THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DISCUSSING RACE: PATHWAYS AND BARRIERS TO CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS DEVELOPMENT FOR CHINESE AMERICAN YOUTH

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BY

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For my family

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Acknowledgements

I began this project with a lot of uncertainty because it so greatly diverged from my previous research and because I initially struggled to identify mentors whose expertise could help me shape my inquiry. Even though the study spoke to questions I've circled around many times growing up and to questions that have arisen throughout my work with other Asian Americans, I was filled with doubt about my abilities and the significance of the project. I wondered whether or not I had the capacity to carry out this study in a way that would be meaningful to the lives of young people. Now, as I near the completion of writing this dissertation, I no longer second-guess myself or these choices. Instead, I am buoyed with great pride and joy at what this dissertation has become and what it represents. To me, this project reflects the kindness and support of many incredible people I've had the privilege to learn from and be in community with over many years.

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Abstract

This dissertation project examines the interplay between Chinese American youth's racial socialization experiences and their critical consciousness development. *Discussing Race* pursues three central questions: 1) How do Chinese American youth develop an understanding of and response to systemic racism? 2) What implications might their racial socialization experiences have on their understanding and appreciation of their own racial/ethnic identity? 3) How might their racial socialization experiences influence their empathy for and solidarity with other marginalized communities? To investigate these questions, 76 high-school-aged youth (primarily Chinese American) based in Chicago were surveyed and interviewed throughout 2020-2021. Survey and interview questions focused on youths' past and recent race-related interactions across a variety of primary socializing settings (home, school, peers, online spaces, and Asian American-serving youth programs/groups), including how conversations and messages about race contributed to or complicated young people's understanding of systemic racism, positive ethnic-racial identity development, political engagement, and perceived relationship to other marginalized communities. The multi-stage analysis of the interview data followed a mixed grounded theory and thematic analysis approach.

One of the central findings of the study is that Chinese American youth recognized the need and urgency to address racism, but were largely unsupported to do so because of pervasive flat narratives about Asian Americans as model minorities. As a result, many youth sought out resources to educate themselves and others as well as to advocate for their needs and the needs of other students of color. Specifically, social media, conversations with peers, and participation in Asian American youth groups and organizations served as consciousness-raising avenues.

Despite youth's proactive efforts, experiencing racial invisibility throughout the COVID-19 pandemic appeared to complicate young people's critical consciousness development. The persisting silence around anti-Asian racism amidst a year of heightened racial animosity toward Asian communities, and following increased dialogue about racism encouraged by the Black Lives Matter movement, contributed to feelings of frustration for many youth and caused some to question the racial oppression of Asian Americans. Additionally, the lack of urgency and concern observed by young people problematically discouraged empathy for other marginalized communities and perpetuated ignorance about systemic racism.

This finding underscores a critical missed developmental opportunity for Chinese American youth, in large part, because participants were afforded many opportunities throughout 2020 to learn about the experiences of Black communities. These sustained and in-depth learning opportunities encouraged the young people to engage in conversations about anti-Blackness with family members despite encountering a myriad of communication challenges and not having supports to navigate such conversations. Indeed, the unavailability of opportunities and resources to help youth develop an understanding how anti-Asian racism intersects with and reinforces the oppression of Black communities may inhibit critical consciousness development and anti-racist solidarity efforts.

This project highlights the importance of not only disentangling the racialized experiences of Asian American youth from the experiences of other minoritized students but also highlighting the opportunities to help young people contextualize their experiences under White supremacy. Further, it calls attention to a need for schools and youth organizations to learn from and support existing anti-racist efforts led by young people.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Opportunities to learn about and address systemic oppression are important for Asian Americans who are often overlooked or excluded from critically important conversations about race and racism because of pervasive stereotypes (Sue, Sue, & Sue, 2021). This need is particularly pronounced within the current sociopolitical context as Asian communities witness an upsurge in racially motivated attacks throughout the COVID-19 pandemic (Jeung et al., 2021). While research suggests that youth of color who are afforded the space to critically examine their experiences with racism may be better positioned to interrogate their racial positioning (Howard, 2004; Howard & del Rosario, 2000; D. W. Sue, 2013) and more likely to acknowledge and address anti-Black racism (Merseth, 2018), very few studies have examined how these developmental processes may look differently for Asian Americans (Hope et al., 2021).

This dissertation seeks to advance understandings of adolescent sociopolitical development by examining the pathways and barriers to critical consciousness development for Chinese American youth. To date, little work has investigated the role of racial socialization in the sociopolitical development of Asian American youth, specifically how racial messages and conversations may shape young people's understanding about racism, political engagement, and perceived relationship to other marginalized communities. Thus, the core questions driving this dissertation are: 1) How do Chinese American youth develop an understanding of and response to systemic racism? 2) What implications might their racial socialization experiences have on their understanding and appreciation of their own racial/ethnic identity? 3) How might their racial socialization experiences influence their empathy for and solidarity with other marginalized communities?

In partnership with several community organizations, my research team and I interviewed and surveyed 76 high-school-aged youth (primarily Chinese American) based in Chicago throughout 2020-2021 about their past and recent race-related interactions across a variety of primary socializing settings. One of the central findings of the study is that Chinese American youth recognize the need and urgency to address racism, but are largely unsupported to do so because of pervasive flat narratives about Asian Americans as model minorities. As a result, many youth seek out their own resources to educate themselves and others as well as to advocate for their needs and those of other students of color. This project highlights the importance of not only disentangling the racialized experiences of Asian American youth from the experiences of other minoritized students but also highlighting the opportunities to help young people contextualize their experiences under White supremacy. Further, it calls attention to a need for schools and youth organizations to learn from and support existing anti-racist efforts led by young people.

As such, I argue for cultivating intersectional consciousness and racial visibility. Acknowledging the racism experienced by Asian communities importantly validates young people's concerns and opens a pathway for understanding how interpersonal experiences of discrimination intersect with the experiences of other marginalized groups. Furthermore, supports and resources that help youth contextualize the rise in anti-Asian sentiment leading up to and throughout the COVID-19 pandemic may help mobilize youth to confront systemic racism as opposed to resenting other communities oppressed under White supremacy. Thus, this project considers the unique challenges Chinese American youth face that may complicate their sociopolitical development.

The Racial Context of Chinese American Youth

Although many studies have examined the racial-ethnic socialization of Asian American youth, few have considered the history and relevance of the politicization and racialization of Asians in the U.S. when examining adolescent development (Juang et al., 2017). Regardless of their citizenship, length of residency, or generational status, Asian Americans have been consistently cast as perpetual foreigners who do not belong in the U.S. and who threaten White American values, culture, and success (Y. Li & Nicholson, 2021). The yellow peril narrative has intensified within recent years as China's economic power on the world stage has grown and the U.S.' stronghold has weakened (Y. Li & Nicholson, 2021). As has been observed throughout the Trump administration and the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese people—as well as others who are racialized as "Chinese" or "Asian"—have been scapegoated for the growing inequities that have become more apparent amidst a shift in global superpowers and a global health crisis (B. Chang, 2020). The rise in anti-Asian sentiment throughout this time has significant implications for the sociopolitical and ethnic-racial identity development of Chinese American youth. Youth and their families are contending with racialized threats not only in their neighborhoods, schools, ethnic-serving businesses, and other cultural centers but also online (Jeung et al., 2021; Tahmasbi et al., 2021).

Embedded within this highly racialized context is the particularly complicated relationship between Black and Asian communities, which requires thoughtful consideration when examining the sociopolitical and anti-racist development of Chinese American youth. Fueled by the model minority myth and the repeated institutionalization of anti-Blackness, these two communities have been positioned in competition over resources under White supremacy (Kim, 1999). This has resulted in complex racial tensions such as those that contributed to the 1992 Los Angeles Race Riots. Asian Americans have perpetuated anti-Black beliefs and

behaviors to maintain partial racial privileges and also because of their own internalized racism, experiences with discrimination, and underdeveloped understanding of systemic racism (W. Liu, 2018; N. Tran et al., 2018; Yellow Horse et al., 2021). Without fully understanding the structures and processes that pit these two groups against each other, Chinese American youth may embrace harmful color-evasive[1] ideologies and perpetuate racial harm.

This history and current context are important to consider when examining young people's sociopolitical development. Chinese American youth have had to navigate this increasingly hostile racial context at a moment when they are coming into greater social and ethnic-racial awareness (C. A. Flanagan et al., 2009; C. Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Hughes et al., 2016). Middle adolescence, which is typically marked by the years associated with secondary education, is a time when young people explore other viewpoints, values, and behaviors that in turn shape their political interests and pathways later on (C. Flanagan & Levine, 2010). It is also a period during which young people's racial knowledge becomes more complex, compared to younger children, as they develop the capacity to appraise their own experiences relative to the experiences of others, evaluate their own group membership, and recognize the structures and processes of larger systems (Hughes et al., 2016). Thus, to better contextualize and understand their developmental trajectories, it is crucial to examine the sociopolitical and embedded racial contexts in which Chinese American youth are reared.

Data and Methods

This dissertation project examined the contextual factors and socializing agents that may influence the critical consciousness development of Chinese and Asian American youth. A total

[1] Color-evasive is a non-ableist term that recognizes the socialized denial or avoidance of racial differences without problematically associating it with a condition of blindness or visual impairment (Annamma et al., 2017; Bañales et al., 2021).

of 74 high-school-aged Asian American youth in Chicago participated in the study throughout 2020-2021. Fifty-four youth were surveyed in the fall of 2020. Thirty-five of surveyed fall participants were also interviewed. Sixty-seven youth were surveyed in the spring of 2021. Forty-one of surveyed spring participants were also interviewed. Within this spring subsample, 48 were returning participants from the fall and 20 were newly recruited participants. Six of the fall participants had withdrawn from the study or failed to respond to requests for surveys and interviews in the spring. Chapters 2 and 4 examine the fall interview data, whereas Chapter 3 examines interview data and includes information from the survey from both time points.

Recruitment

Fall participants were recruited through high school Asian American clubs and organizations that work with Chicago-area Chinese and Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) communities in September and October 2020. One of these organizations, Chinese American Organization (CAO), played an important role since the pandemic restricted avenues to recruit participants.[2] The organization not only circulated recruitment materials to their own youth members and to youth program facilitators at other organizations via email, a group messaging platform, and during online meetings but also vouched for me and the study.[3]

In the spring, new participants were first recruited through school-based contacts and then through snowball sampling and community-based contacts. Emails were first out on March 16, 2022, coincidentally hours before the Atlanta spa shootings, to high school teachers

[2] Pseudonyms are used for all organizations, participants, and schools.

[3] I worked with CAO from 2017 to 2021, primarily in various voluntary roles supporting their youth program and then leading the development and pilot of a racial dialogue program intended for first-generation Chinese American parents. Prior to recruiting participants for the study, I conducted participant observations with the CAO summer and fall youth programs, occasionally serving as a supporting facilitator for the program. When I began recruiting for the study, I presented details about it to youth participants at the end of a virtual meeting at the beginning of October. Given the trust I had developed in my role as a supporting facilitator, I invited all members of the fall program who consented to participate in the study for an interview.

previously interviewed for this study and high school staff members who were referred to me by nonprofit staff members. (These nonprofit staff members were either previously interviewed for the study or an acquaintance from my work in the Chinese American community.) Emails requested their assistance with sharing information about the study with Chinese and Asian American youth with which they work. Both the fall and spring recruitment scripts and fliers are included in Appendix A.

Fall participants were eligible for the current study if they 1) identified as Chinese, 2) were enrolled in high school grades 9-12, and 3) resided in Chicago or the surrounding suburban area. Fall interviews prompted questions about the leadership of Asian American Clubs, so intentional efforts were made to recruit youth who led these clubs at their high schools during recruitment for new participants in the spring. Thus, spring participants who held a student leadership position in their high school Asian American Club at the time of the study did not have to identify as Chinese. Intentional efforts were also made to recruit Chinese American students and Asian American Club leaders from high schools not represented or underrepresented in the study. Surveyed participants were selectively invited to interviews by the principal investigator (PI) in an effort to have different gender groups, generational statuses, pre-immigration regions (by proxy of dialects spoken at home), residential areas within Chicago, high schools, grade levels, and APIDA youth organizations represented in the interview sample. After completion of the online survey, youth from these different demographic groups were invited to participate in an in-depth interview. Both fall and spring interview request email scripts are provided in Appendix A.

Participants were interviewed by either myself or my trained research assistant over the phone or on Zoom (based on participant preference) within a month following participants'

completion of the survey. In preparation for each interview, the assigned interviewer reviewed the scheduled participant's survey responses to familiarize herself with the participant's background and reported experiences. This allowed interviewers to modify questions in the interview guide and probe participants' responses to gain a more comprehensive understanding of participants' development. Immediately following each interview, interviewers completed an analytical memo to capture useful context, thoughts, comparisons and connections across cases and to the existing literature, questions, and directions to pursue (Charmaz, 2006). Writing the memos provided interviewers the space to actively engage with the data and fine-tune the interview guide for subsequent interviews (Charmaz, 2006). Each participant was compensated $10 in the form of electronic payment or gift card for completing each survey and an additional $15 for each interview.

Survey

The fall survey assessed participants' ethnic-racial identification, comfort engaging in conversations about race and racism, sociopolitical agency and involvement, critical consciousness, and discrimination experiences. Critical consciousness was measured using the Short Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2020) and discrimination experiences were assessed using the Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (Fisher et al., 2000). The fall survey also collected information about the impact of the pandemic on participants and their families, participants' participation in Asian American-centered programs and groups, and their demographics.

The spring survey repeated certain questions, such as assessing participants' critical consciousness, discrimination experiences, participation in Asian American-centered programs and groups, and how participants and their families were impacted by the pandemic. The spring

survey also included new questions to measure participants' ethnic identity and to better capture their demographics. Ethnic identity was measured using Phinney (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. All questions included in the fall and spring surveys are provided in Appendix B.

Interviewer Guide

Interviews were semi-structured and lasted approximately 30 minutes to an hour. The fall interview guide inquired about participants' racial socialization experiences across multiple domains (family, school, peers, neighborhood, organization, and social media), including recent experiences engaging in conversations about anti-Asian and anti-Black racism. With consent from the Executive Director, facilitators, and participants, the lead author observed and participated in the CAO youth program member meetings and planning meetings from July 2020 to December 2020, which informed the design of the fall survey and interview questions. Fall data collection took place between October 2020 and December 2020, 7-9 months after the COVID-19 pandemic was declared a national emergency by the U.S. federal government and 5-7 months after the police murder of George Floyd. The fall interview guide is included in Appendix C.

The spring interview guide revisited participants' socialization around anti-Asian racism, specifically focusing on the ways in which anti-Asian racism has been framed across their primary socializing contexts and the impact this has had on participants' perspectives and wellbeing. The spring interview also inquired about participants' experiences engaging in conversations about White supremacy and their perspective on and understanding of U.S. race relations. Spring data collection took place between March 2021 and June 2021, 2-5 months after

the Capitol insurrection in Washington, D.C. and less than two weeks to 3 months after the Atlanta spa shootings. The spring interview guide is included in Appendix D.

Participants

Table 1 illustrates the characteristics of the surveyed group and interviewed subsample in the fall of 2020. As indicated by the percentages in Table 1, the demographics of the interviewed subsample closely reflect the demographics of the surveyed population. For example, about 74 percent of the interviewed subsample identified as female and second-generation which closely mirrors the proportion of surveyed participants who identified as female (74%) and second generation (70%). While all interviewed participants identified as ethnically Chinese (n = 35), a few identified as multiethnic (n = 4) or multiracial (n = 4). The age of participants ranged from 14 to 18 years (M = 15.8). Parental educational attainment ranged from less than a high school education to having an advanced degree, with approximately a third of participants' parents having completed high school or GED. While participants resided all over Chicago, more than a third resided in Bridgeport (n = 13) and one participant resided in a suburb outside of the city.[4] Nearly all interviewees attended a Chicago Public Schools selective enrollment high school at the time of the study (n = 33).[5] Participants also reported a variety of languages and dialects

[4] According to the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (2021), in 2020, Bridgeport's total population was 33,702, with 13,648 Asian residents (39.6%). The Asian population grew 13.5% since 2000. There were 5,323 residents between the ages of 5 to 19 (15.4%). From 2015-2019, 12,187 residents (35.3%) were foreign born. 10,778 residents (32.8%) spoke Chinese at home. The median income was $54,915 and the per capita income was $29,607. The employment industry sector with the highest number of Bridgeport residents in 2018 was accommodation and food service with 2,074 residents (15.3%).

[5] Students must apply to selective enrollment high schools (SEHS). Admission into a SEHS is based on multiple metrics of academic performance, including an entrance exam score, and students' socioeconomic status (Barrow et al., 2018). In the 2013-2014 academic year, about 22 percent of students attending a CPS SEHS identified as white, nearly 30 percent identified as Hispanic, 35 percent as Black, and 9 percent as Asian (Quick, 2016). However, a report using admissions data from the 2012-2013 school year suggests a different racial composition at the most competitive SEHS: during that academic year, 34 percent of students at the most competitive SEHSs were white, 39 percent were Latino, 11 percent were Black, and 17 percent were Asian (Quick, 2016).

spoken at home, with Cantonese being the most prevalent non-English language. Table 2 presents the breakdown of language and dialects of the fall surveyed and interviewed groups.

