066
5 factor	0.811	0.072
4 factor	0.772	0.080

Table 4. Factor loadings based on the Exploratory Factor Analysis

Stem	Variable name	Avoidance of discrimination	Avoidance of Minoritized Groups	Promotion of Equality	Avoidance of White People	Maintenance of Heritage Culture	Cultural Pluralism	Becoming American
Maintenance of Heritage Culture (MCH)								
Cooking/teaching to cook	MCH_1	0.04	-0.08	0.02	0.12	0.41	0.07	0.05
Spend time with relatives	MCH_2	-0.09	0.04	-0.02	-0.07	**0.62**	0.21	-0.10
Speak in heritage language	MCH_3	0.05	0.05	0.02	-0.05	**0.66**	-0.04	0.02
Supporting stores/professionals	MCH_4	0.03	0.10	0.02	-0.03	**0.55**	0.02	0.00
Feelings around immigration	MCH_5	0.12	-0.06	-0.06	0.01	**0.57**	0.14	-0.04
Celebrate holidays	MCH_6	0.06	-0.04	0.11	-0.06	**0.79**	-0.10	-0.08
Being introduced to ethnic media	MCH_7	0.00	0.03	-0.01	0.03	**0.75**	-0.05	-0.07
Visit heritage country	MCH_8	-0.07	-0.04	0.03	0.08	**0.68**	0.05	-0.01
Becoming American (BA)								
Youth having close Friends who are American	BA_1	0.05	-0.02	0.08	0.01	-0.11	0.21	**0.83**
Youth spending time with Americans	BA_2	-0.02	0.00	0.12	0.02	-0.09	0.14	**0.84**
Help parents learn/practice English	BA_3	0.27	-0.01	0.11	-0.10	0.15	0.01	0.07
Create and promote parents' interactions with American friends	BA_4	-0.15	0.02	-0.11	-0.05	0.17	**0.58**	0.17
Introducing parents to American culture	BA_5	0.09	0.03	-0.02	0.02	0.06	0.47	0.21
Introducing parents to American history	BA_6	0.19	-0.01	-0.11	-0.01	0.06	**0.57**	0.07

Awareness of Discrimination (AD)								
Unfair treatment because of their racial-ethnic background	AD_1	**0.91**	-0.04	-0.07	0.00	0.01	-0.02	0.03
Being taken advantage of because of racial-ethnic background	AD_2	**0.92**	0.00	-0.09	0.01	0.04	-0.07	0.01
Being limited by others because of racial-ethnic background	AD_3	**0.95**	0.01	-0.13	-0.02	0.01	-0.06	0.04
Having to work harder to get same rewards because of racial-ethnic background	AD_4	**0.86**	0.13	-0.04	-0.08	-0.04	-0.06	0.02
Identified racial-ethnic slurs and discriminatory experiences	AD_5	**0.82**	0.02	-0.03	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.07
History of their own racial-ethnic group in the U.S.	AD_6	**0.72**	-0.03	-0.18	0.08	0.08	0.22	-0.06
History of oppression and discrimination faced by other groups in the U.S.	AD_7	**0.68**	-0.06	-0.03	0.11	0.01	0.14	0.01
Racial dynamics within their own racial-ethnic group	AD_8	**0.62**	-0.06	0.08	0.16	-0.02	0.12	-0.04
Helped identify discriminatory events parents themselves have faced	AD_9	**0.72**	0.04	0.21	-0.12	0.06	-0.07	-0.04
Challenged racial-ethnic biases	AD_10	0.38	-0.10	0.48	0.10	0.02	-0.19	0.05
Avoidance of Outgroup (AO)								

