

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MOVING BEYOND THE RACIAL TRIANGULATION: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF THE
RACIALIZATION EXPERIENCE OF ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON DEVELOPMENTAL OUTCOMES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION
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BY

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DEDICATION

To Seyoung, Adrian, and my Parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES | vi |
| LIST OF FIGURES | viii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | x |
| ABSTRACT | xi |
| CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Problem Statement | 1 |
| 1.2 Dissertation Goals, Research Questions, and Significance | 4 |
| CHAPTER TWO THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS AND LITERATURE REVIEW | 9 |
| 2.1 Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype..... | 9 |
| 2.2 Model Minority Stereotype..... | 11 |
| 2.3 Racial Stratification Theory | 12 |
| 2.4 Racial Formation Theory | 13 |
| 2.5 Racial Triangulation Theory | 14 |
| 2.6 Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST)..... | 16 |
| 2.7 Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood | 18 |
| 2.8 Social Positions | 19 |
| 2.9 Empirical Examination of Racial Triangulation Theory | 22 |
| 2.10 Racial Stereotypes and Developmental Outcomes | 23 |
| 2.10.1 Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype and Developmental Outcomes | 24 |
| 2.10.2 Model Minority Stereotype and Developmental Outcomes | 25 |
| 2.10.3 Racial Stereotypes, Social Positions, and Developmental Outcomes..... | 26 |
| CHAPTER THREE STUDY PURPOSE, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND HYPOTHESES . | 28 |
| CHAPTER FOUR METHODS | 33 |
| 4.1 Description of the Project and Study Process | 33 |
| 4.2 Measures | 34 |
| 4.2.1 Racial Stereotypes..... | 34 |
| 4.1.2 Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Youth-Report) | 36 |
| 4.1.3 Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Parent-Report) | 38 |
| 4.1.4 Behavioral Outcomes..... | 39 |
| 4.1.5 Family Process and Peer Relation..... | 41 |
| 4.3 Analysis Plan | 42 |
| 4.3.1 Research Question 1 Analyses: Latent Profile Analysis..... | 43 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4.3.2 Research Question 2, 3, and 4 Analyses: Hierarchical Regression Analyses..... | 45 |
| CHAPTER FIVE RESEARCH QUESTION 1 RESULTS | 47 |
| 5.1 Descriptive Statistics..... | 47 |
| 5.1.1 Descriptive Analysis for Racial Stereotype Variables..... | 47 |
| 5.1.2 Descriptive Analysis for Outcome Variables | 49 |
| 5.1.3 Bivariate Relations among Main Study Variables..... | 51 |
| 5.2 The Research Question 1: Latent Profile Analysis..... | 53 |
| 5.2.1 Explicating Subtypes | 53 |
| 5.2.2 Characteristics of the Subgroups by Indicators | 56 |
| 5.2.3 Characteristics of the Subgroups by Correlates..... | 57 |
| CHAPTER SIX RESEARCH QUESTION 2, 3, AND 4 RESULTS | 62 |
| 6.1 The Research Question 2: Direct Effects of Racial Stereotypes on Outcomes | 62 |
| 6.2 The Research Question 3: Moderating Effects of Racial Stereotypes..... | 66 |
| 6.3 The Research Question 4: Effects of Social Positions..... | 70 |
| 6.3.1 Developmental Stage | 70 |
| 6.3.2 Nativity | 79 |
| 6.3.3 Gender..... | 83 |
| CHAPTER SEVEN DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION | 89 |
| 7.1 Patterns of Racial Stereotypes | 90 |
| 7.2 Direct Effect Models..... | 93 |
| 7.3 Two-Way Interaction Model..... | 94 |
| 7.4 Three-Way Interaction Models..... | 96 |
| 7.4.1 Developmental Stage | 96 |
| 7.4.2 Nativity | 97 |
| 7.4.3 Gender..... | 98 |
| 7.5 Limitations and Future Directions | 100 |
| 7.6 Implications..... | 103 |
| APPENDIX A Significance Test for Slopes (Developmental Stage)..... | 106 |
| APPENDIX B Significance Test for Slopes (Nativity) | 113 |
| APPENDIX C Significance Test for Slopes (Gender) | 115 |
| REFERENCES | 118 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 4.1. Means (Standard Deviations) or Numbers and Proportions (%) of Demographics | 34 |
| Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables | 48 |
| Table 5.2. Bivariate Correlations among Study Variables for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans | 52 |
| Table 5.3 Fit Indices of Latent Profile Analysis | 53 |
| Table 5.4 Characteristics of Latent Subgroups by Indicators | 54 |
| Table 5.5 Comparisons of Correlates by Racial Stereotypes Among Filipino American Group .. | 78 |
| Table 5.6 Comparisons of Correlates by Racial Stereotypes Among Korean American Group ... | 59 |
| Table 6.1 Direct Effect Model | 63 |
| Table 6.2 Two-Way Interaction Model | 64 |
| Table 6.3 Three-Way Interaction Model for Developmental Stage | 71 |
| Table 6.4 Three-Way Interaction Model for Nativity | 80 |
| Table 6.5 Three-Way Interaction Model for Gender | 84 |
| Table A.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.6 | 106 |
| Table A.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.7 | 107 |
| Table A.3 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.8 | 108 |
| Table A.4 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.9 | 109 |
| Table A.5 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.10 | 110 |
| Table A.6 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.11 | 111 |
| Table A.7 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.12 | 112 |
| Table B.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.13 | 113 |
| Table B.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.14 | 114 |
| Table C.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.15 | 115 |
| Table C.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.16 | 116 |

Table C.3 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.17117

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 2.1 Racial Triangulation | 15 |
| Figure 5.1 Filipino American Racial Stereotype Profiles..... | 55 |
| Figure 5.2 Korean American Racial Stereotype Profiles..... | 55 |
| Figure 6.1 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Achievement on Self-Harming Behavior Among Filipino American Group | 66 |
| Figure 6.2 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Achievement on Negative Affect among Korean American Group..... | 67 |
| Figure 6.3 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Mobility on Depressive Symptoms among Korean American Group..... | 68 |
| Figure 6.4 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on Negative Affect Among Korean American Group | 69 |
| Figure 6.5 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on Self-Harming Behavior among Korean American Group | 70 |
| Figure 6.6 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Life Satisfaction Among Filipino American Group | 73 |
| Figure 6.7. Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Depressive Symptoms Among Filipino American Group | 74 |
| Figure 6.8 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Positive Affect Among Filipino American Group..... | 75 |
| Figure 6.9 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Negative Affect Among Filipino American Group | 76 |
| Figure 6.10 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Life Satisfaction Among Korean American Group..... | 77 |
| Figure 6.11 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Depressive Symptoms Among Korean American Group..... | 78 |
| Figure 6.12 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Negative Affect Among Korean American Group..... | 79 |
| Figure 6.13 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Nativity on Antisocial Behaviors Among Korean American Group | 82 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 6.14 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement, MMS-Mobility, and Nativity on Self-Harming Behavior Among Korean American Group | 83 |
| Figure 6.15 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Gender on Self-Harming Behavior Among Filipino American Group | 86 |
| Figure 6.16 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Gender on Antisocial Behaviors Among Filipino American Group | 87 |
| Figure 6.17 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Gender on Depressive Symptoms Among Filipino American Group | 88 |

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ABSTRACT

Asian Americans are commonly defined by two seemingly opposite racial stereotypes. On the one hand, they are cast as perpetual foreigners, and so not fully accepted as Americans, regardless of their nativity or years of living in the United States (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Lee, Lee, & Tran, 2016; Wu, 2002). On the other hand, they are typically seen as model minority figures—hard-working and problem-free (Wu, 2002; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). Racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999) posits that these two stereotypes together have created a unique racial position for Asian Americans and that this position both impedes social and economic opportunities and is an obstacle to their general well-being. However, we know little about how Asian Americans make sense of this unique racial positionality and how it, in turn, influences the development of Asian American young people.

Using the data from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF), a longitudinal survey study of Filipino American and Korean American children and their families in the Chicago metropolitan area, this study first examines whether there are any identifiable patterns of racial stereotype profiles [based on the perpetual foreigner stereotype (PFS) and the model minority stereotype (MMS), including the model minority stereotype-achievement orientation (MMS-Achievement), and the model minority stereotype-unrestricted mobility (MMS-Mobility)] among sample groups of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults. In addition, the direct effects of racial stereotypes and their interaction effects on internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes are examined. Finally, this study explores whether and how these moderating relations further vary by developmental stage (adolescence vs. emerging adulthood), nativity (U.S.-born vs. foreign-born), and gender (female vs. male) within each ethnic group.

Using a latent profile analysis, three patterns of racial stereotypes are identified among Filipino Americans: (1) the *intermediate* group (88.9%, $n = 273$), with an intermediate level of both racial stereotypes, (2) the *low MMS* group (4.9%, $n = 15$), with the lowest internalization of MMS, and (3) the *high MMS* group (6.19%, $n = 19$), with the highest internalization of MMS. For the Korean American group, four stereotype profiles are identified: (1) the *intermediate* group (73.5%, $n = 249$), with an intermediate level of both racial stereotypes, (2) the *least triangulated* group (3.8%, $n = 13$), with the lowest internalization of both racial stereotypes, (3) the *high MMS* group (3.3%; $n = 11$), with the highest internalization of MMS, and (4) the *high PFS* group (19.47%; $n = 66$), with the highest internalization of PFS. The study results suggest much less variation in their patterns of racial stereotypes and their study correlates across subgroups among Filipino Americans than among Korean Americans.

Hierarchical regression analyses were used to investigate the relations between racial stereotypes and both internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors. As expected, for both ethnic groups PFS was extensively predictive of more internalizing problems, after accounting for the two types of MMS (MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility) and control variables. Conversely, both subtypes of MMS did not directly predict behavioral outcomes. However, once the interaction effects between racial stereotypes were accounted for, results showed that both subtypes of MMS generally protected Filipino American young people from the harmful effects of PFS on both internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors. For the Korean American group, the differential effects of MMS by its subtypes were identified. The positive associations between PFS and internalizing problem behaviors were exacerbated by MMS-Achievement (a distress-exacerbating effect), whereas the relations between PFS and both internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors were alleviated by MMS-Mobility (a distress-alleviating effect).

In addition, for the Korean American group, when both types of MMS were highly internalized, these interactive effects had a distress-exacerbating effect on internalizing problem behaviors, but a distress-alleviating effect on externalizing problem behaviors. The findings further suggest that these distress-moderating effects may be more salient for emerging adults than adolescents in both ethnic groups. In addition, nativity seemed to have a more prominent moderating role among Korean Americans than Filipino Americans, whereas gender seemed to have a more significant role among Filipino Americans than Korean Americans.

The findings highlight the importance of investigating the concurrent effects of racial stereotypes in better understanding the racialized experiences of Asian Americans and their implications on the development of young Asian Americans. The study further suggests that these relations may vary by important social positions such as developmental stage, nativity, gender, and ethnicity. Practical implications are discussed in terms of how the results of this study can inform the development of programmatic interventions that would aim to protect Asian American young people from the harmful effects of being stereotyped by front-line clinicians and school staff.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Asian American experiences in general, and their racialized experiences in particular, remain understudied and are often excluded in the discourse on race and immigration (Lee et al., 2016; Yoo, Lee, & Steger, 2010). For example, from 1992 to 2018 only 0.17% of National Institute of Health funding was awarded for projects on Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders (Đoàn, Takata, Sakuma, & Irvin, 2019) despite the fact that Asian Americans alone constitute nearly 6% of the U.S. population and are projected to reach 14% by 2065 (Cohn, 2015; López, 2017). This lack of scholarly attention, despite a growing demographic presence, may stem, in part, from the model minority stereotype (MMS) that suggests this population is problem-free (Wu, 2002). This monolithic stereotype has obscured the reality that Asian Americans as a racial minority are subject to racial discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiment (Sue et al., 2007; Yoo, Lee, et al., 2010).

However, Asian-Americans—across different countries of origin and both foreign born and those born in the United States—are frequent targets of differential and unfair treatment based on racial or ethnic background (see Benner et al., 2018; Lee & Ahn, 2011 for reviews). During the last decade, but especially in the last few years, racist and anti-immigration sentiments have increased dramatically (Mathias, 2017). From 2015 to 2016, racist and anti-immigrant hate crimes increased 50% in Philadelphia, 24% in New York City, 20% in Chicago, and 15% in Los Angeles. Although crimes against them are rarely reported, Asian Americans whose share of immigrants were more than 66% in 2017 (Connor & Budiman, 2019) have been disproportionately targeted. For example, racist and anti-immigrant hate crimes targeting Asian

Americans across the nation grew by 20% between 2016 and 2017, more than for any other major racial/ethnic groups in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2017).

At the same time, more subtle forms of racial discrimination, including microaggressions—those seemingly benign comments or behaviors that nonetheless signal rejection based on racial/ethnic background (Sue et al., 2007)—have become more common (Guha, 2017). Asian Americans are subject to two racial stereotypes: the perpetual foreigner stereotype (PFS) of not being accepted as Americans regardless of where they were born and how many years they have lived in the United States (Lee et al., 2016; Wu, 2002) and MMS of being self-reliant, hard-working, and smart (Lowe, 2015; Yoo, Lee, et al., 2010).

The pernicious effects of racial discrimination have been well documented across major Asian American subgroups (see Benner et al., 2018, for review), including Filipino Americans (Choi, Park, Noh, Lee, & Takeuchi, 2020; Ying, 2007) and Korean Americans (Choi, Park, Lee, & Lee, 2020; Shin, D'Antonio, Son, Kim, & Park, 2011). Only a few studies, however, have investigated how Asian Americans experience microaggressions such as PFS and MMS—especially during the formative years of adolescence and emerging adulthood—and none of these existing studies have explored how these seemingly oppositional stereotypes together influence on internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors among Asian American adolescents and emerging adults. The practices of stereotyping Asian Americans in this equivocal manner have not been easily recognized as discriminatory actions, in part due to the purportedly benign comments related to PFS, e.g., praising English proficiency of Asian Americans whose mother tongue is English or positively connoted characteristics of MMS such as hard working and smart (Armenta et al., 2013; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Lee et al., 2016; Sue et al., 2007; Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010).

According to racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999), PFS and MMS together have prevented Asian Americans from advancing their general wellbeing. The theory posits that this process of simultaneous stereotyping Asian Americans in this oppositional way maintains white power and privilege by situating Asian Americans as the middleman (Min, 1996) between the collective Black and collective White. For example, Rosenbloom and Way (2004) found that teachers who treated Asian American students as model minority in class resented other racial minority students, which led to Asian American students becoming victims of peer harassment.

Despite this theoretical guidance of racial triangulation theory, extant research has not investigated the concurrent effects of PFS and MMS on the development of Asian American young people. Understanding how this population internalizes the ostensibly oppositional stereotypes, and how this internalization, in turn, influences their development is particularly crucial with Asian American young people. This is because of their mixed pattern of developmental outcomes, termed as the “Asian American youth paradox” (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). The paradox is that Asian American young people as an aggregate report less externalizing problems (e.g., antisocial behaviors) (Sickmund, 2017) and good grades (Hsin & Xie, 2014) but also report more internalizing problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, and suicidal thoughts) (Brice et al., 2015; Duldulao, Takeuchi, & Hong, 2009; Song, Ziegler, Arsenault, Fried, & Hacker, 2011). In the general adolescent and emerging adult population, for contrast, problems in one domain often coexist with those in another domain (Moilanen, Shaw, & Maxwell, 2010). Exploring the Asian American youth paradox, the subgroup level shows that the pattern of developmental outcomes varies by ethnic background. For example, Choi (2008) found that Filipino American youth generally reported high levels of externalizing problem behaviors, whereas Korean American youth tend to report much lower

levels of externalizing problem behaviors. Both ethnic groups nonetheless share high rates of internalizing problem behaviors (Choi, Park, Noh, et al., 2020).

It is plausible that the internalization of PFS could increase internalizing problems (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou, Kim, & Wang, 2016; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011; Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Wong, Owen, Tran, Collins, & Higgins, 2012). Conversely, the internalization of MMS can keep Asian American young people from externalizing their inner struggles (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Kim & Lee, 2014). These differential effects of racial stereotypes may further vary by important social positions, such as ethnicity, developmental stage, nativity, and gender. We do not yet adequately understand how Asian Americans respond to imposed racial stereotypes and whether the effects of incongruent stereotypes outlined above explain the Asian American youth paradox and, if they do, how.

1.2 Dissertation Goals, Research Questions, and Significance

The overall goal of this dissertation is to examine how Asian American adolescents and emerging adults internalize the prescribed racial stereotypes (i.e., PFS and MMS) and the impact of that internalization on both internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes. The study addresses the following specific research questions:

1. Using self-reported measures of internalized racial stereotypes—PFS, MMS, including the model minority stereotype-achievement orientation (MMS-Achievement), and the model minority stereotype-unrestricted mobility (MMS-Mobility)—are there identifiable patterns of racial stereotype profiles among samples of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults?

2. Are there relations between racial stereotypes and youth internalizing (i.e., life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect, depressive symptoms, and suicidal thoughts) and externalizing behavioral outcomes (i.e., self-harming behavior and antisocial behaviors)?
3. Are there interaction effects between two subdomains of MMS and PFS?
4. Do these moderating relations examined in the research question 3 further vary by social position (e.g., developmental stage, nativity, and gender)?

For the first research question, analyses are conducted to identify heterogeneous patterns based on racial stereotypes: PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility. Investigating how Asian American young people respond to societal practices of imposing an equivocal, often paradoxical, pattern of stereotypes has important empirical implications. That is, only limited studies have examined how Asian Americans are racialized with respect to MMS and PFS (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Park, Martinez, Cobb, Park, & Wong, 2015; Xu & Lee, 2013). Furthermore, none of this extant research has explored how Asian Americans understand their own situation, but rather focused on how other racial groups perceived the racialized situation of Asian Americans.

For the second question, analyses are conducted to evaluate how racial stereotypes are related to both internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes. Although the influence of socio-historic factors such as racial discrimination has been tested with the Asian American population (e.g., Choi et al., 2006; David & Okazaki, 2006; David, 2008; Yip et al., 2008), few studies have tested how the racially triangulated situation of Asian Americans has influenced the development of Asian American young people. Several studies have explored the role of PFS (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou et al., 2016; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Ong et al., 2013; Wong et al., 2012) and MMS (Atkin, Yoo, Jager, & Yeh, 2018; Chen,

1995; Gupta et al., 2011; Kiang, Witkow, & Thompson, 2016; Lee, 2015; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010; Yoo, Miller, & Yip, 2015) on Asian American young people. However, none of these studies have taken into consideration of both influences despite the theoretical guidance provided by racial triangulation theory.

For the third question, analyses are conducted to investigate the interaction of MMS and PFS on behavioral outcomes. Findings from this study will demonstrate the necessity to examine the two together in order to produce unbiased estimates of the impact of these racial stereotypes on behavioral outcomes. That is, the existence of the interaction effect implies that the efficacy of PFS on behavioral outcomes is based on the strength of MMS, or vice versa. Accordingly, without adjusting for the effect of MMS, for example, researchers would not be able to get an unbiased estimate of the impact of PFS on behavioral outcomes.

For the fourth question, analyses are conducted to investigate how the interaction effects between racial stereotypes identified in the third research question further vary by social positions. Extant research has failed to take into account important social positioning, such as ethnicity, developmental stage, place of birth, and gender, despite the theoretical (Coll et al., 1996) and empirical (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner et al., 2018; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000a) evidence suggests their critical roles on Asian American youth development.

Using the third wave youth data from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF) Project (PI: Yoonsun Choi), the current study conducts latent profile analysis for the first research question and the hierarchical regression analysis for the second, third, and fourth research questions to shed light on how Asian American young people understand the competing racial stereotypes of model minority and perpetual foreigner and the

implications on their behavioral outcomes. The study strategically chose the Filipino American and Korean American subgroups as the study populations both because they share key similarities in socioeconomic status indicators in the United States and the two subgroups contrast with each other in their racial/ethnic experiences both in their home countries and in the United States. The Philippines and Korea both have a history of colonization and have been significantly influenced by U.S. culture (Go, 2004; Kim, 2008). However, Korea was colonized for 35 years by Japan, whose people share the same phenotype and certain cultural characteristics, while the Philippines was colonized for more than 300 years by Spain and the United States, significantly different culturally and in the appearance of their peoples.

Filipino and Korean Americans share characteristics. First, they are one of the major Asian immigrant groups: 19% and 9% of Asian Americans in 2015 were Filipino Americans (3.9 million) and Korean Americans (1.8 million), respectively (López, 2017). While Filipino Americans were the third largest Asian ethnic group in the U.S. in 2015, between 1976 and 1990, next to Mexican and Filipino immigrants, Koreans were the third largest immigrant population entering the United States (Min, 2011). Second, they both seem to satisfy most of the qualifications to be a member of the model minority group. For example, 37% of Filipino Americans and 33% of Korean Americans among those age 25 and older graduated from college in 2015 (national level: 19% and All Asians: 30%) (López, 2017). Median annual household income was \$80,000 for Filipino-Americans and \$60,000 for Korean-Americans in 2015 (national level: \$53,600, all Asians: 73,060).

However, Filipino Americans and Korean Americans may experience divergent racialized processes in the United States. Filipino Americans are often mistaken for Latinx Americans, perhaps because of their shared experience of Spanish colonization and because of

their skin color, which is darker than that of East Asian Americans (Nadal, 2008; Rumbaut, 1995). Consequently, their racialized experiences have been similar to those of Latinx Americans. In contrast, Korean Americans, as part of the larger East Asian American community, have experienced a uniquely racialized experience of simultaneously being valorized as model minority figures and ostracized as forever foreigners (Kim, 1999).

These racialized experiences in both their countries of origin and host society have shaped the racial ideology of Filipino and Korean immigrant parents and their children. However, less is known about how these experiences influence on their internalization of the racial stereotypes being analyzed here, as well as how racial stereotypes play different roles for Filipino American and Korean American groups because of differences in racialized experience. This study aims to fill this gap.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Backgrounds and Literature Review

The current study uses racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999) to empirically examine how Asian American adolescents and emerging adults internalize MMS and PFS. A brief introduction to each racial stereotype and theories that lay the groundwork for racial triangulation theory is therefore needed. In what follows, I first introduce the respective stereotypes, including definition and historical context; I then look at racial stratification (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), racial formation (Omi & Winant, 1994) theories, and finally, racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999). To further explain how the internalized racial stereotypes of perpetual foreigner and model minority together influence the developmental patterns of Asian American young people, phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997) and Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children are introduced.

2.1 Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype

Stereotype refers to “a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people” (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, p. 16). This automatic classification of a group of people based on presumed characteristics is thought to be a byproduct of human practices to expedite the decision making processes in a situation where repetitive tasks or prompt decision-making are directly related to overall wellbeing (Devine, 1989). Historically, however, this seemingly benign cognitive process has often been used to perpetuate structural racism by exaggerating racial or ethnic group differences, while oversimplifying within racial or ethnic group differences. This is certainly true in the United States. For Asian Americans, PFS and MMS have driven their

racialization¹ process in the United States. PFS refers to an assumption that Asian Americans are forever foreigners—incapable of being fully American, regardless of their citizenship status or length of stay in the United States (Lee et al., 2016; Wu, 2002). A well-known example of PFS that Asian Americans encounter on daily bases is being asked about their nationality (e.g., “where are you *really* from?”) or being praised about their English proficiency despite of being native English speaker.

This has been a well-documented phenomenon recently (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sue et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2012), especially under challenging economic or political climate (Esses, Jackson, Nolan, & Armstrong, 1999). The stereotype can be traced back to nineteenth century, however. Early Asian immigrants came to the United States as low-skilled manual labors, working at the plantation in Hawaii, in the mining, and railroad construction industry (Zhou, 2012). However, when economic hardship hit the mid-1870s, the anti-Chinese sentiment emerged, and Asian Americans became a target of racially-motivated hate crimes. Asian immigrants were characterized as the “yellow peril,” “sneaky Oriental,” and “indispensable enemy” (Lee, 1999; Suzuki, 2002; Zhou, 2012). As a result, in 1882 the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, restricting Asian immigrants until 1943 when the law was eventually repealed. Other examples reflecting the historical treatment of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners include Japanese internment during World War II, English-Only policies during the 1980s and 1990s, and California Proposition 187, a 1994 ballot initiative to prohibit undocumented immigrants from receiving welfare benefits and education.

¹ Racialization refers to the process of assigning a specifically racial meaning to “a previously racially unclassified [or differently classified] relationship, social practice or group” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 64).

2.2 Model Minority Stereotype

MMS is built on the idea that the Asian Americans are an exemplar racial minority group who have achieved their academic, economic, and social success through their own individual efforts (Lowe, 2015; Petersen, 1966; Yoo, Lee, et al., 2010). Although this stereotype can be traced back to the nineteenth century (see Kim, 1999), this notion ultimately gained momentum during the Civil Rights era almost a century later. In the article “Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.” (1966), for example, Chinese Americans were depicted as a model minority group less likely to be involved with criminal and delinquent activities, while “winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work,” and thus teaching Americans that “people should depend on their own efforts—not a welfare check—in order to reach America’s ‘promised land.’”

This allegedly benign practice of labeling a group of individuals as a model minority figure, however, does have adverse implications for both Asian Americans and other racial minority groups in the United States (Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010). First, MMS masks the significant subgroup differences among Asian American population. For example, in contrast to the model minority myth, a closer look at the lives of various Asian American subpopulations reveals a significant inequality in educational attainment among them. That is, roughly half of Asian Americans age 25 and older are college graduates (national level: 28.5%) and 20.7% have attained a graduate level degree (national level: 10.6%) (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014). Yet, in the same age group, among Hmong, Cambodian, and Laotian Americans only 12% have an undergraduate degree.

The poverty gap between Asian subpopulations closely follows the educational attainment gap. While the poverty level of Koreans and Chinese, for instance, was 15.8% and

13.9% respectively in 2010 (the national level: 12.5), that of Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans was 37.8%, 29.3%, 18.5%, and 16.6% respectively (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2014). However, because Asian Americans as a whole have been depicted as educationally and economically successful with their own unaided efforts, the challenges of some Asian American subgroups such as Southeast Asian Americans, have largely been ignored and thus further marginalized within society.

More broadly, MMS has been used against other racial minority groups. In fact, MMS was created to undercut anti-oppression/anti-racist activities and claims of systemic racism in the United States. For example, during the Civil Rights era, a positive view of Asian Americans through the model minority was used to sustain the White privilege and power (Chao, Chiu, & Lee, 2010; Lee, 1999). By valorizing Asian Americans and their stories of achieving “American Dreams” as a racial minority in the United States, other racial minorities, especially Blacks, were held to the standard of mystified Asian American model minority figure.

2.3 Racial Stratification Theory

PFS and MMS, however, have not been well-recognized as forms of racial discrimination, in part due to the dominant practice of classifying race by Black and White categories and thus ignoring the racial experiences of Asian Americans (Lee et al., 2016). Early theories of racial stratification have supported this classification system and posit that racial minorities in the United States, regardless of their different racial/ethnic backgrounds, would similarly be categorized as a collective Black group (White vs. non-White divide; Wu, 2002).

Conversely, Lee and Bean (2007) argued that the current U.S. color-line resembles Black vs. non-Black divide. Their study on 2000 U.S. Census on multiracial reporting and in-depth interviews with 46 multiracial individuals showed that Asian-White and Latino-White

multiracial participants reported that race was not important in their daily lives and that they were accepted more as White by others than Black-White multiracial groups. According to this perspective, Asian-White and Latino-White multiracial groups are categorized or accepted as White, following a similar trajectory of early European immigrants who once regarded as non-White.

However, this binary framework faces criticism for ignoring unique experiences of those who do not fall under to this dichotomous category. As such, scholars have proposed a tri-racial divide model that adds the category of honorary Whites to the White/Black opposition (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Kim, 1999; Wu, 2002). Bonilla-Silva (2004) posits that the honorary White category includes light-skinned Latinxs, Middle Eastern Americans, and some Asian American subgroups, including Japanese, Korean, Indian, Chinese, and Filipino Americans.

2.4 Racial Formation Theory

Another theoretical framework that explains the racialized experience of Asian Americans is racial formation theory. From this perspective, race cannot be simply reduced to a certain category or class, but is an “autonomous field of social conflict, political organization and cultural/ideological meaning” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 48). In this theory, the importance is on understanding how specific racial meanings are formed and transformed within specific socio-historical contexts.

From the racial formation framework, Asian Americans have been racialized as forever foreigners or model minority figures, depending on the given contemporary socio-historical context. As discussed earlier, the image of “forever foreigners” or the “yellow peril” became more prominent in challenging economic or political climates, while the image of model minority was suddenly popularized in the 1960s in an attempt to discredit the Civil Rights

movement and cloak the existence of White privilege and systemic racism. Contemporary Asian Americans, on the other hand, are facing two seemingly oppositional stereotypes that work against their general wellbeing.

Although racial stratification and racial formation theories provide useful frameworks to understand the experiences of racial/ethnic minorities in the United States, they have some limitations. For instance, the tri-racial divide model simply classifies racial and ethnic groups into three categories of racial superiority, and the characterization of Asian Americans may be limited to be in the so-called White imagination: an in-between group who are sometimes allowed admission as honorary Whites. These theories under-explain how Asian Americans are racialized by multi-dimensional socio-historical factors at the given time, and thus account poorly for their experience. Conversely, racial formation theory focuses on distinctive racialized process of each racial minority group, while considering a significant role of socio-historical context on their racialized experiences. Unlike the tri-racial divide model, however, racial formation theory pays relatively less attention to inter-group dynamics. That is, it does not provide a clear analytic framework that allows us to systematically examine how Asian Americans are racialized in reference to other racial groups, such as Blacks and Whites (Kim, 1999).

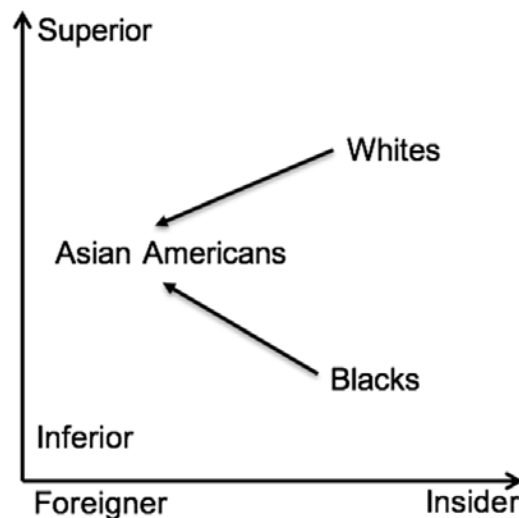
2.5 Racial Triangulation Theory

Integrating the theory of racial stratification and formation, Kim (1999) proposes racial triangulation theory. She argues that Asian Americans have been triangulated between Whites and Blacks. Specifically, Asian Americans have been designated by Whites as racially superior to Blacks, but inferior to Whites through the process of stereotyping Asian Americans as the model minority figure. At the same time, Asian Americans have been socially constructed as

more foreign than both Blacks and Whites through the misperception of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners (see Figure 2.1). She traces this back to 1850, and quotes the former U.S. Ambassador to Japan's testimony in 1879 during the Joint Congressional Committee hearings on Chinese immigration:

I think the Chinese are a far superior race to the negro race physiologically and mentally...The negro...mind is undisciplined and is not systematic as the Chinese mind. For that reason the negro is very easily taught; he assimilates more readily...The Chinese are non-assimilative because their form of civilization has crystallized. (as cited in Kim, 1999, p. 110)

Figure 2.1 Racial Triangulation (Adopted from Kim, 1999, p. 108)



The triangulation perspective posits that Asian Americans face not only barriers to a full social citizenship, but also tensions and conflicts with other racial minority groups. For instance, in the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, Korean shop owners were made the main targets by members of the Black and Latinx communities (Kim, 2003). According to Bonilla-Silva (2004), the in-between group, such as Asian Americans, was the “product of the sociopolitical needs of whites to maintain white supremacy given local and international changes” (Bonilla-Silva, 2004, p.