Table 3 illustrates the characteristics of the surveyed group in the spring of 2020, and includes a column to distinguish the characteristics of the interviewed subsample. As shown in Table 3, the demographics of the interviewed subsample reflect the demographics of the surveyed population but not as closely by some demographic markers as the fall sample and subsample. For example, about 83 percent of the spring interviewed subsample identified as female and 68 percent as second-generation (n = 41), whereas 79 percent of the spring surveyed sample identified as female and 67 percent identified as second generation (n = 67). Compared to the fall, a higher proportion of female youth participated in interviews in the spring but an equivalent amount of second-generation participants. Ninety-three percent of interviewees identified as ethnically Chinese, 17 percent as another Asian ethnic or Asian multiethnic, and 7 percent as multiracial (n = 41). Compared to the fall subsample, the spring subsample contained less ethnically Chinese participants which reflects intentional efforts to recruit leaders of Asian American youth groups and interested youth in the CAO youth program. Youth who met either of these alternative criteria did not have to identify as Chinese to participate in the study. The age of participants ranged from 14 to 18 years (M = 16.10). Parental educational attainment ranged from less than a high school education to having an advanced degree, with approximately a third of participants' parents having completed high school or GED. While participants resided all over Chicago, more than a third resided in Chinatown or a neighborhood that borders it and one participant resided in a suburb outside of the city.[6] Whereas 95 percent of fall interviewees

[6] A different question was used in the spring survey. Whereas the fall survey asked participants to list the name of the neighborhood they reside in, the spring survey asked for their zip code. Zip codes do not match up to neighborhood boundaries according to the "Chicago Community Areas and ZIP Codes" map (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 2003).

attended a Chicago Public Schools selective enrollment high school at the time of the study (n = 35), only 85 percent of spring interviewees did (n = 41). This 10-percentage point difference is in large part due to intentional efforts to recruit students attending underrepresented or non-represented schools in Chicago. Participants also reported a variety of languages and dialects spoken at home, with Cantonese being the most prevalent non-English language (51% of sample, 44% of interviewed subsample). Table 4 presents the breakdown of language and dialects of the spring surveyed and interviewed groups. Unlike the fall sample, non-Chinese languages (e.g., Vietnamese, Hindi) are represented in the spring sample.

Data Analysis

Audio recordings were professionally transcribed for analysis. This study utilized a mixed deductive and inductive thematic analysis driven by grounded theory. At the start of the analysis, deductive coding procedures were used to sort the data as they aligned with researchers' reflections and lived experience growing up as Chinese American youth, as well as to compare the data to existing theories and studies about the critical consciousness development of youth of color. Throughout all stages of the analysis, inductive coding procedures were employed to allow for the emergence of themes from participants' reflections and recounting of racialized experiences (Charmaz, 2006). This process, which followed Charmaz's (2006). grounded theory approach to qualitative research and Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach to thematic analysis, involved iteratively coding and analyzing the data as it was collected and after all the data was collected. The process of critically reviewing participant responses to determine appropriate coding and the formation of themes from the coded data was systematic and included consensus procedures at each stage (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Charmaz, 2006).

Table 1. *Sample Characteristics, Fall 2020*

	Survey Respondents (n=54)		**Interviewees (n=35)**	
Gender Identity	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Female	40	74	26	74
Male	12	22	8	23
Non-conforming	2	4	1	3
Race/Ethnicity				
Chinese	54	100	35	100
Other Asian ethnicity	4	7	4	11
Biracial/Multiracial	2	4	4	11
Age				
14	11	20	9	25
15	9	17	4	11
16	17	31	10	29
17	11	20	7	20
18	6	11	5	14
Grade				
9th	13	24	10	29
10th	10	19	4	11
11th	18	33	11	32
12th	13	24	10	29
School Type				
CPS Selective Enrollment (Top 5)	43	80	30	86
CPS Selective Enrollment	48	89	33	94
Private	1	2	1	1
Suburb	1	2	1	1
Generational Status				
First generation	6	11	3	9
Second generation	38	70	26	74
Third generation	10	19	6	17
Residence (Chicago Neighborhood)				
Albany Park	1	2	1	3
Armour Square	3	6	2	6
Bridgeport	20	37	13	37
Brighton Park	5	9	2	6
Chinatown	8	15	3	9
Edgewater	1	2	1	3
Hyde Park	1	2	1	3
Lakeview	1	2	0	0
Little Italy	2	4	2	6
Logan Square	1	2	1	3
McKinley Park	7	13	5	14

Table 1. *Sample Characteristics, Fall 2020 (Continued)*

Sauganash	1	2	1	3
South Loop	1	2	1	3
Westridge	1	2	1	3
Schaumburg (suburbs)	1	2	1	3
Maternal Educational Attainment[7]				
Less than 9th grade	5	9	3	9
Some high school	1	2	1	3
High school graduate/equivalent	20	37	13	37
Some college/associate degree (AA, AS)	5	9	2	6
Technical, trade, or vocational	1	2	1	3
Bachelor's degree (BA, BS, AB)	11	20	8	23
Advanced degree (MA, PhD, MD, professional)	8	15	6	17
Don't know/prefer not to share	3	6	1	3
Paternal Educational Attainment[8]				
Less than 9th grade	3	6	2	6
Some high school	1	2	1	3
High school graduate/equivalent	16	30	11	31
Some college/associate degree (AA, AS)	4	7	4	11
Technical, trade, or vocational	1	2	1	3
Bachelor's degree (BA, BS, AB)	8	15	5	14
Advanced degree (MA, PhD, MD, professional)	6	11	4	11
Don't know/prefer not to share	6	11	2	6
Missing information	9	17	5	14

[7] One of our participants lives with her aunt. Therefore, her aunt's educational attainment—rather than her mother's—was considered in this study.

[8] Participants were asked to list the education levels of all household members. Some participants did not list a paternal figure in the household. Forty-five of the 54 surveyed participants and 30 of 35 interviewees provided information about paternal educational attainment.

Table 2. *Languages and Dialects Spoken at Home, Fall 2020*

	Survey Respondents (n=54)		**Interviewees (n=35)**	
Language and/or Dialect	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cantonese	28	52	16	46
Mandarin	22	41	10	29
Toishanese	23	43	11	31
English	44	81	29	83
Taiwanese	2	4	0	0
Fuijanese	1	2	1	3
Khmer	1	2	1	3
ASL	1	2	1	3
Teochew	1	2	0	0
More than 1 Dialect	21	39	9	26
English-only	6	11	7	20
Chinese-only	9	17	6	17

Table 3. *Sample Characteristics, Spring 2021*

	Survey Respondents (n=67)		**Interviewees (n=41)**	
Gender Identity	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Female	53	79	34	83
Male	12	18	6	15
Non-conforming	2	3	1	2
Race/Ethnicity				
Chinese	64	83	38	93
Other Asian ethnicity	13	17	7	17
Biracial/Multiracial	5	7	3	7
Age				
14	4	6	3	7
15	14	21	9	22
16	25	37	14	34
17	19	28	11	27
18	5	7	4	10
Grade				
9th	14	21	9	22
10th	12	18	6	15
11th	27	40	16	39
12th	14	21	10	24
School Type				
CPS Selective Enrollment (Top 5)	49	73	31	76
CPS Selective Enrollment	55	82	35	85
CPS Neighborhood	9	13	4	10
Charter	1	1	0	0
Private	1	1	1	2
Suburb	1	1	1	2
Generational Status				
First generation	7	10	8	20
Second generation	45	67	28	68
Third generation	15	22	5	12
Residence (by Zip Code)[9]				
60133 (surburbs)	1	1	1	2
60605	2	3	2	5
60607	2	3	2	5
60608	14	21	8	20
60609	4	6	3	7

[9] A different question was used in the spring survey. Whereas the fall survey asked participants to list the name of the neighborhood they reside in, the spring survey asked for their zip code. Zip codes do not match up to neighborhood boundaries according to the "Chicago Community Areas and ZIP Codes" map (Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 2003).

Table 3. *Sample Characteristics, Spring 2021 (Continued)*

60616	24	36	13	32
60618	1	1	1	2
60625	1	1	1	2
60629	1	1	1	2
60632	7	10	3	7
60637	1	1	1	2
60638	1	1	1	2
60640	1	1	1	2
60646	3	4	1	2
60657	1	1	0	0
60659	2	3	2	5
60660	1	1	0	0
Maternal Educational Attainment				
Less than 9th grade	8	12	5	12
Some high school	3	4	2	5
High school graduate/equivalent	20	30	11	27
Some college/associate degree (AA, AS)	14	21	8	20
Bachelor's degree (BA, BS, AB)	13	19	9	22
Advanced degree (MA, PhD, MD, professional)	9	13	6	15
Not Applicable (No Mother/Mother Figure)	0	0	0	0
Paternal Educational Attainment				
Less than 9th grade	6	9	5	12
Some high school	5	7	2	5
High school graduate/equivalent	22	33	12	29
Some college/associate degree (AA, AS)	10	15	7	17
Bachelor's degree (BA, BS, AB)	12	18	9	22
Advanced degree (MA, PhD, MD, professional)	10	15	4	10
Not Applicable (No Father/Father Figure)	2	3	2	5

Table 4. *Languages and Dialects Spoken at Home, Spring 2021*

	Survey Respondents (n=67)		Interviewees	
Language and/or Dialect	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cantonese	34	51	18	44
Mandarin	25	37	12	29
Toishanese	28	42	11	27
English	46	69	29	71
Taiwanese	3	4	0	0
Fuijanese	12	18	0	0
Teochew	1	1	2	5
Khmer	1	1	1	2
Vietnamese	1	1	1	2
Urdu	1	1	1	2
Hindi	1	1	1	2
ASL	1	1	1	2
More than 1 Dialect	32	48	14	34
English-only	8	12	6	15
Chinese-only	19	28	13	32

The initial codebook was drafted in conversation with my research assistant who started in the fall. The codebook drew on our related experiences, coding memos, consensus meetings, and related literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Charmaz, 2006). The codebook was refined as additional research team members participated in the data analysis in the winter of 2020 and then in the spring of 2021. At each of these time points, research team members were trained on how to analyze the interviews using the most recent draft of the codebook. Then all coders analyzed the same two transcripts with the aim of further developing codes, adding new codes, and removing or condensing codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Throughout all stages of the analysis process, research team members clarified existing codes and suggested new codes to better capture relationships within and between cases and the literature (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Codes addressing the questions of this dissertation are presented in Table 5.

Emergent themes were discussed and evaluated collectively in team meetings and consensus was obtained on a needed basis. Given the absence of Asian American experiences in the adolescent sociopolitical development literature and the surface-level attention to racial oppression in Freire's (1970) conceptualization of CC, close attention was paid to the racial-ethnic learning experiences of participants in the initial coding of the data. Discussions about the data focused on the nature and consequences of race conversations and racialized experiences as shared by participants. As ethnic-racial minorities in the U.S., research team members drew from their experiences and reflections at times, most often in the moments where existing literature had little or nothing to say about the development of Chinese American youth.

Table 5. *Coding Schema and Corresponding Codes*

Schema	Description	Codes
Ethnic-racial learning	Racial and cultural messaging, awareness of and experiences learning about the context of such racial and cultural messaging	Unlearning stereotypes Exposure to dominant stereotypes Learning about oppression and privilege Reflecting on positionality Learning about/reflecting one's culture
Racial discrimination	Experiences with and understanding of racism, specifically marginalization and discrimination	Lack of Asian representation Presence of Asian representation Interpersonal experiences with racism Observations of racism Reflection on experiences with racism Minimization of racism Never acknowledging discrimination
Anti-Asian Racism	Discussion of their own thoughts/actions or observed thoughts/actions	Observations of anti-Asian racism Discussions about anti-Asian racism Feelings/thoughts about anti-Asian racism Responses/silence toward anti-Asian racism Supports around anti-Asian racism
Anti-Blackness	Discussion of their own thoughts/actions or observed thoughts/actions	Anti-Blackness in Asian communities Anti-Blackness in broader society
Racial dialogue	Experiences with and reflections of conversations on race and racism across various settings	Race talk - School - Peers - Family
Youth spaces	Discussion of experiences with Asian American-centered spaces	Asian American-centered spaces
Complications and opportunities	Catchall categories to highlight challenges and opportunities to engaging in learning about race/racism not captured by other codes	Complications Opportunities

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

I along with my research assistant who started in the fall conducted all fall interviews. We both identify as second-generation Chinese Americans. While this shared cultural background with participants may have encouraged interviewees to more openly discuss questions about race (e.g., Weeks & Moore, 1981), it may have also increased socially desirable bias (e.g, Krumpal, 2013; Nederhof, 1985). To cope with this bias, interview questions were designed with neutral language and a semi-structured interview format was utilized (de Kock & Hauptfleisch, 2018; Krumpal, 2013; Nederhof, 1985). Moreover, interviewers emphasized confidentiality and provided context for study throughout the recruitment and interviewing process, authentically empathized with participants and using forgiving language when appropriate, and exercised reflexivity throughout the data collection and analysis process (Charles & Dattalo, 2018; Krumpal, 2013; Prior, 2018; Wolf, 1996). Lastly, the remote format of interviews allowed participants a degree of anonymity relative to in-person interviews which may have lowered social desirability bias.

I led a team of six research collaborators, one of whom served as my fall research assistant, in the initial analysis of the fall interviews in the winter of 2020. In the winter of 2020, I hired two additional research assistants, who served as interviewers for the spring 2021 interviews. I led a team of my three research assistants, in the re-analysis of fall interviews and the initial analysis of spring interviews in the summer of 2021. All research collaborators and research assistants identify as Asian/Asian American women or non-binary. Similar to the majority of participants in the study, two of my research assistants, four research collaborators, and I identify as Chinese American and second-generation. This shared ethnic and diasporic background means greater familiarity with the cultural and familial factors that may shape

participants' experiences. Additionally, as current or past residents of Chicago, all research collaborators and team members are familiar with the local context that shapes the experiences, perspectives, and development of participants. Further, three of the research collaborators were raised in Chicago, attend or recently graduated from one of the high schools included in the study, are close in age to participants (at the time of the study, 0-3 years from median age of participants), are or were a member and leader of Asian American organizations in their high schools and community.[1] These experiences along with a familiarity with participants' immediate context enhanced interpretability of the data.

While our backgrounds offered invaluable insight into the critical consciousness development of youth participants, we are also limited in understanding the range of experiences of our research interlocutors. For example, the migration journeys of our families and of the families of participants likely differ in terms of pre- and post-immigration context. Relatedly, I along with three of my research team members grew up in predominantly White suburban areas outside of Illinois—areas absent of the rich cultural connections found within the Chinese American communities of Chicago—and are from different generations than the young people in the study. We attempted to minimize over-interpretation of youth's experiences through our personal lenses by keeping these important differences in mind as we analyzed the data. Specifically, we addressed potential bias by having multiple coders and meeting to discuss findings at multiple points throughout the analytical process.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation examines the racial socialization and critical consciousness development of high-school-aged Asian American youth in Chicago. Specifically, I look at how conversations

[1] Two of these collaborators assisted with recruitment of the study before joining the research team.

and messages about race across youth's primary socializing settings enhance or complicate their understanding of systemic racism, ethnic-racial identity development, political engagement, and perceived relationship to other marginalized communities.

I first offer an overview of relevant ethnic-racial socialization theory and research in Chapter 2, "The Ethnic-Racial Socialization of Chinese and Asian American Youth." I then present my findings from an analysis of 35 interviews with primarily monoethnic Chinese American youth. In this chapter, I share that young people rarely receive positive messaging about their ethnic-racial group from parents and teachers. Further, they do not commonly encounter opportunities at school or at home to learn about and discuss their racial group's experiences of marginalization, including opportunities to understand how their experiences intersect with the experiences of other oppressed groups. In the absence of opportunities at school and at home, many study participants develop an understanding of their experiences through social media engagement, internet research, conversations with peers, and participation in Asian American-serving youth group and programs. This chapter presents important considerations for schools and organizations who wish to support Asian American youth to understand and confront injustices.

In Chapter 3, "Contending with Racial Invisibility and Silence," I draw on interviews with 47 Asian American high schoolers in the fall of 2020 and in the spring of 2021 to illustrate the ways in which anti-Asian racism (AAR) was discussed across youth's primary socializing settings throughout a year of heightened racial animosity toward Asian communities. Youth commonly felt as though AAR was minimized or overlooked by teachers, administrators, and classmates, whereas Asian American-serving youth groups and programs responded with greater urgency and care. Youth shared the ways in which these affinity groups validated their concerns

and feelings and helped them process the violence against Asian communities. Such efforts from youth groups and programs seemed to support youth's critical consciousness development, whereas the relative silence of school staff seemed to generate frustration as well as caused some youth to question these feelings which may discourage empathy for and understanding of other marginalized communities.

Chapter 4, "Reckoning with Anti-Blackness," builds off of Chapter 3 by illustrating the need to help Asian American youth understand the intersection of anti-Blackness and AAR. Youth who do not develop this understanding may feel resentment at the attention to anti-Blackness in schools and broader society. On the other hand, youth who recognize the shared fate of marginalized groups under White supremacy may be more likely to engage in solidarity efforts and efforts to address internalized racism. Similar to the two preceding chapters, this chapter also underscores the significance of online and youth spaces in the development of youth's critical consciousness.

CHAPTER 2: THE ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHINESE AND ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH

This chapter explores the racialized messages young people receive about Asian Americans across five primary socializing contexts: schools, youth programs, peers, families, and online spaces. Specifically, I inquire about participants' exposure to Asian American history, issues, and narratives across these settings to better understand how racialized experiences within adolescents' environments may interact with their beliefs and understandings about race and racism as well as their critical consciousness development. Critical consciousness development, which draws heavily from Paulo Freire's (1970) theory for liberation, describes the trajectory in which "oppressed people learn to critically analyze their social conditions and act to change them" (Watts et al., 2011).