Avoid other minoritized racial-ethnic group	AO_1	0.11	**0.76**	-0.04	0.07	0.05	-0.12	-0.01
Urged to move away from other minoritized racial-ethnic group	AO_2	0.09	**0.81**	0.00	0.00	0.04	-0.14	0.00
Not trusting people from other minoritized racial-ethnic group	AO_3	0.09	**0.76**	-0.04	0.10	0.04	-0.13	0.00
Not being friends with other minoritized racial-ethnic group	AO_4	0.09	**0.80**	-0.06	0.09	-0.06	0.00	0.01
Being careful in neighborhoods where majority of population is other minoritized racial-ethnic group	AO_5	0.32	**0.60**	-0.01	0.00	-0.03	-0.21	0.06
Avoid White people	AO_6	-0.01	-0.07	0.04	**0.96**	0.01	-0.05	0.05
Urged to move away from White people	AO_7	-0.05	0.17	-0.04	**0.72**	0.02	0.04	-0.03
Not trusting White people	AO_8	0.00	-0.04	0.04	**0.89**	0.03	-0.07	0.02
Not being friends with White people	AO_9	-0.05	0.19	-0.07	**0.77**	0.05	0.03	-0.04
Being careful ineighborhoods where majority of population is White	AO_10	0.03	-0.01	0.06	**0.81**	-0.06	0.04	0.02
Minimization of Race (MR)								
Not comfortable talking about issues around race	MR_1	-0.07	**0.50**	0.01	-0.02	0.03	0.13	0.02
Racism does not exist	MR_2	-0.12	**0.62**	0.08	-0.03	-0.03	0.13	-0.06
Issues of race and racism are not important	MR_3	-0.19	**0.73**	0.06	-0.07	-0.01	0.17	-0.02
Promotion of Equality (PE)								

All people are equal regardless of race	PE_1	-0.10	0.00	**0.83**	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.06
Race and ethnicity are not important in choosing friends	PE_2	-0.06	0.09	**0.84**	-0.09	0.01	-0.03	0.11
Treat people from all race and ethnicities the same way	PE_3	-0.08	0.03	**0.95**	0.06	0.05	-0.10	0.07
Cultural Pluralism (CP)								
Encourage friendships from other racial-ethnic backgrounds	CP_1	0.17	0.05	0.27	-0.01	-0.04	**0.54**	-0.10
Importance of racial-ethnic diversity	CP_2	0.10	-0.02	0.37	0.08	-0.07	**0.51**	-0.10
Importance of spending time with people of other race and ethnicities	CP_3	0.09	0.00	0.32	0.05	-0.07	**0.58**	-0.13
Open-minded about people's opinions regardless of racial-ethnic background	CP_4	0.03	-0.03	**0.77**	0.03	-0.03	0.07	-0.02
Dealing with Discrimination (DD)								
Dealing with people who treat parents unfairly	DD_1	0.43	-0.03	0.20	-0.05	-0.02	0.34	-0.15
Handling racial slurs that are used against them	DD_2	**0.63**	0.04	0.05	-0.09	-0.15	0.34	-0.10
Challenging parents' minimization of their own race and ethnicity out of fear of discrimination	DD_3	**0.57**	0.06	0.02	-0.08	-0.21	0.32	-0.9

Table A5. Fit indices for the Confirmatory Factor Analysis

	Guidelines	Values from Present Data
CFI	$\geq.90$	.905
TLI	$\geq.90$	.897
RMSEA	$<.08$	.063
SRMR	$<.08$	.054

Table A6. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the convergent and divergent validity analyses

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Maintenance of Heritage Culture	2.73	.93									
2. Awareness of Discrimination	2.33	.99	.56**								
3. Avoidance of Minoritized Groups	1.35	.63	.22**	.30**							
4. Avoidance of White People	1.43	.76	.29**	.42**	.46**						
5. Behavioral Activation	4.03	.09	.11*	.06	.00	.02					
6. Academic Motivation	3.26	.55	.24**	.16**	.03	-.01	.23**				
7. Self-efficacy	5.46	.07	.19**	.12*	-.01	-.06	.31**	.44**			
8. Enculturation	3.92	.91	.51**	.35**	.12*	.16**	.16**	.29**	.26**		
9. Prejudicial Attitudes	2.09	.65	.03	-.01	.39**	-.01	.01	-.12*	-.10*	.03	
10. Anti-racist Action	2.96	.66	.33**	.40**	-.16**	.22**	.07	.21**	.16**	.26**	-.42**