942). In short, the buffer provided by this in-between group has enabled Whites to escape from direct racial conflict with the collective Black.

2.6 Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST)

To investigate how this racially triangulated situation is related to 1) behavioral outcomes and 2) other racial/ethnic experiences and familial context of Asian American young people, the PVEST framework (Spencer, 1995) is adopted here. Unlike Bronfenbrenner's early ecological systems framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which mainly focuses on the influence of surrounding context on human development, the PVEST perspective additionally considers how individuals experience and interpret their life experiences within the multi-layered context over the life course (Spencer et al., 1997; Spencer & Harpalani, 2008).

Specifically, the PVEST framework proposes five components to understand the conditions of the positive or negative developmental outcomes of racial minority children (Brittian & Spencer, 2012; Spencer et al., 1997). First, *net vulnerability* refers to the balance between potential risk and protective factors on racial minority youth development. In the case of Filipino Americans and Korean Americans, their racial minority status and the in-between/middleman status are potential risk factors. On the contrary, having higher family socioeconomic status than other Asian American subgroups or other racial minority groups could be a protective factor.

Second, *net stress engagement* concerns the actual experience of adversity or protection that can either disturb their ability to cope with stress or allow them to maintain an equilibrium of stress. For Filipino Americans and Korean Americans, the experiences of overt form of racial discrimination or daily microaggressions, such as being stereotyped as the perpetual foreigner and model minority figure, would be sources of stress. Yet, the deleterious effects of racial

discrimination may be attenuated or worsened contingent upon the quality of the youth's interactions with surrounding ecological systems. Specifically, the PVEST identifies family processes as essential protective factors that can keep minority children from compromising their developmental potentials. For children of color, racial socialization occurs mainly in the family (Hughes et al., 2006). Thus, it is imperative to explore three ecological levels within familial context: (1) intrapersonal (e.g., parental racial/ethnic identity); (2) interpersonal (e.g., racial/ethnic socialization practices in the family); (3) social (e.g., parental colonial mentality, PFS and MMS).

Third, *reactive coping strategies* include both adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies aimed at restoring equilibrium status. For example, in an attempt to reshape the often unsupportive environment of higher educational settings that could seriously threaten their overall wellbeing, Asian American emerging adults have lobbied for Asian American studies programs at their colleges (e.g., Kibria, 1999).

Fourth, depending on the outcomes of the reactive coping strategies, individuals develop *positive/negative emergent identities* or *stable coping responses*. For example, for those Asian American students who successfully reshaped school curricula to reflect Asian American concerns within the larger society, this positive experience would discourage them from internalizing prescribed racial stereotypes.

Fifth, *healthy or negative life stage outcomes* emerge from the continuous experiences of positive or negative outcomes with chosen reactive coping strategies and develop their identities. For example, for some Asian American subgroups, internalizing MMS may serve well due to positive connotations attached to the stereotype such as being hard working and smart. Conversely, for others, the stereotype may put unreasonably high standards on themselves which

could increase their psychological distress. Using the five PVEST components, especially focusing on the relation between emerging identities and positive or negative behavioral outcomes, this dissertation can help understand underlying mechanisms of the Asian American Paradox in the face of the oppositional racial stereotypes.

2.7 Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

The PVEST perspective posits that racial minority children develop throughout the life course, continuously reevaluating balance between risk and protective factors, experiencing both repetitive and novel adversities, trying diverse coping strategies, and reconsidering their own identities accordingly. This study focuses on the developmental period from adolescence to emerging adulthood since this transition provides a unique set of challenges to the developmental potentials of Asian American children.

Emerging adulthood refers to a developmental period spanning from the late teens through the twenties (Arnett, 2006). Unlike adolescents, emerging adults enjoy relative independence from expectations/obligations attached to their various social positions and have the most opportunities in exploring their identities as college students, workers, and romantic partners. Additionally, Asian American emerging adults, as part of racial minority groups in the United States, may deeply explore their racial, ethnic, and Asian American pan-ethnic identities in an environment that provides more opportunities to interact with diverse racial/ethnic groups (e.g., colleges and workplaces).

Although this period provides ample opportunities to explore their identities in various domains without many social responsibilities, they may engage in risk behaviors for the same reason (Arnett, 2006). That is, as part of their urge to explore various identities through engaging in diverse experiences, emerging adults are more likely to seek for intense and novel

experiences, such as using substance use, drunk-driving, or engaging in unprotected sex (Arnett, 2006). In addition, many major mental illnesses have their onset during emerging adulthood (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Widening disparities of income, wealth and opportunities in the last decades have exacerbated socioeconomic instability and insecurity among emerging adults, which has disproportionately disadvantaged members of minority groups. For Asian Americans, this challenging period could be further complicated by racial marginalization. Yet, few, if any, studies have systematically investigated how racialization process of Asian Americans, especially with respect to PFS and MMS, may influence the development of Asian American children in transition to emerging adulthood.

2.8 Social Positions

To investigate the relations between racial stereotypes, social positions, and behavioral outcomes of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults, the current study further uses the Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. From this integrative perspective, discriminatory experiences resulting from the marginalized social statuses should be a focal point of investigation in understanding the development of minority children, rather than a peripheral factor to be controlled, because these negative experiences have critical and negative impacts, particularly on the development of minority youth.

The integrative model posits that the social positions are the governing factors that control how young people psychologically process and respond to the negative experiences of racial discrimination. Emerging research has examined the link between racial stereotypes and behavioral outcomes among Asian American young people (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou et al., 2016; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Lee, 2015; Ong et al., 2013;

Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Wong et al., 2012; Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010). However, few studies have simultaneously explored how salient social positions can moderate these associations, notwithstanding their theoretical importance for minority youth development.

This study uses nativity and gender as potential moderators, based on several empirical findings indicating their significance on the development of Asian American young people. For example, disparities in internalizing and externalizing problems 1) between U.S.- and foreign-born immigrants (Breslau et al., 2007) and 2) between females and males (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000) are well documented. Despite seemingly advantageous characteristics of U.S. natives over foreign-born immigrants—e.g., the former having higher rates of health insurance (Durden & Hummer, 2006) and living in neighborhoods with more resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006)—a “healthy immigrant effect” has been documented consistently regardless of racial and ethnic backgrounds (Antecol & Bedard, 2006). In addition, the U.S.-born group is more likely to engage in externalizing problem behaviors (e.g., antisocial behaviors) than their foreign-born counterparts (Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Vaughn, Salas-Wright, DeLisi, & Maynard, 2014). Similarly, that females exhibit more internalizing problems (anxiety, depressive or somatic symptoms) than males is well known in both general population (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000) and Asian American population (Chung & Kagawa-Singer, 1993; Furnham & Shiekh, 1993). In contrast, males are more vulnerable to externalizing problem behaviors (see review from Russell, Robins, & Odgers, 2014).

Moreover, Asian American young people have varying levels of exposure or susceptibility to the experience of racial discrimination according to nativity status and gender. For example, Ying, Lee, and Tsai (2000b) found that foreign-born Chinese American emerging adults reported higher rates of racial discrimination than their U.S.-born counterparts. Similarly,

Armenta et al. (2013) found that foreign-born Asian American emerging adults experienced more encounters of PFS than their U.S.-born counterparts. However, regarding a moderating role of nativity in the racial discrimination-behavior link, results are inconsistent. For example, Armenta et al. (2013) found in that same study that the foreign-born group seemed to be less vulnerable to the adverse effect of PFS on internalizing behaviors than their U.S.-born counterparts. However, Juang, Shen, Costigan, and Hou (2018) found that the negative effect of racial discrimination on psychological adjustment was stronger among foreign-born Chinese American children than their U.S.-born counterparts, especially during the middle adolescence period. In addition, for foreign-born children, this vulnerability remained salient throughout the adolescence period.

Few studies with Asian American population have examined how the relations between racial discrimination and externalizing problem behaviors are moderated by nativity. The findings from Black and Latinx adult samples (Zemore, Karriker-Jaffe, Keithly, & Mulia, 2011) showed that the negative effect of racial discrimination on problem drinking was stronger among foreign-born group than U.S.-born counterparts. Although not directly focused on the moderating role of nativity, in their study with East and South Asian American college students, Park, Schwartz, Lee, Kim, and Rodriguez (2013) explored how the relation between racial discrimination and antisocial behaviors was moderated by American and ethnic identities. They found that the harmful effect of racial discrimination on antisocial behaviors was significantly exacerbated by American identity.

Regarding gender, males tend to report significantly more experiences of racial discrimination than females (for reviews see Benner et al., 2018). However, limited studies have explored a moderating role of gender in the relations between racial discrimination and

behavioral outcomes among young Asian Americans. According to the meta-analysis conducted by Benner et al. (2018), no gender difference was found in the relations between racial discrimination and both internalizing and externalizing behaviors among racial minority adolescents, including Asian Americans. In contrast, Juang et al. (2018) found in their study with Chinese-heritage adolescents in the United States and Canada that the negative effects of racial discrimination on psychological adjustment was more consistent and stronger among male than female adolescents.

Therefore, the current study adopts the integrative model to provide a more nuanced understanding of how racial stereotypes influence the behavioral outcomes of Filipino American and Korean American children in their transition to emerging adulthood. By examining interaction effects between racial stereotypes and moderating roles of nativity or gender, this study aims to provide a more accurate depiction of how differential effects of racial stereotypes may further vary by social positions and how these social statuses should be considered by anyone investigating these moderating relations.

2.9 Empirical Examination of Racial Triangulation Theory

Although empirical studies are limited, there are a few studies of how non-Asian Americans support racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999) by concurrently depicting Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners and model minorities. For instance, Ho and Jackson (2001) and Park et al. (2015) found that most White college students in their studies hold both positive and negative views of Asian Americans, confirming the racial triangulation of Asian Americans. In addition, Ochoa (2013) conducted a qualitative study of Asian and Latinx American high school students at a public high school in Los Angeles County to examine how students from these two racial groups are perceived by others. Results showed that Asian American students

were viewed by other students and school staff as academically successful but less popular among peers, while Latinx students were stereotyped as social and popular but not seen as faring well academically.

Xu and Lee (2013) quantitatively examined how Asian Americans were perceived by Blacks and Whites. The study used the General Social Survey data from multiple years and asked about perceptions of Asian Americans in terms of MMS and PFS. Respondents were asked 1) whether they could accept Asian Americans as part of their neighbors, family members, and members of the country, and 2) to rate how they thought about Asian Americans with regard to family commitment, intelligence, nonviolence, wealth and work ethics. This study confirmed racial triangulation theory generally. Specifically, Black and White survey respondents rated Asian Americans relatively high with respect to family commitment, work ethic, intelligence, and socioeconomic status, whereas lowest on patriotism and relatively low on accepting Asian Americans as part of their neighbors and having a family member marrying to Asian Americans.

2.10 Racial Stereotypes and Developmental Outcomes

It is important to understand how other ethnic/racial groups perceive the racial positionality of Asian Americans in understanding interracial dynamics or in examining how Asian Americans are racialized by others. However, in order to understand how the racially triangulated situation of Asian Americans is related to general wellbeing of Asian Americans, it is critical to examine how Asian Americans perceive their own racial positionality. As described above, (1) few studies have examined how Asian Americans may understand seemingly oppositional stereotypes of perpetual foreigners and model minorities, and (2) how these racial stereotypes are related to developmental outcomes. However, in the following section, I describe a handful of studies that do examine Asian Americans' self-perceptions with regard to these two

stereotypes individually, and the relations between these individual stereotypes and outcomes of interest.

2.10.1 Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype and Developmental Outcomes

PFS is generally related to negative behavioral outcomes of Asian American young people (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou et al., 2016; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Ong et al., 2013; Wong et al., 2012). For example, Huynh et al. (2011) found in their study with Asian American and Latinx American college students that PFS was more often negatively related to hope and life satisfaction for Asian American students and positively associated with depressive symptoms for Latinx students. Likewise, Ong et al. (2013) found that the experiences of racial microaggressions, including PFS, predicted lower positive affect, but higher negative affect for Asian American college students. In addition, Wong et al. (2012) found in their study with Asian American male college students that PFS was positively associated with depressive symptoms. In this study, students were asked about their perceptions of racial stereotypes related to Asian American males and then their responses were classified using cluster analysis. Results indicated that the subgroup of Asian American male students who reported high on PFS also showed high rates of depressive symptoms.

While studies on the relations between PFS and externalizing behavioral outcomes are limited, existing studies generally found PFS to be negative on school outcomes. For instance, Benner and Kim (2009) found positive pathways from parental encounters of racial discrimination, and parental experience of perpetual foreigner stress, to child's negative attitudes toward education. This relation was found to be more statistically significant among fathers than mothers.

2.10.2 Model Minority Stereotype and Developmental Outcomes

While the effect of PFS is generally straightforward, empirical studies have found MMS to have mixed effects. For example, in a qualitative study, Lee (2015) indicated that Asian American study participants experienced anxiety as a result of MMS, and Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) reported positive (26%), ambivalent (16%), or negative (52%) feelings with regard to the stereotype. Similarly, quantitative studies also showed mixed results. For example, in their study of Asian American adults, whose age ranging from 18 to 70 years ($M_{age} = 30$), Gupta et al. (2011) found that endorsing MMS predicted more psychological distress and more negative attitudes toward help-seeking. Chen (1995) discovered a statistically significant correlation between the internalization of MMS and depressive symptoms for Chinese American college students. In their study of Asian American college students, Yoo, Lee, et al. (2010) found that MMS-Achievement was significantly correlated with performance difficulty and MMS-Mobility with general distress and somatic distress.

Conversely, some empirical studies found MMS to be positive on the development of Asian American young people. For example, with Asian American adolescents, Thompson and Kiang (2010) reported a critical role of MMS on positive youth academic performance, including educational aspirations, educational expectations, school self-concept, and value of academic success as well as on positive psychological adjustment, including positive relationships with others and environmental mastery.

Other studies tell more complicated stories. For instance, Yoo et al. (2015) describe how MMS-Achievement had a positive association with academic expectation stress, while MMS-Mobility had an opposite association with academic expectation stress. In other words, Asian American students who believed that their ethnic group's ostensible success is rooted in their

own efforts (e.g., hard-working) were more likely to experience stress related to academic expectations from self and others (e.g., parents and teachers), while belief in the unrestricted mobility of Asian Americans seems to lower this stress.

2.10.3 Racial Stereotypes, Social Positions, and Developmental Outcomes

As previously discussed, empirical studies have documented individual effects of racial stereotypes on youth behavioral outcomes, but none of the previous studies have explored the concurrent and/or interaction effects between PFS and MMS. Findings from Kiang et al. (2016) suggest that MMS may be beneficial to individuals experiencing adversity. The study investigated 1) the direct effects of perceived racial discrimination (e.g., “How often have you felt racial or ethnicity-based discrimination in the following situation?” situation such as “being treated unfairly” or “being disliked”) and MMS and 2) their interaction effects on academic outcomes and psychological adjustment. The study findings indicated that MMS was associated with better academic outcomes (i.e., academic performance and school valuing) and better psychological adjustment (i.e., positive relationships with others and self-esteem). In addition, the study showed that MMS alleviated the negative impact of perceived racial discrimination on academic adjustment.

Other studies have highlighted how relations between racial stereotypes and behavioral outcomes may differ among Asian Americans by social positions, such as nativity and gender and by family context. For example, Armenta et al. (2013) looked at Asian American and Latinx American college students and concluded that PFS was negatively associated with life satisfaction and self-esteem and positively related to depressive symptoms among U.S.-born students. On the other hand, PFS had no such a negative impact on foreign-born students. With respect to gender, Kim et al. (2011) research reports that with Asian American adolescents, the

pathways from youth perception of PFS to depressive symptoms were significantly mediated by chronic daily discrimination (as revealed by statements like, “I am treated with less courtesy than other people”) for female students and by discriminatory victimization (e.g., “People say mean or bad things about me to other people” or “People hit, kick or push me”) for male students. With respect to familial context, Hou et al. (2016) found in their study of Chinese American families that a significant pathway from the parental PFS to youth developmental outcomes (including higher depressive symptoms and delinquent behaviors, but lower GPA) consisted of family process factors, such as inter-parental conflicts, parent-adolescent conflicts and a sense of alienation in these relationships. These pathways differ by parental gender. Specifically, pathways from the maternal PFS to youth outcomes were mediated by both interparental and parent-adolescent relationships, whereas the paternal PFS was related to youth behaviors only through the parent-adolescent relationships.

Regarding MMS, Chen (1995) found no significant differences in the rates of internalization of MMS between U.S.-born and foreign-born students. Atkin et al. (2018), however, found school racial composition to be a significant moderator in the relation between MMS and psychological distress. That is, Asian American students attending predominantly Asian school reported lower rates of MMS than their counterparts in predominantly non-Asian school. In addition, for Asian American students attending predominantly Asian school, MMS-Mobility predicted more depression and anxiety, but for those attending predominantly non-Asian schools MMS-Mobility predicted less stress.

CHAPTER THREE

Study Purpose, Research Questions, and Hypotheses

This study first seeks to determine if there are any identifiable patterns of racial stereotype profiles among samples of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults. Secondly, it examines both direct effects of racial stereotypes and their interaction effects on internalizing and externalizing behaviors. The study also explores whether and how these moderating relations further vary by developmental stage, nativity, and gender within each ethnic group.

The research questions and hypotheses are based on the theoretical models and empirical findings discussed previously.

(Research Question 1) Using self-reported measures of internalized racial stereotypes (PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility), are there identifiable patterns of racial stereotype profiles among samples of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults?

(Hypothesis 1) Filipino Americans and Korean Americans will exhibit diverse patterns of internalized racial stereotypes.

(Hypothesis 2) Much less variation in their patterns of racial stereotypes will be identified among Filipino Americans than their Korean American counterparts.

It is expected that diverse patterns of racial stereotype profiles will be found in both groups. It is also expected that there will be much less variation in their patterns of racial stereotypes and study correlates across subgroups of Filipino Americans than among Korean Americans. This prediction is consistent with extant research that demonstrates more

homogenous racial and ethnic experiences among Filipino Americans than Korean Americans (Choi, Park, Lee, Yasui, & Kim, 2018).

(Research Question 2) Are there relations between racial stereotypes and internalizing (i.e., life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect, depressive symptoms, and suicidal thoughts) and externalizing behavioral outcomes (i.e., self-harming and antisocial behaviors)?

(Hypothesis 3) PFS will predict more internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems among both ethnic groups.

(Hypothesis 4) For the Filipino American group, both subdomains of MMS will predict lower rates of internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors.

(Hypothesis 5) For the Korean American group, MMS-Achievement will predict higher rates of problem behaviors, while MMS-Mobility will predict lower rates of problem behaviors.

Secondly, with respect to direct effects of racial stereotypes on behavioral outcomes, it is expected that PFS will predict more problem behaviors among both ethnic groups. In addition, it is hypothesized that there will be a differential role of MMS by ethnic background and by the subtype of MMS. Although existing studies show mixed findings related to direct effects of MMS (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010; Yoo et al., 2015), these conflicting results are most likely reflective of methodological challenges. For example, prior studies have predominantly relied on aggregated data that do not account for the variability of Asian American ethnic subgroups, although the Asian American population includes more than 17 countries of origin and multiple languages, ethnicities, and cultural histories (Pew Research Center, 2013). However, experiences of racial discrimination may differently influence Southeast Asian Americans (including Filipino Americans) and East Asian Americans (including

Korean Americans) (Nadal, 2008; Rumbaut, 1995). Specifically, for the Filipino American group, who have not often been regarded as a model minority relative to other East Asian Americans (Nadal, 2008), it is expected that the internalization of both subdomains of MMS will benefit them, as they are also likely to internalize positive characteristics attached to this stereotype (e.g., being achievement-oriented and good at math and science).

Similar to what Yoo et al. (2015) found in their study, it is expected that for the Korean American group, MMS-Achievement will predict higher rates of problem behaviors, while MMS-Mobility will predict lower rates of problem behaviors. That is because Korean Americans, as part of the East Asian American community, already have higher expectations from others as well as for themselves. Therefore, internalizing MMS related to an achievement orientation, which emphasizes individual efforts to achieve success, will put additional pressure. However, internalizing MMS related to unrestricted mobility, the notion that Asian Americans will not face unfair treatment based on their racial background, will likely ease their stresses related to expectations of their high achievement.

(Research Question 3) Are there interaction effects between PFS and two subdomains of MMS?

(Hypothesis 6) For Filipino Americans, both subdomains of MMS will buffer the negative effect of PFS on behavioral outcomes.

(Hypothesis 7) For Korean Americans, MMS-Achievement will worsen the negative effects of PFS, whereas MMS-Mobility will buffer the negative impacts of PFS on behavioral outcomes.

Thirdly, guided by racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999), it is expected that results will show interaction effects between racial stereotypes. Similar to the hypotheses on direct effect models, it is hypothesized that both types of MMS will protect Filipino American young people

from the harmful effects of PFS. It is further hypothesized that MMS-Achievement will strengthen the positive relations between PFS and problem behaviors, whereas MMS-Mobility will weaken these associations. The rationales for these predictions are similar to those discussed in relation to hypotheses 4 and 5.

(Research Question 4) Do these moderating relations examined in Research Question 3 further vary by social position (developmental stage, nativity, and gender)?

(Hypothesis 8) For both ethnic groups, interaction effects between racial stereotypes will be more pronounced among emerging adults than adolescents.

(Hypothesis 9) Interaction effects between racial stereotypes will be stronger among U.S.-born than foreign-born. In addition, nativity will have a more prominent moderating role among Korean Americans than Filipino Americans.

(Hypothesis 10) Interaction effects between racial stereotypes will be more salient among males than females. Also, gender will have a more prominent moderating role among Filipino Americans than Korean Americans.

Finally, as Arnett (2006) and Coll et al. (1996)'s integrative model suggests, it is expected that there will be significant group differences in the above relations by developmental stage, nativity, and gender. The literature on emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2006) suggests that there is usually more active identity exploration in various social settings during emerging adulthood than adolescence. As a result, emerging adults are more likely to encounter various racial/ethnic micro-aggressions, including PFS and MMS, than their adolescent counterparts. As such, for both ethnic groups, we expect more prominent interaction effects between racial stereotypes among emerging adults than their adolescent counterparts.

Regarding nativity, we expect that the concurrent effects of racial stereotypes will have a stronger influence on the U.S.-born group than on the foreign-born group. Although extant research shows incongruent findings (Armenta et al., 2013; Juang et al., 2018), it is expected that U.S.-born may be more vulnerable to the negative impact of racial stereotypes, and PFS in particular, than foreign-born Asian Americans (Armenta et al., 2013). In addition, it is expected that nativity will have a more significant moderating role among Korean American group than their Filipino American counterparts, for the same reasons as given in the presentation of Hypothesis 2.

With respect to gender, it is expected that there will be more salient interaction effects between racial stereotypes among males than among females, as empirical studies indicate more frequent exposure to racial discrimination (for reviews see Benner et al., 2018) and more susceptibility to the impact of racial discrimination (Juang et al., 2018) among males than among females. It is also expected that gender will play a more significant moderating role among Filipino Americans than among Korean Americans. That is, Filipino American family processes are known to be more gendered and to place greater responsibilities onto their female children than Korean American ones (Choi, Kim, Noh, Lee, & Takeuchi, 2018; Choi, Lee, et al., 2020). As a result, the effect of gender may have a more determining role in the relations between racial stereotypes and behavioral outcomes among Filipino Americans than among Korean Americans.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methods

4.1 Description of the Project and Study Process

The data comes from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF) project, a 3-wave longitudinal survey of Filipino American and Korean American children and their parents living in the Chicago metropolitan area. The first Wave was collected in 2014 from 378 Filipino American children and 376 parents, and 408 Korean American children and 412 parents ($N = 1,574$). The retention rates for Filipino American children (Wave 1; $n = 378$) were 74% of Wave 1 in 2016 (Wave 2; $n = 279$) and 80% of Wave 1 in 2018 (Wave 3; $n = 304$). The retention rates for Korean American children (Wave 1; $n = 408$) were 80% of Wave 1 in 2016 (Wave 2; $n = 325$) and 83% of Wave 1 in 2018 (Wave 3; $n = 337$). This study used the third Wave of child data because racial stereotype measures for child participants were only available in this Wave. The first and second Waves of parent data were also used to measure the parental racial/ethnic experiences [the parent-report of racial stereotypes (Wave 2) and American/ethnic identities (Wave 1)]. At Wave 3, gender distribution among children was about equal (57% Filipino American and 49% Korean American were girls), and about 77% Filipino American and 59% Korean American children were U.S.-born. The average age was 18.22 years ($SD = 1.84$) for Filipino American children and 17.91 years ($SD = 1.89$) for Korean American children. On average, both groups reported that their overall physical health was good and that their family's socioeconomic status was middle class (see Table 4.1 for more information).

Study participants were recruited from four major counties (Cook, Lake, DuPage, and Will) in the Chicago area via multiple sources, including phone books, public and private

schools, ethnic churches and temples, ethnic grocery stores, and ethnic community organizations. The MLSAAF questionnaires were available in both paper-and-pencil and web-survey formats and rendered in English, Korean, and Tagalog. They were collected mostly in person for Wave 1 (84% surveyed by bilingual interviewers) and self-administered in later Waves. The pre-test survey conducted in 2013 ($N = 682$; 155 Filipino American youth and parents, 186 Korean American youth and their parents) tested the psychometric properties of all survey items to ascertain whether survey participants understood the intended meanings of each survey question.

Table 4.1 Means (Standard Deviations) or Numbers and Proportions (%) of Demographics

| Variable Names | Wave 1 | | Wave 2 | | Wave 3 | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA |
| Demographic Characteristics | | | | | | |
| Ethnicity | 378 (48.09%) | 408 (51.91%) | 282 (46.23%) | 328 (53.77%) | 308 (47.53%) | 340 (52.47%) |
| Age | 15.27 (1.88) | 14.76 (1.91) | 16.71 (1.87) | 16.39 (1.85) | 18.22 (1.84) | 17.91 (1.89) |
| U.S.-Born | 269 (71.16%) | 237 (58.09%) | 202 (71.63%) | 198 (60.37%) | 223 (72.40%) | 201 (59.12%) |
| Female | 213 (56.35%) | 193 (47.30%) | 165 (58.51%) | 154 (46.95%) | 176 (57.14%) | 167 (49.12%) |
| General Health | 4.09 (0.76) | 3.96 (0.79) | 3.92 (0.84) | 3.83 (0.88) | 3.75 (0.82) | 3.70 (0.86) |
| Family SES | 3.10 (0.56) | 3.03 (0.70) | 3.00 (0.68) | 2.85 (0.76) | 3.01 (0.70) | 2.79 (0.79) |

Note: FA means Filipino Americans and KA means Korean Americans.

4.2 Measures

The study included several demographic variables such as age, developmental stage [0 = *adolescent (below 18)*, 1 = *emerging adult (18 and above)*], nativity (0 = *foreign-born*, 1 = *U.S.-born*), gender (0 = *boys*, 1 = *girls*), youth perception of family socioeconomic status (SES) [1 (*lower class*) to 5 (*upper class*)], and self-report of general health [1 (*very poor*) to 5 (*very good*)].

4.2.1 Racial Stereotypes

MMS. Fifteen-item Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure measured survey participants' level of internalized MMS, which consists of two sub-constructs: MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility (Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010). Response options were on an

ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). A higher score indicated a higher level of the construct. MMS-Achievement refers to the stereotype of Asian Americans being hard working and achievement oriented. Examples of the 10 items included: “In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans generally perform better on standardized exams (e.g., SATs) because of their values in academic achievement,” “Asian Americans make more money because they work harder,” “Asian Americans are more likely to be good at math and science,” and “Asian Americans are more motivated to be successful.” MMS-Mobility refers to the stereotype of Asian Americans being successful due to the lack of socio-economic barriers. Five items included: “In comparison to other racial minorities (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans), Asian Americans are less likely to face barriers at work,” “Asian Americans are more likely to be treated as equal to European Americans (or whites),” “Asian Americans are less likely to experience racism in the United States,” “It is easier for Asian Americans to climb the corporate ladder,” and “Asian Americans are less likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.” The two subconstruct structure of the measure was validated by Yoo, Lee, et al. (2010) with Asian American college students. In addition, the present study also supported two subconstruct structure via exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. The alpha reliability coefficient for MMS-Achievement was .93 for both ethnic groups and for MMS-Mobility was .83 for both ethnic groups.

PFS. The 13-item Awareness of the Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype scale (Huynh et al., 2011) was used to measure the participants’ level of internalization of PFS. All response options were on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*). Examples of the questions included: “I do not fit what people have in mind when they think of a typical American,” “Due to

my ethnicity, people sometimes assume I am not American,” “My ethnic heritage sometimes disqualifies me as American,” and “I have to work harder than most people to be accepted as American.” Huynh et al. (2011) demonstrated the reliability and validity of the measure with Asian American and Latinx American college students. The alpha reliability coefficient was .93 for Filipino American group and .92 for Korean American group.

4.1.2 Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Youth-Report)

Racial Discrimination. Five items from the MLSAAF project (Choi, Park, et al., 2018) were used to assess the frequency of being unfairly treated because of being Filipino American or Korean American. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *almost never*, 5 = *almost always*). Example items included “I have felt discriminated [against] by Whites,” “by other Asians,” or “by racial and ethnic minorities like Blacks or Hispanics.” Students were also asked whether their teachers or kids at school treated them unfairly because of their Asian heritage. The alpha reliability coefficient was .82 for the Filipino American group and .85 for the Korean American group.

Colonial Mentality. Ten items measured youth perception of their parents’ sense of inferiority due to the influence of the legacy of colonization and neocolonialism (David & Okazaki, 2006). Response options were on an ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Examples of items in this scale included “My parents think newly-arrived immigrant Koreans/Filipinos should become as Americanized as quickly as possible,” “My parents believe the Koreans/Filipinos living in U.S. are better than Koreans/Filipinos in Korea/the Philippines,” and “My parents think that a person that is part White and part Filipino/Korean is more attractive than a full-blooded Filipino/Korean.” The

alpha reliability coefficient was .82 for the Filipino American group and .81 for the Korean American group.