To situate my findings, I first offer an overview of relevant ethnic-racial socialization theory and research. I then present my findings which emerge from a thematic analysis of the self-reported experiences and reflections of 35 primarily monoethnic Chinese American youth (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These experiences and reflections were gathered through semi-structured interviews conducted between October and December of 2020. I conclude this chapter by discussing the implications of ethnic-racial socialization on adolescent identity and critical consciousness development, highlighting a need to disentangle the racialized experiences of Asian Americans from that of other marginalized groups when theorizing the sociopolitical development of adolescents. Further, I present important considerations for schools and organizations in their efforts to support Asian American youth to understand and confront injustices.

Theoretical Framework

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) refers to the "behaviors, practices, and social regularities that communicate information and worldviews about race and ethnicity to children" (Hughes et al., 2016, p.4). In ethnically and racially stratified countries like the U.S., children and adolescents are communicated messages about ethnicity and race throughout their upbringing and across various settings. These messages, whether communicated explicitly or through embodied practices, shape young people's racial knowledge and awareness as well as perceptions of other ethnic-racial groups (Hughes et al., 2016). This information also molds the meaning young people ascribe to their own ethnic-racial group, their sense of group belonging and pride, their understanding of the history and values associated with their group, and their beliefs about other groups in relation to their own group (Hughes et al., 2016).

As the primary socializing context for adolescents, the family has been most researched within the ERS literature (Hughes et al., 2016; Priest et al., 2014). This body of research identifies several types of messages that parents pass onto their children: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism and silence about race (Hughes et al., 2006). *Cultural socialization* refers to the transmission of messages that promote ethnic pride and knowledge about cultural history and heritage; *preparation for bias* refers to practices that aim to prepare children for prejudice and discrimination; *promotion of mistrust* refers to efforts that caution or warn children about other racial-ethnic groups; *egalitarianism* refers to the transmission of messages that emphasize diversity and racial equality, and *silence about race* refers to the failure to discuss racial issues (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies indicate that parents of color often purposefully promote ethnic pride, an appreciation of diversity, and practices that prepare children for bias out of a belief that such messages positively contribute to the psychosocial development of their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley et al., 2019).

However, studies that examine ERS across multiple ethnic groups suggest that the frequency of certain types of messages may differ by the racial background of families (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Black parents are more likely than other parents to report preparing their children for bias (Hughes et al., 2006), and first-generation Asian American parents tend to emphasize heritage culture and equality rather than messages about race, discrimination, and avoiding other ethnic-racial groups (Juang et al., 2017).

Literature Review

Parent-Child Socialization

Of the limited studies on Asian American and Asian immigrant families, researchers find that parents tend to convey messages of cultural pride and acculturation to dominant cultural norms, but rarely engage in conversations about discrimination and how to address it (Choi & Hahm, 2017; Daga & Raval, 2018; Juang et al., 2017; Young et al., 2021). However, the frequency and types of messages parents convey to their children may be moderated by a number of factors, such as maternal education, age, and upbringing, as well as parents' generational status (e.g., foreign-born), ethnicity, orientation toward acculturation into American society, and experiences of discrimination (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hughes et al., 2009; A. G. T. T. Tran & Lee, 2010). For example, studies on Chinese and Asian American families found that first-generation immigrant parents are less likely to initiate conversations on racism with their children, including bringing up their experiences of racism, when compared to second-generation parents (Benner & Kim, 2009; Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007; Juang et al., 2018), even though they are more likely to experience discrimination than the second generation (Yip et al., 2008). Other studies found that surveyed adolescents found that mothers between the ages of 35 and 44 and more educated mothers engaged in cultural socialization more often than mothers over the age of

55 and less educated mothers, respectively (Hughes et al., 2009; Huynh & Fuligni, 2008; A. G. T. T. Tran & Lee, 2010). These studies illustrate not only how various conditions may influence familial socialization practices but also the great degree of heterogeneity within the limited research on Asian families. Additionally, a more recent study suggests that second-generation Asian American young adults often teach their parents about race, which is in contrast to dominant theories of the racial socialization processes of other racial minorities in which parents transmit messages about race to children (Young et al., 2021).

School Socialization

Although most of the literature centers on parental practices, available research on other settings support an ecological/transactional perspective on ERS, such that young people are in constant interaction with various agents across multiple sociocultural contexts over time and that these interactions shape their beliefs about race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2016). In schools, for example, young people receive messages about race and ethnicity from their interactions with peers, teachers, and course curricula (Aldana & Byrd, 2015). Research indicates that Asian American and immigrant students are commonly othered because of their race. For example, students of Asian descent are most likely to experience race-based peer discrimination when compared to their non-Asian peers (Cooc & Gee, 2014; Fisher et al., 2000; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Way et al., 2008). Across multiple studies, Asian students were targeted by their peers because of their language skills, accents, perceived immigrant status, culture, physical size and strength (among boys), academic achievements, and preferential treatment from teachers (Fisher et al., 2000; Koo et al., 2012; S. J. Lee, 2005; Pang, 2006; Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2008). Victimization included verbal harassment (e.g., racial slurs and name-calling), physical assault (e.g., objects thrown at them, physical attacks), and social exclusion (e.g., group

activities) and occurred both in and outside of school (Fisher et al., 2000; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Way et al., 2008). In some studies, racial discrimination and harassment was found to be intertwined with non-Asian peers and teachers' stereotypes of Asian Americans and immigrants. For example, in a longitudinal study of New York City high schools, non-Chinese students called Chinese students "dirty," "smelly," and "not cool" when regarding their personal style, food habits, language, and general attitudes (Way et al., 2008, p. 65)—discourse associated with the perpetual foreigner stereotype.

The popular narrative that Asian students excel academically also fuels peer discrimination and leads educators to overlook or minimize students' experiences. In a study of a racially diverse New York City high school, researchers found that teachers who perceived Asian students as a model minority treated them more favorably when compared to Black and Latino students (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Non-Asian peers targeted Asian students for receiving preferential treatment from teachers (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and Asian students reported feeling additional stress from the expectations associated with the model minority stereotype (Greene et al., 2006). Further, the model minority myth makes it difficult for Asian students to receive help and support when they do need it. Most notably, prior research found that school staff often overlooked or minimized experiences of racial discrimination among Asian American students because they were perceived as academically successful – even when they were not (A. W. Cheng et al., 2017; Chou & Feagin, 2008; Pang, 2006; Qin et al., 2008). While teachers' racial biases are more likely to convey educational advantages to Asian American students and exclude Black and Latino students from the same opportunities and supports (Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2008), this body of research indicates that Asian American students often experience racial and social marginalization in schools, which may

negatively affect how they view their own ethnic-racial group and/or their beliefs about other groups. These studies demonstrate the ways in which the racialization of Asians under White supremacy negatively affect young people's schooling experiences: the perpetual foreigner stereotype socially marginalizes Asian American students while the model minority stereotype antagonistically positions them against students of other racial backgrounds while also masking their experiences of discrimination from administrators and educators (Kim, 1999).

Further, the negative impact of these racialized interactions is likely compounded by the minimization and portrayal of Asian American experiences in school curricula. An analysis of K-12 social studies textbooks and manuals from 2003 to 2012 found that materials minimally covered Asian American history and experiences and promoted problematic stereotypes of Asians as model minorities and perpetual foreigners (Hartlep et al., 2016). Such under-representation and misrepresentation of Asians may shape the racial understandings of young people as well as that of their non-Asian peers, teachers, and administrators. At the same time, educators can positively influence youth ethnic-racial identity and critical consciousness development through curricular and facilitation choices (Rodríguez, 2018). For example, school practices and curricula that encourage youth to reflect on how race and ethnicity contribute to racial injustice in society as well as on other forms of oppression may enhance their structural analysis of racism while also increasing their intergroup empathy and involvement in anti-racism action (Bañales et al., 2019; Boulden, 2006; Kaplowitz et al., 2018, 2019; Seider et al., 2020). Together, these studies illustrate how school-based practices may contribute to, or disrupt, persisting racial inequities including misunderstandings about people of Asian descent.

Neighborhood Socialization

Despite being more distal than the aforementioned settings, neighborhoods remain a critical context for young people's ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2016). Studies on the ERS of African American children found that community social capital and racial composition are linked to children's perceptions of racial barriers, level of interracial distrust, awareness of racism, racial pride, belonging, and individual experiences of racism (Benner & Graham, 2013; Bennett, 2006; Oyserman & Yoon, 2009; Smith et al., 2003; Supple et al., 2006), suggesting that neighborhood features shape youths' understanding of and experience with racism as well as their feelings toward their own racial group and other racial groups. Further, racially-coded interactions within one's neighborhood and observations from travel to other neighborhoods are associated with increased racial knowledge and awareness of systemic racism (Moje & Martinez, 2007; Winkler, 2010). In an ethnographic study of Latino adolescents, researchers found neighborhood contexts to both support and inhibit adolescent ethnic-racial identity development—either by instilling ethnic-racial pride and promoting knowledge about cultural heritage and history or by transmitting messages that position youth as a racial "other" (Moje & Martinez, 2007). This study also importantly highlights the importance of ethnic enclaves, community resources, and cultural spaces within neighborhoods. Specifically, opportunities to positively engage with coethnics and learn about their history, culture, and language supported positive constructions of youth's ethnic identity (Moje & Martinez, 2007). The limited research on neighborhood and community contexts, which has focused on Black and Latinx youth, demonstrate the influence of these settings on adolescent socialization.

While understanding about ERS processes among Asian American families is growing, the literature has predominantly focused on African American families and failed to contextualize the socialization experiences of Asian Americans (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley et

al., 2019; Juang et al., 2017). Better understanding communication about race is important as it provides insight into how sociocultural influences may shape ethnic-racial identity, interrelationships, and critical consciousness among adolescents (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Bañales et al., 2019; Hughes et al., 2016; Mathews et al., 2020). This chapter therefore examines the racial messaging that high-school-aged Asian American adolescents encounter across a number of primary socializing contexts and how these messages may influence their beliefs, feelings, and actions that challenge racism (Bañales et al., 2021).

Data and Methods

The findings for this chapter are based on a thematic analysis of 35 semi-structured interviews conducted between October 2020 and December 2020. Participants were recruited via email through high school Asian American clubs and organizations that work with Chicago-area Chinese and Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) communities. Participants were eligible for the study if they 1) identified as Chinese, 2) were enrolled in high school grades 9-12, and 3) resided in Chicago or an active member in the Chinese American Organization (CAO) youth program.

Participants first completed a survey that assessed ethnic-racial identification, comfort engaging in conversations about race and racism, sociopolitical agency and involvement, critical consciousness, and discrimination experiences. The fall survey also collected information about the impact of the pandemic on participants and their families, participants' involvement in Asian American-centered programs and groups, and their demographics. Survey data was used to identify participants to invite to interviews. Specifically, efforts were made to have different gender groups, generational statuses, pre-immigration regions (by proxy of dialects spoken at home), residential areas within Chicago, high schools, grade levels, and APIDA youth

organizations represented in the interview sample. All recruitment materials are included in Appendix A and the fall survey questions are provided in Appendix B.

Interviews were semi-structured and lasted approximately 30 minutes to an hour. The fall interview guide, which is included in Appendix C, inquired about participants' racial socialization experiences across multiple domains (family, school, peers, neighborhood, organization, and social media), including recent experiences engaging in conversations about anti-Asian and anti-Black racism. Interview questions were informed by prior literature and participant-observations of the CAO youth program from July 2020 to August 2020. Participants were interviewed by either myself or my trained research assistant over the phone or on Zoom (based on participant preference) within a month following participants' completion of the survey. In preparation for each interview, the assigned interviewer reviewed the scheduled participant's survey responses to familiarize herself with the participant's background and reported experiences. This allowed interviewers to modify questions in the interview guide and probe participants' responses to gain a more comprehensive understanding of participants' development. Each participant was compensated $10 in the form of electronic payment or gift card for completing the fall survey and an additional $15 for participating in the interview.

All interviewed participants identified as ethnically Chinese (n = 35), four identified as multiethnic and another four identified as multiracial. Seventy-four percent of interviewed participants identified as female and second-generation and 94% attended a Chicago Public Schools selective enrollment school at the time of the study. The age of participants ranged from 14 to 18 years (M = 15.8). Parental educational attainment ranged from less than a high school education to having an advanced degree, with approximately a third of participants' parents having completed high school or GED. While participants resided all over Chicago, more than a

third resided in Bridgeport (n = 13) and one participant resided in a suburb outside of the city. Participants also reported a variety of languages and dialects spoken at home, with Cantonese being the most prevalent non-English language. Table 1 illustrates the characteristics of the interviewed subsample in the fall of 2020 and Table 2 presents the breakdown of language and dialects of this same group.

Fall data collection took place between October 2020 and December 2020, 7-9 months after the COVID-19 pandemic was declared a national emergency by the U.S. federal government and 5-7 months after the police murder of George Floyd. Audio recordings of interviews were professionally transcribed. A mixed deductive and inductive approach was used to analyze the data. Participant responses were critically reviewed by myself and my research team in an iterative, systematic process that included consensus procedures at each stage to determine appropriate coding and the formation of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Charmaz, 2006).[1]

Findings

"It's like wiping us out from their curriculum": Marginalization and mis-representation of Asian American narratives in schools

Building the capacity to connect one's cultural history to the histories of other racial and ethnic groups, as well as to the current context, is a central component to developing an understanding of systemic oppression and privilege (Bañales et al., 2021). Yet, the overwhelming majority of study participants shared that Asian American history and narratives are sparsely represented, and even misrepresented, in their school curriculum. The under-representation of Asian Americans in school curricula is reflected in our interview with Maya, an

[1] Refer to "Chapter 1: Introduction" for more detail about the data and methods.

11th grader attending Oak Hills Prep. Maya attends a top-rated selective enrollment high school where nearly 20 percent of the student population identifies as Asian. Students in Maya's Honors U.S. History (HUSH) class were tasked with researching a part of history that interested them. Maya wanted to learn more about Chinese American history so started her research by looking through her HUSH textbook. She recounted:

> I could probably only find one paragraph about the Chinese Exclusion Act or basically anything that happened to Asians in the United States. I remember talking to my friends because almost all of them took HUSH at that time, and we were just talking about how it's crazy that they didn't include what happened because it happened in the U.S., too. It didn't happen in China or Asia, it happened in the U.S. It was a big part of the U.S. and a big part between the bonds of Americans and Chinese Americans. That was such a big part, and we were just confused, why is that not there? We felt like it should have been there.

While Maya did not share the ethnic-racial identities of the friends with which she discusses her disbelief and confusion, school data indicates that nearly 20 percent of the student population in the 2020-2021 academic school year at Oak Hills Prep identifies as Asian. This implies that the district, whether consciously or not, encouraged the use of a textbook that largely excludes people of Asian descent from the American narrative in a school that serves a significant proportion of Asian American students. Such an action may communicate to students and the broader school community that Asian Americans and immigrants are *not* American. Further, it contributes to the erasure of experiences of discrimination and racialization that Asians in the U.S. have experienced since their arrival.

The minimal portrayal of Chinese and Asian Americans in the main curricular resource for her upper-level course is a clear and common example of under-representation in public education curricula. Emma, a 12th grader at Northview, another top-rated selective enrollment high school in Chicago in which Asian students comprised of 14 percent of the student population in the 2020-2021 school year, views the curricular decision to exclude Asian American history as intentional:

> Well, it'd be a lot nicer if the curriculum was more diverse in terms of the books that we read. If they're going to teach you about Huck Finn, and that kind of stuff, they should also teach us about Asian American literature…They also don't talk about Asian American history at all in the history classes. The only instances I can think of are Pearl Harbor and the Chinese Exclusion Act. Those are the only two examples, but there are so many other instances. It's like wiping us out from their curriculum.

Like Maya, Emma recognizes that Asian American history and narratives *are* part of the American story even when their schools do not. However, not all young people may recognize this, which can negatively impact not only how Asian Americans understand their relationship to the U.S. but also the perceptions non-Asians have about Asian Americans.

Indeed, interviews with participants suggest that a White, Eurocentric curriculum is largely still taught in schools, even in the more racially-diverse selective enrollment schools that many of the study participants attend. Participants, such as Gabe, a 9th grader at Grandview Prep, observed that White narratives and perspectives continue to be centered regardless of the racial composition of the student body. In his interview, Gabe shared:

> I really don't think I learned much but I think it was about immigrants, Chinese immigrants. The California Gold Rush or whatever, Angel Island or whatever like the test

> there… I think a lot of us have recognized that as a problem. It's White narratives, White history. It's…only that and it's being retold and I haven't really noticed that a lot because I've just been not really connecting to the things I read…I haven't really noticed that for a long time that our schools don't have Asian narratives or even BIPOC narratives in general.