Note. M and SD are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table A7. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the path analysis

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Maintenance of Heritage Culture	2.73	0.93										
2. Awareness of Discrimination	2.33	0.99	.56**									
3. Avoidance of Minoritized Groups	1.35	0.63	.22**	.30**								
4. Avoidance of White People	1.43	0.76	.29**	.42**	.46**							
5. Internalized Model Minority	4.88	1.11	.05	.09	.19**	-.06						
6. Public Regard	3.55	0.82	.19**	.08	.02	.02	.18**					
7. Critical Reflection	4.80	0.96	.07	.09	-.13**	.08	-.15**	-.00				
8. Discrimination	1.62	0.60	.26**	.47**	.25**	.43**	.02	-.06	.14**			
9. Parent-child Communication	3.05	1.02	.34**	.08	.08	-.03	.21**	.20**	-.03	-.17**		
10. Parent language Use	1.65	0.34	.02	.09	.06	.03	-.09	-.12*	.03	.12*	-.20**	
11. Current Living Situation	1.49	0.50	.03	.08	.07	.10*	.11*	-.03	-.01	-.01	-.06	.05

Note. M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.
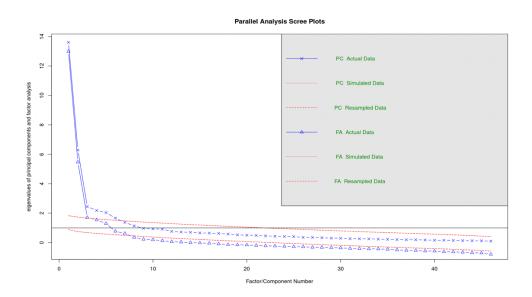
Table A8. Fit indices for the path model

	Guidelines	Values from Present Data
CFI	$\geq$.90	.92
TLI	$\geq$.90	.91
RMSEA	< .08	.05
SRMR	< .08	.04

Table A9. Coefficients table corresponding to the path model analysis

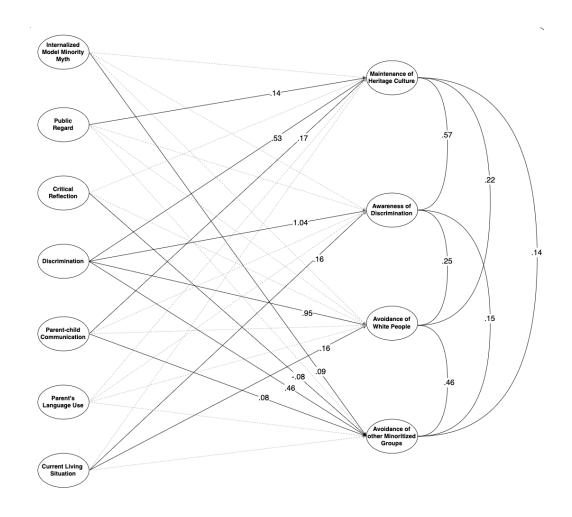| Predictor	Maintenance of Heritage culture			Awareness of Discrimination			Avoidance of White People			Avoidance of Minoritized Groups		
	b	*SE*	*p-value*	*b*	*SE*	*p-value*	*b*	*SE*	*p-value*	*b*	*SE*	*p-value*
Internalized Model Minority Myth	-.02	.04	.15	.08	.05	.10	-.06	.04	.13	.10	.34	.01*
Public Regard	.14	.05	<.01**	.07	.06	.25	.03	.06	.57	-.02	.05	.61
Critical Reflection	.03	.03	.46	.03	.03	.67	.01	.03	.78	-.08	.03	.02*
Discrimination	.53	.10	<.01**	1.03	.13	<.01**	.95	.12	<.01**	.50	.09	<.01**
Parent-child communication	.29	.04	<.01**	.15	.05	<.01**	.05	.05	.29	.08	.04	.03*
Parent Language Use	.17	.12	.13	.26	.16	.08	-.05	.15	.71	.08	.12	.48
Current Living Situation	.08	.06	.16	.19	.07	.01*	.16	.07	.02*	.05	.06	.40