Racial and Ethnic Socialization. Three scales were used to assess the parental practices of racial and ethnic socialization: (1) *Preparation for Bias* was measured by five questions from Tran and Lee (2010) asking about parents' deliberate preparation for racial bias. Question items were of this type: "[My parents have often] talked to me about racial and ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, or discrimination against people of my racial and ethnic group." The alpha reliability coefficient was .90 for the Filipino American group and .92 for the Korean American group; (2) *Promotion of Mistrust* was based on three questions from Tran and Lee (2010) asking to what extent their parents have promoted mistrust of other racial and ethnic groups. Items included "[My parents have often] told me to avoid other racial and ethnic group(s) because of their prejudice against Koreans or Filipinos," "[My parents have often] done or said things to encourage me to keep a distance from people of other racial and ethnicities," and "[My parents have often] done or said things to you to keep you from trusting people of other racial/ethnic groups." The alpha reliability coefficient was .87 for the Filipino American group and .89 for the Korean American group; (3) three items from the Choi, Tan, Yasui, and Pekelnicky (2014) version of *Cultural Socialization* were used to measure parental practices of emphasizing ethnic pride or the heritage culture. Items included "[My parents emphasize] feeling proud of being Korean or Filipino," "maintaining Korean or Filipino traditions and values," and "Speaking the Filipino/Korean language." The alpha reliability coefficient was .75 for the Filipino American group and .86 for the Korean American group. Response options for all three measures were on an ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *almost never*, 5 = *almost always*).

Identities. Three scales were used to measure the extent to which children identified themselves as Filipino/Korean, American, and Asian American: (1) The 5-item *American Identity* measure from the Language, Identity, and Behavior (Birman & Trickett, 2002) included: “I feel that I am part of American culture,” “I think of myself as being American,” “I feel good about being American,” “If someone criticizes Americans, I feel they are criticizing me,” and “I am proud of being American.” The alpha reliability coefficient was .85 for Filipino American children and .83 for Korean American children; (2) *Ethnic Identity* was measured by a parallel set of items from the Language, Identity, and Behavior (Birman & Trickett, 2002). Items included: “I feel that I am part of Korean/Filipino culture,” “I think of myself as being Korean/Filipino,” “I feel good about being Korean/Filipino,” “If someone criticizes Koreans/Filipinos, I feel they are criticizing me,” and “I am proud of being Korean/Filipino.” The alpha reliability coefficient was .78 for Filipino American children and .76 for Korean American children; (3) In addition to American and ethnic identity, *Asian American Pan-Ethnic Identity* was measured using 5 questions from the MLSAAF project. The questions included: “I feel that I am part of Asian American culture,” “I think of myself as being Asian American,” “I feel good about being Asian American,” “If someone criticizes Asian Americans, I feel they are criticizing me,” and “I am proud of being Asian American.” The alpha reliability coefficient was .85 for Filipino American children and .83 for Korean American children. Responses for all three measures were on a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*)

4.1.3 Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Parent-Report)

PFS. Five items at Wave 2 (only available at Wave 2) measured parent participants’ level of stress related to PFS on a day-to-day basis (Benner & Kim, 2009). The parent participants rated on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all stressed, 5 = extremely stressed). The questions included:

“People assume that I am from another country,” “People criticize me for not speaking/writing English well,” “I feel misunderstood or limited in daily situation because of my English skills,” and “People assume that I am a FOB (fresh-off-the boat).” The alpha reliability coefficient was .84 for Filipino American parents and .83 for Korean American parents.

MMS. Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010) that was used for child participants was also used for parent participants at Wave 2 (only available at Wave 2) to measure their level of internalized sense of MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility. Response options were on an ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The alpha reliability coefficient for MMS-Achievement was .93 for Filipino American parents and .90 for Korean American parents and for MMS-Mobility was .84 for Filipino American parents and .78 for Korean American parents.

Identities. American and ethnic Identity measures (Birman & Trickett, 2002) were also asked to parent participants at Wave 1 (only available at Wave 1). The alpha reliability coefficient for ethnic identity was .73 for Filipino American parents and .67 for Korean American parents and for American identity was .77 for both ethnic groups.

4.1.4 Behavioral Outcomes

Life Satisfaction. The 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) measured the study participants’ level of life satisfaction. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Examples included: “In most ways my life is close to my ideal,” “The conditions of my life are excellent,” “I am satisfied with my life,” “So far I have gotten the important things I want in life,” and “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.” The alpha reliability coefficient was .85 for Filipino American children and .83 for Korean American children.

Positive and Negative Affect. 19 items from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) were used to measure the level of participants' positive affect, such as proud, interested, and inspired, and negative affect, such as guilty, hostile, and irritable. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very slightly or not at all*, 5 = *extremely*). The alpha reliability coefficient for positive affect was .87 for Filipino American children and .86 for Korean American children and for negative affect was .87 for both ethnic groups.

Depressive Symptoms. Depressive symptoms were measured by 13 items from the Children's Depression Inventory (Angold et al., 1995) and one item (i.e., "I feel like crying a lot of the time") from the Seattle Personality Questionnaire for Children (Kusche, Greenberg, & Beilke, 1988). Participants were asked to rate on an ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *almost never*, 5 = *almost always*) how they have been feeling for the last two weeks. Examples of items included: "I didn't enjoy anything at all," "I was very restless," "I found it hard to think properly or concentrate," "I hated myself," and "I thought I could never be as good as other kids." The alpha reliability coefficient was .93 for Filipino American children and .94 for Korean American children.

Suicidal Thoughts. To measure suicidal thoughts, participants were asked the following question: "During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously think about committing suicide?" The question was rated on a dichotomous scale (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*)

Self-Harming Behavior. To measure self-harming behavior, we asked the following question: "Have you ever harmed or hurt yourself (e.g., self-injury such as scratching, cutting, burning, or hitting body parts, hair-pulling or drug overdose without intention to kill yourself)?" The item was based on a dichotomous scale (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*).

Antisocial Behaviors. A total of 19 antisocial behaviors (Choi, Park, Lee, et al., 2020) were used to assess whether youth have engaged in antisocial behaviors in the past 12 months. Examples of items included: “I bullied, threatened or intimidated others,” “I hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or care from a doctor or nurse,” “I have stolen while confronting a victim (e.g. mugging, purse snatching, extortion, armed robbery),” “I took part in a fight where a group of my friends was against another group,” “I have stolen something,” and “I have skipped school without excuse.” Response options were no (0) and yes (1). The variable was constructed to 0 for none and 1 for any antisocial behavior.

4.1.5 Family Process and Peer Relation

Several family process and peer relation measures were included to account for significant risk and protective factors identified by theoretical (Spencer, 1995) and empirical literature (Choi, Lee, et al., 2020; Choi, Park, Lee, et al., 2020; Choi, Park, Noh, et al., 2020). First, *Parent-Child Conflict* was measured by four items from (Prinz, 1977). Response options were on an ordinal Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *almost never*, 5 = *almost always*). Items included: “My mom and I get angry at each other,” “My mom and I argue about rules,” “My mom never listens to my side of the story,” and “My mom nags at me a lot.” The alpha reliability coefficient was .86 for Filipino American children and .80 for Korean American children.

Parent-Child Bonding was measured by 5 items from Add Health (Choi, Park, Lee, et al., 2020). All response options were on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*). Items included: “How close do you feel to your mom?” “How often do you share your thoughts and feelings with her?” “How much do you want to be the kind of person she is?” “How much are you satisfied with the way your mom and you communicate with each other?” and “Overall, how

much are you satisfied with your relationship with your mom?" The alpha reliability coefficient was .93 for Filipino American children and .92 for Korean American children.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict was measured by ten items from Lee, Choe, Kim, and Ngo (2000) to examine the level of cultural gap between Asian American children and their parents. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *almost never*, 5 = *almost always*). Examples of items included: "Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions," "Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at your age, but you think that it is," "You have done well in school, but your parent's academic expectations always exceed your performance," and "Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal signs of affection." The alpha reliability coefficient was .92 for Filipino American children and .89 for Korean American children.

Peer Relation measured by three items from Asher and Wheeler (1985) asked participants to rate the degree to which they feel comfortable in their peer relationships. The participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not true at all*, 5 = *very true*). Items included: "I have close friends at school or work," "I feel lonely at school or work (reverse recoded)," and "It is hard to get kids in school or colleagues at work to like me (reverse recoded)." The alpha reliability coefficient was .60 for Filipino American children and .56 for Korean American children.

4.3 Analysis Plan

Descriptive analyses were conducted to examine the general characteristics of study variables and to identify differences in study variables across social positions, including ethnicity (Filipino American vs. Korean American), developmental stage (adolescent vs. emerging adult),

nativity (U.S.-born vs. foreign-born), and gender (female vs. male). In addition, bivariate correlations among main study variables were examined within each ethnic group.

4.3.1 Research Question 1 Analyses: Latent Profile Analysis

First, to examine how Filipino American and Korean American young people internalized PFS and MMS, latent profile analysis was performed, using *Mplus* v.7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2013). Latent profile analysis utilizes person-oriented approach, which has several advantages over existing methodology on the field that generally use variable-centered regression analysis. For examining how Asian American adolescents and emerging adults simultaneously internalize the seemingly oppositional stereotypes of PFS and MMS, latent profile analysis allows the data to demonstrate how study participants are clustered with regards to two racial stereotypes by generating an individual's probability of being assigned to certain subgroups. This approach, using expectation-maximization (EM) algorithm, generates much unbiased estimates of subtype membership than the general approach of clustering subgroups such as by making a median cut of indicator variables and then clustering individuals accordingly, e.g., above median in both PFS and MMS, above median in one indicator and below median in the other, below median in both indicators (Pasch et al., 2006).

To effectively identify parsimonious numbers of subgroups with regard to racial stereotypes, several fit statistics, including the Akaike information criterion (AIC), Bayesian information criteria (BIC), sample-size adjusted BIC, were used to guide decisions. Smaller values of these measures of the goodness of fit indicate better fit. Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin (LMR-LRT) was also used to directly test the model fit between measurement models with different subgroups, e.g., 1 vs. 2 subgroups (Muthén & Muthén, 2013). The entropy was used to

investigate how accurately individuals were classified into each subgroup. The entropy value greater than .9 generally indicates highly accurate classification.

After the subgroup membership was identified, patterns of racial stereotypes were related to child-report of racial/ethnic experiences and familial context, including child experiences of racial discrimination, child perception of how their parents internalized colonial mentality, child-report of racial and ethnic socialization practices within the family, child-report of American and ethnic identities, and Asian American pan-ethnic identity. Second, the subgroup membership was linked to parent-report of racial/ethnic experiences to understand the role of family processes in these relations. Parent-report measures included parental internalization of PFS, MMS, and parent-report of American and ethnic identities. Lastly, the patterns of racial stereotypes were associated with both internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors.

To examine how the patterns of racial stereotypes are related to above study correlates, a three-step approach was used. This three-step approach is less biased than the two-step approach (Muthén & Muthén, 2013). In a two-step approach, the class membership is estimated first using only indicators of subgroups (e.g., PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility) to identify the optimal number of subgroups. In the second step, with this optimal number of subgroups, the relations between subgroups and study correlates are examined. However, because of this additional inclusion of study correlates in the second step, subpopulations of the analysis between the first and second steps can be changed. Conversely, the three-step approach involves first developing a measurement model, second assigning class membership, and third, with this already assigned subgroup membership, examining the relations between subgroups and correlates. Among several three-step approaches, the approach based on maximum likelihood was used.

4.3.2 Research Question 2, 3, and 4 Analyses: Hierarchical Regression Analyses

To examine whether and how the relations between the subgroup membership and behavioral outcomes vary by social positions, a categorical variable of subgroup membership that would be generated by latent profile analysis was planned. That is, latent profile analysis generates study participants' probability of being assigned to certain subgroups. Based on this assigned probability, one can create a subgroup membership indicator. Using regression analysis with this subgroup membership, I planned to examine two-way interactions (i.e., subgroups \times social positions) on behavioral outcomes.

However, latent profile analysis with PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility, did not produce diverse clusters of individuals expected. For example, latent profile analysis was not able to identify the subgroup with the highest internalization of both racial stereotypes among both ethnic groups. In addition, entropy value was much lower than .9, which indicated poor classification of class membership. As such, the influence of such pattern of racial stereotypes on youth behavioral outcomes could not be examined.

To overcome this limitation, the study employed hierarchical regression analysis. Using *STATA* v. 15.1, linear regression and logistic regression were estimated for behavioral outcomes with continuous measures (life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect, and depressive symptoms) and with binary measures (suicidal thoughts, self-harming behaviors, and antisocial behaviors), respectively. The models were hierarchically built for testing. The direct effect model included 1) control variables, including demographic characteristics (developmental stage, nativity, gender, family socio-economic status, and general health), family processes (parent-child conflict, parent-child bonding, and intergenerational cultural conflict), and peer relation, and 2) racial stereotypes (PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility). In the two-way

interaction model, three two-way interaction terms (PFS \times MMS-Achievement, PFS \times MMS-Mobility, MMS-Achievement \times MMS-Mobility) were added to the direct effect model. In the three-way interaction model, three three-way interaction terms—(1) PFS \times MMS-Achievement \times social position (i.e., developmental stage, nativity or gender), (2) PFS \times MMS-Mobility \times social position (i.e., developmental stage, nativity or gender), and (3) MMS-Achievement \times MMS-Mobility \times social position (i.e., developmental stage, nativity or gender)—were added to the two-way interaction model.

Continuous variables were centered to their means prior to analysis, to facilitate interpretation of interaction terms. When interaction terms were significant, the significance of each slope was tested. Interaction terms that were significant at the .05 significance level were further graphically plotted to illustrate the relations, using methods proposed by Dawson and Richter (2006). The missing rates of study variables were less than 5%. Therefore, no missing imputation was needed. No evidence of multicollinearity was identified among study variables as variance inflation factors (VIF) were significantly below 10.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Question 1 Results

This chapter presents results for Research Question 1. First, results for descriptive analyses for main study variables are presented. For Research Question 1, the results from latent profile analysis that identifies the most parsimonious patterns of racial stereotype subgroups and relations between these subgroups and various correlates are summarized.

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

The results of descriptive analyses for racial stereotype and outcome variables are presented separately for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans in Table 5.1. The study accounted for how the mean and standard deviation for continuous variables and the number and proportion for categorical variables further varied by developmental stage (adolescent vs. emerging adult), nativity (foreign-born vs. U.S.-born), and gender (female vs. male). In addition to the overall ethnic group difference test across major study variables (e.g., PFS for Filipino Americans vs. for Korean Americans), a significance test within ethnic group across social positions (e.g., PFS for Filipino adolescent vs. Filipino emerging adult) and across ethnic group within each category of social position (e.g., PFS for Filipino adolescent vs. Korean adolescent) was conducted.

5.1.1 Descriptive Analysis for Racial Stereotype Variables

The means of PFS were 2.26 ($SD = .85$) for the Filipino American group and 2.65 ($SD = .84$) for the Korean American group. The means of MMS-Achievement were 3.39 ($SD = .77$) for

Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables

| | Developmental stage | | | | Nativity | | | | Gender | | | | Total | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------|------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|
| | Adolescents | | Emerging Adults | | Within ethnic group diff. | | Foreign-born | | U.S.-born | | Within ethnic group diff. | | | | Male | | Female | | |
| | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | FA | KA | |
| Demographics | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Emerging adult | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 39 (48.15%) | 64 (47.06%) | 106 (47.53%)** | 67 (33.33%) | * | 54 (42.19%) | 61 (35.88%) | 91 (51.70%)+ | 70 (41.92%) | | 146 (47.40%)* | 133 (39.12%) | |
| Nativity | 117 (46.61%)+ | 134 (53.39%) | 106 (61.27%)* | 67 (38.73%) | * | | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 95 (47.26%)* | 106 (52.74%) | 128 (57.40%)** | 95 (42.60%) | | 223 (52.59%)* | 201 (47.41%) | |
| Gender | 85 (53.46%) | 97 (47.09%) | 91 (62.76%) | 70 (53.44%) | | | 48 (59.26%) | 72 (52.94%) | 128 (57.40%)* | 95 (47.26%) | | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 176 (57.89%)* | 167 (49.55%) | |
| General Health | 3.84 (0.79) | 3.74 (0.88) | 3.65 (0.84) | 3.65 (0.83) | * | | 3.74 (0.88) | 3.73 (0.77) | 3.76 (0.8) | 3.68 (0.91) | | 3.9 (0.83) | 3.84 (0.88) | 3.65 (0.8) | 3.56 (0.81) | ** | 3.75 (.82) | 3.70 (.86) | |
| Family SES | 2.98 (0.72) | 2.88 (0.76) | 3.05 (0.69)** | 2.63 (0.82) | ** | | 2.81 (0.71) | 2.69 (0.78) | 3.09 (0.69)** | 2.84 (0.8) | ** | + | 3.02 (0.67)+ | 2.85 (0.79)*** | 3.02 (0.74) | 2.71 (0.79) | + | 3.01 (.70)*** | 2.79 (.79) |
| Family Process and Peer Relation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parent-child conflict | 2.62 (1.02) | 2.58 (0.87) | 2.59 (0.94)* | 2.32 (0.9) | ** | | 2.62 (0.98)+ | 2.39 (0.9) | 2.62 (0.99) | 2.54 (0.88) | | 2.51 (0.9) | 2.45 (0.9) | 2.7 (1.03)+ | 2.5 (0.88) | + | 2.61 (.98)+ | 2.48 (.89) | |
| Parent-child bonding | 3.75 (0.99) | 3.81 (0.96) | 3.7 (1.02) | 3.79 (0.98) | | | 3.58 (1.04)* | 3.86 (0.94) | 3.78 (1) | 3.76 (0.99) | | 3.76 (0.93) | 3.74 (0.93) | 3.7 (1.07) | 3.86 (1.01) | | 3.72 (1.00) | 3.80 (.97) | |
| Peer relations | 4.17 (0.81) | 4.1 (0.85) | 2.73 (0.63)** | 2.96 (0.63) | *** | *** | 3.47 (0.98) | 3.53 (0.97) | 3.5 (1.04)* | 3.74 (0.93) | + | 3.61 (1.06) | 3.72 (0.95) | 3.41 (0.99)+ | 3.59 (0.95) | + | 3.49 (1.02)* | 3.65 (.95) | |
| Inter-generational cultural conflict | 2.5 (1.02)* | 2.25 (0.86) | 2.56 (1.05)*** | 2.1 (0.82) | + | | 2.64 (1.08)*** | 2.16 (0.84) | 2.51 (1.01)** | 2.21 (0.86) | | 2.39 (0.98)+ | 2.19 (0.84) | 2.66 (1.06)*** | 2.19 (0.87) | * | 2.53 (1.03)*** | 2.19 (.85) | |
| American Identity | 3.67 (0.84)* | 3.44 (0.84) | 3.78 (0.85)*** | 3.29 (0.93) | | | 3.41 (0.91)* | 3.1 (0.86) | 3.85 (0.79)** | 3.57 (0.85) | *** | *** | 3.81 (0.87)** | 3.5 (0.86) | 3.68 (0.82)*** | 3.27 (0.89) | * | 3.72 (.85)*** | 3.38 (.88) |
| Ethnic identity | 4.23 (0.8)* | 4.06 (0.74) | 4.19 (0.89)* | 3.95 (0.79) | | | 4.23 (0.88)+ | 4.04 (0.75) | 4.2 (0.84)* | 4.01 (0.78) | | 4.05 (0.9) | 3.92 (0.76) | 4.32 (0.79)* | 4.12 (0.76) | ** | 4.21 (.84)** | 4.02 (.76) | |
| Discrimination | 1.45 (0.59) | 1.56 (0.64) | 1.54 (0.61)** | 1.79 (0.72) | ** | | 1.38 (0.53)** | 1.67 (0.65) | 1.53 (0.62) | 1.63 (0.7) | + | 1.41 (0.6)** | 1.65 (0.71) | 1.56 (0.6) | 1.64 (0.65) | * | 1.50 (.60)** | 1.65 (.68) | |
| Racial Stereotypes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PFS | 2.23 (0.85)*** | 2.54 (0.81) | 2.31 (0.86)*** | 2.82 (0.85) | ** | | 2.61 (0.91)* | 2.91 (0.78) | 2.15 (0.8)*** | 2.47 (0.83) | *** | *** | 2.18 (0.84)*** | 2.58 (0.87) | 2.34 (0.86)*** | 2.72 (0.8) | + | 2.26 (.85)*** | 2.65 (.84) |
| MMS-Achievement | 3.44 (0.8) | 3.48 (0.73) | 3.34 (0.73) | 3.4 (0.7) | | | 3.36 (0.82) | 3.38 (0.69) | 3.39 (0.75) | 3.49 (0.75) | | 3.42 (0.72) | 3.45 (0.71) | 3.36 (0.81) | 3.44 (0.74) | | 3.39 (.77) | 3.45 (.72) | |
| MMS-Mobility | 2.88 (0.73)* | 2.72 (0.76) | 2.83 (0.74)* | 2.61 (0.76) | | | 2.94 (0.77)** | 2.64 (0.68) | 2.83 (0.72)+ | 2.69 (0.81) | | 2.99 (0.69)** | 2.72 (0.72) | 2.76 (0.76) | 2.62 (0.79) | ** | 2.86 (.73)** | 2.67 (.76) | |
| Outcomes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Life satisfaction | 3.53 (0.78)*** | 3.19 (0.78) | 3.47 (0.77)*** | 3.03 (0.78) | + | | 3.43 (0.8)** | 3.09 (0.77) | 3.54 (0.76)*** | 3.17 (0.79) | | 3.54 (0.74)*** | 3.18 (0.76) | 3.49 (0.79)*** | 3.09 (0.8) | | 3.50 (.78)*** | 3.13 (.78) | |
| Positive affect | 3.8 (0.57)*** | 3.52 (0.57) | 3.6 (0.71)** | 3.31 (0.72) | ** | ** | 3.73 (0.67)** | 3.44 (0.64) | 3.7 (0.64)** | 3.44 (0.64) | | 3.74 (0.61)** | 3.51 (0.61) | 3.68 (0.67)*** | 3.37 (0.65) | * | 3.70 (.65)*** | 3.44 (.64) | |
| Negative affect | 2.66 (0.71) | 2.76 (0.65) | 2.31 (0.73)* | 2.53 (0.8) | *** | ** | 2.59 (0.75) | 2.63 (0.68) | 2.45 (0.74)** | 2.69 (0.75) | | 2.35 (0.73)** | 2.59 (0.69) | 2.59 (0.74)+ | 2.74 (0.75) | ** | + | 2.50 (.74)** | 2.67 (.72) |
| Depressive symptoms | 2.13 (0.82) | 2.13 (0.83) | 2.07 (0.82)+ | 2.23 (0.87) | | | 2.21 (0.89) | 2.07 (0.78) | 2.06 (0.8)* | 2.22 (0.86) | + | 1.9 (0.8) | 1.98 (0.78) | 2.24 (0.81) | 2.34 (0.85) | *** | *** | 2.10 (.82) | 2.17 (.84) |
| Suicidal thoughts | 25 (15.82%) | 32 (15.76%) | 24 (16.55%) | 23 (17.29%) | | | 13 (16.05%) | 22 (16.18%) | 36 (16.51%) | 33 (16.75%) | | 16 (12.60%) | 17 (10.18%) | 33 (19.19%) | 38 (22.89%) | ** | | 49 (16.17%) | 55 (16.37%) |
| Self-harming behaviors | 31 (19.38%) | 33 (16.10%) | 34 (23.29%)+ | 20 (15.04%) | | | 16 (19.75%) | 17 (12.59%) | 49 (22.17%) | 35 (17.50%) | | 11 (8.59%) | 19 (11.24%) | 54 (31.03%)* | 33 (19.88%) | *** | * | 65 (21.24%)+ | 53 (15.68%) |
| Antisocial behaviors | 81 (50.00%)* | 80 (38.83%) | 31 (21.23%) | 23 (17.29%) | *** | *** | 27 (33.33%) | 37 (27.21%) | 84 (37.67%) | 65 (32.50%) | | 46 (35.94%) | 56 (33.14%) | 65 (36.93%)+ | 46 (27.54%) | | 112 (36.36%) | 103 (30.38%) | |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note: FA means Filipino Americans and KA means Korean Americans. Emerging adult (1= emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1 = U.S.-born, 0 = foreign-born). Gender (1 = female, 0 = male). Asterisks within each category of social position indicate significant difference across ethnic group within each category of social position. Asterisks under within ethnic group difference indicate significant difference across social position (e.g., adolescent vs. emerging adult) within ethnic group. Asterisks under total category indicate significant overall ethnic group difference across study variables.

the Filipino American group and 3.45 ($SD = .72$) for the Korean American group. The means of MMS-Mobility were 2.86 ($SD = .73$) for the Filipino American group and 2.67 ($SD = .76$) for the Korean American group. The significance test across ethnic groups indicated that the mean of PFS was significantly higher among the Korean American group than among the Filipino American group, whereas the mean of MMS-Mobility was significantly higher among the Filipino American group than among the Korean American group. This pattern of ethnic group differences was also identified within each category of social positions, e.g., within adolescent group and within emerging adult group.

With respect to the developmental stage, the study found that for the Korean American group, the level of PFS was significantly higher among emerging adults [$Mean (SD) = 2.82 (.85)$] than among adolescents [$Mean (SD) = 2.54 (.81)$]. Regarding nativity, the level of PFS was significantly higher among the foreign-born group [$Mean (SD) = 2.61 (.91)$ for the Filipino American group and $Mean (SD) = 2.91 (.78)$ for the Korean American group] than among the U.S.-born group [$Mean (SD) = 2.15 (.80)$ for the Filipino American group and $Mean (SD) = 2.47 (.83)$ for the Korean American group] for both ethnic groups. Regarding gender, the study demonstrated that for the Filipino American group the level of MMS-Mobility was significantly higher among males [$Mean (SD) = 2.99 (.69)$] than females [$Mean (SD) = 2.76 (.76)$].

5.1.2 Descriptive Analysis for Outcome Variables

Three outcome variables significantly differed across ethnic groups (see Table 5.1). Specifically, the means of life satisfaction were 3.50 ($SD = .78$) for the Filipino American group and 3.13 ($SD = .78$) for the Korean American group. The means of positive affect were 3.70 ($SD = .65$) for the Filipino American group and 3.44 ($SD = .64$) for the Korean American group and the means of negative affect were 2.50 ($SD = .74$) for the Filipino American group and 2.67 (SD

= .72) for the Korean American group. In short, Filipino Americans rated higher on life satisfaction and positive affect and lower on negative affect than Korean Americans. The significance test indicated no ethnic group differences in remaining outcome variables. These ethnic group differences were generally identified within each category of social positions.

With respect to the developmental stage, the level of positive affect was significantly higher among adolescents [*Mean (SD)* = 3.80 (.57) for the Filipino American group and *Mean (SD)* = 3.52 (.57) for the Korean American group] than among emerging adults [*Mean (SD)* = 3.60 (.71) for the Filipino American group and *Mean (SD)* = 3.31 (.72) for the Korean American group] for both ethnic groups. Similarly, the level of negative affect was significantly higher among adolescents [*Mean (SD)* = 2.66 (.71) for the Filipino American group and *Mean (SD)* = 2.76 (.65) for the Korean American group] than emerging adults [*Mean (SD)* = 2.31 (.73) for the Filipino American group and *Mean (SD)* = 2.53 (.80) for the Korean American group]. With respect to antisocial behaviors, the proportion of those who have ever conducted any type of antisocial behaviors in the past 12 months was significantly higher among adolescents (50.00% for the Filipino American group and 38.83% for the Korean American group) than among emerging adults (21.23% for the Filipino American group and 17.29% for the Korean American group).

Regarding gender, the study found that females generally had worse outcomes than males. First, for the Korean American group, the means of positive affect were significantly lower among females [*Mean (SD)* = 3.37 (.65)] than among males [*Mean (SD)* = 3.51 (.61)]. Second, for the Filipino American group, the means of negative affect were significantly higher among females [*Mean (SD)* = 2.59 (.74)] than among males [*Mean (SD)* = 2.35 (.73)]. Third, the level of depressive symptoms was also significantly higher among females [*Mean (SD)* = 2.24

(.81) for the Filipino American group and $Mean (SD) = 2.34 (.85)$ for the Korean American group] than among males [$Mean (SD) = 1.90 (.80)$ for Filipino American group and $Mean (SD) = 1.98 (.78)$ for the Korean American group] for both ethnic groups. Third, with respect to suicidal thoughts, the proportion of females who have had suicidal thoughts (22.89%) was significantly higher than males (10.18%). Lastly, the proportion of females who have conducted self-harming behavior (31.03% for Filipino Americans and 19.88% for Korean Americans) was much higher than males (8.59% for Filipino Americans and 11.24% for Korean Americans).

5.1.3 Bivariate Relations among Main Study Variables

The bivariate relations for the study variables are shown in Table 5.2. For the Filipino American group, first, PFS was not significantly associated with any subdomains of MMS. Regarding behavioral outcomes, PFS was positively associated with depressive symptoms, negative affect, and suicidal thoughts. Second, MMS-Achievement was positively related to MMS-Mobility. However, MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility were not significantly related to any behavioral outcomes.

For the Korean American group, PFS was negatively associated with MMS-Mobility. With respect to behavioral outcomes, PFS was negatively associated with life satisfaction and positive affect and positively associated with negative affect, depressive symptoms, suicidal thoughts, and self-harming behavior. Second, MMS-Achievement was positively related to MMS-Mobility. Lastly, both subtypes of MMS was not significantly related to behavioral outcomes.