Gabe's response is particularly interesting given that he attended an elementary school that did not serve white students and now attends a high school in which White students make up less than 2 percent of the student population. It highlights the persisting ways in which White supremacy is ascribed within the curriculum of public schools. This is problematic in itself, but the issue is further exacerbated when teachers, who hold positions of authority, present biased accounts of history that misrepresent other cultures. For example, Andy, an 11th grade student at Northview, observed the following:

> …my freshman year social studies class was a World History class and when we were doing the modern world, which is between 1750 to 1900, our history teacher who was a White male, tried to describe…the Qing dynasty, as well as the Ming dynasty as pretty much barbaric and had nothing to do in terms of science and technology, saying that they were going backwards in terms of culture as well as education. And yes, not every society back then was perfect because there's no such thing as a perfect society, but I felt like it was very unusual why he focused on the negative parts of Chinese society. Meanwhile, he's only talking about the positive parts of Western society…

Andy noted the ways in which his White World History teacher portrayed Western societies as progressive and Eastern societies as "backwards." Such a portrayal problematically messages to both Asian and non-Asian students that White society and culture are superior and East Asian

society and culture are inferior. This message reinforces racist and false narratives about Chinese and Asian Americans while upholding White supremacist ideas.

Study participants who discussed the ways in which Whiteness is ascribed in their school curriculum often highlighted how this came at the cost of understanding the experiences of people of color. This is highlighted in the interviews with Andy and Gabe as well as in the interview with Chloe, a 12th grader at Oak Hills Prep:

> In honors US history, it was probably super brief. Maybe we spent one class going over the Chinese Exclusion Act, and all of that. All the stuff that you typically get from a history textbook, you probably moved on pretty quickly after that, it's pretty brief… I was like, "Man, I wish that we would stop talking about these old white men, and the constitution, and what they did" because I feel every history class does that, and we get it. I feel a lot of narratives in history aren't told, especially in Asian history, or in Latinx history, like those narratives I haven't really seen as much in history class, and I know that they're really important.

As Chloe articulates, the continued centering of White stories pushes out the important stories of communities of color. For many youth, experiencing such erasure and invisibility generates feelings of frustration and disappointment. Evelyn, a 10th grader at Creekside, expressed such sentiment in her interview:

> Well, I take Mandarin classes. Definitely, we learn a lot about Chinese culture stuff there. Not necessarily history, just more about geography and dialects and stuff. In my history class, it was just world history. We covered more of European history, but definitely not a lot of Asian cultures. I know some of the other classes, they cover Asian culture, but I don’t think it’s pretty much talked at all.

Evelyn clarified that she came to be aware of the discrepancy in content between her World History class and other World History classes by talking to her friends who were enrolled in those other classes. When asked about her thoughts and feelings on this, she remarked:

> I mean, I think it's sad. Being of an Asian background, I definitely wanted to know more. Hopefully, in future classes I take, I'll get to make up for a missed opportunity. I feel like it might be related to the pandemic, and not getting the full curriculum. But it does make me sad that, compared to the other classes. At the same time, I wonder if other classes also touched as much as we did on European history.

It is important to note that while many youth—like Maya and Emma—are acutely aware of the marginalization of Chinese and Asian American experiences in school, only some young people—like Gabe, Andy, and Chloe—note such marginalization occurs because White experiences continue to be privileged. This nuance suggests differing stages of critical racial awareness and brings to question what supports and challenges lead young people to these different positions.

Data from this study suggests that exposure to Asian American narratives in schools is one such support. Specifically, including Asian American experiences in the curriculum likely raises the racial consciousness of young people, as is evident in the interview with Jessica, an 11th grader at Oak Hills Prep:

> During freshman year, I remember we had a unit on Asian Americans. We read the book *American Born Chinese*, and that was, I think that was the only like class that ever delved into like East Asian tradition…It related to me a lot because the book was about, this, this kid born in America, but he's struggling between like being Chinese and being American... Basically, he went to a school and he was surrounded by like, whiteness and

like traditions that weren't familiar with him. And I sort of feel the same because like my newer friends, they don't really, they're not familiar with my traditions, so it can feel kind of like, like strange when I bring them up.

Engaging with the novel in class not only affirmed her overlooked ethnic, racial, and cultural experiences but also heightened her awareness of the racial positioning of Chinese and Asian Americans within a White supremacist society. Curricular inclusion may also enhance learning about race in other contexts as it did for Chloe:

> At the end of English class, you read this book called *American Born Chinese* and it's a graphic novel... We were able to uncover a lot of themes about dual identity and, what's it called, the collective unconscious, or something like that. Just understanding what it feels like to be Asian in a predominantly White school because that was like the plot. I think that was the first time that I felt my identity to some extent had been centered in class in discussion. Now, I'm taking Asian-American lit, obviously, that really centers the Asian experience, which is really cool. We get to read a lot about-- Right now, we're reading-- I don't know what the book is called, but it's like a fictional story of Asian immigrants during the 18th century, or the 19th century, the San Francisco Gold Mountain, and that railroads, and stuff like that.

As evident above, Chloe draws connections between what she learned from reading *American Born Chinese* in her English class with what she is presently learning in her Asian American literature class.

These testimonies powerfully support needed changes to curriculum such that the experience of marginalized students are brought to the center. However, providing more representative materials aids the development of critical consciousness only to a certain extent as

all stories cannot be fully captured. Thus, changes to facilitation must also be considered, such that teachers and youth workers collaborate to create opportunities for all young people - but especially for those who are most unseen in predominantly White spaces - to share and contextualize their stories within the greater American narrative. As Jessie, a 10th grader at Oak Hills Prep, reflected:

> I feel like they could do better in teaching the younger generation, especially because they're still growing…Because if you live your whole life thinking one thing, it's going to be really hard to change your mindset. I feel like they should have taught me more about history, especially my history and other people's history, so I feel that when we grow up, and we go into high school, and we see more people and meet more people, that we could think for ourselves...

"They don't really know about Asian Americans": Accounting for the absence of conversations at home

For study participants, opportunities to learn about one's cultural history and its connection to the current sociopolitical context are limited not only in schools but also at home. While young people largely reported that their families do not engage in such conversations, most attributed it to their parents' limited understanding of Asian American history. This was a consistent finding across parents' educational levels as evident in the responses below:

> I think one of the reasons is because I don't think they know that much about Chinese American history. I'm sure they know the basic effects of the gold rush, the railroad. Other than that, I don't think they've been educated in China about Chinese Americans. (Stephen, 11th grade, South Ridge, both parents hold associate degrees)

> Honestly, I just don't think that they're educated in that part either, because my parents immigrated to America. They immigrated to America when they were 18 so they've been working since then. They don't really know about Asian Americans. To a certain degree they only know about people from America that come from America. (Simon, 12th grade, South Ridge, both parents completed a high-school-equivalent education in China where they were both born)

Indeed, collected survey responses indicate that nearly 85 percent of study participants have at least one parent born outside of the U.S. While the details about parents' ethnic-racial socialization experiences were not collected, available information from participants suggest that immigrant parents may not be familiar enough with Asian American history to teach it to their children.

Even though parents' lived experiences constitute a part of Asian American history, many participants shared that their parents do not willingly share their immigration or diaspora stories with them. U.S.-born Nora, an 11th grader at Northview, believes that her immigrant, middle-school-educated parents do not talk about Chinese or Chinese-American history because they are unfamiliar with this history:

> They don't really talk about that to me because, well, they came here for a job…They don't really talk about what it's like to be Asian American because they grew up in China, and it's different there than it is here… I think it's because they're more focused on their jobs and the future for me. They don't really talk about what it's like for them when they were younger.

She suspects that they do not talk about their family history because they believe that focusing their energies elsewhere, specifically establishing financial security through work, will better uplift her.

Other youth remark that language – specifically their limited fluency in their parents' native language (or heritage language) and their parents' limited English fluency – inhibits fruitful conversations about family history. For example, Xiaomei, a 12th grader at Oak Hills Prep, shared: "because of the language barrier, sometimes it is difficult to understand what they're saying, and I do wish that sometimes I get to know more about their childhood or what they did in school or, I guess, everything." Like Nora, Xiaomei's parents received less than a high school education in China before they immigrated to the U.S. The finding in the previous subsection about curricular marginalization suggests that even parents who are raised and/or educated in the U.S. are not likely to develop a comprehensive understanding of history from the American education system.

While not frequently observed across the cases in this study, it is worth noting that parents may not eagerly share their immigration or diaspora stories with their children because of unresolved trauma. Maria, a 10th grader at East Lake, shares that her parents and grandparents, with whom she lives, bore witness to the murders of family members and friends under the Khmer Rouge. She believes that the traumas they experienced make it difficult for them to talk to her about their life before coming to the U.S.:

> With the Khmer Rouge, what happened, I don't know if you know it but basically, the dictator Pol Pot, his intention was to make Cambodia an agriculture-focused, communist country. He eliminated the educated like lawyers, doctors, dentists, and stuff like that. My grandpa, he came from a family of 11…I think almost all of his elder siblings died. In his

> family, it's only him and two other siblings that survived through it, which is really heartbreaking. I guess he realized what was happening and then when [members of the Khmer Rouge] finally went to call him, he realized what was happening and he denied all the accusations about him being educated and said that he was poor and stuff like that. He was with 500 other people. He technically saved five other people because they realized what he was doing and they followed suit, which is pretty cool, I think. It's nevertheless heartbreaking that he had to go through it and it's really scary asking questions because I'm always really scared that he'll break or something.

While Maria expressed enthusiasm about learning history, she noted a particular interest in learning about the sociopolitical events in which her family lived through. While her family has opened up to her questions in recent years, she notes that she has "been careful because it's pretty traumatic and stuff."

Indeed, other young people similarly shared that parents only discussed their pre-migration and resettlement experiences when probed as is the case with Dylan, a 12th grader at Grandview Prep who lives with his immigrant mother and grandmother:

> I don't know a lot about my family's history, but they did talk about it when they felt comfortable. At a young age, I had like mixed ideas about what my parents had to go through but recently [now that] I'm older and I'm able to connect historical events with what my parents were saying. I was able to build my own picture. And doing a little bit of…personal investigation, I was able to draw a good conclusion of some of my family's history. They don't want to talk about it unless you ask. They're fairly comfortable about—if you ask a question, they'll tell you…Sometimes they're going to answer, sometimes they don't, depending on how comfortable they are. But last year I asked my

> parents, because I connected some of the dates together and I was able to get a confirmation that my dad lived during the time of the Cambodian genocide. He confirmed it himself when I asked him, so I was able to learn that way… He just remembers that when he was a little boy in Cambodia, he remembered seeing a bunch of dead bodies in the highway. He says it still haunts him once in a while, but he suppresses his childhood in the back of his mind.

When participants are able to get their parents to talk about their experiences, like in Dylan's case, this may help them not only understand their parents better but also develop a sociohistorical framework for examining their experiences and the experiences of others. It is also important to note that many participants shared that they had to conduct their own research like Dylan to construct a more comprehensive understanding of their family's pre-migration context and resettlement experiences. Youth's reported efforts to piece together their cultural history not only demonstrate agency and interest in learning about their immigration and diasporic context but also call attention to the minimal resources and supports they have for such learning.

"I usually learned about Asian American culture over the internet": The role of social media and online resources

Indeed, young people in the study cited the internet and social media as significant contributors to their ethnic, racial, and cultural learning. For those with specific questions or topics of interest in mind, the internet facilitated learning through its vast and easily accessible network of resources. Even among those who did not proactively seek out resources to further their understandings about race and racism, general engagement on social media platforms often still helped to heighten their racial awareness. Across many cases, participants discussed the

impact that exposure to content on platforms like Instagram and TikTok had on their understanding of Asian American history and issues that affect Asian American communities and other communities of color.

A handful of participants shared how online resources support their interest in learning about history and current social issues. Like many of the participants profiled in the previous subsections, Andy, an 11th grader at Northview, internet research helps him learn more about his cultural identity and history: "I usually learned about Asian American culture over the internet." This is also the case for Maria, who is interested in not only her family history as noted in the previous subsection but also a broader historical context beyond the timelines and regions that her family has occupied. She shares:

> I tend to go on little research rabbit holes. Maybe I talk to somebody about this one thing and they bring up this one thing and I get curious about it... I go on research rabbit holes, I watch documentaries, I gather a myriad of YouTube videos that explain stuff. I research it after just to make sure that I'm not consuming inaccurate information. I'm a pretty avid reader, so I love historical fiction.

Dylan also expressed interest in learning history beyond what is taught in his school or shared by his parents. He employs similar strategies as Maria:

> I love history. History is my favorite subject so I personally researched everything myself and go through all that education, but I know like in all the curriculums there wasn't really anything discussed about Asian-Americans besides AP United States history. We had a short lesson on the Japanese internment camps and that was really the most that we've ever talked about…I like reading books on the topics. I like scouring the internet.

> Whenever I have a question on a specific historical event, I just Google it real quick. I'm pretty good at memorizing history so I have all this knowledge.

The internet is also an important resource for Gabe, helping him deepen his understanding of history and current social issues. In his interview, he shared:

> I've been reading about how Asians adoptees who are adopted by White parents, often see and often feel disconnected from their community. That's just something I've been reading-- Or we can talk about the fake cops in schools and how much they contribute to the school-to-prison pipeline. I learned about that long ago… I learned about how SRO [school resource officers] officers are often more-- There's more of them than actually like mental health people that help children...

Later in the interview, Gabe noted that he adjusts his social media "feed" to "reflect on contemporary issues that we face today and all these marginalized communities face today." Collectively, these self-reported efforts importantly highlight youth agency and interest in developing a more comprehensive understanding of the sociohistorical context of their racialized experiences. These interviews also bring attention to both the missed opportunities for learning in schools and the ways in which the internet may contribute to the critical consciousness development of adolescents.

What young people come across online, whether of their own proactive efforts or by chance, often permeate their interactions in other domains. For example, many participants reported engaging with their peers around content posted online. These young people sought out avenues to discuss highly publicized and racialized events, like the police murder of George Floyd or Black Lives Matter demonstrations, but also less visible events, like the physical and verbal attacks on members of the Asian American community since the start of the pandemic.

Maria shared that she will generally initiate a conversation with friends based on something she views on social media:

> Usually, I start it by just linking maybe a tweet that just starts the conversation usually. I think all my friends, they're pretty progressive. They're pretty left leaning. They're pretty wanting the betterment of the people I guess. Regarding Asian-American racism and stuff, they've been pretty…they've acknowledged that it's like that and that it should stop the normalized racism against everybody, even with South Asians. The whole Curry Muncher nickname calling bit. The Fox Eye trend was a really big one that I brought up and I was seething about it… I think everything is really through social media. Stuff that happens, I bring it up and I just link it and we always talk about it.

Like Maria, content on social media prompted conversations about anti-Asian sentiment between Ashley, an 11th grader at Oak Hills, and her friends. She noted that these conversations existed before the pandemic and have increased in frequency throughout the pandemic:

> Um, yeah, I think we've talked a lot, like over the years, but this year a lot more, I would say… like I said before, we just talked about anything that we saw online that we didn't necessarily agree with… It's been a really hot topic [anti-Asian sentiment] this year, but if we see something that someone posted online, I would like text them or like send it to them and like talk to them about it.

At the time of this study, the pandemic shifted and kept many in-person interactions online. Thus, it is not surprising that online resources played such a significant role in young people's development. However, how online engagement influences young people's interactions in other domains is worth examining. Like Ashley and Maria, social media content prompted

conversations about anti-Asian sentiment between Meiling, an 11th grader at Oak Hills Prep, and her friends:

> Yeah. Since a lot of topics and like needs have arise, especially because of COVID. We have been paying more attention to it than we have before, but if it wasn't for everything that's been happening, I don't think we would have paid as much attention. [Interviewer: What types of things do you look at on social media?] It's just like a lot of posts about how Asians are of a certain ideal or like Asians are to blame for this or that. And just like a lot of media has been covering like things that have been happening in Asia as well, but like, it also reflects back on the US. So for sure like COVID and like, what's the model minority myth and everything that like happened during like the beginning of COVID. So it's something we like really looked into and like ways to fix it… I feel like after COVID started there [was] a lot of racism towards us. So like I've also, well, not just personally, but like our media is, I've seen it on like TikTok and stuff where it's like, they go online to like meet people, but then once they see your skin tone, they associate you with like, eating bats because of COVID.

For Meiling, social media heightened her awareness of not only longstanding Asian American racial tropes—in this case the model minority and the yellow peril narratives—but also of the interpersonal racism that Asian Americans were experiencing throughout the pandemic. Further, it encouraged her to engage in dialogue about racism with her friends and in efforts to address it. Thus, social media and other online resources have the potential to not only raise youth's racial consciousness but also inspire individual and collective action to address racism.

"But yes, we should most definitely…normalize these conversations": Additional opportunities to support youth

Indeed, online resources and social media platforms contribute to young people's understanding of the racial landscape, including how Asian Americans are positioned within a White supremacist society. However, other avenues may also facilitate the development of racial consciousness.

For some, literature is one such facilitator. Books that center Asian American experiences may affirm young people's racialized experiences while also enhancing their understanding of racism. For example, Jessica, who found the graphic novel, *American Born Chinese*, relatable, shared the impact of another book that she sought out independently of her classes: "I was reading this book called *Minor Feelings* by Cathy Park Hong. I think it talks about like how, like the Asian struggle is downplayed. And like, I think I related to that a lot." In this case, the book opened up a pathway for Jessica to understand how the model minority myth, in service of White supremacy, perpetuates false notions that Asian Americans and immigrants do not experience racism.

Participant interviews also shed light on how engaging in spaces that center Asian American experiences may shape young people's ethnic-racial identity and critical consciousness. Amy, an 11th grader from Northview, reflects on the impact of joining Origin, a youth leadership program that centers Asian American experiences, identity, needs, and hopes:

> I think it has been nice. We're talking about issues that I thought that we would talk about, and I'm pretty happy that I joined. I think I'm getting a lot of insight from older people, older Asian Americans and what they view, or issues in America, and their views on our issues in America. I think it's nice to have different, listen to these different perspectives because I think, personally, I've just been cruising through life without that much--I didn't have that much passion for these issues until the past few years. I think it's

> nice to hear other people's experiences as Asians in the U.S. that grew up in a similar upbringing to me, and what they think about these issues.