Note. *b* represents unstandardized regression weights. * indicates *p* < .05. ** indicates *p* < .01.

Figure A1. Parallel analysis scree plot

Parallel analysis suggests that the number of factors = 7

Figure A2. Path model using latent predictor variables and factor scores for outcome variables

Table B10. Adolescent-directed Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale (ADRESS)

	Maintenance of Heritage Culture (Cultural Socialization)					
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1	Asked your parents to cook or teach you to cook traditional food	1	2	3	4	5
2	Asked your parents to take you to spend time with relatives who are from your heritage culture	1	2	3	4	5
3	Asked your parents to speak to you in your heritage language	1	2	3	4	5
4	Asked your parents to visit stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of your own ethnicity/culture	1	2	3	4	5
5	Asked your parents about how they feel about being an immigrant in this country	1	2	3	4	5
6	Asked your parents to celebrate your heritage culture's holidays	1	2	3	4	5
7	Asked your parents to introduce you to or read/watch "ethnic" media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows)	1	2	3	4	5
8	Asked your parents to take you to your country of heritage	1	2	3	4	5
	Becoming American					
9	Had close friends who were Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
10	Spent time with Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
11	Helped your parent learn/practice English.	1	2	3	4	5
12	Invited American friends over to your house and had your parents spent time with them (e.g., shared a meal, watched a movie).	1	2	3	4	5
13	Introduced your parents to American culture (e.g., food, music, slang, TV shows).	1	2	3	4	5
14	Introduced your parents to American History.	1	2	3	4	5
	Awareness of Discrimination (Preparation for Bias)					
	***By members of your family we mean immediate family (i.e., siblings, parents, grandparents), including you.					

15	Told your parents why some people will treat members of your family unfairly because of your racial/ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
16	Told your parents that people may try to take advantage of your family members because of your racial/ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
17	Told your parents that people may limit members of your family because of your racial/ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
18	Told your parents that they have to work a lot harder in order to get the same rewards as others because of your racial/ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
19	Explained or identified racial slurs or other discriminatory experiences that members of your family might encounter because of your racial/ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
20	Explained the history of your racial/ethnic group within the United States to your parents.	1	2	3	4	5
21	Explained the history of oppression within the United States and discrimination faced by other racial/ethnic groups to you parents.	1	2	3	4	5
22	Helped your parents learn about racial dynamics within your own racial-ethnic group (e.g., colorism).	1	2	3	4	5
23	When your parents have experiences of unfair treatment, such as discrimination, you have helped them identify it.	1	2	3	4	5
24	When your parents have expressed racial/ethnic biases, you have challenged them.	1	2	3	4	5
Avoidance of Outgroups (Promotion of Mistrust)						
25	Told your parents to avoid other minoritized racial-ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
26	Urged your parent to move away from sitting or standing next to a person of another minoritized racial-ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
27	Shared with your parent that you cannot trust people of other minoritized racial-ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
28	Shared with your parents that they should not be friends with people of other minoritized racial-ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5