Table 5.2 Bivariate Correlations among Study Variables for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| 1. Emerging adult | 1.00 | -0.14* | 0.06 | -0.16** | -0.05 | -0.14** | -0.01 | -0.09 | -0.59*** | -0.09 | -0.07 | 0.16** | 0.16** | -0.05 | -0.07 | -0.10 | -0.16** | -0.16** | 0.06 | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.23*** |
| 2. Nativity | -0.01 | 1.00 | -0.06 | 0.09 | -0.03 | 0.08 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.11 | 0.26*** | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.26*** | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.05 | -0.01 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.06 |
| 3. Gender | 0.09 | -0.02 | 1.00 | -0.09 | -0.16** | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.07 | -0.13* | 0.13* | -0.01 | 0.08 | -0.01 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.11* | 0.10 | 0.21*** | 0.17** | 0.12* | -0.06 |
| 4. Family SES | 0.05 | 0.17** | 0.00 | 1.00 | 0.21*** | -0.05 | 0.12* | -0.04 | 0.20*** | 0.16** | 0.16** | -0.16** | -0.10 | 0.05 | 0.13* | 0.28*** | 0.22*** | -0.08 | -0.16** | -0.08 | -0.01 | 0.06 |
| 5. General health | -0.12* | 0.01 | -0.15** | 0.05 | 1.00 | -0.04 | 0.13* | -0.12* | 0.18** | 0.19*** | 0.13* | -0.16** | -0.13* | 0.12* | 0.09 | 0.24*** | 0.31*** | -0.27*** | -0.29*** | -0.16** | -0.13* | -0.12* |
| 6. Parent-child conflict | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.03 | -0.07 | 1.00 | -0.38*** | 0.58*** | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.19*** | 0.02 | 0.12* | 0.06 | -0.26*** | -0.10 | 0.25*** | 0.30*** | 0.07 | 0.18** | 0.12* |
| 7. Parent-child bonding | -0.02 | 0.09 | -0.03 | 0.09 | 0.28*** | -0.52*** | 1.00 | -0.38*** | 0.12* | 0.13* | 0.28*** | -0.15** | -0.06 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.36*** | 0.36*** | -0.21*** | -0.33*** | -0.11* | -0.18** | -0.13* |
| 8. ICC | 0.03 | -0.06 | 0.13* | -0.06 | -0.16** | 0.58*** | -0.46*** | 1.00 | 0.00 | -0.02 | -0.06 | 0.30*** | 0.16** | 0.17** | 0.08 | -0.31*** | -0.11* | 0.23*** | 0.33*** | 0.14** | 0.20*** | 0.25*** |
| 9. Peer relation | -0.70*** | 0.02 | -0.10 | 0.08 | 0.15** | 0.02 | 0.10 | -0.04 | 1.00 | 0.08 | 0.12* | -0.21*** | -0.15** | 0.08 | 0.12* | 0.17** | 0.24*** | 0.01 | -0.17** | -0.03 | -0.04 | 0.11* |
| 10. American identity | 0.06 | 0.23*** | -0.08 | 0.09 | 0.16** | -0.12* | 0.24*** | -0.10 | 0.07 | 1.00 | 0.17** | -0.13* | -0.33*** | 0.08 | 0.18** | 0.18*** | 0.23*** | -0.18*** | -0.15** | -0.11* | -0.12* | 0.05 |
| 11. Ethnic identity | -0.03 | -0.02 | 0.16** | 0.05 | 0.16** | 0.05 | 0.26*** | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 1.00 | -0.12* | -0.02 | 0.11* | 0.03 | 0.19*** | 0.29*** | -0.04 | -0.16** | -0.16** | -0.08 | -0.02 |
| 12. Discrimination | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.13* | -0.03 | -0.03 | 0.21*** | -0.09 | 0.31*** | -0.06 | -0.19** | -0.03 | 1.00 | 0.46*** | 0.08 | -0.16** | -0.28*** | -0.17** | 0.36*** | 0.43*** | 0.25*** | 0.16** | 0.07 |
| 13. PFS | 0.05 | -0.24*** | 0.10 | -0.08 | -0.05 | 0.16** | -0.09 | 0.38*** | 0.00 | -0.42*** | 0.04 | 0.45*** | 1.00 | 0.09 | -0.17** | -0.29*** | -0.20*** | 0.29*** | 0.35*** | 0.15** | 0.12* | -0.02 |
| 14. MMS-Achievement | -0.07 | 0.02 | -0.04 | -0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | -0.01 | 0.02 | 0.00 | -0.04 | 0.06 | -0.09 | 0.10 | 1.00 | 0.35*** | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.10 | -0.03 | -0.01 | 0.00 |
| 15. MMS-Mobility | -0.03 | -0.07 | -0.15** | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.03 | -0.01 | -0.07 | -0.19** | -0.10 | 0.39*** | 1.00 | 0.09 | 0.05 | -0.02 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.04 | -0.01 |
| 16. Life satisfaction | -0.04 | 0.06 | -0.03 | 0.21*** | 0.32*** | -0.33*** | 0.48*** | -0.36*** | 0.13* | 0.18** | 0.23*** | -0.10 | -0.11 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 1.00 | 0.42*** | -0.41*** | -0.53*** | -0.19*** | -0.16** | -0.11* |
| 17. Positive affect | -0.15** | -0.02 | -0.04 | -0.04 | 0.41*** | -0.24*** | 0.45*** | -0.15** | 0.16** | 0.26*** | 0.26*** | -0.09 | -0.05 | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.47*** | 1.00 | -0.12* | -0.38*** | -0.10 | -0.11* | 0.04 |
| 18. Negative affect | -0.24*** | -0.08 | 0.16** | -0.09 | -0.25*** | 0.21*** | -0.23*** | 0.31*** | 0.11 | -0.17** | -0.06 | 0.22*** | 0.21*** | -0.02 | 0.00 | -0.39*** | -0.21*** | 1.00 | 0.61*** | 0.22*** | 0.23*** | 0.16** |
| 19. Depression | -0.04 | -0.08 | 0.21*** | -0.08 | -0.25*** | 0.35*** | -0.35*** | 0.45*** | 0.00 | -0.23*** | -0.11 | 0.29*** | 0.31*** | -0.04 | -0.09 | -0.53*** | -0.36*** | 0.67*** | 1.00 | 0.39*** | 0.37*** | 0.14* |
| 20. Suicidal thoughts | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.09 | -0.07 | -0.17** | 0.16** | -0.18** | 0.27*** | -0.04 | -0.18** | -0.07 | 0.19** | 0.15* | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.28*** | -0.26*** | 0.31*** | 0.45*** | 1.00 | 0.43*** | 0.06 |
| 21. Self-harming | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.27*** | -0.01 | -0.19*** | 0.21*** | -0.23*** | 0.20*** | -0.08 | -0.17** | -0.02 | 0.12* | 0.10 | 0.00 | -0.01 | -0.20*** | -0.21*** | 0.21*** | 0.32*** | 0.40*** | 1.00 | 0.25*** |
| 22. Antisocial behaviors | -0.30*** | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.01 | -0.04 | 0.24*** | -0.21*** | 0.20*** | 0.27*** | 0.01 | -0.06 | 0.09 | 0.02 | -0.02 | 0.01 | -0.17** | -0.02 | 0.24*** | 0.30*** | 0.14* | 0.16** | 1.00 |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. Below the diagonal are correlations for Filipino Americans and above for Korean Americans.

5.2 The Research Question 1: Latent Profile Analysis

5.2.1 Explicating Subtypes

Table 5.3 summarized fit statistics for 1 to 5 subgroup solutions by each ethnic group. Specifically, for the Filipino American group, the 2-subgroup solution showed the highest entropy (.957), suggesting high classification accuracy. AIC, BIC, and the sample-size adjusted BIC suggested a solution of 2 or 3 subgroups. LMR-LRT indicated that the 2-subgroup solution ($p < 0.001$) was significantly better than any other models (except the 5-subgroup that included a subgroup with $n = 3$), whereas the bootstrapped likelihood ratio test suggested a 3 subgroup ($p < 0.01$). For the Korean American group, the 2-subgroup solution showed the highest entropy (.939). However, AIC, BIC, and the sample-size adjusted BIC suggested a solution of 4 subgroups. LMR-LRT ($p < .05$) and the bootstrapped likelihood ratio test ($p < .0001$) also suggested that the 4-subgroup solution was significantly better than any other subgroup solutions.

Table 5.3 Fit Indices of Latent Profile Analysis

| | AIC | BIC | Sample-size adjusted BIC | Entropy | Vuong-Lo- Mendell-Rubin Test | Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test | Sample Size of Smallest Subtype |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| Filipino Americans | | | | | | | |
| 1 Subgroup | 2156.22 | 2178.61 | 2159.58 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| 2 Subgroups | 2068.85 | 2106.11 | 2074.4 | 0.957 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| 3 Subgroups | 2057.58 | 2109.76 | 2065.36 | 0.828 | 0.1482 | 0.005 | 15 |
| 4 Subgroups | 2050.46 | 2117.55 | 2060.46 | 0.776 | 0.2053 | 0.035 | 3 |
| 5 Subgroups | 2031.75 | 2113.74 | 2043.97 | 0.843 | 0.0388 | 0 | 3 |
| Korean Americans | | | | | | | |
| 1 Subgroup | 2349.58 | 2372.54 | 2353.51 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| 2 Subgroups | 2313.98 | 2352.24 | 2320.52 | 0.939 | 0.0089 | 0 | 9 |
| 3 Subgroups | 2281.82 | 2335.39 | 2290.98 | 0.91 | 0.0251 | 0 | 12 |
| 4 Subgroups | 2259.97 | 2328.84 | 2271.74 | 0.787 | 0.0139 | 0 | 11 |
| 5 Subgroups | 2257.22 | 2341.39 | 2271.6 | 0.781 | 0.4039 | 0.165 | 12 |
| 6 Subgroups | 2349.58 | 2372.54 | 2353.51 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |

Several factors were taken into account during the model selection process. First, the number of samples in each group was considered to see whether each subgroup had reasonable

sample sizes for post hoc comparisons on various correlates. For example, from the four-subgroup solution, sample size of the smallest subgroup of Filipino American group became much less than 5% of the total sample. In addition, the number of subgroups, particularly for the Filipino American group, were considered to examine how each subgroup with varying levels of indicators is related to youth behavioral outcomes and to other correlates. Thus, based on these considerations, the three-subgroup solution for the Filipino American group and the four-subgroup solution for Korean American group were chosen. The characteristics of three subgroups for the Filipino Americans and four subgroups for the Korean Americans are summarized in Table 5.4 and Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.4 Characteristics of Latent Subgroups by Indicators

| | Filipino Americans | | | Korean Americans | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Class 1 <i>Intermediate</i> | Class 2 <i>Low MMS</i> | Class 3 <i>High MMS</i> | Class 1 <i>Intermediate</i> | Class 2 <i>Least triangulated</i> | Class 3 <i>High MMS</i> | Class 4 <i>High PFS</i> |
| Proportion (%) | 88.9% | 4.9% | 6.19% | 73.5% | 3.8% | 3.3% | 19.5% |
| Sample size (<i>n</i>) | <i>n</i> =273 | <i>n</i> =15 | <i>n</i> =19 | <i>n</i> =249 | <i>n</i> =13 | <i>n</i> =11 | <i>n</i> =66 |
| MMS-Achievement | 3.41 | 1.42 | 4.31 | 3.47 | 1.77 | 4.74 | 3.48 |
| MMS-Mobility | 2.85 | 1.48 | 3.70 | 2.79 | 1.52 | 4.28 | 2.24 |
| PFS | 2.24 | 2.27 | 2.46 | 2.42 | 1.84 | 2.04 | 3.70 |

Figure 5.1 Filipino American Racial Stereotype Profiles

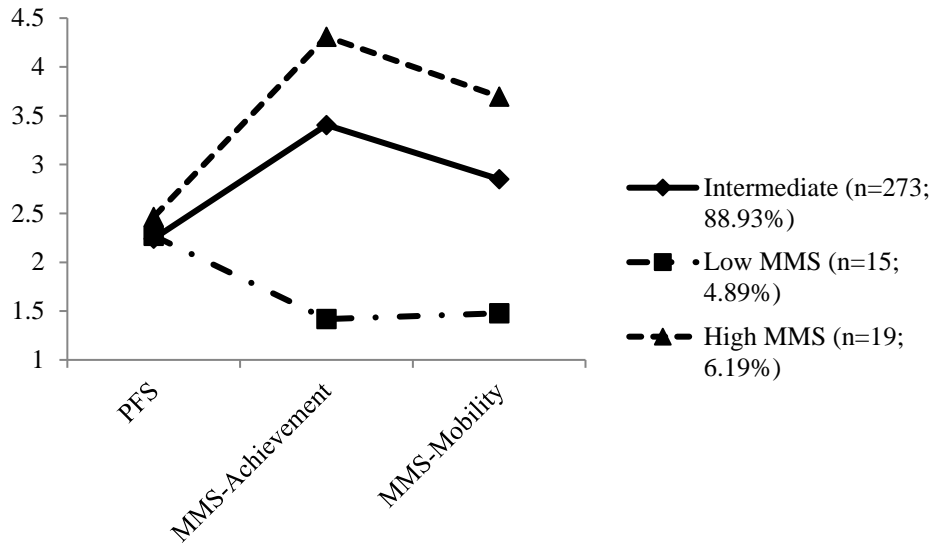
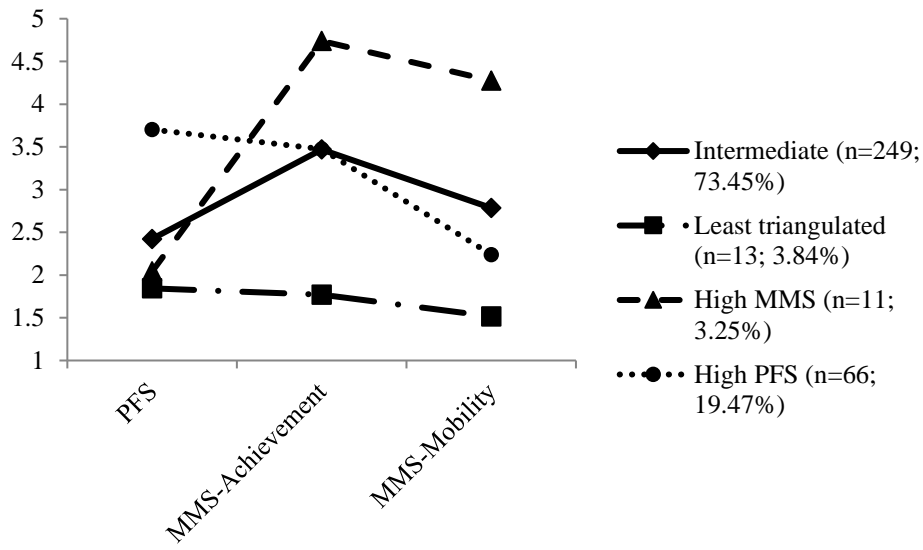


Figure 5.2 Korean American Racial Stereotype Profiles



5.2.2 Characteristics of the Subgroups by Indicators

Based on their characteristics, we named three groups for Filipino American young people as (1) *Intermediate* (2) *Low MMS*, and (3) *High MMS*. Although three subgroups did not significantly vary by the average levels of PFS, they were distinguished by their rates of MMS. First, the *intermediate* was the largest group (88.9%, $n = 273$), reporting the intermediate level of both racial stereotypes. Specifically, MMS-Achievement (3.41), MMS-Mobility (2.85), and PFS (2.24) were intermediate level compared to the other two groups. Second, the *low MMS* group (4.9%, $n = 15$) reported the lowest rates of both MMS-Achievement (1.42) and MMS-Mobility (1.48), but the intermediate rates of PFS (2.27). Finally, the *high MMS* (6.19%, $n = 19$) reported the highest rates of MMS-Achievement (4.31) and MMS-Mobility (3.70) and intermediate rates of PFS (2.46), rates marginally higher than the other two groups.

Among Korean American young people, we identified four groups: (1) *Intermediate* (2) *Least Triangulated* (3) *High MMS*, and (4) *High PFS*. Compared to Filipino American young people, we found much more diverse subgroups with the Korean American group. Similar to Filipino American group, the *intermediate* group was the largest in size among the Korean American group (73.5%, $n = 249$), reporting the intermediate rates of both racial stereotypes. Conversely, the *least triangulated* (3.8%, $n = 13$) was characterized by the lowest rates of both racial stereotypes. Specifically, the rates of MMS was 1.77 for MMS-Achievement and 1.52 for MMS-Mobility and that of PFS was 1.84. The *high MMS* group (3.3%; $n = 11$) reported the highest internalization of MMS, including MMS-Achievement (4.74) and MMS-Mobility (4.28), but lower rates of PFS (2.04) than the *intermediate* and the *high PFS*. Lastly, the *High PFS* group (19.47%; $n = 66$) was largely similar to the *intermediate* group in such patterns of intermediate rates of MMS [MMS-Achievement (3.48) and MMS-Mobility (2.24)]. However,

compared to the *intermediate* group, the average rates of PFS was much higher, and, in fact, the highest (3.70) among four subgroups.

5.2.3 Characteristics of the Subgroups by Correlates

Demographics. Summarized in Table 5.5, the Filipino American group from the *intermediate* group had a smaller proportion of girls (56.2%) than the *low MMS* and had lower family socio-economic status than the *high MMS*. The *low MMS* group reported lower family socio-economic status than the *high MMS*. The *high MMS* reported the highest family socio-economic status. For the Korean American group, the *high PFS* group primarily consisted of more emerging adults (60.0%) and older youth (18.82 years old on average) than any other groups (see Table 5.6). The proportion of the U.S.-born children was smaller (41.1%) than the *intermediate* (63.2%) and the *high MMS* (91.5%). The *high MMS* reported the highest family socio-economic status and the largest proportion of the U.S.-born (91.5%).

Table 5.5 Comparisons of Correlates by Racial Stereotypes Among Filipino American Group

| VARIABLES | Class1 Intermediate | Class2 Low MMS | Class3 High MMS | Significant Differences at p<0.1 | Significant Differences at p<0.05 |
|--|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--|---|
| Demographics | | | | | |
| % Emerging adults | 0.49 | 0.54 | 0.34 | | |
| Age | 18.33 | 18.01 | 17.40 | | |
| % Girls | 0.56 | 0.81 | 0.58 | 1<2 | 1<2 |
| % US born | 0.74 | 0.71 | 0.65 | | |
| Family SES | 2.99 | 2.86 | 3.31 | 1<3, 2<3 | |
| Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Youth) | | | | | |
| Racial discrimination | 1.49 | 1.82 | 1.41 | | |
| Colonial mentality | 2.16 | 1.68 | 2.17 | 1>2, 2<3 | 1>2 |
| Preparation for bias | 2.03 | 2.22 | 1.86 | | |
| Promotion of mistrust | 1.51 | 1.49 | 1.69 | | |
| Cultural socialization | 3.47 | 3.49 | 3.95 | 1<3 | 1<3 |
| Ethnic identity | 4.16 | 4.40 | 4.57 | 1<3 | 1<3 |
| American identity | 3.75 | 3.86 | 3.35 | | |
| Pan-ethnic identity | 4.07 | 4.49 | 4.17 | | |
| Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Parent) | | | | | |
| PFS | 1.27 | 1.18 | 2.38 | 1<3, 2<3 | 1<3, 2<3 |
| MMS-Achievement | 3.93 | 3.58 | 4.10 | 2<3 | |
| MMS-Mobility | 3.09 | 2.69 | 3.49 | 1>2, 2<3 | 1>2, 2<3 |
| American identity | 3.45 | 3.29 | 3.28 | | |
| Ethnic identity | 4.52 | 4.29 | 4.58 | | |
| Youth Outcomes | | | | | |
| Life satisfaction | 3.43 | 3.50 | 4.13 | 1<3, 2<3 | 1<3 |
| Positive affect | 3.71 | 3.49 | 3.72 | | |
| Negative affect | 2.48 | 2.58 | 2.53 | | |
| Depressive symptoms | 2.10 | 2.24 | 2.08 | | |
| Suicidal thoughts | 0.16 | 0.29 | 0.10 | | |
| Self-harming | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.30 | | |
| Antisocial behaviors | 0.37 | 0.33 | 0.30 | | |

Table 5.6 Comparisons of Correlates by Racial Stereotypes Among Korean American Group

| VARIABLES | Class1 Intermediate | Class2 Least triangulated | class3 High MMS | class4 High PFS | Significant Differences at p<0.1 | Significant Differences at p<0.05 |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Demographics | | | | | | |
| % Emerging adults | 0.35 | 0.29 | 0.17 | 0.60 | 1<4, 2<4, 3<4 | 1<4, 3<4 |
| Age | 17.68 | 17.79 | 17.52 | 18.82 | 1<4, 3<4 | 1<4 |
| % Girls | 0.49 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 0.54 | | |
| % US born | 0.63 | 0.62 | 0.92 | 0.41 | 1<3, 1>4, 2<3, 3>4 | 1<3, 3>4 |
| Family SES | 2.81 | 2.68 | 3.24 | 2.62 | 1<3, 2<3, 3>4 | 3>4 |
| Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Youth) | | | | | | |
| Racial discrimination | 1.34 | 1.47 | 1.81 | 2.50 | 1<4, 2<4, 3<4 | 1<4, 2<4, 3<4 |
| Colonial mentality | 2.09 | 1.67 | 2.49 | 2.04 | 1>2, 2<3, 2<4 | 1>2, 2<3, 2<4 |
| Preparation for bias | 1.98 | 1.81 | 2.19 | 2.31 | | |
| Promotion of mistrust | 1.56 | 1.28 | 1.92 | 1.75 | 1>2, 2<4 | 1>2, 2<4 |
| Cultural socialization | 3.80 | 3.75 | 4.20 | 4.16 | 1<4 | 1<4 |
| American identity | 3.50 | 3.41 | 4.28 | 2.81 | 1<3, 1>4, 2<3, 2>4, 3>4 | 1<3, 1>4, 2<3, 3>4 |
| Ethnic identity | 4.05 | 3.68 | 4.40 | 3.91 | 3>4 | |
| Pan-ethnic identity | 3.98 | 3.89 | 4.55 | 3.60 | 1<3, 2<3, 3>4 | 3>4 |
| Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Parent) | | | | | | |
| PFS | 2.03 | 1.56 | 2.09 | 2.36 | 1>2, 1<4, 2<3, 2<4 | 1>2, 2<4 |
| MMS-Achievement | 3.57 | 3.16 | 3.57 | 3.59 | | |
| MMS-Mobility | 2.70 | 2.52 | 2.75 | 2.64 | | |
| Ethnic identity | 4.09 | 3.98 | 3.99 | 4.10 | | |
| American Identity | 2.22 | 2.09 | 2.71 | 2.10 | | |
| Youth Outcomes | | | | | | |
| Life satisfaction | 3.21 | 3.32 | 3.51 | 2.74 | 1>4, 3>4 | 1>4, 3>4 |
| Positive affect | 3.46 | 3.70 | 3.75 | 3.24 | 1<3, 2>4, 3>4 | 2>4, 3>4 |
| Negative affect | 2.51 | 2.73 | 3.10 | 3.14 | 1<3, 1<4, 2<4 | 1<3, 1<4 |
| Depressive symptoms | 1.86 | 2.11 | 2.46 | 3.19 | 1<3, 1<4, 2<4, 3<4 | 1<3, 1<4, 2<4, 3<4 |
| Suicidal thoughts | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.10 | 0.28 | | |
| Self-harming | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.01 | 0.25 | 1>3, 3<4 | 1>3, 3<4 |
| Antisocial behaviors | 0.27 | 0.31 | 0.51 | 0.37 | | |

Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Child-Report). For the Filipino American group, the *low MMS* reported significantly lower rates of youth-perceived parental colonial mentality than any other groups. On the other hand, the *high MMS* reported higher rates of youth-reported parental practices of cultural socialization and ethnic identity than *the intermediate* group.

For the Korean American group, experiences of racial discrimination were significantly higher among the *high PFS* than any other subgroups. The rates of youth-perceived parental colonial mentality was the lowest among the *least triangulated*. The *high PFS* had higher rates of promotion of mistrust than the *least triangulated* and higher rates of cultural socialization than *the intermediate* group. The *least triangulated* reported lower rates of youth-report parental practices of promotion of mistrust than the *intermediate* and the *high PFS*. With respect to identities, the *high PFS* reported the lowest rates of American identity, whereas the *high MMS* reported the highest rates of American identity. The *high MMS* also reported significantly higher rates of ethnic identity than the *high PFS* and the highest rates of Asian American pan-ethnic identity than the other three groups.

Racial/Ethnic Experiences and Familial Environment (Parent-Report). For the Filipino American group, parents of the *high MMS* reported higher rates of both racial stereotypes than the other two subgroups. Specifically, parents of the *high MMS*, unexpectedly reported significantly higher rates of PFS than any other groups. The rates of MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility among parents of the *high MMS* were also significantly higher than parents of the *low MMS*. The average rate of MMS-Mobility was the lowest among parents of the *low MMS* group.

For the Korean American group, parents of the *high PFS* reported significantly higher rates of PFS than parents of the *intermediate* and the *least triangulated*. In fact, the parents of the *least triangulated* reported the lowest rate of PFS.

Behavioral Outcomes. Much less significant differences in behavioral outcomes emerged among the Filipino American group than the Korean American group. For example, the three Filipino American subgroups only differed significantly in terms of life satisfaction. Specifically, the *high MMS* reported the highest rates of life satisfaction among the three Filipino American subgroups.

Among the Korean American group, the *intermediate* generally reported positive behavioral outcomes, whereas the *high PFS* group typically reported negative behavioral outcomes. Specifically, the *high PFS* reported lower rates of life satisfaction than the *intermediate* and the *high MMS*. The *high PFS* also reported lower rates of positive affect than the *least triangulated* and the *high MMS* and higher rates of negative affect than the *intermediate* and the *least triangulated*. Interestingly, the *high MMS* reported higher rates of both positive affect and negative affect than the *intermediate*. The *intermediate* reported lower rates of depressive symptoms than the *high MMS* and the *high PFS*, and, in fact, the *high PFS* reported the highest rates of depressive symptoms. The *high MMS* reported lower rates of self-harming behavior than the *intermediate* and the *high PFS*. Suicidal thoughts and antisocial behaviors were not significantly different across the Korean American subgroups.

CHAPTER SIX

Research Question 2, 3, and 4 Results

This chapter presents results for Research Questions 2-4. For Research Questions 2, 3, and 4, the results from the hierarchical regression analyses that examine the direct effect model, the two-way interaction model, and three-way interaction model between racial stereotypes, social positions, and behavioral outcomes are described.

6.1 The Research Question 2: Direct Effects of Racial Stereotypes on Outcomes

While accounting for control variables, racial stereotype measures, including PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility, were together regressed on each dependent variable. The findings are summarized in Table 6.1. As expected, PFS predicted more internalizing problem behaviors among both ethnic groups. Specifically, for the Filipino American group, PFS was positively associated with depressive symptoms, and for the Korean American group, it was positively related to depressive symptoms and negative affect, but negatively related to life satisfaction and positive affect. However, none of the sub-domains of MMS was significantly related to any of the behavioral outcomes in the direct effect model.

Table 6.1 Direct Effect Model

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| Emerging adults | 0.02 (0.11) | -0.16+ (0.09) | -0.46*** (0.11) | -0.14 (0.12) | -0.18 (0.47) | -0.06 (0.44) | -1.18** (0.39) | -0.02 (0.10) | -0.05 (0.08) | -0.35*** (0.09) | -0.08 (0.10) | 0.13 (0.40) | -0.17 (0.40) | -1.20*** (0.36) |
| Nativity | -0.02 (0.09) | -0.08 (0.08) | -0.11 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.34 (0.43) | 0.45 (0.40) | 0.23 (0.34) | 0.01 (0.08) | -0.08 (0.07) | 0.12 (0.07) | 0.23** (0.08) | 0.01 (0.36) | 0.51 (0.37) | -0.03 (0.29) |
| Gender | 0.04 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.18* (0.08) | 0.22* (0.09) | 0.15 (0.38) | 1.43*** (0.39) | 0.17 (0.29) | -0.02 (0.08) | -0.12+ (0.06) | 0.07 (0.07) | 0.32*** (0.08) | 1.13** (0.36) | 0.68+ (0.35) | -0.21 (0.27) |
| Family SES | 0.18** (0.05) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.18 (0.26) | 0.01 (0.23) | 0.02 (0.20) | 0.17*** (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.00 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.22) | 0.15 (0.23) | 0.22 (0.18) |
| General health | 0.16** (0.05) | 0.22*** (0.04) | -0.18*** (0.05) | -0.15** (0.05) | -0.40+ (0.23) | -0.33 (0.21) | -0.11 (0.18) | 0.10* (0.05) | 0.13*** (0.04) | -0.16*** (0.04) | -0.14** (0.05) | -0.32 (0.21) | -0.19 (0.21) | -0.36* (0.17) |
| Parent-child conflict | -0.11* (0.05) | -0.06 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.23) | 0.21 (0.21) | 0.24 (0.18) | -0.09+ (0.05) | 0.01 (0.04) | 0.10* (0.05) | 0.12* (0.05) | -0.10 (0.23) | 0.24 (0.23) | -0.14 (0.19) |
| Parent-child bonding | 0.17** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.07 (0.06) | 0.08 (0.23) | -0.28 (0.20) | -0.26 (0.18) | 0.17*** (0.04) | 0.18*** (0.04) | -0.08* (0.04) | -0.15** (0.04) | -0.10 (0.18) | -0.16 (0.18) | -0.15 (0.16) |
| ICC | -0.13* (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.18** (0.06) | 0.56* (0.24) | 0.03 (0.22) | 0.24 (0.18) | -0.10+ (0.06) | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.30 (0.25) | 0.37 (0.24) | 0.60** (0.20) |
| Peer relations | 0.05 (0.05) | 0.00 (0.04) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.00 (0.06) | -0.06 (0.24) | -0.09 (0.23) | 0.30 (0.19) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.07 (0.04) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.05) | 0.27 (0.22) | -0.02 (0.22) | 0.07 (0.18) |
| American Identity | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.11* (0.04) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.50* (0.25) | -0.38+ (0.22) | 0.21 (0.19) | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.04) | -0.08+ (0.04) | 0.01 (0.05) | -0.01 (0.21) | -0.16 (0.21) | 0.15 (0.17) |
| Ethnic identity | 0.15** (0.05) | 0.09* (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.10+ (0.05) | -0.15 (0.22) | 0.04 (0.21) | -0.13 (0.17) | 0.06 (0.05) | 0.15** (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.48* (0.22) | -0.04 (0.24) | 0.08 (0.19) |
| Discrimination | 0.06 (0.07) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.15* (0.08) | 0.13 (0.08) | 0.30 (0.31) | 0.13 (0.30) | 0.24 (0.26) | -0.03 (0.07) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.25*** (0.06) | 0.26*** (0.07) | 0.67* (0.27) | 0.16 (0.27) | 0.18 (0.23) |
| PFS | -0.00 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.05) | 0.11+ (0.06) | 0.14* (0.07) | -0.00 (0.27) | 0.05 (0.25) | -0.01 (0.22) | -0.18** (0.05) | -0.10* (0.04) | 0.12* (0.05) | 0.19*** (0.05) | 0.07 (0.24) | 0.14 (0.24) | -0.13 (0.20) |
| MMS-A | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.33 (0.25) | 0.00 (0.23) | -0.15 (0.19) | -0.03 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.24) | -0.02 (0.25) | -0.07 (0.20) |
| MMS-M | 0.10+ (0.06) | 0.07 (0.05) | 0.07 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.09 (0.27) | 0.16 (0.24) | 0.13 (0.21) | 0.04 (0.06) | -0.05 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.25 (0.24) | -0.17 (0.25) | -0.21 (0.20) |
| Observations | 291 | 291 | 291 | 290 | 287 | 289 | 291 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 324 | 326 | 327 |
| R-squared (Pseudo R2) | 0.36 | 0.37 | 0.26 | 0.33 | 0.135 | 0.154 | 0.149 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.39 | 0.135 | 0.103 | 0.122 |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. FA = Filipino American. KA = Korean American. Emerging adult (1 = emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1 = U.S.; 0 = foreign). Gender (1 = female; 0 = male). ICC = Inter-generational cultural conflict. MMS-A = MMS-Achievement. MMS-M = MMS-Mobility.