In Amy's case and in many other participants' experiences, structured, identity-affirming spaces like Origin provide young people with opportunities to engage in sustained conversations about race with others who share a background. These racial affinity spaces help young people better contextualize not only their racialized experiences but also current social issues. In Xiaomei's case, participation in the Oak Hills Prep's Asian American Club (AAC) helped her develop language to talk about Sinophobia:

> There is this club called Asian American Club in my school where I think they've done a really good job promoting on social media different terms that relate with racism towards Chinese people. I think I've learned a lot on the different vocabulary that I should be using or not to use. I think in my school, I would say there hasn't always been an emphasis towards Asian people, but I think this year there's been more of an emphasis on the racism that Chinese people have been facing.

For Chloe, who attends the same school as Xiaomei, AAC introduced her to Asian American activism for the first time:

> I remember in AAC, we had one meeting about Asian-American activists, and how they worked alongside black civil rights activist. That's something I had never really known before. That was really cool to learn about. We also learned about different South Asian holidays and cultures, and maybe aspects of their history. That was also really awesome because I feel when we talk about Asian-American history, it probably or it usually centers around East Asian history. Not really South or Southeast Asian-American history.

Interestingly, other participants in the study who expressed some exposure with Asian American activism noted that they first learned about this topic, which including Black-Asian solidarity efforts during the Civil Rights Movement, through their AAC, another social justice-oriented space, or social media. AACs and these other spaces were commonly described by participants as youth-led, which importantly calls attention to the efforts of young people to deepen our collective consciousness. Indeed, as observed in the interview excerpt above, Chloe shares her appreciation for the ways in which AAC pushes for the visibility of South and Southeast Asians within Asian American history, illustrating the influence the club has on her and other members' racial frameworks.

For Josh, a senior at Oak Hills Prep and AAC board member, participating in AAC similarly shapes his understanding of race and sense of agency:

> I feel like I've learned and grown a lot from Oak Hills Prep, and to learn more about different identities and cultures, especially from being a leader in an identity club and working with other identity club leaders. I think I've learned more about the differences between race and-- I guess in middle school… I knew that we were different races…and we were all different but it wasn't explained to us in a way with regards to culture and history…Definitely joining the Asian American club, I've learned a lot about Southeast Asia, East Asia, South Asia, and all the differences. I think going to Oak Hills Prep and joining AAC has definitely helped me learn more about myself, but also…learn more about different identities. This has been a discussion I've had with a lot of different people, especially this past year… At Oak Hills Prep, you learn more. I've been able to become more involved with current society, and what's going on in our world. I've definitely become more educated on stuff. [laughs]

Unlike most participants in the study, Josh reported that his schooling helped him develop an understanding of cultural and racial differences, which in turn, motivated him to support others in becoming more critically and racially aware as evident in the various initiatives he has co-led in AAC.

> We're working with the other clubs and AAPI leaders to put on or have something that's for AAPI month in May. Currently, we're working on a virtual cookbook, which collects recipes from different cultures, and then we're going to put that out to the community. Then we're also, hopefully, going to make a video that's asking different Asian-Americans opinion, like what does being Asian means to them…We do the AAPI showcase, which is a showcase that's put on during AAPI month. We have food and performances. Beyond that, we celebrate Lunar New Year every year and we typically have food that we give out to students. Each month, we usually buy food and then give it out to our members and just explore different cuisines and cultures, tied in with the specific month that it is, like Japanese American month…We did this yellow umbrella project, which was an art installation. Basically, our club members made a yellow umbrella out of construction paper and popsicle sticks and then wrote sentiments about support for the Hong Kong protests, or how they felt about it, little history about it. Then we hung it up around the staircase at our school, for students to look at and learn more about what's currently happening…This past summer, we worked with BSU to host a presentation over Zoom that talked about anti-Blackness and the Asian American community. We reached out to different high schoolers and teachers across Chicago, and we gathered around 125 plus people. We had a discussion and presentation surrounding the topic… It definitely was nerve-racking because I'm a terrible public speaker.

> Although I do think I know a lot about current Asian identity and such, I feel like I'm not really the most educated, compared to my peers, so I definitely was nervous to partake in the discussion, I would say. Besides that, I think I learned a lot about our community and how collaboration is really needed between different identity groups. Beyond that initial presentation, we-- Actually, we presented it to our Asian American classes this year, so I had the opportunity to present it with different leaders to a broader range of students. We also partnered with an organization that I'm part of, for the presentation to be given out to other high schools in Chicago.

Through AAC, Josh cofacilitated a number of opportunities for members and the broader school community. While some of this work (like the video and AAPI showcase that he mentions in his interview) aims to encourage intercultural awareness, other efforts (like the member-created art installation on the political movement in Hong Kong or the workshops on anti-Blackness within Asian American communities) seek to raise critical consciousness. These experiences importantly expand his own understanding about race and racism, while also highlighting the collective efforts of young people to initiate critical racial dialogue in spaces that lack it. At another point in his interview, Josh talks about an event with such an aim that he was helping organize but that did not happen because of the pandemic:

> One thing that I really wanted to try to accomplish this year, was hosting an event at Oak Hills Prep, that was targeted towards middle schoolers and grammar school kids to learn more about different identities. I feel like you don't really learn about that in middle school and grammar school, so teaching kids what it means to be Asian, what it means to be Black, what it means to be Latinx, et cetera. I think at [my elementary school], personally, I barely understood what it means to be Asian.

Josh's interview highlights the value in sustained opportunities to learn about race and racism. These opportunities may aid young people in assessing their own biases and imagining other pathways to challenging systemic oppression and privilege.

The focus on providing opportunities to learn from history and to dialogue about current issues, however, is not the norm for AACs at other high schools. Based on the responses of participants who are AAC members at other high schools, we find that most AACs focus on providing a space for members to socialize, build relationships, and learn about the various Asian ethnic cultures. When asked whether these participants wished their AAC engaged in more sociopolitical learning or not, most participants who are AAC members indicated they would not mind it but also noted that they appreciated what club leaders and members already did. Their responses suggested that participants see the value in cultivating a space where Asian-identified students and their experiences are seen and centered. This sentiment was similarly shared by participants who are involved in youth programs geared toward Asian Americans. These programs that cater to Asian American youth generally did not integrate conversations about race and racism. A few participants involved in these programs expressed a desire for such opportunities while also noting their appreciation for what these programs already provide youth members in terms of enrichment and support. As Gabe, a member of a free tutoring and enrichment program for low-income, first- and second-generation youth, remarked: "We should most definitely facilitate these conversations and normalize these conversations because we live in a very political time right now and we just really need to start doing that…"

Discussion

This chapter examined the ERS experiences of Asian American adolescents in Chicago, with a focus on how these experiences may influence youth's critical consciousness

development. An analysis of interviews with 35 youth reveals that young people rarely receive positive messaging about their ethnic-racial group from parents and teachers. Further, they often do not encounter opportunities at school or at home to learn about and discuss their racial group's experiences of marginalization and oppression, which includes opportunities to critically examine their positioning as a racial minority within American society.

In school, Asian American history and narratives are sparsely represented, and even misrepresented, which can contribute to feelings of frustration and erasure. This is the case not only in racially diverse high schools but also in elementary schools in which Chinese American students are the majority. These findings are congruent with previous research suggesting that schools often misrepresent and position Asian American youth as model minorities and lack nuanced conversations about racialization and the ongoing comparison of Asian Americans to Black/African American and Latinx students (S. J. Lee et al., 2017). In many ways this is a missed opportunity because youth who are encouraged to reflect on the influence of race and ethnicity within society are more likely to challenge racism in various aspects of their lives (i.e.,with social networks and family members) as well as engage in community organizing efforts targeting anti-racism (Bañales et al., 2019). Within their home environments, opportunities for young people to deeply learn about their cultural history is also limited. The dearth of participants' conversations with family members, however, is mostly attributed to immigrant parents' unfamiliarity with Asian American history, prior unresolved trauma, and/or limited fluency in their children's primary language (English). In the absence of opportunities at school and at home, study participants are developing an understanding of their experiences through social media engagement, internet research, conversations with peers, and participation in programs that are geared towards building youth critical consciousness. Beyond these self-

initiated efforts, a number of young people in our study are actively engaged in, or were working on, initiatives with their peers that would support other young people in developing their understanding of systemic oppression and privilege.

This study presents important insights for schools and youth-serving organizations who wish to better support young people in their development as critically conscious and empathetic individuals. Exposing young people to narratives that reflect and contextualize their experiences and/or that counter dominant stereotypes cannot be emphasized enough. As evident in the interviews, when young people are exposed to these types of stories, they are better able to connect their experiences of oppression and privilege to the experiences of others – both within the present and historical context of the U.S. Moreover, exposure to other racial and ethnic groups promotes positive relationships and reduces bias (Dovidio et al., 2017). Secondly, while we do not examine young people's experiences navigating conversations about anti-Asian racism and anti-Blackness in this chapter, subsequent chapters do so and reveal that most participants did not have *sustained* conversations with friends, family members, teachers, or peers in school about anti-Asian racism. This disregard of anti-Asian racism in schools and in public discourse reinforces feelings of invisibility that can prevent young people from seeing their experiences as valid and in connection with other marginalized groups (Wing, 2007). In the same way, it can prevent non-Asian youth, teachers, and immigrant parents from seeing the discrimination experiences of Asian Americans as oppressive and in connection to their own experiences of marginalization. Thus, schools and youth programs can better help young people build their understanding of systemic racism and Asian Americans' positioning within a white supremacist society by integrating conversations about Asian American identity and history and explicitly addressing anti-Blackness.

Given the rise in racially motivated attacks against Asian communities around the world since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic (Tessler et al., 2020), it is particularly important to recognize these experiences which have been weighing heavily on the minds of young Asian Americans. Data presented in Chapter 3 suggests that the limited conversations about anti-Asian racism were generally presented in an ahistorical manner that were disconnected from the experiences of other racial minorities. This presents a critical missed opportunity, especially because young people were able to engage in sustained conversations about the Black Lives Matter movement and/or made efforts to address anti-Blackness within their families throughout 2020 as illustrated in Chapter 4. Thus, schools and youth-serving organizations must ensure that sustained opportunities are available to young people, particularly for Asian Americans whose racial experiences are often overlooked or minimized (Wing, 2007), to develop a comprehensive understanding of their own racial and ethnic identities and position within society.

CHAPTER 3: CONTENDING WITH RACIAL INVISIBILITY AND INVALIDATION

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which anti-Asian racism (AAR) was discussed across youth's primary socializing settings throughout 2020-2021 and the possible implications of these conversations on youth's critical consciousness development. Drawing on interviews with 47 Asian American high schoolers in the fall of 2020 and in the spring of 2021, I find that discussions about AAR at home were often brief and focused on safety without unpacking the causes of violence and discrimination that Asian communities experience. Conversations about AAR were also uncommon in schools in the fall with slightly more attention granted to the violence against Asian communities following the racially-targeted attacks in Atlanta in March of 2021. With the exception of two schools, however, youth largely found conversations facilitated by teachers and administrators to be unsatisfactory. As with learning about Asian American history and experiences, online and youth spaces played a critical role in helping participants develop a contextual and historical understanding of the recent rise in anti-Asian sentiment. Additionally, these spaces provide them with opportunities or supports to process and collectively address AAR. Findings highlight the need for explicit conversations, particularly in school, that situate the experiences of Asian Americans within the context of White supremacy. Findings also importantly highlight a need to attend to the affective consequences of experiencing dehumanization and invisibility—specifically, the consequences of repeatedly witnessing discrimination but having these experiences unacknowledged or minimized by non-Asian school staff, peers and social media contacts.

I conclude this chapter by discussing how decontextualizing and minimizing AAR in schools can undermine the critical consciousness development of youth as well as sustained cross-racial solidarity efforts. For one, youth may struggle to develop an understanding of how

the racialized experiences of Asian Americans intersect with the experiences of other marginalized communities. Secondly, in overlooking or minimizing AAR, these racialized experiences are treated as racially insignificant which may elicit feelings of invisibility and resentment that serve as barriers for understanding the experiences of other marginalized groups.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter examines youth's reported experiences and reflections within the *critical racial consciousness* (CRC) model conceptualized by Bañales and colleagues (2021). This model provides a framework for understanding how young people come to learn about racism as well as how they come to work against it.

Like other developmental theories that precede it, CRC recognizes that racism, along with other overlapping social contexts, shape youth's attitudes about and actions directed toward racism (Bañales et al., 2021; García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer et al., 1997). It builds on Freire's concept of "conscientização," sociopolitical frameworks and research that aim to understand how youth come to learn, navigate, and challenge systems of oppression (Bañales et al., 2021; Diemer et al., 2016; Watts & Guessous, 2006). Bañales and colleagues (2021) conceive of CRC as comprising of three interdependent dimensions: *racism analysis*, *racial reflexivity*, and *anti-racism action*.

- Racism analysis serves as the foundation of CRC and includes three types of developmental competencies that evolve over time and inform one another. The first is the ability to *recognize and critique white supremacy*, which implies understanding that race is a social construct that has been used to justify the subjugation of people of color and to advantage white people and those proximal to whiteness. Racism analysis includes understanding that race structures interactions at all levels of society. The second

component of racism analysis is the ability to *link historical racism to modern racial dynamics, disparities, and experiences*, which refers to recognizing the ways in which current manifestations of inequities are connected with contemporary and historical policies and practices that disadvantaged people of color in order to advance white folks. The third component, *intersectional understanding of differential racialization*, is the recognition that racialization—or rather, the assignment of racial meaning to physical appearances, groups, interactions, and social structures—creates a caste system for people deemed non-white and thus, functions to uphold white supremacy. The authors provide numerous examples illustrating how different communities of color have been racialized as "other" within recent decades to not only exclude them from the rights and privileges of American citizenship but also strip their humanity.

- Racial reflexivity, which aligns with how critical researchers and practitioners conceptualize and practice reflexivity (e.g., Norton and Sliep, 2018; Sakamoto and Pitner, 2005), refers to understanding one's racial positionality (e.g., ways in which one is privileged and oppressed within a White supremacist society), connection to others (e.g., how one's racial position impacts the experiences of other marginalized groups and White people), and the capacity to reconcile dissonance between one's beliefs and actions. Racial reflexivity is ongoing and "allows one to engage in reflective and contextually-informed anti-racism action" (p.14). The authors conceptualize racial reflexivity as the "dynamic embodiment of one's *response-ability*, *envisioning*, *attunement*, and *positionality*" (p.14). This chapter builds upon the notions of attunement and positionality. Attunement is the cognitive-emotional alignment between one's racial values, beliefs, goals, affective reactions and behaviors towards racism. Positionality is

attending to the ways in which race and racism inform one's views, interactions with others, and roles within a given context. In this chapter, I attend to the ways in which unresolved affective reactions may deter youth from developing a more nuanced understanding of their shifting racial positioning under White supremacy as well as an understanding of how their experiences relate to those form other marginalized backgrounds.

- Anti-racism action is the third component of CRC and encompasses ways of being that resist white supremacy, reduce racial inequality, and/or create anti-racist cultures and climates. Anti-racism action can include *internal* practices, like engaging in learning to improve self-awareness and critical analysis of racism, or *external* practices, such as directly challenging individual-level forms of racism (e.g., racial slurs) or working with others to challenge institutional practices and culture. As the authors note, anti-racism action can manifest in both traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation and may look differently for individuals depending on one's positionality and context. In this chapter, I highlight youth efforts to confront the silence around anti-Asian racism by participating or organizing processing and learning spaces. These actions significantly reflect attempts to attend to one's well-being in times of heightened racial distress and persisting invisibility, as well as efforts to cast a light on Asian American experiences in a society that often disregards these experiences. I further discuss youths' engagement in anti-racism action in Chapter 4, detailing the ways in which participants addressed anti-Blackness by engaging with resources to develop a better understanding of racism and crossracial allyship, speaking up about anti-Blackness within their families, and

developing resources and organizing spaces with and for other youth to learn and be supported in their anti-racist development.

The authors posit that CRC development is likely intertwined with other race-related psychological processes and experiences. For example, one's *ethnic/racial identity* and *racial/ethnic socialization* likely informs one's beliefs about and actions directed toward racial injustice (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Anyiwo et al., 2018; Bañales et al., 2019, 2021). As Bañales and colleagues (2021) propose, Asian American youth receive messages about race and racism from multiple socializing agents and these messages may at times conflict with one another. In this chapter, I illustrate how such dissonance in messaging about anti-Asian racism throughout the COVID-19 pandemic may complicate or propel CRC for Asian American youth.

Literature Review

Racism and Asian American Adolescent Development

Numerous studies have identified the deleterious effects of racism on the psychological well-being among Asian American communities (Benner & Kim, 2009; Chae et al., 2012; Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; S. J. Lee, 1996; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2008). For people of Asian descent, racial discrimination is correlated with increased levels of anxiety (Cassidy et al., 2004), depression (Chae et al., 2012; C. M. Liu & Suyemoto, 2016; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Sangalang & Gee, 2012), suicidal ideation (Hwang & Goto, 2008), mood and anxiety disorders (Gee et al., 2007), and overall psychological distress (Carter et al., 2017; Dion et al., 1992). Among studies involving Asian American youth, racial discrimination was linked to lower levels of cooperation (Grossman & Liang, 2008), academic achievement (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008; Yoo & Castro, 2011), school belongingness (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005), social connection (Benner & Kim, 2009; Gin, 2019; Mukherjee, 2007), self-

esteem (Fisher et al., 2000), and socioemotional and academic functioning later on (Benner & Kim, 2009). Without supports to process, understand and address experiences of racial discrimination, youth may develop maladaptive responses, such as internalizing racism (David et al., 2019; Hwang, 2021; Spencer et al., 1997).