29	Told your parents to be careful when in neighborhoods or areas where the majority of the population is of other minoritized racial-ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
30	Told your parents to avoid White people	1	2	3	4	5
31	Urged your parent to move away from sitting or standing next to a White person	1	2	3	4	5
32	Shared your parent that you cannot trust White people	1	2	3	4	5
33	Shared your parent that they should not be friends with White people	1	2	3	4	5
34	Told your parents to be careful when in neighborhoods or areas where the majority of the population is White	1	2	3	4	5
Egalitarianism						
38	Told your parents that all people are equal regardless of race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
39	Told your parents that race or ethnicity is not important in choosing friends.	1	2	3	4	5
40	Encouraged your parents to treat people of other racial-ethnic groups all in the same way.	1	2	3	4	5
41	Encouraged your parents to have friends from other racial-ethnic backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5
42	Initiated conversations about the importance of racial-ethnic diversity with your parents.	1	2	3	4	5
43	Showed your parents that it's important to spend time with people who are of other race-ethnicities	1	2	3	4	5
44	Showed your parents that you should be open-minded about other people's opinions, regardless of racial-ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
Dealing with Discrimination (part of preparation for bias)						
45	Helped your parents think about how to deal with people who treat them unfairly based on their racial-ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
46	Helped your parents think about how to handle a situation where people use racial slurs against them.	1	2	3	4	5
47	Challenged your parents' minimization of their own racial-ethnic heritage out of fear of discrimination? (e.g., avoiding speaking	1	2	3	4	5

	native language in public, avoiding wearing traditional attire in public, etc.)					
48	Are there other ways in which you have helped your parents deal with racial-ethnic discrimination?	OPEN ENDED				

Table B11. Enculturation (Chung et al., 2004)

		Not Very Well		Somewhat		Very Well
1	**How knowledgeable are you about the culture and traditions of:**					
1a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
1b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	**How knowledgeable are you about the history of:**					
2a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
2b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	**How much do you actually practice the traditions and keep the holidays of:**					
3a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
3b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	**How often do you actually eat the food of:**					
4a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
4b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	**How much do you like the food of:**					
5a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
5b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	**How well do you speak the language of:**					
6a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
6b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	**How well do you understand the language of:**					
7a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
7b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	**How well do you read and write in the language of:**					
8a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
8b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	**How often do you listen to music or look at movies and magazines from:**					
9a	Own Heritage Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6
9b	American Culture	1	2	3	4	5	6

Table B12. Racial Attitudes (Ponterotto et al., 1995)

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	I feel I could develop an intimate relationship with someone from a different race.	1	2	3	4	5
2	My friend circle is very racially mixed	1	2	3	4	5
3	I would feel O.K. about my son or daughter dating someone from a different racial group	1	2	3	4	5
4	Most of my close friends are from my own racial group	1	2	3	4	5
5	I think it is (or would be) important for my children to attend schools that are racially mixed.	1	2	3	4	5
6	If I were to adopt a child, I would be happy to adopt a child of any race.	1	2	3	4	5
7	I think it is better if people marry within their own race.	1	2	3	4	5

Table B13. Anti-racist Action Scale (Aldana et al., 2019)

		No	Yes
1	Challenged or checked a friend who uses a racial slur or makes a racial joke	0	1
2	Challenged or checked a family member who uses a racial slur or makes a racial joke	0	1
3	Challenged or checked an adult who uses a racial slur or makes a racial joke who is not a family member (i.e. parent's friend, coach, boss, teacher, etc.)	0	1
4	Defended a friend who is the target or a racial slur or joke	0	1
5	Defended a stranger who is the target of a racial slur of joke	0	1
6	Challenged or checked myself before using a racial slur or making a racial joke	0	1
7	Talked with friends about issues of race, ethnicity, discrimination and/or segregation	0	1

Table B14. Academic Motivation (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003)

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	I try hard in school	1	2	3	4
2	Grades are very important to me	1	2	3	4
3	I usually finish my homework on time	1	2	3	4
4	Education is important to me	1	2	3	4
5	In general, I like school	1	2	3	4

Table B15. Global Self-efficacy (Chen et al., 2001)