Table 6.2 Two-Way Interaction Model

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| Emerging adults | 0.02 (0.11) | -0.17+ (0.09) | -0.46*** (0.11) | -0.14 (0.12) | -0.14 (0.47) | -0.07 (0.46) | -1.19** (0.39) | -0.02 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.08) | -0.38*** (0.09) | -0.11 (0.09) | 0.16 (0.40) | -0.19 (0.42) | -1.21*** (0.36) |
| Nativity | -0.01 (0.09) | -0.08 (0.08) | -0.11 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.33 (0.43) | 0.48 (0.41) | 0.21 (0.35) | 0.00 (0.08) | -0.09 (0.07) | 0.10 (0.07) | 0.20* (0.08) | -0.01 (0.37) | 0.72+ (0.40) | -0.04 (0.29) |
| Gender | 0.05 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.18* (0.08) | 0.21* (0.09) | 0.14 (0.38) | 1.51*** (0.39) | 0.18 (0.29) | -0.03 (0.08) | -0.12+ (0.06) | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.32*** (0.08) | 1.12** (0.36) | 0.72* (0.36) | -0.21 (0.28) |
| Family SES | 0.18** (0.06) | -0.07 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.22 (0.26) | -0.05 (0.23) | 0.00 (0.20) | 0.18*** (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.07 (0.22) | 0.05 (0.24) | 0.21 (0.18) |
| General health | 0.16** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.18*** (0.05) | -0.15** (0.06) | -0.47* (0.24) | -0.31 (0.21) | -0.15 (0.18) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.13*** (0.04) | -0.16*** (0.04) | -0.14** (0.05) | -0.31 (0.22) | -0.27 (0.22) | -0.37* (0.17) |
| Parent-child conflict | -0.11* (0.05) | -0.06 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.10+ (0.06) | 0.01 (0.24) | 0.15 (0.22) | 0.22 (0.19) | -0.09+ (0.05) | 0.00 (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | 0.11* (0.05) | -0.10 (0.23) | 0.31 (0.23) | -0.14 (0.19) |
| Parent-child bonding | 0.16** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.06) | 0.12 (0.23) | -0.35 (0.21) | -0.24 (0.19) | 0.17*** (0.04) | 0.18*** (0.04) | -0.09* (0.04) | -0.15*** (0.04) | -0.09 (0.18) | -0.20 (0.20) | -0.15 (0.16) |
| ICC | -0.13* (0.05) | 0.08+ (0.04) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.19** (0.06) | 0.60* (0.24) | 0.03 (0.22) | 0.27 (0.18) | -0.10+ (0.06) | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.31 (0.25) | 0.39 (0.25) | 0.60** (0.20) |
| Peer relations | 0.05 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.00 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.25) | -0.09 (0.24) | 0.32+ (0.19) | 0.04 (0.05) | 0.07 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.05) | -0.08 (0.05) | 0.29 (0.22) | -0.04 (0.23) | 0.08 (0.18) |
| American Identity | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.11* (0.04) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.53* (0.26) | -0.35 (0.23) | 0.21 (0.19) | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.04) | -0.08+ (0.04) | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.21) | -0.20 (0.22) | 0.14 (0.17) |
| Ethnic identity | 0.14** (0.05) | 0.10* (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.10+ (0.05) | -0.11 (0.23) | 0.04 (0.22) | -0.11 (0.17) | 0.05 (0.05) | 0.14** (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.50* (0.23) | 0.03 (0.24) | 0.07 (0.19) |
| Discrimination | 0.07 (0.08) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.15* (0.08) | 0.13 (0.08) | 0.33 (0.31) | 0.09 (0.31) | 0.24 (0.26) | -0.03 (0.07) | 0.00 (0.06) | 0.23*** (0.06) | 0.24*** (0.07) | 0.69* (0.28) | 0.03 (0.28) | 0.15 (0.23) |
| PFS | 0.00 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.05) | 0.11+ (0.06) | 0.13* (0.07) | 0.03 (0.28) | 0.12 (0.26) | -0.02 (0.22) | -0.18** (0.06) | -0.10* (0.05) | 0.13* (0.05) | 0.18*** (0.05) | 0.05 (0.25) | 0.16 (0.27) | -0.16 (0.20) |
| MMS-Achievement | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.53+ (0.27) | 0.16 (0.26) | -0.22 (0.20) | -0.03 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.27) | -0.27 (0.28) | -0.11 (0.21) |
| MMS-Mobility | 0.11+ (0.06) | 0.06 (0.05) | 0.07 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.09 (0.28) | 0.06 (0.26) | 0.11 (0.21) | 0.03 (0.06) | -0.05 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.28 (0.25) | -0.13 (0.26) | -0.22 (0.20) |

Table 6.2 Two-Way Interaction Model (continued)

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors | Life satisfaction | Positive affect | Negative affect | Depression | Suicidal thoughts | Self-harming | Antisocial behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| PFS × MMS-Achievement | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.06) | 0.07 (0.06) | 0.23 (0.25) | -0.73** (0.28) | -0.04 (0.21) | -0.06 (0.06) | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.13* (0.05) | 0.08 (0.06) | -0.17 (0.26) | 0.41 (0.26) | -0.02 (0.21) |
| PFS × MMS-Mobility | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.05) | -0.01 (0.06) | -0.07 (0.07) | -0.04 (0.28) | 0.59* (0.29) | 0.09 (0.23) | -0.00 (0.06) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.09+ (0.05) | -0.16** (0.06) | -0.02 (0.26) | 0.11 (0.29) | -0.12 (0.22) |
| MMS-Achievement × MMS-Mobility | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.01 (0.05) | -0.01 (0.05) | -0.25 (0.24) | -0.08 (0.24) | -0.21 (0.18) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.04) | 0.10* (0.05) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.04 (0.24) | -0.67* (0.30) | -0.06 (0.18) |
| Observations | 291 | 291 | 291 | 290 | 287 | 289 | 291 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 324 | 326 | 327 |
| R-squared/Pseudo R2 | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.27 | 0.34 | 0.145 | 0.181 | 0.153 | 0.29 | 0.30 | 0.32 | 0.41 | 0.137 | 0.136 | 0.123 |

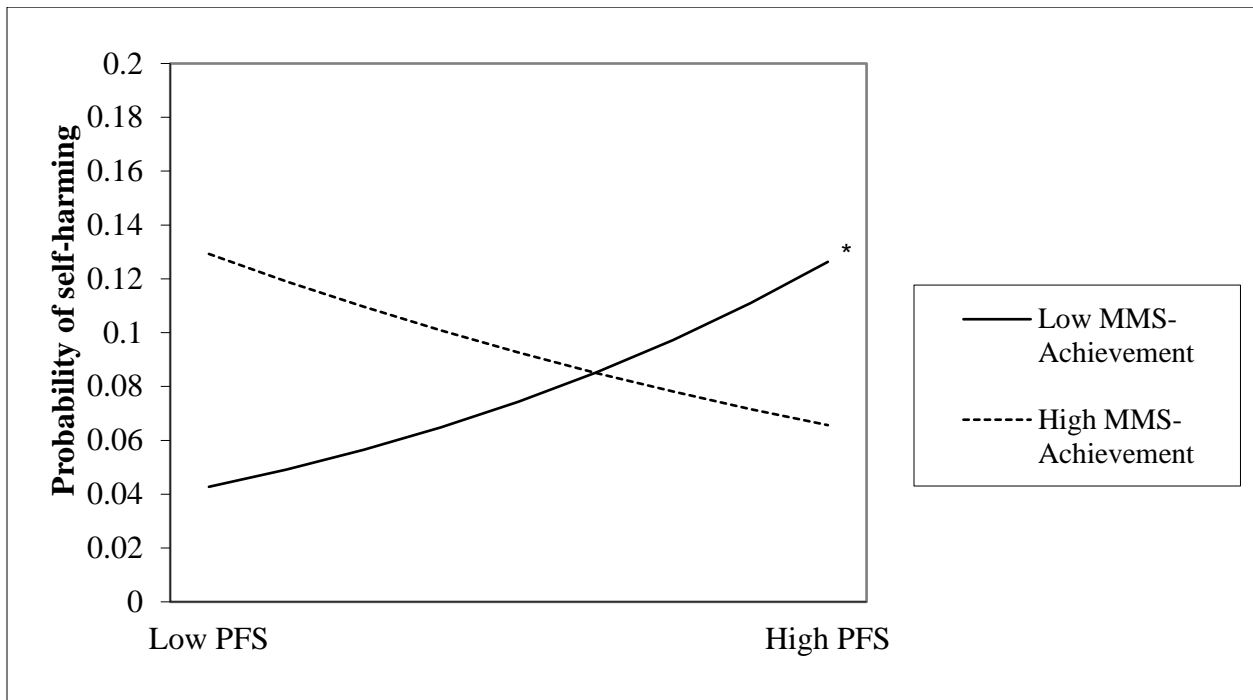
*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. FA = Filipino American. KA = Korean American..Emerging adult (1= emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1=U.S.; 0=foreign). ICC = Inter-generational cultural conflict. Gender (1=female; 0=male)

6.2 The Research Question 3: Moderating Effects of Racial Stereotypes

Results for the two-way interaction model for both ethnic groups were illustrated in Table 6.2. Although none of the sub-domains of MMS was a significant predictor of internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes in the direct effect model for both ethnic groups, we found a significant moderating effect of MMS-Achievement in the relation between PFS and self-harming behavior among the Filipino American group. Specifically, a follow-up slope test showed that the positive association between PFS and self-harming behavior was significant only when MMS-Achievement was low ($b = .68, p = .05$; see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Achievement on Self-Harming Behavior Among Filipino American Group

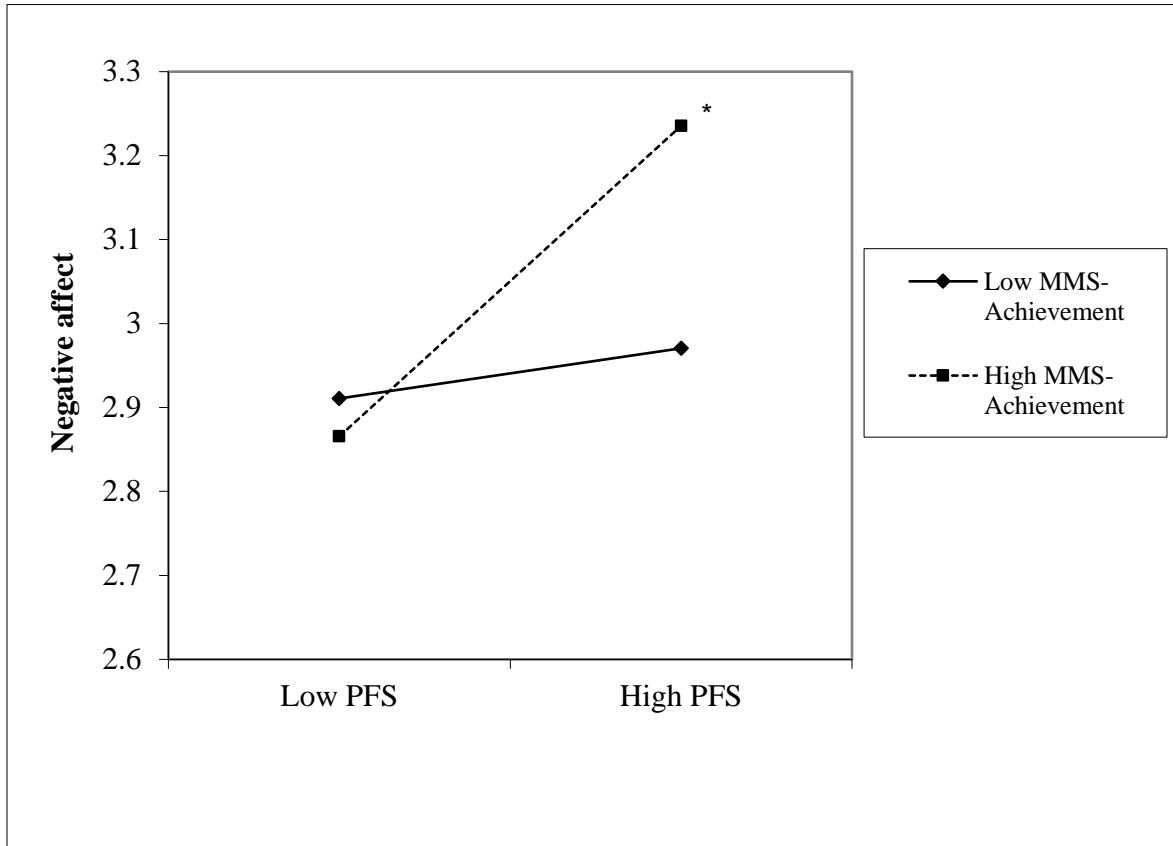


Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($* p < 0.05$).

For the Korean American group, we found a significant interaction effect between PFS and MMS-Achievement on negative affect ($b = .13, p < .05$). Specifically, a follow-up slope test

showed that the positive association between PFS and negative affect was significant only when MMS-Achievement was high ($b = .22, p < .01$; see Figure 6.2).

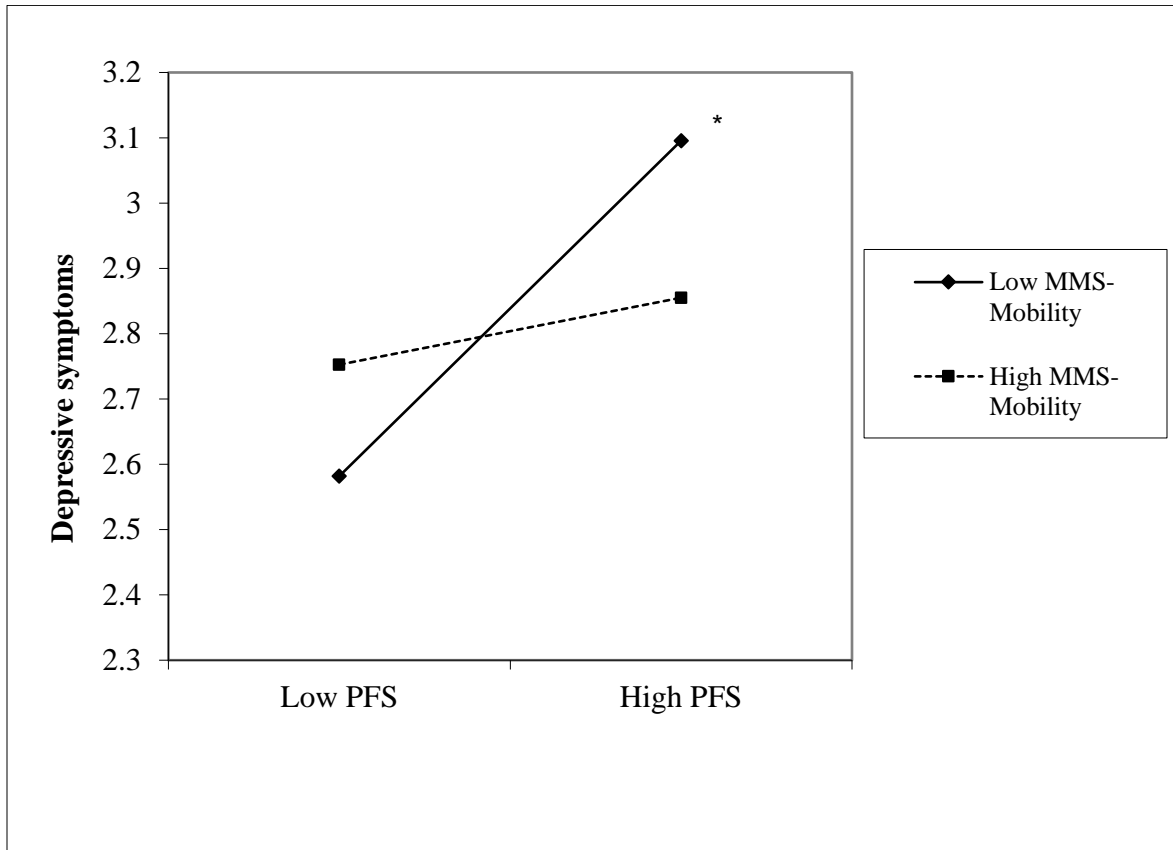
Figure 6.2 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Achievement on Negative Affect among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($* p < 0.05$).

In addition, we found a significant interaction effect between PFS and MMS-Mobility on depressive symptoms ($b = -.16, p < .01$) among the Korean American group. Specifically, a follow-up slope test shows that the positive association between PFS and depressive symptoms was significant only when MMS-Mobility was low ($b = .31, p < .001$; see Figure 6.3).

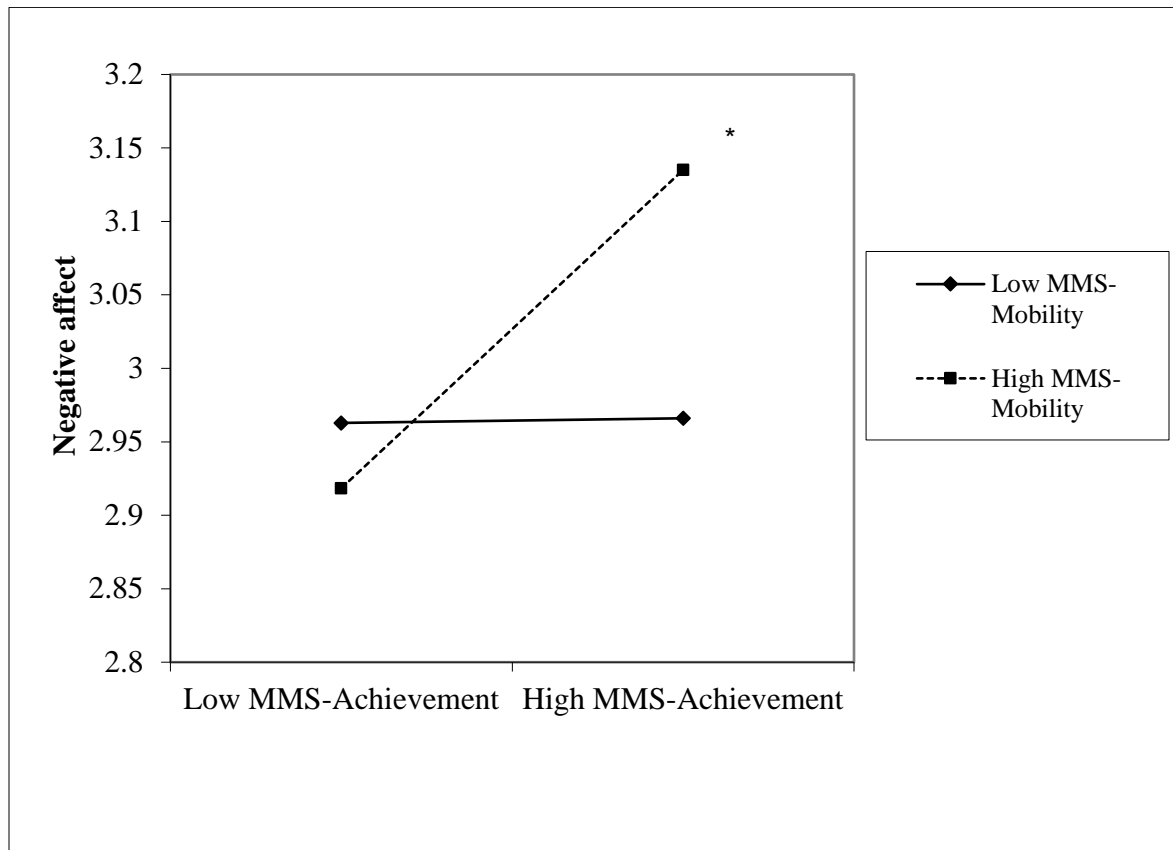
Figure 6.3 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS and MMS-Mobility on Depressive Symptoms among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

Related to interaction effects between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility, we found significant moderating effects on negative affect ($b = .10, p < .05$) and self-harming behavior ($b = -.67, p < .05$) for the Korean American group. First, a follow-up slope test showed that the positive association between MMS-Achievement and negative affect was significant only when MMS-Mobility was high ($b = .15, p < .05$; see Figure 6.4).

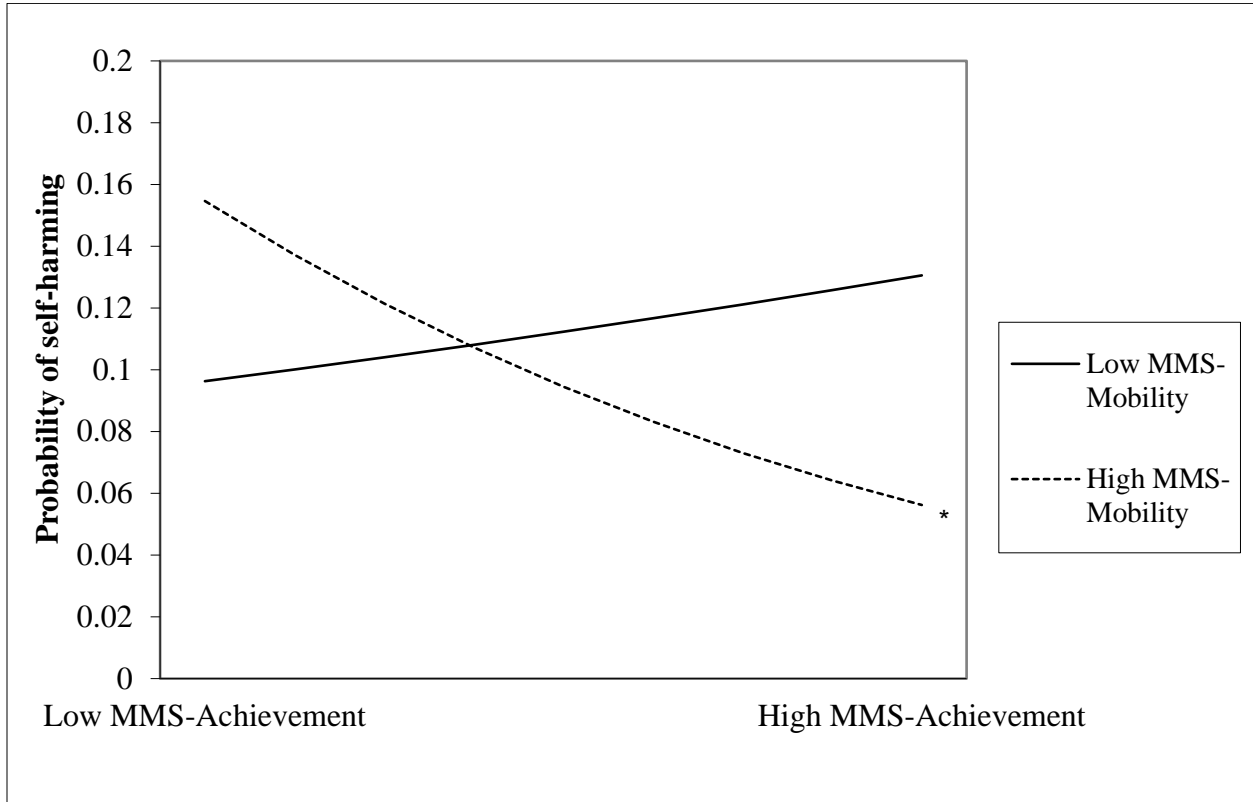
Figure 6.4 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on Negative Affect Among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

Second, a follow-up slope test showed that the negative association between MMS-Achievement and self-harming behavior was significant only when MMS-Mobility was high ($b = -.78$, $p = .05$; see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Two-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on Self-Harming Behavior among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

6.3 The Research Question 4: Effects of Social Positions

6.3.1 Developmental Stage

Results for the three-way interaction model for both ethnic groups were illustrated in Tables 6.3. With respect to Filipino American group, we found significant three-way interactions (PFS \times MMS-Mobility \times developmental stage) for internalizing behavioral outcomes, including life satisfaction ($b = .27, p < .05$), depressive symptoms ($b = -.46, p < .001$), positive affect ($b = .21, p < .05$), and negative affect ($b = -.26, p < .05$). First, the slope test for the three-way interaction effect for life satisfaction indicated that the negative association between PFS and life satisfaction was significant among the emerging adult group only when MMS-Mobility was low ($b = -.20, p < .05$; see Figure 6.6 and Table A.1). However, the relation between PFS and life

Table 6.3 Three-Way Interaction Model for Developmental Stage

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| Emerging adult | 0.08 (0.11) | -0.13 (0.09) | -0.52*** (0.12) | -0.24+ (0.12) | -0.39 (0.52) | -0.06 (0.48) | -1.18** (0.41) | 0.01 (0.10) | -0.08 (0.08) | -0.45*** (0.09) | -0.12 (0.10) | 0.06 (0.46) | -0.35 (0.46) | -1.36*** (0.41) |
| U.S.-born | -0.01 (0.09) | -0.07 (0.08) | -0.09 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.31 (0.46) | 0.59 (0.43) | 0.21 (0.36) | 0.01 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.07) | 0.07 (0.07) | 0.19* (0.08) | -0.03 (0.38) | 0.74+ (0.40) | -0.08 (0.30) |
| Female | 0.06 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.18* (0.08) | 0.22* (0.09) | 0.24 (0.41) | 1.60*** (0.41) | 0.22 (0.30) | -0.03 (0.08) | -0.11+ (0.06) | 0.09 (0.07) | 0.32*** (0.07) | 1.11** (0.38) | 0.78* (0.38) | -0.20 (0.28) |
| Family SES | 0.16** (0.05) | -0.08+ (0.05) | -0.01 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.06) | -0.19 (0.28) | -0.05 (0.24) | -0.04 (0.21) | 0.18*** (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.00 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.23) | 0.09 (0.24) | 0.21 (0.19) |
| General health | 0.17*** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.20*** (0.05) | -0.16** (0.06) | -0.49* (0.24) | -0.30 (0.22) | -0.12 (0.19) | 0.10* (0.05) | 0.13** (0.04) | -0.16*** (0.04) | -0.14** (0.05) | -0.32 (0.23) | -0.25 (0.23) | -0.38* (0.17) |
| Parent-child conflict | -0.10+ (0.05) | -0.05 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.25) | 0.22 (0.23) | 0.23 (0.19) | -0.08 (0.05) | -0.01 (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | 0.11* (0.05) | -0.21 (0.24) | 0.26 (0.24) | -0.11 (0.19) |
| Parent-child bonding | 0.15** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.06) | 0.05 (0.24) | -0.39+ (0.22) | -0.27 (0.19) | 0.15*** (0.04) | 0.19*** (0.04) | -0.09* (0.04) | -0.14** (0.04) | -0.05 (0.19) | -0.18 (0.20) | -0.15 (0.16) |
| ICC | -0.13* (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.19*** (0.06) | 0.60* (0.25) | -0.03 (0.23) | 0.26 (0.19) | -0.12* (0.06) | 0.04 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.40 (0.26) | 0.43+ (0.26) | 0.61** (0.21) |
| Peer relation | 0.10+ (0.05) | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.13 (0.26) | -0.10 (0.25) | 0.38+ (0.20) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.08 (0.05) | 0.30 (0.24) | -0.16 (0.24) | 0.06 (0.19) |
| American Identity | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.10* (0.04) | 0.04 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.51+ (0.27) | -0.38 (0.24) | 0.18 (0.20) | 0.04 (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.09* (0.04) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.22) | -0.15 (0.23) | 0.16 (0.18) |
| Ethnic identity | 0.14** (0.05) | 0.10* (0.04) | -0.04 (0.05) | -0.10+ (0.05) | -0.09 (0.24) | 0.06 (0.23) | -0.12 (0.18) | 0.04 (0.05) | 0.15** (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.49* (0.24) | 0.09 (0.26) | 0.08 (0.20) |
| Discrimination | 0.05 (0.07) | -0.05 (0.06) | 0.17* (0.08) | 0.17* (0.08) | 0.45 (0.32) | 0.04 (0.32) | 0.26 (0.27) | -0.00 (0.07) | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.20*** (0.06) | 0.21** (0.07) | 0.74** (0.29) | 0.12 (0.30) | 0.21 (0.24) |
| PFS | 0.11 (0.07) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.05 (0.08) | 0.10 (0.08) | -0.19 (0.37) | 0.14 (0.34) | 0.12 (0.26) | -0.22** (0.07) | -0.09 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.18** (0.07) | 0.35 (0.32) | 0.15 (0.32) | -0.19 (0.23) |
| MMS-A | -0.02 (0.08) | 0.06 (0.07) | -0.00 (0.08) | -0.11 (0.09) | -0.89* (0.38) | 0.15 (0.37) | -0.47+ (0.28) | 0.02 (0.08) | 0.11+ (0.06) | 0.09 (0.07) | 0.06 (0.07) | 0.40 (0.38) | 0.17 (0.37) | 0.14 (0.25) |
| MMS-M | 0.13 (0.08) | 0.07 (0.07) | 0.07 (0.09) | 0.02 (0.09) | 0.32 (0.40) | 0.36 (0.40) | 0.27 (0.29) | 0.05 (0.07) | -0.03 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.07) | -0.07 (0.07) | 0.05 (0.36) | 0.18 (0.35) | -0.35 (0.25) |

Table 6.3 Three-Way Interaction Model for Developmental Stage (continued)