As developmental theories and research suggest, adolescence is an important period for critical consciousness development as youth's racial knowledge becomes more complex and abstract compared to childhood, and youth are able to make meaning of their ethnic racial experiences in relation to the experiences of others (Hughes et al., 2016; Quintana, 1994, 1998; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). A systematic review of studies examining the effects of racism on health found that perceived racial/ethnic discrimination was significantly and positively associated with socioemotional distress across all stages of adolescence with the largest effect size at early adolescence (ages 10-13) and smallest at late adolescence (ages 17 and older; Benner et al., 2018). This finding suggests that as adolescents age, they have a larger array of social-cognitive resources to protect them from the negative socioemotional effects of encountering discrimination, implying that younger adolescents may be more vulnerable to discrimination distress (Benner et al., 2018). Indeed, early to middle adolescence is a period in which many young people encounter more challenges associated with changes in social contexts from the transition to high school; it is also a period when they develop a more refined understanding of discrimination incidents (Brown & Bigler, 2005). Additionally, studies consistently found a strong link between experiences of discrimination and socioemotional distress for Chinese and Asian American youth and particularly when compared to Black youth (Benner et al., 2018; Benner & Kim, 2009; Grossman & Liang, 2008), indicating a need to pay

attention to how racism impacts Asian communities differently from other marginalized communities.

Anti-Asian Racism and Vicarious Racism

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, racist incidents (e.g., physical assault, verbal harassment, online racial discrimination) targeting people of Asian descent have surged both in the U.S. and around the world (Jeung et al., 2021). According to a Pew Research Center survey conducted in June of 2020, 31% of surveyed Asian adults reported being subjected to racial slurs or jokes since, 26% expressed fear that someone might threaten or physically attack them, and 58% believed that anti-Asian racism had increased since the start of the pandemic (n=278; Ruiz, Horowitz, & Tamir, 2020). Additionally, 39% of surveyed adults (n=9,654) reported that it had become more common for people to express racist or racially insensitive views about people who are Asian than before the outbreak (Ruiz et al., 2020). The survey data aligns with other data sources examining the rise of AAR. Of the 3,795 incidents reported to *Stop AAPI Hate* between March 19, 2020 and February 28, 2021, verbal harassment (68.1%) and shunning (i.e., deliberately avoiding Asian Americans; 20.5%) were the most common types of discrimination reported, with physical assault accounting for 11.1% of total incidents and online harassment accounting for 6.8% of total incidents (Jeung et al., 2021).

Although online harassment accounted for a smaller portion of racist incidents in the *Stop AAPI Hate* report, a proliferation of Sinophobic and racist remarks targeting Asians on social media platforms and in the news (e.g., Budhwani & Sun, 2020; Darling-Hammond et al., 2020; He et al., 2021; Ng, 2021; Nguyen et al., 2020) likely made it difficult for young people to avoid encountering anti-Asian sentiment online since the start of the pandemic. In other words, Asian American youth have likely been exposed to a large volume of anti-Asian attacks on the news

and in social media since the start of the pandemic (Tahmasbi et al., 2021; Tessler et al., 2020). Indeed, one study identified an 68 percentage increase in negative tweets about Asians from November of 2019 to March 2020, whereas the proportion of negative tweets referencing other racial/ethnic minorities (e.g., Black and Latinx) remain relatively stable (Nguyen et al., 2020). Another study found the use of racial slurs like "Chinese virus" and "China virus" increased tenfold on Twitter following Trump's tweet on March 16, 2020, in which he referenced COVID-19 in such a deragotary manner (Budhwani & Sun, 2020). The use of such prejudiced language by Trump and others has been found to fuel racial bias toward Asian Americans—specifically, beliefs that people of Asian descent are "perpetual foreigners" (Darling-Hammond et al., 2020)—and heighten racial animosity which is correlated with increased anti-Asian hate crimes and decreased patronage of Asian owned businesses (R. Lu & Sheng, 2020).

The ubiquitous use of social media among adolescents, particularly within the context of the pandemic and rise in anti-Asian sentiment, require greater attention to the possible effects of online vicarious racism, or rather the ways in which hearing about or seeing racist acts committed against other members of one's racial group or that of another group repeatedly on the news or social media (Chae et al., 2021). Although a pre-pandemic study found online vicarious racism to have no significant effect on the psychological adjustment of adolescents (Tynes et al., 2008), recent studies primarily focused on Asian and Black communities suggest otherwise (Chae et al., 2021; Chiang et al., 2022; Hahm et al., 2021; Tao & Fisher, 2022). During the pandemic, Asian Americans who frequently engaged on social media reported higher levels of worry about future discrimination (Yu et al., 2020). Additionally, youth who were frequently exposed to media accounts about attacks targeting Asians reported higher amounts of negative feelings of fear and distress (Hahm et al., 2021) as well as anxiety, vigilance and worry

(Chiang et al., 2022). Interestingly, Chiang and colleagues (2022) found the relationship between experiencing discrimination and emotional response to be less pronounced among those who observed a greater amount of discrimination in the media, lending support to suggestions from earlier studies that witnessing other people being victimized may buffer against the negative emotional impacts of experiencing discrimination because victims feel like they are not alone in being targeted (Bourguignon et al., 2006; Nishina & Juvonen, 2005). However, frequently witnessing discrimination in the media is a source of psychosocial stress that may elicit maladaptive coping behaviors (Chae et al., 2021). Specifically, it may contribute to increased likelihood of depression and anxiety via heightened vigilance to racism--behavioral and cognitive adaptations in anticipation of possible attacks or insults in places outside of the home (Chae et al., 2021)—as well as increased alcohol and drug use (Tao & Fisher, 2022).

Racial Invisibility and Invalidation

As indicated in the above section, anti-Asian sentiment has increased drastically amid the COVID-19 pandemic, sparking a nationwide movement to #STOPAAPIHATE or #STOPASIANHATE and to acknowledge the nation's long history of AAR (Chen et al., n.d.). Despite the continued attacks against people of Asian descent, these experiences remain unseen or unacknowledged by a segment of Americans. An online survey of nearly 3,000 U.S. adults between March 29 and April 29 found that a third of Americans were unaware of an increase in hate crimes and racism against Asian Americans over the past year or believe that attacks had decreased, even after the Atlanta shootings and mainstream outlets' reports of anti-Asian hate (LAAUNCH, 2021). Within this same sample, 37% of surveyed White Americans said they were not aware of the increase in anti-Asian sentiment over the past year and 24% of White Americans did not believe that AAR was a problem that needed to be addressed even as anti-

Asian hate crimes and reporting of these instances soared over the year (Chen, 2021; LAAUNCH, 2021). A different study which surveyed over 4,000 U.S. adults at four times points throughout 2020 to 2021 found that although awareness of anti-Asian bias increased from October to March, likely prompted by the Atlanta shootings, White Americans consistently acknowledged the mistreatment of Asians in relation to COVID-19 at much lower rates than their non-White counterparts in (Schuldt et al., 2021).

The invisibility of anti-Asian racism reflects previously and recently reported experiences of invalidation and feelings of being unseen (e.g., Chou & Feagin, 2008; J. Lee, 2022; S. J. Lee, 1996; Mistry & Kiyama, 2021; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007; Wing, 2007). Indeed, the 2022 STAATUS Index reveals that 58% of Americans cannot name a single prominent Asian American and 42% cannot think of a historical experience or policy related to Asian Americans (LAAUNCH, 2022; J. Lee, 2022). Although prior studies have noted the ways in which Asians and Asian Americans are overlooked in education, in part due to the model minority myth (e.g., (Osajima, 1995; Wing, 2007), and more broadly in society, in part due to the perpetual foreigner stereotype (e.g., Tuan, 1998), the impact of having anti-Asian racism persistently ignored, or feeling as such, on Asian American youth's wellbeing and sociopolitical development is largely underexamined. It is therefore important to understand how experiencing or feeling racial invisibility and invalidation may interact with young people's ethnic-racial identity, understanding of racism, political engagement, and perceived relationship to other marginalized communities. For example, experiences of COVID-19-related anti-Asian racism may be rechanneled to enhance awareness of discrimination as an interrelated experience amongst oppressed groups and even encourage activism (e.g., Bañales, Aldana, & Hope, 2021; Cheng et al., 2021).

Data and Methods

The findings for this chapter are based on the thematic analysis of 35 semi-structured interviews conducted in the fall of 2020 and 41 semi-structured interviews in the spring of 2021. Twenty-nine of the 35 fall interviewees participated in the interviews in the Spring. The other 12 spring interviewees were either only surveyed in the fall or newly recruited to the study in the spring. A descriptive analysis of survey data from all participants in the study (n=76) is also presented in this chapter. Survey respondents included all interviewed participants and other study participants not interviewed.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, fall participants were recruited via email through high school Asian American clubs and organizations that work with Chicago-area Chinese and Asian Pacific Islander Desi American communities in September and October 2021. The same participants were contacted in March 2022 to continue participating in the study. New participants were also recruited at this time first through school-based contacts then through snowball sampling and community-based contacts. The intent behind spring recruitment was to include additional perspectives and experiences of youth from schools either not represented or underrepresented in the study, as well as the perspectives and experiences of those leading Asian American youth-serving groups or programs. Thus, new spring participants were eligible for the current study if they met fall recruitment criteria (active participant of the Chinese American Organization [CAO] youth program *or* identified as Chinese, enrolled in high school grades 9-12, and resided in Chicago) or served in a leadership capacity of an Asian American youth-serving group or program like a high school Asian American Club.

Thus, compared to the fall sample, the spring sample contained less ethnically Chinese participants which reflects intentional efforts to recruit leaders of Asian American youth groups

and interested youth in the CAO youth program. Additional details about the fall and spring survey sample and interview subsample can be found on p. 9 and Tables 1-4.

The spring survey repeated certain questions, such as assessing participants' critical consciousness, discrimination experiences, participation in Asian American-centered programs and groups, and how participants and their families were impacted by the pandemic. The spring survey also included new questions to measure participants' ethnic identity and to better capture their demographics. All questions included in the fall and spring surveys are provided in Appendix B.

The spring interview guide revisited participants' socialization around anti-Asian racism, specifically focusing on the ways in which anti-Asian racism has been framed across their primary socializing contexts and the impact this has had on participants' perspectives and wellbeing. The spring interview also inquired about participants' experiences engaging in conversations about White supremacy and their perspective on and understanding of U.S. race relations. Spring data collection took place between March 2021 and June 2021, 2-5 months after the Capitol insurrection in Washington, D.C. and less than two weeks to 3 months after the Atlanta spa shootings. The spring interview guide is included in Appendix D.

Survey data was descriptively analyzed and interview data was analyzed using a mixed deductive and inductive approach. Inductive coding procedures were employed to allow for the emergence of themes from participants' reflections and recounting of racialized experiences (Charmaz, 2006) and deductive coding procedures were used to sort the data as they aligned with researchers' reflections and lived experience growing up as Chinese American youth, as well as to compare the data to existing theories and studies about the critical consciousness development of youth of color (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Emergent themes were discussed and evaluated

collectively in team meetings and consensus was obtained on a needed basis. More details about the analytical process and the positionality of research team members are provided in Chapter 1.

Findings

The findings for this chapter are largely based on the thematic analysis of 35 semi-structured interviews conducted in the fall of 2020 and 41 semi-structured interviews in the spring of 2021. Twenty-nine of the 35 fall interviewees participated in the follow-up interviews in the Spring. The other 12 spring interviewees were either only surveyed in the fall or newly recruited to the study in the spring. A descriptive analysis of survey data from all participants in the study (n=76) is also presented in this chapter. Survey respondents include all interviewed participants and other study participants not interviewed.

"Just be careful…people might get angry because of this whole COVID thing": Familial concerns about safety

The majority of surveyed participants reported talking with family members about AAR. Ninety-three percent of surveyed participants in the spring of 2021 (n=67; Table 6) engaged in conversations about AAR with family members, whereas 72 percent of fall 2020 participants did (n=54; Table 7), suggesting that by the time of the Atlanta spa shootings, conversations about anti-Asian racism were more prevalent among participants and their families. The qualitative interviews suggested that often familial conversations were short and focused on safety without unpacking causes of violence, as is reflected in the following fall interview excerpts:

> I think it started especially during quarantine when there was a lot of news about the grandma. I think it was in New York, who got beat. I think that was where it started. [My parents were] Saying a lot of stuff like, "You guys should always be careful, always don't go out alone." Stuff like that. - Maya, 11th grade, Oak Hills Prep

> When the pandemic first started, and we started hearing things about that, my parents were worried for me. When I wanted to go out to buy art supplies for a project, my parents were like, "Be careful out there. You know what the news has been saying." I kept that in mind for the first few months. – Dylan, 12th grade, Grandview Prep
>
> I think we talked about this once. I don't entirely remember, but all they told me was that, "Just be careful of what you say and what you do just in case people might get angry because of this whole COVID thing. – Anna, 9th grade, Oak Hills Prep
>
> …it comes in very sparse conversations. It's just like, here and there, they warn me about the dangers of going outside. – Olivia, 11th grade, Northview
>
> … at the start of when, like COVID began entering the U S my mom made like, sometimes joked about it. And she was like, be careful when I went to school and stuff, but we didn't really have like a serious conversation about it. – Jessica, 11th grade, Oak Hills Prep

As evident in the excerpts above, youth were commonly urged to "be careful" when traversing outside of the home. This framing suggests a belief among parents that youth are able to avoid racially-motivated attacks if they proceed with caution and fails to name the White supremacist ideology that perpetuates violence against Asian Americans and those racialized as "Asian." Such framing may contribute to a culture of fear as illustrated in the fall interview with Emma, a 12th grader at Northview: "[My family] talked about the old lady, or the old man who was burned...the elders who were pushed in the train station... They were just very scared that it was going to happen to them." Additionally, concerns about safety may immobilize participants' family members and deter them from participating in efforts to address the root causes of AAR, selecting instead to try to "avoid" racism. For example, Kimberly, a senior at

South Ridge High School, shared the following change to her family's behaviors after they learned about her friend's parents being harassed in public for being Chinese: "In the beginning, it made us go out less because we didn't want the same thing to happen to us, and especially seeing everything on the news with how people were reacting to the whole situation."

In some cases, youth shared that conversations about AAR led parents to discuss their own experiences with marginalization, as evident in the spring interview with Wendy, an 12th grader at Northview:

> I talked about it with my mom a little, and we talked about how it's been the fact that all the racism has gotten really violent. It's honestly, really disappointing. She talked about how when she first moved to America, obviously, there were boys at her school and it was hard because she didn't speak the same language, but they were never physically violent and it's sad and maddening how things really got violent this year.

Laura, a junior at the same high school, revealed in her fall interview that a discussion about AAR also similarly initiated her mother to share her experiences:

> We haven't had super deep conversations about it, but my mom has mentioned sometimes her co-workers will say anti-Asian things, and then she'll say something and then leave. But other than those specific circumstances, we haven't actually talked about the implications on our lives, other people's lives. It's just been more so her experiences with it.

Table 6. *Conversations about Anti-Asian Racism By Social Context, 2020*

Since the start of the pandemic, have you	Yes		No	
Talked with your family members about anti-Asian racism	39	72%	15	28%
Talked with your close friends about anti-Asian racism	43	80%	11	20%
Talked with acquaintances about anti-Asian racism	22	41%	32	59%

Note: Fall survey sample.

Table 7. *Race Conversations By Topic and Social Context Throughout 2020-2021*

	anti-Asian sentiment?				Black Lives Matter or anti-Blackness?				White supremacy?			
Throughout the past year, did you talk with the following people about	**Yes**		**No**		**Yes**		**No**		**Yes**		**No**	
Family	62	93%	5	7%	54	81%	13	19%	29	43%	38	57%
Close friends	58	87%	9	13%	64	96%	3	4%	48	72%	19	28%
Teachers/students at my school (either in class or in a club)	49	73%	18	27%	56	84%	11	16%	41	61%	26	39%
Staff/peers at a youth program/organization you're apart of	41	61%	26	39%	40	60%	27	40%	25	37%	42	63%
Online acquaintances (e.g., people you follow or who follow you on social media)	30	45%	37	55%	36	54%	31	46%	25	37%	42	63%

Note: Spring survey sample. A different question was used to gauge conversations about anti-Asian racism.

Whereas Wendy's mother shared about racism she experienced when she first arrived to the U.S., Laura's mother, who is a nurse anesthetist, brought up recent workplace experiences. While rare, one participant shared that her parents, who both have advanced degrees, brought up not only their own experiences but also connected the recent rise in anti-Asian sentiment to a long history of exclusion and discrimination. Caitlin, a senior at Hillside, shared the following in her spring interview:

> I think something that maybe bothers me a little bit is that I've always known from my parents that it's not--anti-Asian sentiment is [not] a recent thing or a recent phenomenon that occurred just because of like Coronavirus or something in the past year. I think for some sources to treat it like it's an isolated incident, when there have been a lot of different anti-Asian incidents that have happened, that just like aren't brought to light or even taught in history class, just deemphasizes the issue at hand in some ways, and treats it like a novelty when it's something more in some ways systemic as well… My dad always talks about how even sometimes now--not sometimes now--but even prior to Coronavirus, when he'd go into a Starbucks and order a coffee, he could feel that the person taking his order, expected him not to speak good English, or would repeat his order… They would make him repeat his order, even though he had said it in a very understandable way. I think in general, maybe this isn't anti-Asian hate, but in general, as immigrants who are coming to the States or even like me growing up as an Asian American, there are definitely different standards that are placed onto Asian Americans.