Item		Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
1	I will be able to achieve most of the goals that I have set for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
2	When facing difficult tasks, I am certain that I will accomplish them.	1	2	3	4	5
3	In general, I think that I can obtain outcomes that are important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I believe I can succeed at most any endeavor to which I set my mind.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I will be able to successfully overcome many challenges.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I am confident that I can perform effectively on many different tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Compared to other people, I can do most tasks very well.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Even when things are tough, I can perform quite well.	1	2	3	4	5

Table B16. Behavioral Activation (Manos et al., 2011)

		Not at all		**A little**		**A lot**		**Completely**
1	I am content with the amount and types of things I did.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	I engaged in a wide and diverse array of activities.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I made good decisions about what type of activities and/or situations I put myself in.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I was an active person and accomplished the goals I set out to do.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	I did something that was hard to do but it was worth it.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Table B17. Short Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2020)

Critical Reflection-perceived inequality	Strongly Disagree					Strongly agree
1	Certain Racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	Certain Racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	Women have fewer chances to get ahead	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead	1	2	3	4	5	6

Table B18. Public Regard (Sellers et al., 1998)

		Strongly disagree				Strongly Agree
1	Overall, my ethnic group is considered good by others	1	2	3	4	5
2	In general, others respect members of my ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
3	In general, other groups view my ethnic group in a positive manner	1	2	3	4	5
4	Society views members of my ethnic group as an asset	1	2	3	4	5

Table B19. Internalized Model Minority Myth (Yoo et al., 2010)

Achievement Orientation		Strongly disagree						Strongly Agree
1	Asian Americans have stronger work ethics.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Asian Americans are harder workers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Despite experiences with racism, Asian Americans are more likely to achieve academic and economic success.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Asian Americans are more motivated to be successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Asian Americans generally have higher grade point averages in school because academic success is more important.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Asian Americans get better grades in school because they study harder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Asian Americans generally perform better on standardized exams (i.e., SAT) because of their values in academic achievement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Asian Americans make more money because they work harder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Asian Americans are more likely to persist through tough situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table B20. Racial-ethnic Discrimination (Armenta et al., 2013)

		Never	Once or Twice	Three or Four Times	Five or More Time
1	Rejected by others because of your ethnicity/race	1	2	3	4
2	Heard someone say to you, "Go back where you came from"	1	2	3	4
3	Denied opportunities because of your ethnicity/race	1	2	3	4
4	Had someone speak to you in a foreign language because of your ethnicity/race	1	2	3	4
5	Had your American citizenship or residency questioned by others	1	2	3	4
6	Had someone comment on or be superposed by your English language ability	1	2	3	4
7	Asked by strangers "where are you from?" because of your ethnicity/race	1	2	3	4
8	Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or loud way	1	2	3	4
9	Treated unfairly or redly by strangers because of your ethnicity/race	1	2	3	4

Table B21. Parental Acculturation (Barona & Miller, 1994)

		English	Heritage Culture Language
1	In general, what language do your caretaker/s read and speak in?	1	2
2	In general, what language do your caretaker/s speak at home?	1	2
3	In general, in what language(s) do your caretaker/s speak with their friends?	1	2
4	In general, in what language(s) are the television programs that your parents watch?	1	2
5	In general, in what language(s) are the radio programs that your parents listen to?	1	2
6	In general, in what languages(s) do your parents prefer to hear and watch movies and television programs?	1	2

Table B22. Parent-Child Communication (Olsen, 1985)

		Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	I can discuss my beliefs with my mother/father without feeling restrained or embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5
2	My mother/father is always a good listener.	1	2	3	4	5
3	My mother/father can tell how I'm feeling without asking.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I am very satisfied with how my mother/father and I talk together.	1	2	3	4	5
5	If I were in trouble, I could tell my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I openly show affection to my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
7	When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
8	My mother/father tries to understand my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I find it easy to discuss problems with my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5
10	It is very easy for me to express all my true feelings to my mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5