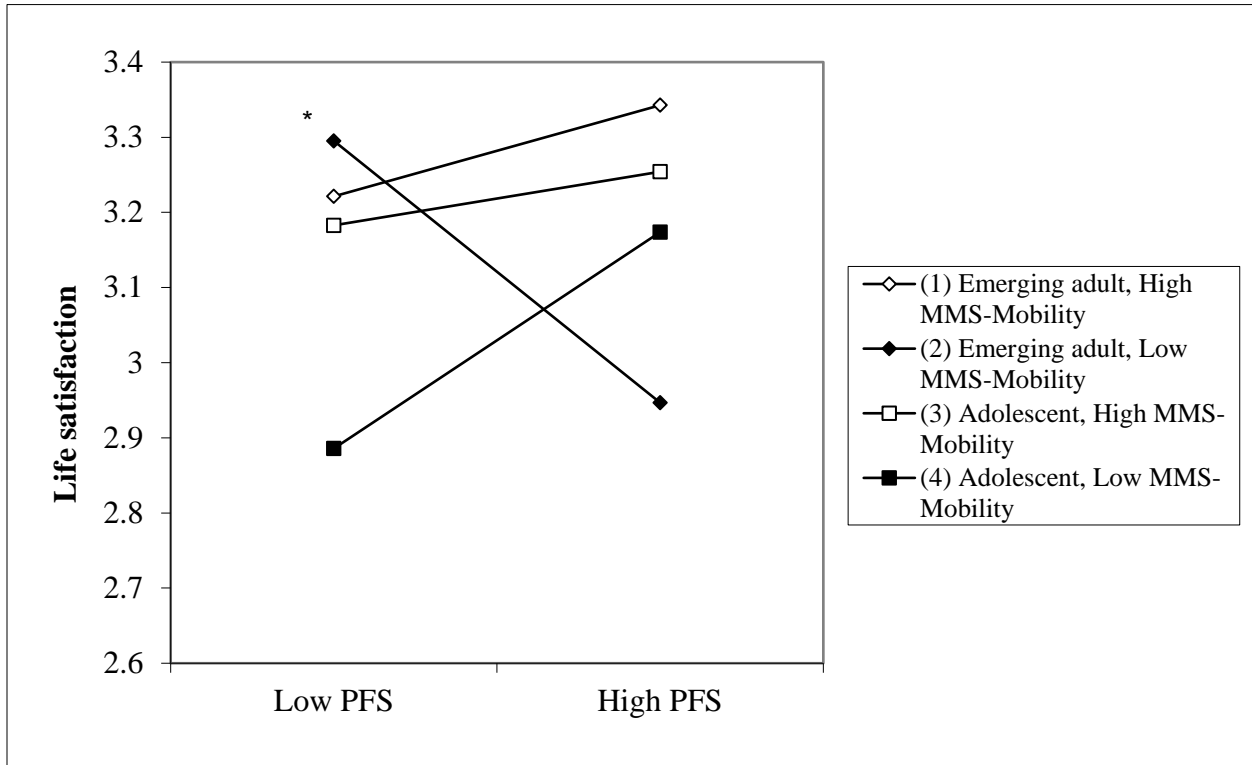
| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| PFS × MMS-A | -0.05 (0.08) | -0.06 (0.07) | -0.04 (0.08) | -0.01 (0.09) | 0.24 (0.32) | -0.18 (0.38) | -0.04 (0.28) | 0.10 (0.08) | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.00 (0.07) | -0.01 (0.08) | -0.56 (0.45) | 0.76+ (0.40) | -0.07 (0.27) |
| PFS × MMS-M | -0.09 (0.09) | -0.09 (0.07) | 0.13 (0.09) | 0.17+ (0.10) | 0.27 (0.42) | -0.01 (0.41) | 0.09 (0.32) | -0.05 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.07) | -0.03 (0.07) | -0.19* (0.08) | -0.04 (0.41) | 0.42 (0.46) | 0.08 (0.28) |
| PFS × Emerging adult | -0.17+ (0.09) | -0.05 (0.08) | 0.10 (0.10) | 0.01 (0.10) | 0.40 (0.47) | -0.08 (0.43) | -0.36 (0.36) | 0.10 (0.10) | -0.05 (0.08) | 0.20* (0.09) | 0.01 (0.10) | -0.79 (0.48) | -0.20 (0.52) | -0.07 (0.43) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M | -0.00 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.09 (0.06) | -0.44 (0.33) | -0.07 (0.30) | -0.34 (0.22) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.06) | -0.75 (0.48) | -1.18* (0.46) | 0.07 (0.21) |
| MMS-A × Emerging adult | 0.09 (0.11) | -0.09 (0.10) | -0.09 (0.12) | 0.15 (0.13) | 0.98 (0.60) | -0.12 (0.53) | 0.58 (0.44) | -0.04 (0.12) | -0.23* (0.10) | -0.10 (0.11) | 0.01 (0.12) | -0.58 (0.57) | -0.90 (0.62) | -1.17* (0.53) |
| MMS-M × Emerging adult | -0.02 (0.11) | -0.02 (0.10) | 0.00 (0.12) | -0.03 (0.13) | -0.36 (0.58) | -0.43 (0.54) | -0.26 (0.44) | -0.09 (0.11) | -0.06 (0.09) | 0.05 (0.10) | 0.12 (0.11) | -0.38 (0.53) | -0.54 (0.56) | 0.34 (0.48) |
| PFS × MMS-A × Emerging adult | 0.11 (0.12) | 0.09 (0.10) | 0.12 (0.12) | 0.12 (0.13) | -0.35 (0.60) | -1.11+ (0.62) | -0.07 (0.45) | -0.49*** (0.13) | -0.06 (0.11) | 0.34** (0.12) | 0.33* (0.13) | 0.83 (0.62) | -0.64 (0.63) | -0.27 (0.57) |
| PFS × MMS-M × Emerging adult | 0.27* (0.12) | 0.21* (0.10) | -0.26* (0.13) | -0.46*** (0.14) | -0.35 (0.60) | 1.07+ (0.60) | 0.07 (0.48) | 0.01 (0.12) | 0.08 (0.10) | -0.07 (0.11) | 0.11 (0.12) | -0.22 (0.56) | -0.64 (0.66) | -0.78 (0.52) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M × Emerging adult | 0.21* (0.10) | 0.04 (0.08) | 0.04 (0.11) | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.20 (0.60) | 0.03 (0.56) | 0.49 (0.41) | -0.16 (0.11) | 0.05 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.10) | 0.11 (0.11) | 1.12+ (0.62) | 0.56 (0.66) | -0.83 (0.55) |
| Observations | 291 | 291 | 291 | 290 | 287 | 289 | 291 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 324 | 326 | 327 |
| R-squared/Pseudo R2 | 0.41 | 0.40 | 0.28 | 0.37 | 0.169 | 0.200 | 0.162 | 0.33 | 0.32 | 0.35 | 0.43 | 0.174 | 0.162 | 0.143 |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. FA = Filipino American. KA = Korean American. Emerging adult (1 = emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1 = U.S.; 0 = foreign). Gender (1 = female; 0 = male). ICC = Inter-generational cultural conflict. MMS-A = MMS-Achievement. MMS-M = MMS-Mobility.

satisfaction was not statistically significant among the adolescent group regardless of different levels of MMS-Mobility.

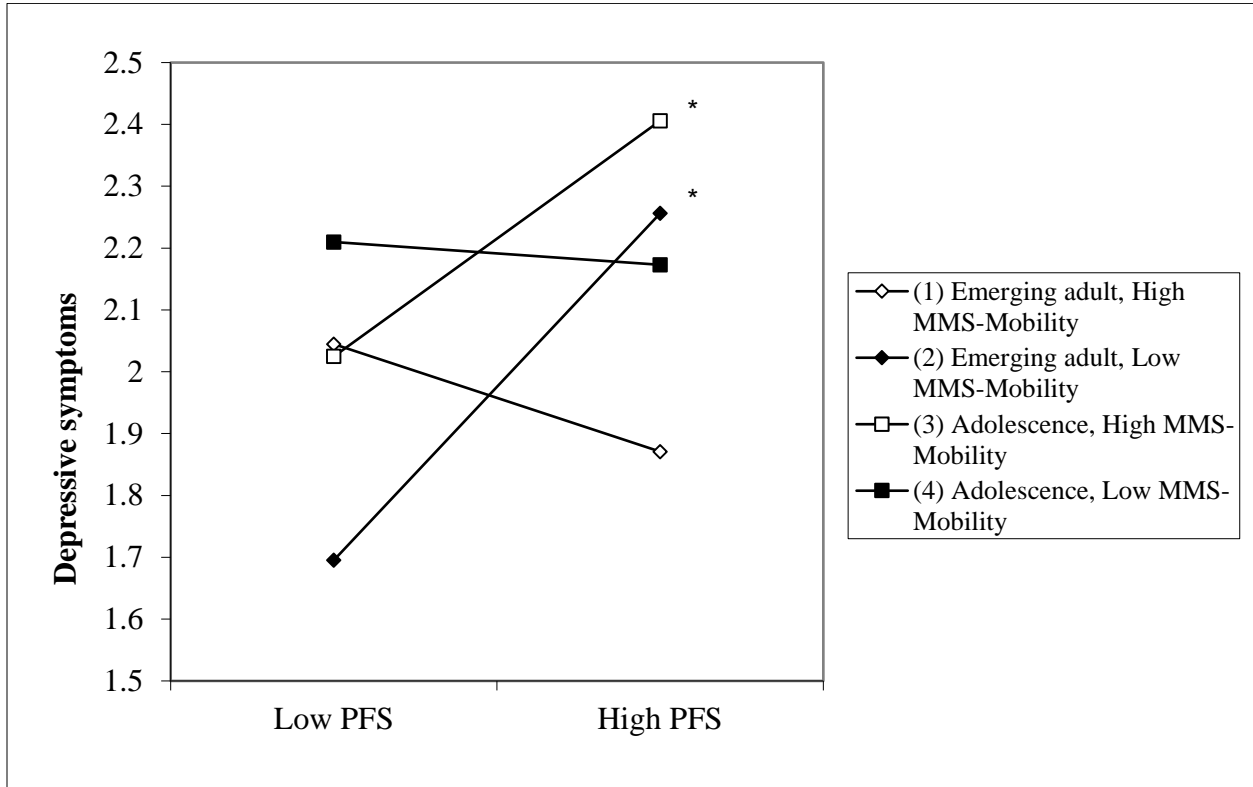
Figure 6.6 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Life Satisfaction Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope (* $p < 0.05$).

Second, we found that the interaction effects between PFS and MMS-Mobility on depressive symptoms varied significantly by the developmental stage. Specifically, among emerging adult group, the positive association between PFS and depressive symptoms was significant only when MMS-Mobility was low ($b = .33, p < .01$; see Figure 6.7 and Table A.2). However, for the adolescent group, this relation did not significantly vary by the frequency of MMS-Mobility (see Table A.2), although an individual slope test showed that the association between PFS and depressive symptoms was significantly positive when MMS-Mobility was high ($b = .22, p < .05$).

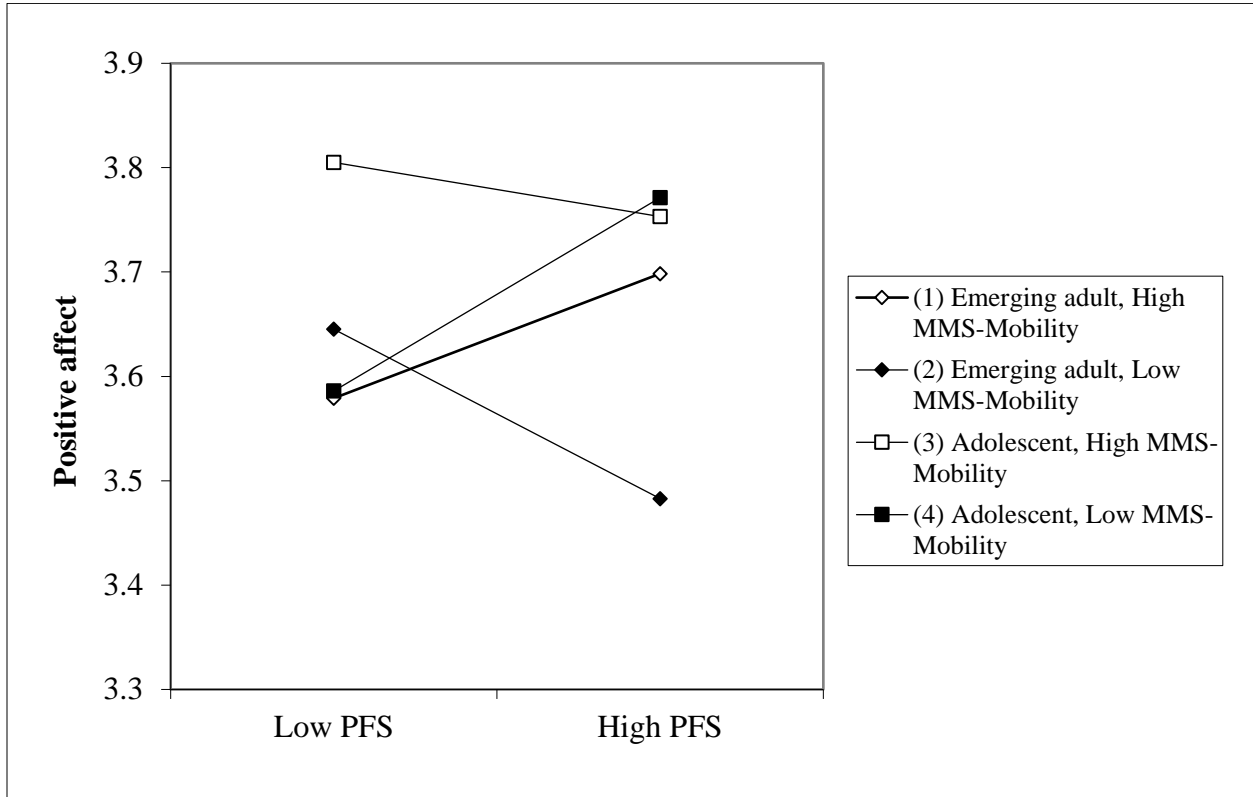
Figure 6.7. Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Depressive Symptoms Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

Third, we found a significant three-way interaction on positive affect ($b = .21, p < .05$). However, a follow-up slope test showed that none of the slopes were statistically significant at the .05 significance level (see Figure 6.8 and Table A.3).

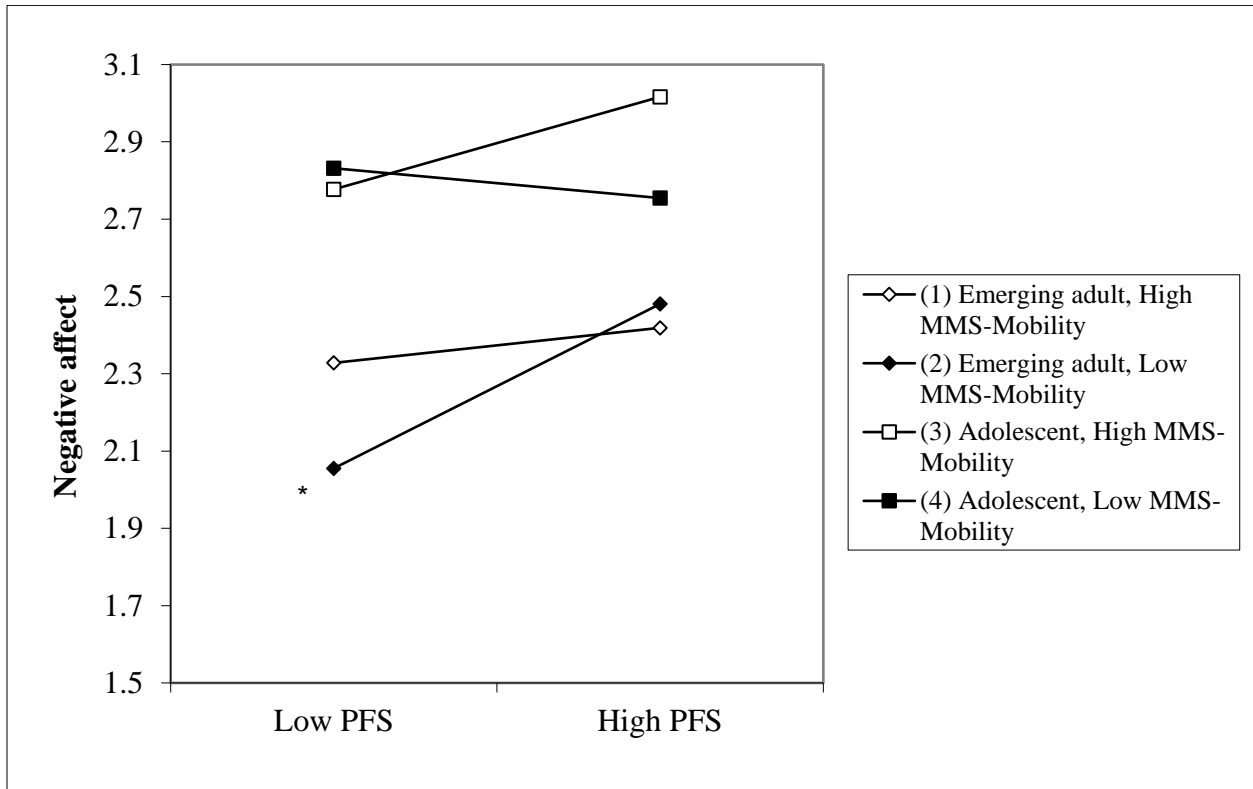
Figure 6.8 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Positive Affect Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope (* $p < 0.05$).

Lastly, the slope test for the three-way interaction effect for negative affect indicated that the negative association between PFS and negative affect was significant among the emerging adult group only when MMS-Mobility was low ($b = .25, p < .05$; see Figure 6.9 and Table A.4). However, the relation between PFS and negative affect was not statistically significant among the adolescent group regardless of the varying levels of MMS-Mobility.

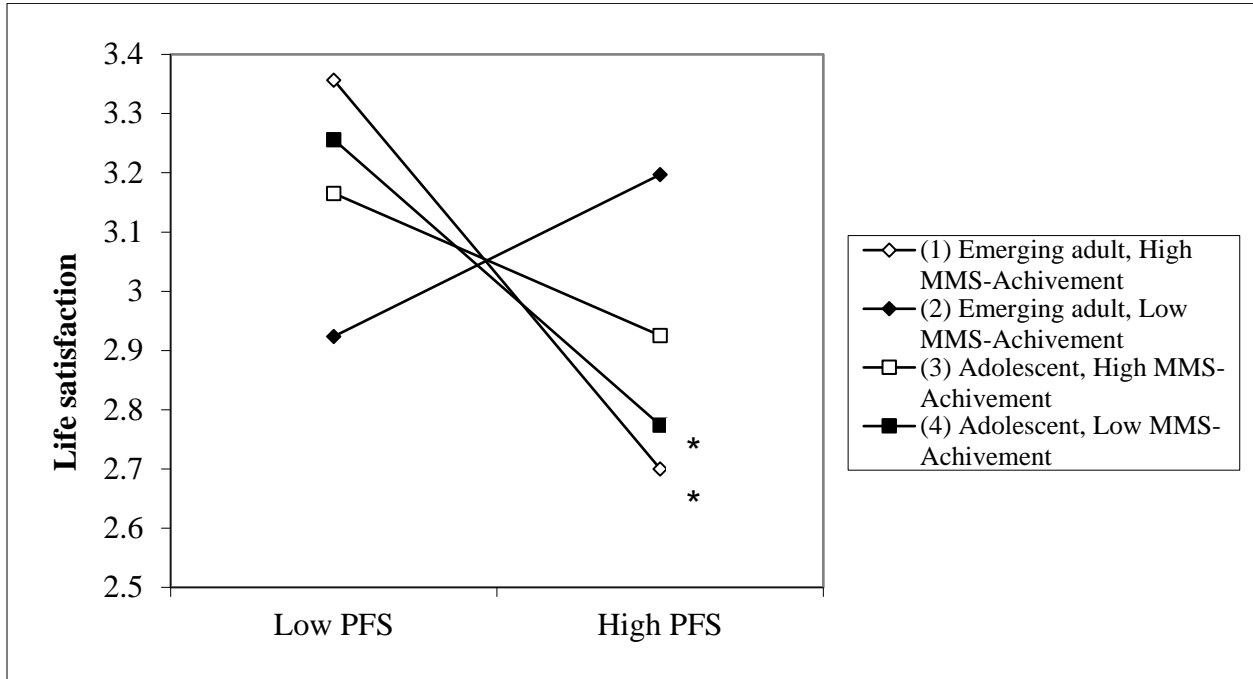
Figure 6.9 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Developmental Stage on Negative Affect Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope (* $p < 0.05$).

With respect to Korean American group, we found significant three-way interactions (PFS \times MMS-Achievement \times developmental stage) for internalizing behavioral outcomes, including life satisfaction ($b = -.49, p < .001$), depressive symptoms ($b = .33, p < .05$), and negative affect ($b = .34, p < .01$). First, the slope test for the three-way interaction effect for life satisfaction indicated that the negative association between PFS and life satisfaction was significant among emerging adult group only when MMS-Achievement was high ($b = -.39, p < .001$; see Figure 6.10 and Table A.5). For the adolescent group, however, this relation did not significantly vary by frequency of MMS-Achievement, although an individual slope test indicated that the relation between PFS and life satisfaction was significantly negative when MMS-Achievement was low ($b = -.29, p < .01$; see Figure 6.10).

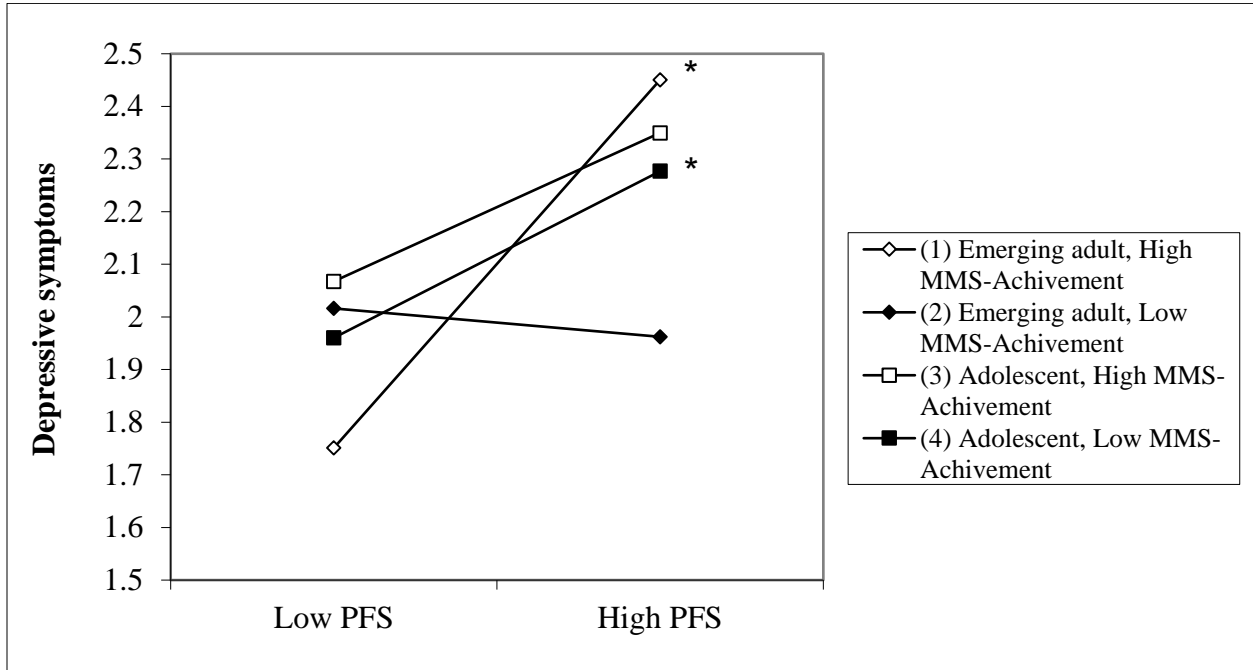
Figure 6.10 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Life Satisfaction Among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

Second, we found a significant three-way interaction on depressive symptoms ($b = .33, p < .05$). Specifically, for the Korean American emerging adult group, the positive association between PFS and depressive symptoms was significant only when MMS-Achievement was high ($b = .42, p < .001$, Figure 6.11 and Table A.6). Conversely, for the Korean American adolescent group, this positive relationship did not vary by frequency of MMS-Achievement.

Figure 6.11 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Depressive Symptoms Among Korean American Group

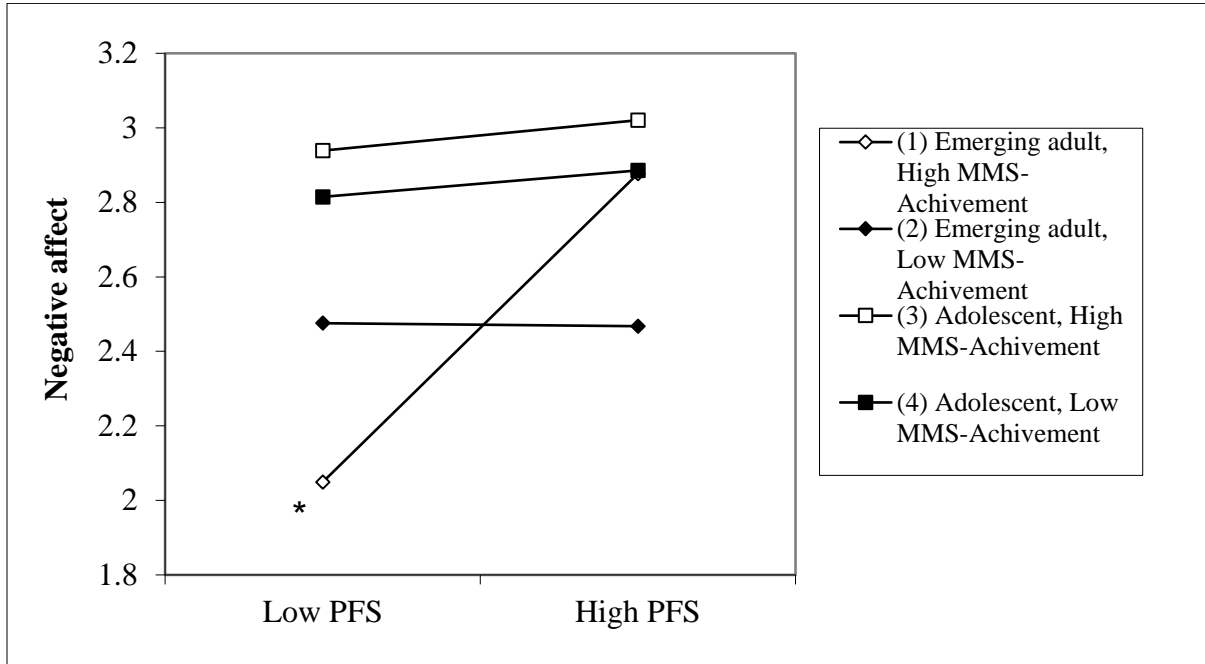


Note: * indicates the significance of the slope (* $p < 0.05$).

Lastly, we found that the interaction effects between PFS and MMS-Achievement on negative affect varied significantly by developmental stage. Specifically, the positive association between PFS and negative affect was significant only among Korean American emerging adult group when MMS-Achievement was high ($b = .50, p < .001$, Figure 6.12 and Table A.7).

However, for adolescent group, the relation between PFS and negative affect was not statistically significant regardless of varying levels of MMS-Achievement.

Figure 6.12 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Developmental Stage on Negative Affect Among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope (* $p < 0.05$).

6.3.2 Nativity

Results for the three-way interaction model for both ethnic groups were illustrated in Tables 6.4. With respect to nativity, we found no significant three-way interaction effects among the Filipino American group. Conversely, for the Korean American group we found significant three-way interactions for externalizing behavioral outcomes, including antisocial behaviors (PFS \times MMS-Mobility \times nativity) and self-harming behavior (MMS-Achievement \times MMS-Mobility \times nativity). First, the slope test for the three-way interaction effect for antisocial behaviors indicated that for foreign-born group the association between PFS and antisocial behaviors was not statistically significant when MMS-Mobility was low. However, this relation became significantly negative when MMS-Mobility was high ($b = -.89, p < .1$; see Figure 6.13 and Table B.1). Contrarily, for U.S.-born group, this relation was not statistically significant regardless of varying frequency of MMS-Mobility.

Table 6.4 Three-Way Interaction Model for Nativity

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| Emerging adult | 0.03 (0.11) | -0.16+ (0.09) | -0.46*** (0.12) | -0.13 (0.12) | -0.18 (0.48) | -0.08 (0.47) | -1.21** (0.40) | -0.02 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.08) | -0.39*** (0.09) | -0.10 (0.09) | 0.18 (0.42) | -0.26 (0.43) | -1.31*** (0.37) |
| U.S.-born | -0.09 (0.10) | -0.09 (0.09) | -0.08 (0.11) | -0.01 (0.11) | 0.47 (0.50) | 0.67 (0.45) | 0.23 (0.39) | 0.01 (0.09) | -0.09 (0.07) | 0.10 (0.08) | 0.18* (0.08) | -0.03 (0.40) | 1.27* (0.55) | 0.02 (0.31) |
| Female | 0.04 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.19* (0.08) | 0.23** (0.09) | 0.25 (0.40) | 1.63*** (0.40) | 0.19 (0.30) | -0.02 (0.08) | -0.11+ (0.06) | 0.07 (0.07) | 0.31*** (0.08) | 1.14** (0.37) | 0.67+ (0.37) | -0.32 (0.28) |
| Family SES | 0.17** (0.06) | -0.07 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.24 (0.27) | -0.05 (0.24) | 0.03 (0.21) | 0.17*** (0.05) | 0.08+ (0.04) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.17 (0.24) | 0.03 (0.24) | 0.20 (0.19) |
| General health | 0.16** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.18*** (0.05) | -0.16** (0.06) | -0.59* (0.25) | -0.34 (0.22) | -0.15 (0.19) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.13*** (0.04) | -0.16*** (0.04) | -0.14** (0.05) | -0.33 (0.22) | -0.27 (0.22) | -0.42* (0.17) |
| Parent-child conflict | -0.12* (0.05) | -0.06 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.09 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.25) | 0.16 (0.23) | 0.27 (0.19) | -0.09+ (0.05) | 0.01 (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | 0.11* (0.05) | -0.03 (0.24) | 0.47+ (0.25) | -0.17 (0.19) |
| Parent-child bonding | 0.16** (0.05) | 0.22*** (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.06) | 0.08 (0.24) | -0.33 (0.22) | -0.21 (0.19) | 0.16*** (0.05) | 0.17*** (0.04) | -0.09* (0.04) | -0.14** (0.04) | -0.05 (0.19) | -0.20 (0.20) | -0.19 (0.16) |
| ICC | -0.13** (0.05) | 0.08+ (0.04) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.19** (0.06) | 0.57* (0.25) | 0.03 (0.23) | 0.28 (0.19) | -0.10+ (0.06) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.27 (0.26) | 0.27 (0.26) | 0.65** (0.21) |
| Peer relation | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.01 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.00 (0.06) | -0.04 (0.25) | -0.10 (0.25) | 0.28 (0.20) | 0.04 (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.08+ (0.05) | 0.34 (0.23) | -0.04 (0.23) | 0.05 (0.19) |
| American Identity | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.11* (0.04) | 0.02 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.53* (0.27) | -0.34 (0.23) | 0.27 (0.20) | -0.00 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.04) | -0.08+ (0.04) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.22) | -0.16 (0.23) | 0.17 (0.18) |
| Ethnic identity | 0.13** (0.05) | 0.10* (0.04) | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.08 (0.05) | -0.10 (0.24) | 0.05 (0.23) | -0.03 (0.18) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.14** (0.05) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.50* (0.24) | 0.02 (0.25) | 0.02 (0.20) |
| Discrimination | 0.07 (0.08) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.15+ (0.08) | 0.12 (0.08) | 0.33 (0.32) | 0.07 (0.31) | 0.19 (0.27) | -0.03 (0.07) | 0.01 (0.06) | 0.24*** (0.06) | 0.24*** (0.07) | 0.65* (0.28) | 0.04 (0.29) | 0.19 (0.24) |
| PFS | -0.13 (0.09) | 0.03 (0.08) | 0.12 (0.09) | 0.22* (0.10) | 0.06 (0.42) | 0.06 (0.38) | -0.34 (0.37) | -0.16+ (0.08) | -0.05 (0.07) | 0.16* (0.07) | 0.13 (0.08) | -0.16 (0.40) | 0.89+ (0.48) | -0.15 (0.31) |
| MMS-A | -0.03 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.10) | 0.02 (0.12) | 0.08 (0.13) | 0.02 (0.65) | -0.05 (0.50) | 1.03+ (0.54) | -0.11 (0.10) | 0.07 (0.08) | 0.06 (0.09) | 0.14 (0.09) | 0.64 (0.46) | -0.77 (0.59) | 0.00 (0.36) |
| MMS-M | 0.06 (0.13) | 0.06 (0.11) | 0.10 (0.13) | -0.07 (0.14) | -0.46 (0.71) | 0.34 (0.56) | -0.32 (0.54) | -0.04 (0.10) | -0.20* (0.08) | 0.15+ (0.09) | 0.18* (0.09) | -0.58 (0.48) | -1.44* (0.71) | -0.28 (0.37) |