Caitlin's critique of the media revealed her frustration as well as her awareness of the failure of the media in contextualizing recent attacks against Asian Americans and those racialized as Asian. Further, her interview revealed her own efforts to understand the connection between

recently reported “anti-Asian incidents,” the long history of anti-Asian sentiment, and her highly-educated father being treated like a foreigner at Starbucks.

While most youth participants reported engaging in surface-level conversations about AAR with their families, 28% of fall participants reported no engagement about AAR with family members. Some of these youth rationalized that their parents did not initiate such conversations out of a belief that it would protect their children. For example, Emma shared in her spring interview that the reports of racial violence evoked different fear responses from her grandparents and parents:

> For my grandparents, at least they've been reading the news a lot and a lot of elders have been hurt. When she reads the news, she's scared that if she goes out to get groceries, then she's also going to get attacked. [Interviewer: …Why don't you think your parents are as worried?] I think they are worried. They just don't show it much…I don't know how to put it in words, but the tone they use when they speak about it, it's really obvious. They're trying not to sound worried for our sake, but I know they're worried.

According to Emma, the news reports about attacks against Asian elders causes her grandparents to worry about their safety outside of the home, even on simple errands like stopping at the grocery store. For her parents, Emma suspects that they are minimizing attention to the racial violence in an effort to buffer any associated distress from her but Emma gets the sense they are also worried. The above interview excerpt therefore suggests that parents’ silence about racism is motivated by a desire to not invoke fear or worry in their children, exemplifying a complex parent-child dynamic overlooked in the racial socialization literature.

Overall, interviews with youth suggest that families are aware of the heightened anti-Asian sentiment but most conversations do not acknowledge the role of White supremacy in

igniting racism and violence. This may be why some youth feel as though the conversations are unproductive as it does not address the causes of AAR. Evelyn, a 10th grader at Creekside, reflected this sentiment in her fall interview: “We talked a little about it, but as a family, we didn't really have constructive conversations. We were just like, ‘It's really unacceptable. It's really not necessary.’ We didn't really get into much at all.” When probed about the nature of the conversations, she explained:

> I wouldn't even consider it a conversation. I remember my dad saying, "Trump's calling it the Chinese virus. We're in 2020, and it's really not okay." Then I remember that we also talked about the Spanish Flu, how they called it the Spanish Flu, but that was back then. Now it's time to move on. We should be more appropriate and responsible at how we refer to the different things. That's really not okay to just compare it how we called the Spanish Flu.

In Evelyn’s recounting of her conversation with her father, who was born and raised in Chicago, she recalled that discussion revolved around the problematic use of the Sinophobic slur by Trump and others. While this interview excerpt indicates that she recognized the problem with such language, it is not entirely evident that she is fully aware of how Chinese people have been cast as disease-ridden in efforts to deny them of equal rights and how the use of “Chinese Virus” is an orchestrated attempt to scapegoat China or Chinese people for the pandemic.

“No one was really paying attention”: The silence of schools amidst a rise in anti-Asian racism

Qualitative analysis of fall interview data indicated that AAR was largely unacknowledged in schools. This is perhaps unsurprising given the widely reported marginalization of Asian American narratives in school curricula (as discussed in Chapter 2).

However, youth commonly attributed the silence of teachers and administrators in the fall to schools not seeing AAR as a pressing issue.

Across interviews in the fall, participants shared that AAR received minimal attention in their classes and from school administration. This is reflected in Kaylee's interview:

> One of my English teachers, she did recognize the hysteria when corona was first announced in March. She would talk about people not going to Chinatown to eat because of corona and stuff like that. That was basically it, none of the other teachers would mention it.

Kaylee, a 10th grader at Northview, noted in her fall interview that only one of her teachers acknowledged how the COVID-19 pandemic fueled anti-Asian sentiment, including avoidance of Chinatown. Other fall participants attributed the absence of widespread discussion about AAR within their classrooms to schools being preoccupied with other higher-priority concerns. For example, Nate, a 9th grader at Oak Hills, explained: "I don't know but I feel like my school probably didn't say anything up because it is more towards the end of the school year and everyone was really focused on their exam, their finals like the AP testing that no one really brought up this issue in their classes." His remarks suggests that educators at his school did not see the need to include conversations about AAR, whereas the interview with Olivia suggests that educators at her school, Northview, disregarded AAR because of the momentum around the Black Lives Matter movement. In her fall interview, she shared: "I think [AAR] was mostly overshadowed by the Black Lives movement when that came out...I think my teachers might have mentioned it, but I don't think my school mentioned it on a school wide basis. I think there are teachers who made a comment about it." Other youth in the study shared a similar sentiment as Olivia, believing that their schools and teachers wanted to support the Black Lives Matter

movement, but in doing so, overlooked AAR. While youth interpreted the actions of their educators and administrators in this way, it may not have been their intentions. However, it is important to highlight what effect this may have on youth's racial attitudes. Specifically, some young people may fall trap to the tactics of White supremacy that divide oppressed groups as suggested in the fall interview with Haoran, a 9th grader at Lake County:

> …Back in my elementary school, the majority people were Chinese. They talked about how people would treat Asian Americans as scapegoats, blame us for spreading the Coronavirus around, but at [Lake County], the majority of students are White and the second majority, African American. They would talk about BLM. I don't think they even know about anti-Asian discrimination. They keep talking about how African Americans are being harassed, intimidated, left out, how Hispanics are-- but then, apart from that, I think they neglect everything else. They go with their narrative that Black and Hispanics are the ones are the most poorly treated right now but then we have another victim that's silent right now. There's no one talking about that.

Interestingly, state data indicated a different student demographic breakdown than what Haoran articulated. According to the Illinois State Board of Education, the Hispanic student population significantly outsized the Black student population and was actually the second largest racial/ethnic group at Lake County during the 2020-2021 school year. Additionally, the Asian student population was greater than the Black student population. Although state data confirmed that Haoran's elementary school was majority Asian in the years he attended, it also clearly revealed a misperception of his high school's racial and ethnic diversity. Haoran entered Lake County High School in the fall of 2020 when all Chicago Public Schools students were still engaged in remote learning. Thus, it was likely difficult for him to get a full sense of the

background of his peers having only encountered those in his classes online. However, the excerpt above underscores not only the glaringly mismatch between his perception and reality but also his belief that those outside of the Asian community do not care about the violence against Asian Americans.

When asked later in the interview about spaces outside of his school and family that he feels comfortable discussing his racialized experiences, he shared:

> Well, I really don't have a space--I don't feel safe because I feel that they don't care about what's happening to the Asian community. Right now, the narrative is solely based on BLM. I'm thinking how would they care for some minority group when they are so focused on another minority group?

Haoran's remarks revealed a belief that disregard of AAR is pervasive, extending well beyond his high school, and that such indifference is due to concern for Black lives. This attitude problematically upholds White supremacy by purporting a belief that society must minimize attention to anti-Blackness in order to address AAR rather than making space for the latter by understanding how it is intertwined with anti-Blackness. Other youth in the study shared a similar perspective, believing that the lack of attention to AAR in schools mirrored that of broader society. For example, Amy, an 11th grader at Northview, shared:

> It's more about the Black people because of the Black Lives Movement. They haven't said anything about the anti-Asian sentiment. [Interviewer: Do you have any feelings about that?] It's still expected to me. In most books or teaching material or articles we read online, it's usually been Black, Brown, Hispanic, White. That's it, no Asian. Generally, from everyday experience, Asians are often overlooked. I think it's because we are similar to--at least for students, we're similar to the White--we're more similar to

> White students than the Black and Brown students. They usually overlook Asian statistics because--I don't know why. We're pretty different from--I assume we're pretty different from the white students. Personally, I think we are more closely related [to Black and Brown students]. Asians are a minority--Asians have faced oppression for the last century. It's sad that we're getting neglected, but it's just how it is, it's not surprising to me.

Whereas Haoran seemed to resent the attention granted to BLM, Amy did not appear to harbor the same indignation. Amy, on the other hand, felt the disregard about AAR from teachers was due to the relative racial invisibility of Asian Americans. This invisibility is intertwined with, or stems from, the model minority stereotype cast on to Asian Americans that portrays them as highly privileged and without problems like White Americans. Even though Amy believes Asian Americans share more in common with Black and Brown communities, she expressed a sadness at how others who ascribe to the model minority myth do not recognize this.

For Olivia, a 11th grade student at Northview, it was difficult to recall what her teachers or administrators discussed if they had said anything at all:

> They might have, but I don't really remember that well. I think it was mostly overshadowed by the Black Lives Movement when that came out...I think my teachers might have mentioned it, but I don't think my school mentioned it on a school wide basis. I think there are teachers who made a comment about it.

With the exception of a few, the majority of youth interviewed in the fall shared that their high schools and teachers largely failed to address AAR. As with the general experiences and histories of Asian Americans in school curricula, the rise of AAR leading up to and at the start of the pandemic remained largely unseen. If teachers or schools did acknowledge the scapegoating

of and violence toward Asian American communities, remarks according to youth participants were usually brief or not taken seriously by the student body as reflected in Dylan's interview:

> My Mandarin teacher did, but no one was really paying attention… I think it was back in January when the virus was only in China and our teacher was--No, I think it was on February, closer to March. There were a few cases starting to pop up in America. I remember there was a news article about an Asian man who was beat up. The Mandarin teacher made this one lesson that talked about how some people are treated bad because of their race. She showed us a video about this Asian man in Italy, who was asking for hugs, because he wasn't a virus. I remember the person next to me, he made a comment that says, "These people are just trying to be woke so badly." I wasn't really into it either, to be honest, but nobody really knew how serious it was back then.

Dylan proceeded, explaining that his classmate felt like "what [the video] doing was too much, too extra" and that the surge in violence towards Asians around the world "wasn't that serious." By the time of this fall interview, Dylan felt that "any form of hatefulness or oppression towards other people is a bad thing and should always be taken seriously." However, he admitted that he had not treated the matter seriously initially like his classmate referenced above, which brings to question how the invalidation of Asian American experiences may lead Asian American youth to do so as well.

"It's better than nothing": Increased attention but inadequate support following Atlanta murders

Following the Atlanta tragedy in the spring, in which six women of Asian descent were racially targeted and murdered by a White man, more youth reported participating in school-based conversations about AAR. The spring survey indicated that 73 percent of participants

(n=67) discussed AAR with either teachers or students. However, only 38 percent of surveyed participants agreed with how their school addressed AAR. A comparable proportion of participants (39 percent) disagreed and the rest marked no opinion. Interviews with participants suggest that the actions of school staff members and officials varied significantly which may explain the split in approval.

Youth expressed approval in cases where their school acknowledged AAR and/or educators facilitated spaces for processing. For example, Wendy, a senior at Northview, shared:

> The discussions at my school has been actually really good. I think in one of my classes specifically, my teacher gave us the opportunity to talk about it the entire class period, which was really nice because it was like we didn't have to worry about what was going on in class and emotionally what was going on. We got to talk about our emotions and talked to other people, especially because just like being at home can be super isolating, so talking to other classmates and teachers about it was really helpful.

Given that the attack occurred at a time of heightened social isolation due to the pandemic, Wendy especially appreciated the opportunity to talk through her feelings rather than proceeding with class as though nothing collectively traumatic happened, as youth like Emma experienced in some of their classes during this time. Emma, a senior at the same school as Wendy, shared in her spring interview that her "principal or administration sent out an email, a pretty long [email] addressing all the hate crimes" in which they "told our teachers to leave space in class--in all of our classes--so that we can speak up about the incidents if we wanted to." According to Emma, all of her teachers acknowledged the Atlanta attacks but "not all of them were particularly interested in having the conversation." She explained:

> I know some of my teachers left the entire class period and pushed back quizzes and homework assignments, but then other teachers only acknowledged it for a few minutes in the beginning of class and that was it…Some of them were saying that they weren't exactly sure if we should impose…They were scared that Asian American students were already talking about their feelings--about these topics all day long--and they weren't sure if--they didn't want to make the students feel like they were forced to talk about it.

Even though all of her teachers mentioned the Atlanta incident, Emma felt like some of these conversations did not sufficiently address the racial violence against Asian communities or adequately support Asian American students like her.

When asked about the qualities of school-based conversations that better address such concerns as the ones Emma articulated, participants mentioned classroom culture and curricular choices. Specifically, they felt like the more meaningful or helpful conversations occurred in classes in which teachers cultivated a sense of community where students felt comfortable sharing their truths with one another, adjusted the curriculum in response to the socioemotional needs of students, made efforts to learn about the history and context of AAR themselves, and/or attempted to facilitate such learning for students. Angela, a freshman at Grandview Prep, shared how her Mandarin teacher engaged in efforts to help students understand the context of the rise in anti-Asian violence:

> For my Mandarin class, my teacher has assigned us a reflection. She would play several episodes of a documentary regarding Asian-American history. I really like that aspect because not only I get to learn about what happened to Asian-American people, but also my classmates who are not of Asian-American descent, they can also learn about our struggles in trying to conform to the American society…

Angela further explained that they “had multiple reflections to complete” which she thought was “a great way to express our thoughts about Asian American history.”

Despite increased attention to AAR following the Atlanta tragedy, youth still commonly reported feeling like AAR was overlooked by teachers or peers. For example, Wendy, who expressed appreciation for the curricular adjustments that teachers made in light of the violence against Asian communities, shared disappointment at the observed response of her peers:

> When we talked about it in Physics, the teacher gave all the students an opportunity to either stay and talk about it if they want to listen or to work asynchronously, to process it by themselves, or work on physics work. And the only students that stayed were mostly just the Asian students and everybody else left, which was shocking to me because there are people in that class, who I thought were, I guess, friends and they didn't really bother to stay, or to learn more about it...

The perceived lack of concern from peers distressed other participants in the study as well. They expressed sadness and frustration at the lack of attention to AAR from not only peers in class but also teachers and administrators. For Meiling, an 11th grader at Oak Hills Prep, she felt like only one of her teachers successfully cultivated a processing space for students:

> It was a heavy week. There were a lot of the attacks [that] have been brought up in the news and in social media. I've seen a lot of my friends and a lot of my peers--they have been talking about it through social media and whatever platforms they have. But when we're in class, none of my teachers, except for my Mandarin teacher who was Asian--he was the only teacher that gave us space to talk about it. Whereas all the other teachers are like, "We can either talk about it if you want, or we can just continue." When nobody said

> anything, [they] would just continue with the lesson plan as it is without giving any space for their Asian-American students to cope.

In Meiling's case, it is evident that the Atlanta murder and other anti-Asian attacks have weighed heavily on her and that she felt like she had few outlets for unloading and processing these events. Her interview also revealed underlying frustration at how teachers seemed unaware of how to support Asian American students:

> …I'm not sure for everybody else, but for me, I don't think it should be like the student's responsibility to call out teachers to hold a space for their students. Once you call out a teacher, then it's more of like, they're doing it because they're being called out for it. They're not doing it because they should be, or it sounds right to do it for their students.

Indeed, a number of participants expressed a desire for teachers and administrators to be better attuned to the needs of Asian American students throughout this moment of heightened AAR. Commonly, students expressed wanting to see their school officials and staff proactively acknowledge the racial violence against Asian communities and provide opportunities for students to process these incidents. Cailtin, a senior, shared her hopes for teachers at Hillside following their spring break:

> I hope that and I do think that after the break some of my teachers will carve some time out and address what's been going on. I do feel often times getting a letter or a general notice saying like, "Oh, we hear you, we feel you," it's better than nothing. It often does come up as a bit performative because it's required that an institution says something. Whether they mean it or whether they take action, is a different story.

Similarly to Caitlin, Wendy wished that all, rather than just one, of her teachers provided students with adequate processing space and adjusted class accordingly:

> I think maybe the teachers could have been more outspoken about it because honestly, not all the teachers were super, I guess, not all of them took the time to allow the students to talk about it as much as my Physics teacher did. I think if all the teachers were able to give that space to all the students, instead of just one teacher, it would have been a little bit better.

The silence and avoidance around AAR from peers, teachers, and administrators likely complicated or intensified existing feelings of racial invisibility for Asian American youth. These emotions may feed into youth's critique of their school's responses to AAR as illustrated in Maria's interview:

> I know my other cousin, her school addressed it really nicely. The principal sent out an email and there are a bunch of articles and stuff…but my school didn't. They didn't address it. I haven't seen anything about it at all. [Interviewer: What are your thoughts on that?] It's discouraging. I think it's really discouraging because I know for Black History Month, they set up all these events for learning about Black history and celebrating and stuff but then this terrorism happens and they're just silent. It feels like, "Okay, well now it just feels like you're just doing it to say that we did it."