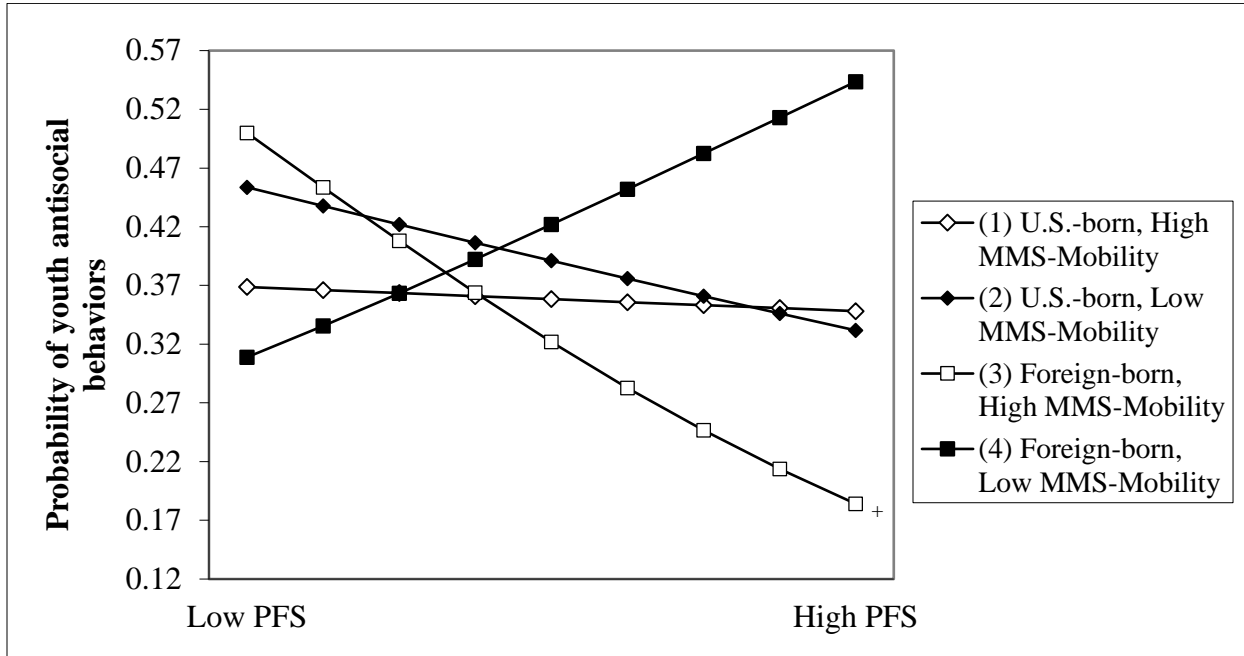
Table 6.4 Three-Way Interaction Model for Nativity (continued)

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| PFS × MMS-A | -0.09 (0.11) | 0.00 (0.09) | 0.00 (0.12) | 0.06 (0.12) | -0.47 (0.54) | -0.33 (0.47) | -0.34 (0.50) | -0.14 (0.10) | -0.03 (0.08) | 0.06 (0.09) | 0.21* (0.10) | 0.32 (0.53) | 0.80 (0.55) | -0.43 (0.40) |
| PFS × MMS-M | 0.17 (0.13) | -0.02 (0.11) | -0.03 (0.13) | -0.03 (0.14) | 0.64 (0.64) | 0.34 (0.54) | 0.34 (0.50) | 0.02 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.09) | -0.15 (0.10) | -0.23* (0.11) | 0.41 (0.55) | 1.17+ (0.65) | -0.97* (0.48) |
| PFS × U.S-born | 0.19+ (0.10) | -0.06 (0.09) | -0.02 (0.11) | -0.14 (0.11) | -0.05 (0.47) | 0.06 (0.43) | 0.39 (0.41) | -0.03 (0.10) | -0.07 (0.08) | -0.08 (0.09) | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.33 (0.49) | -0.93+ (0.54) | -0.03 (0.39) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M | -0.05 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.07) | 0.05 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.17 (0.39) | 0.27 (0.34) | 0.14 (0.38) | 0.05 (0.10) | 0.03 (0.08) | 0.15+ (0.09) | 0.06 (0.10) | -0.62 (0.62) | -2.26** (0.75) | -0.08 (0.41) |
| MMS-A × U.S-born | 0.12 (0.14) | -0.00 (0.11) | -0.10 (0.14) | -0.19 (0.15) | -0.69 (0.73) | 0.15 (0.60) | -1.71** (0.61) | 0.13 (0.12) | -0.10 (0.10) | 0.04 (0.11) | -0.09 (0.12) | -1.12+ (0.58) | 0.53 (0.67) | -0.23 (0.44) |
| MMS-M × U.S-born | 0.05 (0.14) | 0.00 (0.12) | -0.05 (0.15) | 0.05 (0.16) | 0.53 (0.79) | -0.27 (0.64) | 0.42 (0.60) | 0.10 (0.12) | 0.22* (0.10) | -0.17 (0.11) | -0.31** (0.12) | 0.53 (0.59) | 1.38+ (0.78) | 0.19 (0.45) |
| PFS × MMS-A × U.S-born | 0.12 (0.13) | -0.06 (0.11) | 0.00 (0.14) | -0.03 (0.15) | 0.77 (0.65) | -0.74 (0.61) | 0.13 (0.57) | 0.12 (0.13) | 0.03 (0.10) | 0.10 (0.11) | -0.18 (0.12) | -0.65 (0.63) | -0.37 (0.62) | 0.56 (0.48) |
| PFS × MMS-M × U.S-born | -0.16 (0.15) | 0.04 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.15) | -0.07 (0.16) | -0.68 (0.73) | 0.18 (0.65) | -0.33 (0.58) | -0.03 (0.14) | -0.10 (0.11) | 0.07 (0.12) | 0.07 (0.13) | -0.55 (0.64) | -1.33+ (0.72) | 1.14* (0.54) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M × U.S-born | 0.13 (0.10) | 0.07 (0.08) | -0.09 (0.10) | -0.18 (0.11) | -0.84 (0.52) | -0.72 (0.50) | -0.62 (0.44) | -0.04 (0.12) | 0.00 (0.09) | -0.05 (0.10) | 0.05 (0.11) | 0.58 (0.69) | 1.88* (0.80) | -0.08 (0.46) |
| Observations | 291 | 291 | 291 | 290 | 287 | 289 | 291 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 324 | 326 | 327 |
| R-squared/Pseudo R2 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.27 | 0.35 | 0.172 | 0.192 | 0.184 | 0.30 | 0.32 | 0.33 | 0.43 | 0.170 | 0.175 | 0.147 |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. FA = Filipino American. KA = Korean American. Emerging adult (1 = emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1 = U.S.; 0 = foreign). Gender (1 = female; 0 = male). ICC = Inter-generational cultural conflict. MMS-A = MMS-Achievement. MMS-M = MMS-Mobility

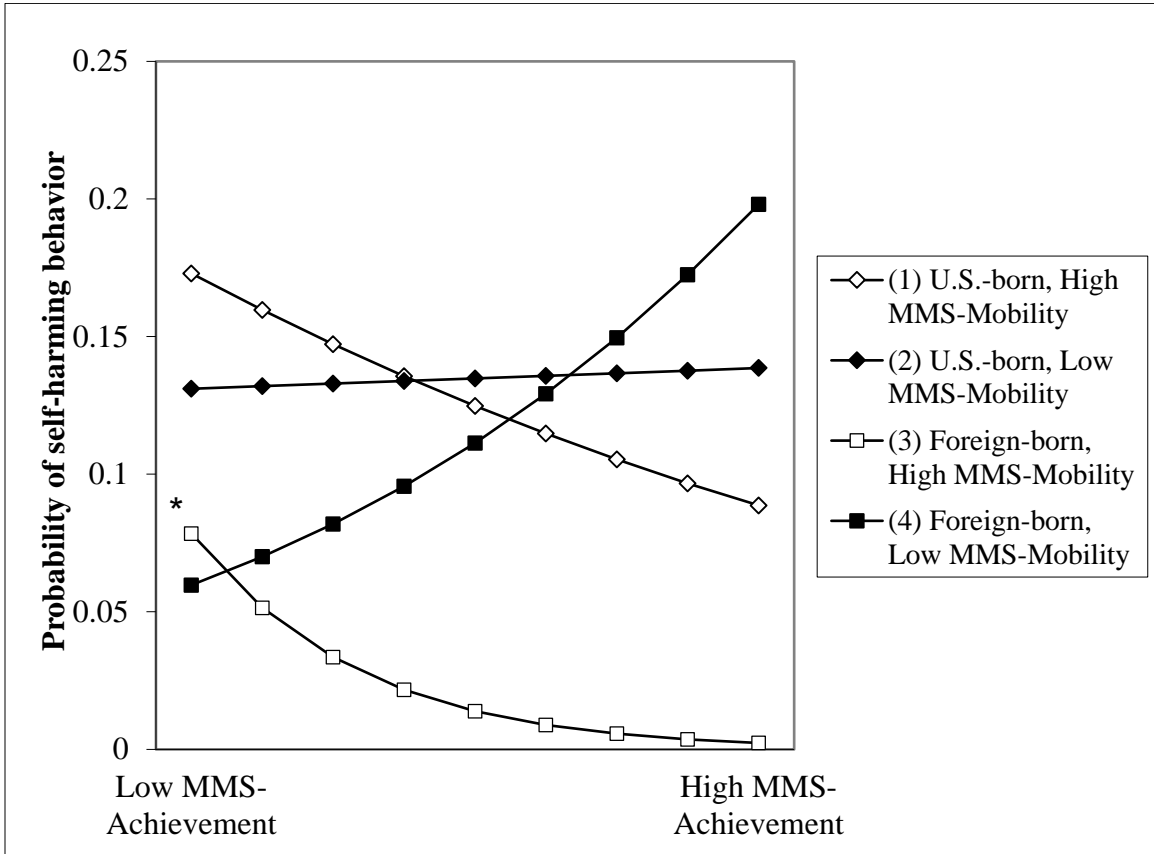
Figure 6.13 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Nativity on Antisocial Behaviors Among Korean American Group



Note: + indicates the significance of the slope ($^+ p < 0.1$).

Similarly, we found that the interaction effect between MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on self-harming behavior varied significantly by nativity status. Specifically, among foreign-born group, the negative association between MMS-Achievement and self-harming behavior was significant only when MMS-Mobility was high ($b = -2.50, p < .01$; see Figure 6.14). However, for U.S.-born group, the relation between MMS-Achievement and self-harming behavior was not statistically significant regardless of varying frequency of MMS-Mobility (see Table B.2).

Figure 6.14 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between MMS-Achievement, MMS-Mobility, and Nativity on Self-Harming Behavior Among Korean American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

6.3.3 Gender

Results for the three-way interaction model for both ethnic groups were illustrated in Tables 6.5. With respect to gender, we found no significant three-way interaction effects among the Korean American group. However, for the Filipino American group we found significant three-way interactions (PFS \times MMS-Achievement \times gender) for externalizing behavioral outcomes, including self-harming behavior ($b = -1.52, p < .05$) and antisocial behaviors ($b = -1.28, p < .05$), and for internalizing behavioral outcome (PFS \times MMS-Mobility \times gender), including depressive symptoms ($b = .29, p < .05$). First, the slope test for the three-way interaction effect for self-harming behavior indicated that for Filipino American female group

Table 6.5 Three-Way Interaction Model for Gender

| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| Emerging adult | 0.03 (0.11) | -0.14 (0.09) | -0.48*** (0.12) | -0.18 (0.12) | -0.54 (0.52) | -0.18 (0.47) | -1.29** (0.41) | -0.03 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.08) | -0.39*** (0.09) | -0.11 (0.10) | 0.35 (0.42) | -0.18 (0.42) | -1.30*** (0.37) |
| U.S.-born | -0.02 (0.09) | -0.10 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.10) | -0.07 (0.10) | 0.33 (0.46) | 0.53 (0.43) | 0.16 (0.35) | 0.02 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.07) | 0.09 (0.07) | 0.20* (0.08) | -0.05 (0.39) | 0.73+ (0.40) | -0.11 (0.30) |
| Female | 0.05 (0.08) | -0.00 (0.07) | 0.20* (0.09) | 0.21* (0.09) | 0.16 (0.45) | 1.58*** (0.41) | 0.10 (0.32) | -0.01 (0.08) | -0.14* (0.07) | 0.07 (0.07) | 0.33*** (0.08) | 1.10** (0.41) | 0.83* (0.40) | -0.35 (0.30) |
| Family SES | 0.19*** (0.06) | -0.07 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.18 (0.28) | -0.02 (0.24) | 0.03 (0.21) | 0.18*** (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.23) | 0.07 (0.24) | 0.17 (0.19) |
| General health | 0.17** (0.05) | 0.20*** (0.04) | -0.21*** (0.05) | -0.16** (0.06) | -0.37 (0.25) | -0.38+ (0.23) | -0.23 (0.19) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.13*** (0.04) | -0.15*** (0.04) | -0.14** (0.05) | -0.36 (0.23) | -0.25 (0.22) | -0.38* (0.18) |
| Parent-child conflict | -0.11* (0.05) | -0.07 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.06) | -0.08 (0.25) | 0.15 (0.23) | 0.18 (0.19) | -0.09+ (0.05) | -0.00 (0.04) | 0.09+ (0.05) | 0.11* (0.05) | -0.08 (0.24) | 0.30 (0.23) | -0.19 (0.19) |
| Parent-child bonding | 0.15** (0.05) | 0.21*** (0.04) | -0.02 (0.05) | -0.05 (0.06) | 0.08 (0.25) | -0.33 (0.22) | -0.23 (0.19) | 0.18*** (0.05) | 0.17*** (0.04) | -0.08* (0.04) | -0.15*** (0.04) | -0.15 (0.19) | -0.21 (0.20) | -0.15 (0.16) |
| ICC | -0.14** (0.05) | 0.08+ (0.04) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.19*** (0.06) | 0.60* (0.26) | 0.01 (0.23) | 0.32+ (0.19) | -0.09 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.00 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.21 (0.26) | 0.35 (0.25) | 0.70** (0.21) |
| Peer relation | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.25 (0.27) | -0.13 (0.24) | 0.27 (0.20) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.08+ (0.04) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.08 (0.05) | 0.42+ (0.24) | -0.03 (0.23) | 0.07 (0.19) |
| American Identity | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.11* (0.04) | 0.04 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.64* (0.28) | -0.33 (0.24) | 0.28 (0.20) | -0.00 (0.05) | 0.07+ (0.04) | -0.09* (0.04) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.22) | -0.19 (0.23) | 0.12 (0.18) |
| Ethnic identity | 0.15** (0.05) | 0.12** (0.04) | -0.05 (0.05) | -0.11* (0.05) | -0.18 (0.24) | -0.03 (0.23) | -0.15 (0.18) | 0.07 (0.06) | 0.11* (0.05) | 0.09+ (0.05) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.65** (0.24) | 0.03 (0.25) | -0.01 (0.20) |
| Discrimination | 0.07 (0.08) | -0.01 (0.06) | 0.15+ (0.08) | 0.11 (0.08) | 0.25 (0.34) | 0.07 (0.32) | 0.22 (0.27) | -0.03 (0.07) | -0.00 (0.06) | 0.21*** (0.06) | 0.25*** (0.07) | 0.70* (0.29) | 0.04 (0.29) | 0.09 (0.24) |
| PFS | -0.03 (0.09) | 0.05 (0.07) | 0.27** (0.09) | 0.23* (0.09) | -0.53 (0.47) | 0.08 (0.45) | 0.28 (0.32) | -0.15* (0.07) | -0.10+ (0.06) | 0.08 (0.06) | 0.15* (0.07) | -0.41 (0.40) | 0.27 (0.39) | -0.00 (0.25) |
| MMS-A | -0.09 (0.09) | -0.17* (0.07) | 0.06 (0.09) | 0.10 (0.10) | -0.04 (0.53) | 0.09 (0.54) | -0.31 (0.38) | 0.02 (0.08) | -0.10 (0.07) | 0.17* (0.07) | 0.03 (0.08) | -0.50 (0.46) | -0.58 (0.43) | -0.03 (0.29) |
| MMS-M | 0.05 (0.09) | 0.11 (0.08) | -0.00 (0.10) | -0.16 (0.10) | -0.96+ (0.56) | -0.43 (0.54) | -0.06 (0.40) | 0.05 (0.08) | 0.04 (0.07) | -0.00 (0.07) | -0.06 (0.08) | 0.00 (0.44) | 0.18 (0.45) | 0.26 (0.29) |

Table 6.5 Three-Way Interaction Model for Gender (continued)

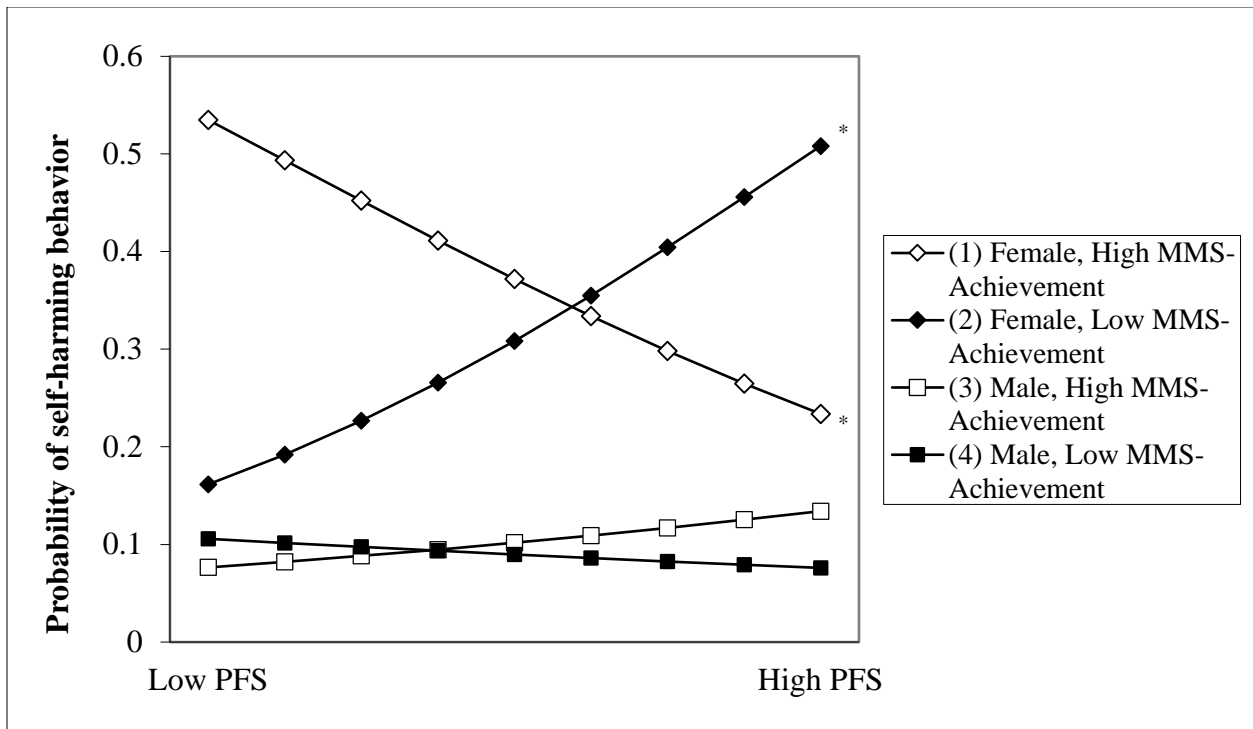
| VARIABLES | FA | | | | | | | KA | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors | Life Satisfaction | Positive Affect | Negative Affect | Depression | Suicidal Thoughts | Self-Harming | Antisocial Behaviors |
| | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) | <i>b</i> (s.e.) |
| PFS × MMS-A | -0.07 (0.10) | -0.14 (0.08) | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.27* (0.11) | 0.51 (0.67) | 0.38 (0.61) | 0.90+ (0.51) | 0.04 (0.08) | -0.04 (0.06) | 0.18* (0.07) | 0.11 (0.08) | -0.68 (0.48) | 0.58+ (0.35) | 0.05 (0.28) |
| PFS × MMS-M | 0.00 (0.10) | -0.02 (0.09) | -0.16 (0.11) | -0.28* (0.11) | -0.86 (0.62) | 0.54 (0.60) | -0.44 (0.49) | 0.04 (0.08) | -0.09 (0.06) | -0.12+ (0.07) | -0.13 (0.08) | -0.49 (0.39) | -0.04 (0.39) | -0.15 (0.27) |
| PFS × Female | 0.06 (0.10) | -0.09 (0.08) | -0.23* (0.10) | -0.12 (0.11) | 0.98+ (0.53) | 0.03 (0.49) | -0.51 (0.37) | -0.07 (0.10) | 0.03 (0.08) | 0.08 (0.09) | 0.10 (0.09) | 0.96* (0.47) | -0.06 (0.47) | -0.44 (0.37) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M | 0.08 (0.08) | -0.02 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.08) | -0.05 (0.08) | -0.53 (0.54) | -0.35 (0.59) | -0.78+ (0.44) | 0.08 (0.08) | -0.05 (0.07) | 0.05 (0.07) | 0.13 (0.08) | -0.37 (0.49) | -0.39 (0.45) | -0.48 (0.30) |
| MMS-A × Female | 0.20+ (0.12) | 0.32*** (0.10) | -0.16 (0.12) | -0.17 (0.13) | -0.69 (0.65) | 0.09 (0.63) | 0.37 (0.47) | -0.09 (0.12) | 0.26** (0.10) | -0.17 (0.11) | 0.11 (0.12) | 0.87 (0.58) | 0.55 (0.57) | -0.01 (0.43) |
| MMS-M × Female | 0.07 (0.12) | -0.10 (0.10) | 0.10 (0.12) | 0.19 (0.13) | 1.40* (0.68) | 0.68 (0.62) | 0.24 (0.49) | -0.04 (0.11) | -0.20* (0.09) | 0.07 (0.10) | 0.05 (0.11) | -0.64 (0.55) | -0.45 (0.56) | -1.00* (0.42) |
| PFS × MMS-A × Female | 0.04 (0.13) | 0.10 (0.10) | -0.18 (0.13) | -0.26+ (0.14) | -0.43 (0.75) | -1.52* (0.73) | -1.28* (0.57) | -0.20 (0.12) | 0.03 (0.10) | -0.11 (0.11) | -0.06 (0.12) | 0.78 (0.60) | -0.33 (0.54) | -0.30 (0.45) |
| PFS × MMS-M × Female | 0.06 (0.13) | 0.04 (0.11) | 0.18 (0.14) | 0.29* (0.14) | 1.34+ (0.76) | 0.01 (0.70) | 0.78 (0.58) | -0.08 (0.12) | 0.10 (0.10) | 0.07 (0.11) | -0.05 (0.12) | 1.02+ (0.55) | 0.26 (0.57) | 0.07 (0.45) |
| MMS-A × MMS-M × Female | -0.03 (0.10) | -0.01 (0.08) | -0.08 (0.10) | 0.09 (0.11) | 0.55 (0.61) | -0.01 (0.69) | 0.85+ (0.50) | -0.09 (0.11) | 0.17+ (0.09) | 0.08 (0.10) | -0.06 (0.10) | 0.36 (0.59) | -0.32 (0.59) | 0.66+ (0.39) |
| Observations | 291 | 291 | 291 | 290 | 287 | 289 | 291 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 327 | 324 | 326 | 327 |
| R-squared/Pseudo R2 | 0.38 | 0.40 | 0.29 | 0.37 | 0.209 | 0.208 | 0.186 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.33 | 0.42 | 0.182 | 0.143 | 0.150 |

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, and + $p < 0.1$

Note. FA = Filipino American. KA = Korean American. Emerging adult (1 = emerging adult; 0 = adolescent). Nativity (1 = U.S.; 0 = foreign). Gender (1 = female; 0 = male). ICC = Inter-generational cultural conflict. MMS-A = MMS-Achievement. MMS-M = MMS-Mobility

the association between PFS and self-harming behavior was significantly positive when MMS-Achievement was low ($b = .98, p < .05$; see Figure 6.15). However, this relation became significantly negative when MMS-Achievement was high ($b = -.78, p < .05$). Conversely, for the Filipino American male group, this relation was not statistically significant regardless of varying frequency of MMS-Achievement (Figure 6.15 and Table C.1).

Figure 6.15 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Gender on Self-Harming Behavior Among Filipino American Group

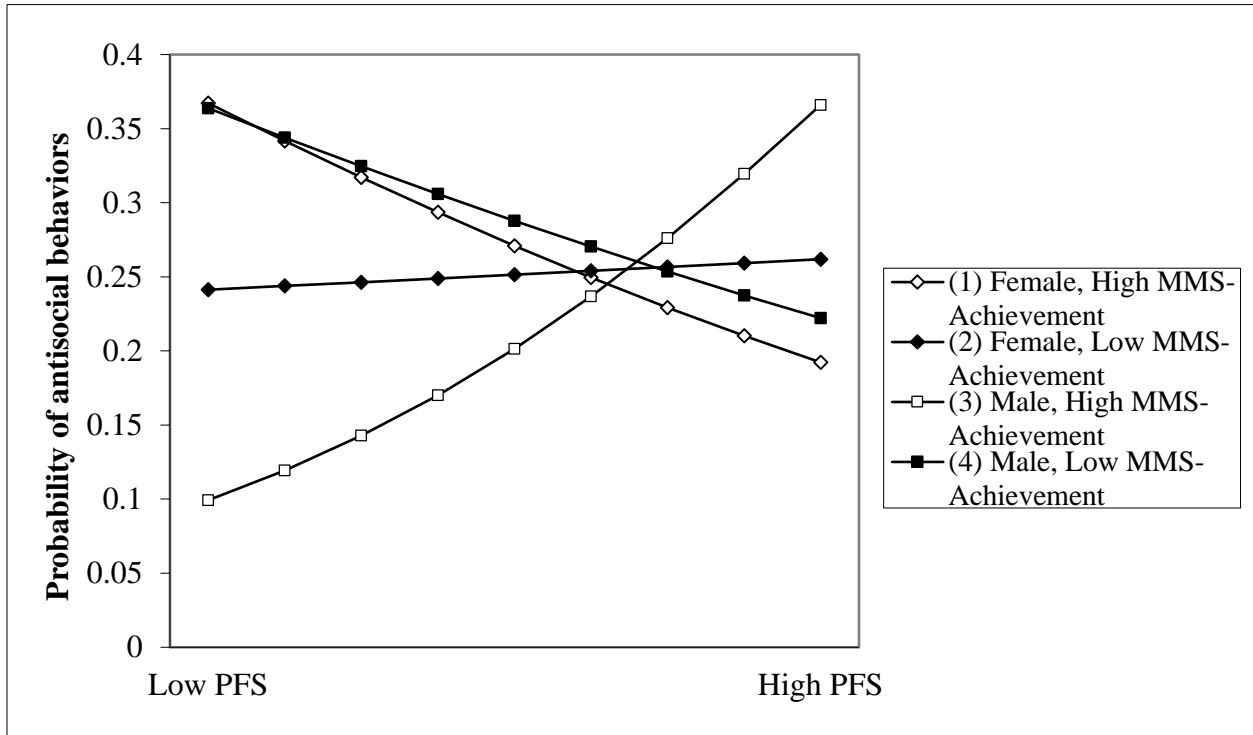


Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($* p < 0.05$).

Similarly, we found that the interaction effect between PFS and MMS-Achievement on antisocial behaviors varied significantly by gender. Specifically, when MMS-Achievement was high, the association between PFS and antisocial behaviors was negative among the Filipino American female group, but positive among Filipino American male group. However, a follow-up individual slope test indicates that the association between PFS and antisocial behaviors was

not statistically significant among both gender groups (see Figure 6.16), despite a significant slope difference across gender groups (see Table C.2).

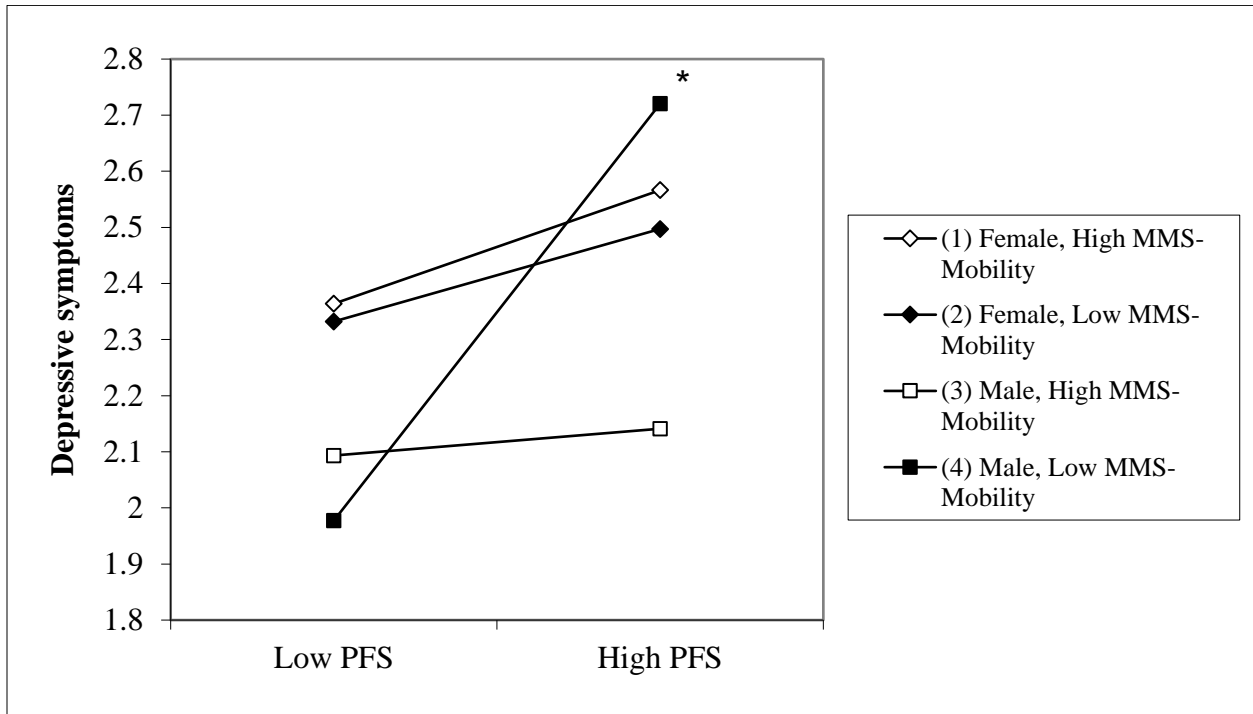
Figure 6.16 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Achievement, and Gender on Antisocial Behaviors Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

In addition, we found significant three-way interaction (PFS \times MMS-Mobility \times gender) for depressive symptoms ($b = .29, p < .05$). Specifically, among the Filipino American male group, the positive association between PFS and depressive symptoms was significant only when MMS-Mobility was low ($b = .44, p < .01$; see Figure 6.17). However, for the Filipino American female group, the relation between PFS and depressive symptoms was not statistically significant regardless of varying frequency of MMS-Mobility (see Figure 6.17 and Table C.3).

Figure 6.17 Three-Way Interaction Effect Between PFS, MMS-Mobility, and Gender on Depressive Symptoms Among Filipino American Group



Note: * indicates the significance of the slope ($p < 0.05$).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to understand how Filipino American and Korean American young people negotiate two seemingly oppositional racial stereotypes. It has sought to understand the differential implications of racial stereotypes for internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes based on important social positions. Informed by racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999) and Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model, four questions were addressed: (1) Are there identifiable patterns of racial stereotype profiles among samples of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults? (2) Are there relations between racial stereotypes and behavioral outcomes? (3) Are there interaction effects between two subdomains of MMS and PFS? And (4) Do the moderating relations examined in (3) further vary by social position?

The current study advances knowledge in three ways. First, unlike previous research that investigates how other racial groups consider Asian Americans in regard to PFS and MMS, this study explores the perceptions of Asian American young people themselves. Identifying the patterns of internalized racial stereotypes has important implications for advancing our understanding of Asian Americans as active agents who respond to an unsupportive environment that imposes conflicting stereotypes (Bronfenbrenner, 1999).

Secondly, this study is the first to explore the concurrent effects of these two racial stereotypes and their interaction effects on both internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes. Racial triangulation theory (Kim, 1999) provides strong theoretical grounds for investigating the concurrent impacts of PFS and MMS on Asian American young people. In addition, there is strong empirical support for investigating simultaneously both internalizing and

externalizing behavioral outcomes for Asian American young people with a pattern of paradoxical developmental outcomes (Choi, Park, Lee, et al., 2020). The knowledge gained from the current study contributes to the etiology of the so-called Asian American youth paradox and to an understanding of how racial stereotypes may shape behavioral patterns.

Thirdly, this dissertation considers how concurrent effects of racial stereotypes vary by salient social positions. No prior study has investigated how the interaction effects of PFS and MMS vary by developmental stage (adolescence vs. emerging adulthood), place of birth, or gender among Filipino American and Korean American subgroups. Findings from the current study show that in order to develop appropriate and effective public health or school interventions that aim to support Asian American young people suffering from the harmful effects of racial stereotypes, these nuances and specificities need to be thoroughly understood.

7.1 Patterns of Racial Stereotypes

The first question addressed concerned the identification of patterns of internalized racial stereotypes with respect to PFS, MMS-Achievement, and MMS-Mobility, using latent profile analysis. As expected, diverse subgroups were identified among the Filipino American and Korean American groups, supporting *Hypothesis 1*. Filipino American subgroups included the *intermediate* group with an intermediate level of internalization of both racial stereotypes, and the *low MMS* and the *high MMS* groups with the lowest and highest level of internalization of the two subdomains of MMS, respectively. There were four Korean American subgroups identified: young people internalizing an intermediate level of both racial stereotypes (the *intermediate* group); a group with the lowest internalization of both racial stereotypes (the *least triangulated* group); a group distinguished by having the highest internalization of two subdomains of MMS

(the *high MMS* group); and a group characterized by the highest internalization of PFS (the *high PFS* group).

Consistent with previous research (Kibria, 1999), these study findings confirmed that Asian Americans do not just passively internalize the negative racial meanings attached to Asian Americans, but negotiate these stereotypes in different ways. Both Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and emerging adults in the study did not just highly internalize the stereotypes of perpetual foreigner and model minority as expected by the society. As the findings indicated, the group with the intermediate level of internalization of racial stereotypes was the largest subgroup among both ethnic groups. Furthermore, those with the highest internalization of both racial stereotypes were not large enough to form a sizable cluster of participants. Instead, Filipino American and Korean American young people internalized racial stereotypes differently based on their demographic characteristics, racial/ethnic experiences, and familial environments.

The study also provided evidence that the patterns of internalization of racial stereotypes might vary across ethnic groups. The present study found more diverse profiles of racial stereotypes among Korean Americans (with its four subgroups) than Filipino Americans (with its three subgroups). In addition, Filipino Americans showed limited variation in the level of PFS compared to Korean Americans, supporting *Hypothesis 2*. Similarly, the study found much less variation among Filipino Americans than Korean Americans with respect to demographic background. Among Korean American samples, the *high PFS* group was oldest and most foreign-born, while the *high MMS* group was most U.S.-born. A clear pattern identified among both ethnic groups was that higher family SES was reported among higher MMS. The study findings are congruent with prior research (Choi, Park, et al., 2018) that demonstrates more

similar racial/ethnic experiences and demographic characteristics among Filipino Americans than Korean Americans.

The study also found significant associations between the profiles and racial/ethnic experiences and familial environment. Specifically, among Filipino American samples, the *high MMS* group reported higher parental colonial mentality and parental practices of cultural socialization. Conversely, among Korean American samples, the *high PFS* group reported higher racial discrimination, parental colonial mentality, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization than other subgroups, while the *least triangulated* group reported lower on these correlates. In short, as expected, experiences of microaggressions such as racial stereotyping was significantly associated with other forms of racial discrimination and parental practices designed to prepare their children to face racial discrimination, confirming previous literature (Huynh et al., 2011).

In addition, significant associations were found between parental racial/ethnic experiences and children's internalization of racial stereotypes, confirming a significant influence of familial environment on youth development (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou et al., 2016). That is, among Filipino Americans, the *high MMS* group had parents with higher internalization of both subdomains of MMS than other subgroups. Interestingly, this same group also had parents with the highest level of PFS. This means that although the *high MMS* Filipino American youth reported highly on MMS while having a similar level of PFS compared to other subgroups, their parents reported highly on both racial stereotypes. These study findings are consistent with prior research (Choi, Park, et al., 2018) that indicates much less variation in their racial/ethnic experiences in the United States among Filipino American children than their

parents' generations. Among Korean Americans, as expected, the *high PFS* and the *least triangulated* groups had parents with the highest and lowest level of PFS, respectively.

Fewer differences emerged in behavioral outcomes among Filipino American than Korean American subgroups. Specifically, for the Filipino American group, the *high MMS* reported higher life satisfaction than the other groups. Conversely, for the Korean American group, the *intermediate* exhibited positive behavioral outcomes, whereas the *high PFS* reported poor behavioral outcomes.

These study findings suggest that MMS may have a more salient effect on Filipino American youth than Korean American youth, while PFS had a particularly significant influence on Korean Americans. That is, what distinguished the best and worst groups in terms of behavioral outcomes for Filipino Americans was MMS, while it was PFS for Korean Americans. Among Filipino Americans, a higher MMS was associated with better youth outcomes. Among Korean Americans, an intermediate level of PFS and MMS was related to the best behavioral outcomes, whereas high PFS predicted the worst behaviors. One possible explanation for MMS being particularly important to the Filipino American group is that because those within it often do not fall under the category of the model minority, internalizing its seemingly positive attributes could encourage Filipino Americans to behave well, which is consistent with previous research (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Conversely, Korean Americans, while generally depicted as a model minority, are less influenced by MMS but vulnerable to PFS.

7.2 Direct Effect Models

As expected (*Hypothesis 3*), the current study found a consistent negative effect of PFS on internalizing behavioral outcomes for both ethnic groups, confirming earlier research findings (Armenta et al., 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hou et al., 2016; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al.,

2011; Ong et al., 2013; Wong et al., 2012). At the same time, the hypotheses regarding MMS, including *Hypothesis 4* and *Hypothesis 5*, were not supported. That is, MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility did not have any significant relations with behavioral outcomes. This inconsistency in the direct effects of MMS that is also found in the literature (Gupta et al., 2011; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo, Burrola, et al., 2010) may be due to a lack of consideration for the interaction effects between racial stereotypes or the influence of other crucial social positions in these relations.

7.3 Two-Way Interaction Model

Indeed, when the interaction effects between racial stereotypes in the two-way interaction model were accounted for, significant effects were found of MMS on behavioral outcomes. Specifically, supporting the hypothesis on the two-way interaction model for Filipino Americans (*Hypothesis 6*), the results suggested that MMS-Achievement alleviated the negative impact of PFS on self-harming behavior. On the other hand, MMS had mixed effects on Korean Americans. As expected (*Hypothesis 7*), MMS-Achievement worsened the negative impact of PFS on negative affect, whereas MMS-Mobility buffered the negative impact of PFS on depressive symptoms, results that accord with previous empirical findings from Yoo et al. (2015). For Korean Americans, who have consistently been depicted as model minority figures, highly internalizing MMS, especially in relation to achievement orientation, might subject them to unreasonably higher standards. As a result, when Korean Americans additionally internalize PFS—which signals that they will not be fully accepted as members of the mainstream society and thus have limited social mobility, regardless of how hard they work—this negatively influences their psychological well-being. On the other hand, in internalizing MMS-Mobility, a

belief that they will be less likely to face barriers as they move up the social ladder, instead, protected Korean Americans from the psychological toll of PFS.

Unexpectedly, for the Korean American group, interaction effects were also found of MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility in both the positive and negative directions. Specifically, when the rates of both subtypes of MMS were high, they had a protective effect on externalizing problem behavior (e.g., self-harming behavior), but a negative effect on internalizing problem behavior (e.g., negative affect). First, the protective effect of MMS-Mobility that was found in this study and in previous literature (Yoo et al., 2015) seemed to disappear when it interacted with MMS-Achievement. Although no prior research has explored the interaction effect between these two subdomains of MMS, it may be that those Korean Americans who highly internalized both subtypes of MMS (i.e., hyper-internalization of MMS) would more strongly internalize MMS in general than those who only internalize one aspect of MMS. Accordingly, members of the hyper-internalized group would more likely to have unreasonably high expectations for themselves than those who highly internalize only one subtype of MMS. As a result, even if, for instance, members of the hyper-internalized group achieve a high level of performance, they may still feel themselves to be failures when comparing themselves with other model minority Asian Americans whom they believe have done better (Louie, 2006). Secondly, the findings suggest the protective effects of the hyper-internalization of MMS in the relations between PFS and externalizing problem behaviors. When Korean Americans hyper-internalize MMS, it is possible that they will be more likely to behave as members of a “model minority.” The findings are consistent with prior research (Gupta et al., 2011; Kim & Lee, 2014) showing that people who internalize MMS are less likely to externalize their inner struggles in order to live up to their model minority status.

7.4 Three-Way Interaction Models

7.4.1 Developmental Stage

For Filipino American samples, a protective effect of MMS-Achievement in the link between PFS and externalizing problem behaviors was only identified in the two-way interaction model. After accounting for the developmental stage in the three-way interaction model, however, the present study additionally found a protective effect of MMS-Mobility in the relations between PFS and internalizing problem behaviors. Specifically, MMS-Mobility alleviated the negative impact of PFS on internalizing problem behaviors for Filipino American emerging adults, but not for Filipino American adolescents. For Korean American samples, the harmful effects of PFS on internalizing problem behaviors were exacerbated by MMS-Achievement (a stress-exacerbating effect) in the two-way interaction model. Once the study considered the developmental stage, the results indicated that the stress-exacerbating effect of MMS-Achievement on internalizing behavioral outcomes was significant among members of the emerging adult group, but not the adolescent group.

As Arnett (2006) posits, emerging adulthood is a period of frequent change and exploration. Through the process of exploring various social settings and social interactions, emerging adults are more likely to confront in a realistic way the features of a racialized society than their adolescent counterparts. Many Asian Americans have been told that they should have the good qualities of Asians and that they can expect to enjoy fair opportunities (in accordance with the MMS) while in high school (Ochoa, 2013). But, upon entering college or the workplace, they may have realized that they were in fact being marginalized in White-dominated campus settings or workplaces, where just being a good student or working hard will not lead to the same success that their White counterparts could achieve with an equivalent level of effort and

qualification (see Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007 for review). As a result, the concurrent effects of PFS and MMS may have become more salient during emerging adulthood, as the current study shows, supporting *Hypothesis 8*.

7.4.2 Nativity

The study suggests that nativity may be a more salient social position for Korean Americans than for Filipino Americans, a result that accords with previous empirical research (Choi, Park, et al., 2018) and with the study findings related to Research Question 2 (see previous discussion of *Hypothesis 2*). That is, no significant two-way interaction effects were found that further vary by nativity status among members of the Filipino American group. On the other hand, for the Korean American group, the study findings indicated that the interaction effects between (1) PFS and MMS-Mobility and (2) MMS-Achievement and MMS-Mobility on externalizing behavioral outcomes significantly varied by their place of birth, supporting *Hypothesis 9*.

First, highly internalizing MMS-Mobility discouraged foreign-born Korean Americans—but not their U.S.-born counterparts—from engaging in antisocial behaviors when experiencing high rates of PFS. Secondly, the behavior-suppressing effect of the hyper-internalization of MMS (i.e., highly internalizing both subdomains of MMS) on self-harming behavior that were identified in the two-way interaction model were only significant among foreign-born Korean Americans. In short, in contrast to our expectation that the interaction effects between racial stereotypes would be more pronounced among members of the U.S.-born group than the foreign-born group, the study found significant concurrent and behavior-suppressing effects of racial stereotypes only among foreign-born Korean Americans.

Armenta et al.'s (2013) findings that show the additive vulnerability of the U.S.-born groups in face of PFS may be due to their focus on psychological adjustment. With respect to externalizing problem behaviors, racial stereotypes may have a stronger influence on the foreign-born group than their U.S.-born counterparts. Few, if any, prior studies of Asian Americans have investigated how the interaction effects of racial/ethnic stereotypes on externalizing problem behaviors differ by nativity. However, it is possible that due to their immigrant status, foreign-born groups are more likely to be susceptible to the social pressure such as MMS on Asian Americans to behave well, especially in avoiding externalizing problem behaviors. This could be because the foreign-born group has a less stable legal status in the United States than their U.S.-born counterparts who enjoy birthright citizenship. Thus, in part due to their relative vulnerability with regard to their legal status, the foreign-born may be generally less likely to engage in antisocial or other externalizing problem behaviors than their U.S.-born counterparts (Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Vaughn et al., 2014). In addition, as immigrants they may face more societal pressure to conform to the norms and beliefs of the mainstream of American society than their U.S.-born counterparts (Choi & Kim, 2010). These findings are consistent with the results that show the interaction effects between racial stereotypes being prominent among members of the foreign-born group, especially regarding externalizing problem behaviors.

7.4.3 Gender

Contrary to the findings on nativity, no significant two-way interaction effects were found when varying by gender among Korean American samples. For Filipino American samples, it was found that the interaction effects between PFS and MMS-Achievement on self-harming behavior, and between PFS and MMS-Mobility on depressive symptoms, did vary by gender. First, in the two-way interaction model, the findings showed that the negative effect of

PFS on self-harming behavior was buffered by MMS-Achievement. After further accounting for gender in these relations, we found that the same behavior-suppressing effect of MMS-Achievement was significant only among female Filipino Americans.

In alignment with prior literature on the positive effect of MMS (Kiang et al., 2016; Thompson & Kiang, 2010), these findings showed that internalizing positively connoted characteristics such as being hard-working and exceling at math and science might in fact benefit Asian Americans, and females in particular. One of the prevalent stereotypes of females are that they are not good at quantitative skills (Benbow, 1988; Hedges & Nowell, 1995). Accordingly, when members of the Filipino American female group internalize MMS-Achievement, this internalization seems to protect them from negative stereotypes such as PFS. For example, Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999) found in their randomized experimental study that Asian American female students who thought about their ethnic identity during the experiment outperformed on their math tests those who thought only about gender identity or about neither their ethnic or gender identities. Although no studies, to the best of my knowledge, have examined how MMS-Achievement suppresses self-harming behavior when female Asian Americans experience PFS, the protective mechanism here may be similar to those found in Shih et al. (1999), as mentioned above.

At the same time, it was found that the buffering role of MMS-Mobility in the link between PFS and depressive symptoms was only significant among members of the male Filipino American group, supporting *Hypothesis 10*. As the empirical studies show, males are more likely to experience racial discrimination (for reviews see Benner et al., 2018) and more vulnerable to the harmful effects of racial discrimination than their female counterparts (Juang et al., 2018). In addition, for males, race/ethnicity seems to be a salient factor that influences their

recognition of what constitutes experiences of racial discrimination and shapes the effects of racial discrimination on behavioral outcomes. For example, Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams (1999) found in their national data with its adult population that 47.4% of the male survey participants reported the reason for their experiences of racial discrimination to be their race/ethnicity, while only 28.5% of the female participants attributed their suffering discrimination to race/ethnicity. Consequently, that male Filipino Americans internalize MMS-Mobility, which suggests that they are less likely to face racial prejudice and discrimination because of their race, suggests that they may have benefited more from the internalization of this stereotype than their female counterparts in dealing with the psychological burden of PFS.

More importantly, the study findings suggest that gender may be more salient for Filipino Americans than Korean Americans, supporting *Hypothesis 10*. Although gendered parental expectations of female children seem to be much higher among Asian American families than White families in the United States (Espiritu, 2003), several studies show Asian American ethnic subgroup differences in this domain (Choi, Kim, et al., 2018; Choi, Lee, et al., 2020). Specifically, studies that directly compared gendered expectations across Filipino American and Korean American families show that Filipino American families may hold gendered norms for girls more than do Korean American families (Choi, Kim, et al., 2018; Choi, Lee, et al., 2020). As a result, it may be that gender has played a more significant role for the Filipino American group in determining the relations between racial stereotypes and behavioral outcomes than for the Korean American group.

7.5 Limitations and Future Directions

There are certain limitations of the study findings. First, the study is based on cross-sectional data. As a result, conclusions are based on correlational relations. In other words, it is

possible that Asian American children with more internalizing or externalizing behavioral outcomes may be more sensitive to the instances of being stereotyped as model minority figures or perpetual foreigners and thus more easily internalize these racial stereotypes. This would be in contrast to the internalization of these racial stereotypes leading to certain patterns of behavioral outcomes. In addition, findings such as that of the significant interaction effects between racial stereotypes becoming more prominent during emerging adulthood than during adolescence could be due to unknown confounding factors. For more causally sound conclusions, further investigation with longitudinal data is needed.

Secondly, to measure how Asian American adolescents and emerging adults internalize the seemingly opposite stereotypes of the model minority and the perpetual foreigner, the study used the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo, Lee, et al., 2010) and the Awareness of the Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype Scale (Huynh et al., 2011). However, as the names of these scales suggest, they were designed to measure different aspects of a racial stereotype. That is, the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure was designed to see whether and how Asian Americans internalize MMS, while the Awareness of the Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype Scale was developed to measure whether and how Asian Americans are aware of PFS. The Awareness of the Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype Scale was ultimately used as a proxy for the internalization of PFS because no existing measure, to the best of my knowledge, specifically measures this aspect of the stereotype. In addition, the items from this scale (e.g., “I do not fit what people have in mind when they think of a typical American,” and “My ethnic heritage sometimes disqualifies me as American”) generally seem to have a face validity for measuring the level of internalization of PFS. A future study should develop and use

a new scale that more accurately measures how Asian Americans internalize the stereotype of perpetual foreigner.

Thirdly, racial triangulation theory aims to explain the complex character of the racialization process of Asian Americans by considering the concurrent effect of PFS and MMS. However, it fails to consider other important factors, such as the racialized gender stereotypes that may additionally influence the racialization process of Asian Americans. Specifically, Asian American males and females are stereotyped as lacking masculinity (Iwamoto, Liao, & Liu, 2010; Wong et al., 2012) and being hyper-feminine (Le Espiritu, 2008), respectively. In short, it is important to examine the intersection of gender and race because of those racialized experiences of Asian American children that are specific to gender.

Fourthly, although this study has investigated whether and how the moderating effects of racial stereotypes vary by developmental stage, nativity, and gender within each ethnic group, it does not determine how these relations may differ in terms of the intersection of these and other important social positions of Asian American children. According to intersectionality theory (Andersen & Collins, 2013; Cole, 2009), individuals hold multiple social statuses and these statuses may have additive detrimental influences when they are associated with stigmatized identities. For example, Asian American adolescents and emerging adults all possess various social positions, such as racial/ethnic minority, female or male, U.S.-born or foreign-born. As this study shows, each social status has its own unique and significant influence on the moderating roles of racial stereotypes or directly on their developmental outcomes. Yet, this study was not able to examine the multiplicative effects of various social positions. For example, the differences between Korean female adolescents and Korean male adolescents that we found

may be further explained by their place of birth. Future research should investigate these nuanced differences across multiple social positions.

Lastly, this study is based on Filipino American and Korean American young people living in the greater Chicago metropolitan area. Although Filipino Americans and Korean Americans account for a large proportion of Asian Americans in the U.S., they certainly do not account for all Asian Americans. The sample specificity raises at least two challenges regarding generalizability. First, the experiences of Filipino Americans and Korean Americans in the Midwest could well be markedly different from those of members of the same groups in other parts of the United States with different demographic, economic, legal, or cultural receptivities to immigrants in general and Asian immigrants in particular. In addition, research suggests that Filipino and Korean immigrants are among the most resourceful Asian American subgroups, with, generally, high income levels (Choi, Park, et al., 2018). The results would likely have been different had the sample included Asian immigrants with a lower socio-economic status. Future studies should investigate the same issues with Filipino Americans and Korean Americans in different parts of the United States, as well as with different Asian American subgroups.

7.6 Implications

Despite these limitations, the study has several important theoretical and clinical implications. First, it challenges researchers studying Asian Americans to shift their attention from solely examining the perception of others to considering self-perceptions of racial positionality. This is in contrast to most of the existing studies, which have been preoccupied with examining how others view Asian Americans in relation to PFS and MMS (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Park et al., 2015; Xu & Lee, 2013). Secondly, the present study seeks to shift current research by examining the subtle and multi-dimensional aspects of challenges faced by Asian

Americans due to their unique racial position in the society rather than focusing on one form of racial discrimination alone. As the results indicate, seemingly quite disparate relations, such as that between MMS and behavioral outcomes, become significant once the study accounts for the concurrent effects of racial stereotypes.

Findings from this dissertation also help in refining the etiology of internalizing and externalizing behavioral outcomes among Asian American young people and the mechanisms of how seemingly opposite racial stereotypes together explain the Asian American paradox. This study shows the concurrent effects of racial stereotypes as predicting more internalizing, and less externalizing behavioral outcomes. This pattern is cause for concern, given that problem behaviors tend to co-occur with a shared etiology (Jaffee et al., 2002; Moilanen et al., 2010). For example, youth struggling from internalizing behavioral outcomes as a result of discriminatory experiences are more likely to exhibit externalizing problem behaviors and vice versa. Although externalizing behavioral problems are not in themselves positive outcomes, they have their purposes. People externalize their behaviors in part to express their inner struggles to other family members, close friends, and other important figures in their lives, and thus seeking to gain more attention and support in times of difficulties (Nock, 2008). However, because of MMS, Asian American adolescents and emerging adults are often reluctant to reach out for help (Gupta et al., 2011). In fact, studies have shown that Asian Americans are the least likely among various racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. to use mental health services (Liu, Stevens, Wong, Yasui, & Chen, 2019).

In addition, externalizing behavioral activities have soothing effects on young people with internalizing problems (Klonsky & Olino, 2008; O'Connor, Rasmussen, & Hawton, 2010). For example, by engaging in violent activities or self-injuring behavior, they may temporarily

relieve their inner distress. Because of their triangulated situation, however, Asian American young people often struggle from internalizing behavioral problems, unable to externalize their inner distress. As this study shows, PFS predicts significantly more internalizing behavioral outcomes. In addition, while MMS alone did not predict any problem behaviors, once PFS was considered, the two racial stereotypes together predicted less externalizing behavioral outcomes. As a result, Asian Americans are often forced into a situation where they are unable to either express their inner struggles to others or gain temporary relief by other means.

The important practical implication of the present study is that front-line clinicians, as well as school staff, should be informed about the differential impacts on Asian American young people of the two racial stereotypes by ethnic background, developmental stage, nativity status, and gender. Several studies (Liang, Grossman, & Deguchi, 2007; Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) have identified front-line clinicians and school staff as potential sources of the perpetuation of the unique racial position of Asian Americans, by their furtherance of the stereotyping of Asian American students vis-à-vis other racial minority students. School personnel may well do this without acknowledging the negative effects of stereotyping on Asian American young people. This study shows that even the seemingly positive stereotype of being hard-working and achievement-oriented, together with that of the perpetual foreigner, can negatively impact the development of Asian American young people, in different ways, depending on their social status. The findings of this study can be used to better inform front-line social workers and other school staff of the negative consequences of this practice of stereotyping Asian American young people, and thus help them better serve this population.

APPENDIX A Significance Test for Slopes (Developmental Stage)

Table A.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.6

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.275 | 2.133 | 0.034 | (0.022, 0.527) |
| (1) and (3) | 0.029 | 0.215 | 0.830 | (-0.238, 0.297) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.097 | -0.709 | 0.479 | (-0.367, 0.172) |
| (2) and (3) | -0.246 | -2.000 | 0.047 | (-0.486, -0.005) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.372 | -2.990 | 0.003 | (-0.617, -0.128) |
| (3) and (4) | -0.127 | -0.993 | 0.322 | (-0.377, 0.123) |

Table A.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.7

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -0.430 | -3.005 | 0.003 | (-0.710, -0.149) |
| (1) and (3) | -0.325 | -2.139 | 0.033 | (-0.622, -0.027) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.080 | -0.525 | 0.600 | (-0.379, 0.219) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.105 | 0.770 | 0.442 | (-0.163, 0.373) |
| (2) and (4) | 0.350 | 2.529 | 0.012 | (0.079, 0.621) |
| (3) and (4) | 0.245 | 1.724 | 0.086 | (-0.034, 0.523) |

Table A.3 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.8

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.165 | 1.518 | 0.130 | (-0.048, 0.378) |
| (1) and (3) | 0.100 | 0.872 | 0.384 | (-0.125, 0.325) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.039 | -0.333 | 0.740 | (-0.266, 0.188) |
| (2) and (3) | -0.065 | -0.624 | 0.533 | (-0.267, 0.138) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.203 | -1.938 | 0.054 | (-0.409, 0.002) |
| (3) and (4) | -0.139 | -1.290 | 0.198 | (-0.350, 0.072) |

Table A.4 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.9

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -0.196 | -1.429 | 0.154 | (-0.464, 0.073) |
| (1) and (3) | -0.087 | -0.600 | 0.549 | (-0.371, 0.197) |
| (1) and (4) | 0.098 | 0.672 | 0.502 | (-0.188, 0.385) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.109 | 0.834 | 0.405 | (-0.147, 0.365) |
| (2) and (4) | 0.294 | 2.221 | 0.027 | (0.035, 0.554) |
| (3) and (4) | 0.185 | 1.365 | 0.173 | (-0.081, 0.451) |

Table A.5 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.10

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -0.556 | -3.754 | 0.000 | (-0.846, -0.266) |
| (1) and (3) | -0.249 | -1.833 | 0.068 | (-0.515, 0.017) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.104 | -0.750 | 0.454 | (-0.377, 0.168) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.307 | 2.282 | 0.023 | (0.043, 0.571) |
| (2) and (4) | 0.452 | 3.327 | 0.001 | (0.186, 0.718) |
| (3) and (4) | 0.145 | 1.226 | 0.221 | (-0.087, 0.376) |

Table A.6 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.11

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.450 | 3.093 | 0.002 | (0.165, 0.736) |
| (1) and (3) | 0.250 | 1.853 | 0.065 | (-0.014, 0.513) |
| (1) and (4) | 0.229 | 1.688 | 0.092 | (-0.037, 0.495) |
| (2) and (3) | -0.201 | -1.505 | 0.133 | (-0.462, 0.061) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.221 | -1.672 | 0.096 | (-0.481, 0.038) |
| (3) and (4) | -0.021 | -0.177 | 0.859 | (-0.248, 0.207) |

Table A.7 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.12

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.500 | 3.773 | 0.000 | 0.500 |
| (1) and (3) | 0.446 | 3.643 | 0.000 | 0.446 |
| (1) and (4) | 0.452 | 3.667 | 0.000 | 0.452 |
| (2) and (3) | -0.054 | -0.442 | 0.659 | -0.054 |
| (2) and (4) | -0.047 | -0.392 | 0.695 | -0.047 |
| (3) and (4) | 0.006 | 0.060 | 0.952 | 0.006 |

APPENDIX B Significance Test for Slopes (Nativity)

Table B.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.13

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.254 | 0.649 | 0.517 | (-0.512, 1.020) |
| (1) and (3) | 0.837 | 1.324 | 0.186 | (-0.402, 2.075) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.639 | -1.219 | 0.224 | (-1.667, 0.389) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.583 | 0.964 | 0.336 | (-0.603, 1.768) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.893 | -1.826 | 0.069 | (-1.852, 0.066) |
| (3) and (4) | -1.476 | -2.047 | 0.042 | (-2.889, -0.063) |

Table B.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.14

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -0.575 | -1.267 | 0.206 | (-1.464, 0.314) |
| (1) and (3) | 1.960 | 1.881 | 0.061 | (-0.083, 4.003) |
| (1) and (4) | -1.471 | -1.828 | 0.069 | (-3.049, 0.107) |
| (2) and (3) | 2.535 | 2.520 | 0.012 | (0.563, 4.507) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.896 | -1.205 | 0.229 | (-2.353, 0.561) |
| (3) and (4) | -3.431 | -3.023 | 0.003 | (-5.656, -1.206) |

APPENDIX C Significance Test for Slopes (Gender)

Table C.1 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.15

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -1.759 | -3.030 | 0.003 | (-2.897, -0.621) |
| (1) and (3) | -1.143 | -1.707 | 0.089 | (-2.455, 0.170) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.564 | -0.726 | 0.468 | (-2.084, 0.957) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.616 | 0.891 | 0.373 | (-0.738, 1.971) |
| (2) and (4) | 1.195 | 1.483 | 0.139 | (-0.384, 2.775) |
| (3) and (4) | 0.579 | 0.614 | 0.540 | (-1.271, 2.429) |

Table C.2 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.16

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | -0.586 | -1.405 | 0.161 | (-1.402, 0.231) |
| (1) and (3) | -1.490 | -2.504 | 0.013 | (-2.657, -0.324) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.115 | -0.205 | 0.838 | (-1.220, 0.989) |
| (2) and (3) | -0.905 | -1.542 | 0.124 | (-2.055, 0.245) |
| (2) and (4) | 0.470 | 0.851 | 0.396 | (-0.614, 1.554) |
| (3) and (4) | 1.375 | 1.764 | 0.079 | (-0.153, 2.903) |

Table C.3 Significance Test for Slopes in Figure 6.17

| Pair of slopes | Slope difference | t-value | p-value | 95% Confidence interval |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) and (2) | 0.022 | 0.164 | 0.870 | (-0.239, 0.283) |
| (1) and (3) | 0.091 | 0.609 | 0.543 | (-0.201, 0.382) |
| (1) and (4) | -0.316 | -1.886 | 0.060 | (-0.645, 0.012) |
| (2) and (3) | 0.069 | 0.508 | 0.612 | (-0.196, 0.333) |
| (2) and (4) | -0.338 | -2.190 | 0.029 | (-0.641, -0.036) |
| (3) and (4) | -0.407 | -2.454 | 0.015 | (-0.732, -0.082) |

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