In learning about the response of her cousin's school to the Atlanta murders and seeing the efforts of her own school around Black History Month, Maria recognized some of the ways her school could have chosen to respond instead of doing nothing. Avery, a senior at Lake County, came to a similar realization while attending an Asian American youth support space organized by myself and Asian American adult allies:

> Most of my teachers didn't mention it in class, and I heard from many of my friends that their teachers didn't bring it up in their class. The principal only sent a message a few

> days later, after the shooting. He was basically saying, "Have empathy, kindness and respect. No Asian hate"…Then, a few days later, he did post a resource, an educational resource people can look at to learn about Asian American history. I think you were at that meeting with youth support. [Peter] who was there, he's a Lake County student and he mentioned that Oak Hills Prep did a bystander intervention training, shared a bunch of resources, not just one link, but just did so much more than Lake County…At first, I was like, "Okay, not bad," but after he said that, I'm like, "What the heck? They are doing almost nothing."

Both Maria and Avery recognized that their schools could have better attended to the needs of Asian American students and worked to help all students and staff understand the historical and recent racial violence toward Asian communities. Such realization appeared to be intertwined with feelings of resentment and was reflected in interviews with other participants. Thus, adequate supports for processing, learning about, and responding to AAR are essential for critical consciousness development. Specifically, without such channels, both Asian American youth may struggle to develop an understanding of AAR in relation to systemic oppression as well as an understanding of their relationship to other marginalized groups, as discussed in Chapter 4.

"It made me feel like I was going crazy": The significance of validation and community support

Despite increased attention to AAR following the Atlanta tragedy, youth commonly felt like their schools and teachers could have done more to support Asian American students. This is exemplified in some of the critiques from participants shared in the previous section as well as in the interview with Haoran.

In the spring, Haoran shared that a group of Asian Pacific Islander American (APIA) students within the student-led BIPOC committee at Lake County came together to put out a statement condemning violence against Asian communities. According to Haoran, he and his peers felt the need to speak out when their school did not. He also shared that they were working on a presentation on the topic of AAR to be used for a "roundtable discussion" at their school in May, adding: "I feel like the school needs to step up on their outreach--their relationship with the AAPI community…The teachers too. The teachers have not mentioned anything about it. They mentioned the case in Atlanta, but other than that, that's it."

Like other participants involved in Asian American-serving groups, participation in such identity-affirming spaces contributed to participants' interrogation of anti-Asian racism and the role that their schools play in perpetuating systemic oppression through racial ignorance. The fall interview with Maya excerpted below highlights the significance of school-based student groups during this period of the time:

> Interviewer: I have just one last question around this topic, did the Anti-Asian racism come up at all at school or with teachers?
>
> Interviewee: We definitely talked about it in AAC. There are other Asian clubs that had talked about it as well. AAC and other Asian clubs definitely joined together to talk about the Anti-Asian racism behavior.
>
> Interviewer: What was that conversation like?
>
> Interviewee: AAC joined with the South Asian American Club and ASI--the Asian Students Initiative--that's just more of a political version of AAC because AAC is more like a relaxed form. They all joined together to make a PowerPoint to just discuss what is happening in the United States before quarantine happened. This was still in-

person, just to discuss what has been happening in the world with coronavirus and everything. It was really informative. There were a lot of people there. I'm glad a lot of people were there to hear about it, too.

...

Interviewer: Did any teachers bring it up in class as a discussion point, to check in with students, or to acknowledge that it's happening?

Interviewee: Oh, not really, no… during AAC and the other Asian clubs, that was mainly where it was brought up.

The fall interview with Maya indicated that the Asian American Club (AAC) at Oak Hills Prep responded immediately to the racism and violence against Asian Americans at the start of the pandemic, whereas teachers and other school staff did not. Additionally, the AAC worked with other Asian American-serving student groups to help youth contextualize the rise in AAR as well as to provide space for students to process. In the fall interview, Maya shared her appreciation for the efforts of these student-led groups, which importantly brought attention to the experiences of Asian Americans at a time when their school overlooked them.

When Maya was interviewed again in the spring, her remarks indicated only a marginal change in the response of teachers and administrators following the Atlanta spa shootings in which a white man targeted Asian-owned spas and killed six Asian women:

I think that was a hard time in the beginning. Then now especially, all of last week, it was very hard. I couldn't really think about anything else and not a lot of my teachers addressed it. So it was very hard to go back to the normal school day, learning about math or science. It was very hard when that was the only thing I was thinking about. Only two out of the eight teachers I have addressed it. I couldn't concentrate at all and I think it

> also hurt because in one of the classes where my teacher discussed it--it was dance--so we could choose to either talk about what happened, like discussion, or research AAPI dances, the history of them. I chose discussion just because I wanted a place to process everything and try talk stuff out. We're online, we use Google Meets. My teacher would send break out rooms--she put everyone in the break-out room and was like, "If you didn't choose discussion you can just ignore it," or whatever. I chose discussion, then I click join, I stayed there for a minute or so but then there wasn't really anyone who chose discussion, so I just went back to the main meeting. It was the first period class too. I think that was very upsetting because I thought I was going to have people to process with, talk about what happened, how everyone else was feeling I guess.

Maya's remarks reveal layers of complex emotions associated with witnessing racially targeted acts of violence and having those experiences repeatedly unacknowledged or dismissed. She shared the way in which news of the Atlanta incident permeated her thoughts and generated emotional distress, making it difficult for her to focus in school. She became further upset when none of her classmates elected to participate in the virtual breakout room her dance teacher created for students to unload and make sense of their feelings about the incident. Their absence likely enhanced a sense of isolation from the pandemic as well as distress from being inundated with news of racially motivated attacks for an extended period of time. Maya was once again grateful to the AAC for providing a space for students to discuss the Atlanta attack:

> Sorry, I meant I'm glad that AAC offered an afterschool meet for us to all talk about it... We only have four classes a day and then at the end is our enrichment which is time our school gives us to go to clubs so we don't have to stay after school…The link was sent out to the whole student body…that's over 1,000 people. My grade has I think a little

> over 200 people. I was really hoping there would be a lot of people there just so they can learn about the experiences too and know what their AAPI friends, peers, what they're feeling at this time. It was only 27 people there and most of them were either the board of AAC or people who regularly go to AAC. I guess that part was very--I don't know how to feel but I was just expecting more people to go there. But I'm so glad there's just people there. It was a good conversation. It was "how are you feeling," "have your peers talked about it," "have your families talked to you about it?" A bunch of stuff like that.

While Maya once again appreciated her AAC's immediate response, she also expressed disappointment that most of the attendees were students who either lead or regularly attend the AAC. She explicitly expressed a desire for her non-AAPI peers, especially, to better understand the experiences of Asian Americans. Thus, the absence and silence of non-Asian peers may be interpreted by Asian American youth as indifference in ways that deter cross-racial understanding and solidarity.

In addition to providing opportunities for youth to share their concerns and reflections surrounding personal and publicized racist incidents, participant accounts revealed that AAC student leaders at two high schools collaborated with a community-based organization to host bystander trainings for their schools. The trainings aimed to equip participants with an understanding of how to safely interrupt and de-escalate situations where one observes someone being harassed. The trainings also importantly weaved in history and current context surrounding the rise in anti-Asian violence. At Oak Hills, AAC student leaders pressured administration to require all students and staff to participate in the training. Although the school was unable to mandate that everyone attend, student leaders interviewed estimated about 90 percent of their peers and staff participated in one of the four trainings which were facilitated during the school

day. At Northview, AAC student leaders made the afterschool workshop mandatory for all AAC members and open to the rest of the school community.

Maya, who was neither a member or leader of her school's AAC, shared the following about what she learned from the bystander training:

> Our school today had a bystander training to stop--to intervene with-- 'cause you know the hate crimes and anti-Asian hate crimes…I think it was a good discussion topic. We learned the five D's of what to do when we see. It was delegate, distract, document, direct, okay, I can't remember the last D right now. We did learn about how to stop and intervene. It was good that everyone--our whole student body went there and attended these sessions, so they know what to do if they ever see one by chance…I think someone said this, from last year there's been 1,000% increase in Asian hate crimes. With everything that's going on, how it's increasing more and more, and especially with what happened in Atlanta. People who are not AAPI, all individuals should definitely learn more about what we're going through and how we're feeling, because it's a very sensitive time for us and it's just, I don't know, sorry--it's a very sensitive time, and we want people to know that there are other people who care about what's going on and what's happening, and want us to try and spread awareness about it all.

For Maya and a number of other study participants, AACs and other Asian American-centered groups played an outsized role supporting Asian American youth particularly at times when they felt like others did not recognize or care about the racial violence directed at Asian communities. These groups, which were often led by young people, organized spaces for processing and learning as well as importantly validated youth's feelings and experiences. The significance of

these communities for young people during this period of heightened AAR and social isolation is particularly evident in Maria's case.

At the time of the spring interview, Maria was an active member of the meraki story (TMS), a collective that formed to amplify the voices of women, femmes, and non-binary people from Black, Indigenous and other communities of color. Led by a team of young women scattered around the world, the collective regularly connected online to "talk about topics whether it's women in history that haven't been talked about as much or present day issues" as well as to elevate underrepresented stories. In her spring interview, Maria shared ways in which this community served as a critical source of support following the Atlanta spa shootings:

> Actually, most of the members are Asians. We're all pretty hit by this. We've all talked about it. We've taken a few meetings. We've talked about it and reflected [upon] it and did a mental health check-in about it. We spread links, donation links and places to support, and stuff like that too. [Interviewer: …How has being part of this collective helped you during this time?] I think it definitely has helped because honestly at least with seeing the stuff about Atlanta and then scrolling through Twitter about it and seeing so many people try to fight against it and be like, "No. This isn't that big" and invalidating it. It made me feel like I was going crazy. Like, "Why don't you care about my safety? Why are you just posting it right now?" It did feel really nice that I was not going insane…

Unlike her teachers and peers and the colorblind commenters on Twitter, the collective did not debate the experiences of Asian Americans, electing instead to attend to and validate the feelings of its community.

Similarly to the finding in Chapter 4, youth groups also offered participants avenues and supports to individually and collectively respond to the rise in AAR. Ivy, a senior at Northview and an AAC leader, shared how students at her school worked together to challenge White supremacy:

> We did an infographic for our page on [Northview's] Asian-American Club page, and we sent that out because it feels like some students weren't as educated and so we thought of making an infographic and then putting out what others should do about microaggression, about Asian hate, about all the stuff, racism. Also, a lot of clubs have reached out to us about collaborating with them and then us taking action with them I think because a club collaborating with other clubs, I think our voice would be heard even more. And as a club, we represent the Asian community at our school. Educating our school, we thought that was more important. Then, when there was protests happening and rallies happening in Chicago, we thought it was our job to educate people about that too. We sent out a couple of rally information for encouraging people to go there, to be there. We talked to admin about it and then they invited us to a meeting just talking about this and think about what we could do. We're kind of big in numbers but since this pandemic, we're limited so we've been more active on social media and attending these Zoom meetings with our school staff. When we went to that meeting, I didn't think there was a lot of teachers there. I guess it was optional. It talked about things that we could do to not to be a bystander. We also contribute to ideas. I did not think there was enough teachers and the teachers that should have been there, were not. I was proud of us as a club because we made it mandatory for all of our club members to be there. I know some of them weren't, but I know most of them went and they were engaging in the meeting…

As Ivy articulated, the AAC provided members with a space to collectively address AAR. Club members and leaders engaged in efforts to educate their school community by creating infographics, sharing information about protests and rallies, meeting with administration, and collaborating with other student groups. Even though Ivy illustrated awareness of the power of organized groups ("we're kind of big in numbers"), she also pointed to the limitations of only engaging in virtual actions, suggesting that participation in the AAC has developed her understanding of ways to build political power to demand for societal change. Additionally, support from other affinity groups has contributed to her understanding of collective power as well as importantly affirmed her experiences as an Asian American woman:

> Different cultural clubs also spoke out showing their solidarity. I know we collabed with our BSU, Black Students Union. I felt that was very comforting seeing all these cultural clubs contacting us and showing their solidarity and us collaborating on different infographics and to talk about these issues with them.

White supremacy is deeply entrenched within educational institutions and its manifestations often persist without question as evident in Ivy's remarks:

> I think only one teacher talked about it. It was like her opinion on it, but my school do not ever talk about White supremacy or any of that. I think that's what they're missing. Most of them in my school, especially the staff, are White, so I think they don't see it as much as the BIPOC people at our school sees it. I think a lot of our students don't know that these hate crimes or racism or violence against BIPOC are because of White supremacy. I don't think the admin or staff has done a good job about educating themselves or educating other people not just BIPOC people but people that are not BIPOC. I don't think they're educated on that. I just don't think they know enough about White

> supremacy and their plans and the news that they are creating, propaganda. My school has done nothing about it.

Ivy's case is not unique in that many participants indicated that they reported few teachers openly acknowledging the relationship between Whiteness and violence against communities of color. Thus, the resistance efforts of student groups like AAC and BSU are even more significant in light of the pervasiveness of White supremacist ideology.

Ivy also importantly discussed her own ongoing efforts to unlearn internalized racism and how high school has been a period of heightened critical consciousness: "I'm still reading about it, I'm still listening… My motivation to learn about it is growing because I haven't learned about White supremacy until high school now. I didn't know about racism until high school, [chuckles] so I think I'm in more of a learning process right now." Like Ivy, a number of participants in the study shared that youth groups and social media have helped raise their awareness of systemic racism and provided them with a community during a challenging period of heightened isolation and AAR. Avery shared the ways in which members of DAI reached out to other AAPI youth following the Atlanta spa shootings to provide emotional support:

> Yes, I believe it was just Saturday after the Atlanta shooting and we tried to invite as many people as we can, the AAPI friends we know, and we spent 2 hours talking about our experiences as being Asian-American, being an Asian woman… It was nice to listen to people and I feel so bad that whatever happened to them, happened.

While the majority of youth groups mentioned by participants met virtually throughout the period of this study due to public health concerns, one participant was able to regularly meet in-person with her church youth group by the time of the spring interview. While Wendy appreciated all that Northview's AAC offered, she hinted at virtual fatigue in the spring

interview and expressed her appreciation for being able to connect with people in-person around the racial violence against Asian communities:

> The AAC club I'm in at school, I think they have like a bystander prevention training staff, and they both have a lot of resources, which is great. It's been hard to do clubs online, obviously. I haven't been super active this year, but I think they've handled it pretty well at our youth group. We've been having in-person, but in super small groups of people and my counselors, they let us talk about it for the whole night. I found it very comforting because it was like a way that I could actually express how I was feeling and also talking to my other friends and asking how they were feeling.

Wendy's remarks bring attention to the positive affect of engaging with others in-person, particularly during this period of limited engagement with others outside of one's household, on her sense of emotional safety and comfort.

Whether in-person or virtual, youth groups highlighted in this chapter served as important sources of community for community and consciousness-raising. Compared to classrooms in which teachers attempted to address AAR, participants commonly expressed preference for the spaces organized by Asian American youth groups. Participants felt like these affinity spaces better attended to their concerns and experiences and more courageously confronted White supremacist ideology. Eva, an 11th grader at Oak Hills who was an active leader in both DAI and her school's AAC, highlighted the difference in reception to news about the Atlanta spa shooting in these youth groups compared to her classes:

> [Interviewer: ...I'm wondering how your involvement in Dear Asians or in your AAC, how those spaces differed from the classroom and did they feel more supportive in those spaces?] Yes, both organizations held processing spaces, I think like, two days after the

> event happened. It wasn't as fresh, and it was a little bit more time to think about it and gather thought. Obviously, it was still very painful and I think it was a lot easier to talk about it because we're all-- It was like a little crying session. I think it's very easy to take that time and rant without that judgment of other peers who might not understand what it's like. I'll speak about Dear Asians specifically. [It's] an Asian American women-led organization…It was a very insightful conversation because we could really dig into these topics of fetishization and women, and how that plays into how we're seen in this country. It was just a huge 180 from the type of conversations that we had in our classes, which were like, "I cannot believe these events happened. Racism is bad." It's like, "Good for you for recognizing that," but I think if I want to have a conversation, I really don't want to start at that very surface level. Just having that shared experience of being Asian allows us to dig a little deeper into these conversations, and I really appreciate that.

The conversations in DAI went "deeper" than the "surface level" conversations in her classes in large part because DAI members already recognize that systemic racism exists and how it intersects with other forms of oppression. Eva also noted in multiple points in her interview, the significance of being in affinity spaces in which she felt free from judgment and amongst peers who understood her experiences as an Asian American woman.

> We were, at least in my school, AAC was thinking about expanding it to the entire school and having a processing space of sorts there. I don't think we ever initiated it because we were scared of people invalidating Asian feelings or just not being on the same level of understanding. I think at my school, a lot of students are aware of things like the model minority myth. However, they don't really know what it is, other than what it's called. I think it's really helpful to have these discussions when you're not really on the same page.

> I don't know, like, bottom line, being Asian, and being with other Asian people really helps.

Eva's remarks and the remarks of other participants also hint at a freedom associated with participating in affinity spaces—of not having to adhere to the comfort or level of racial awareness of non-Asian folks.

Indeed, affinity groups validated participants' feelings and experiences in ways that seemed to support their critical consciousness development. Specifically, these affinity groups responded to the frustration of Asian American youth who felt like non-Asian acquaintances, peers, teachers, and administrators ignored or minimized the rise in AAR. In this groups, which were often led by their peers, participants felt seen and cared for.

Discussion

This chapter examined the ways in which AAR was discussed across youth's primary socializing settings throughout 2020-2021 and the possible implications of these conversations on youth's critical consciousness development.

Although the overwhelming majority of participants (72% of fall participants and 93% of spring participants) discussed AAR with family members, conversations were often brief and focused on safety without unpacking the root causes of violence. This finding aligns with previous research documenting concerns about safety within the Asian American community amidst the COVID-19 pandemic (Hahm et al., 2021; Yang et al., 2021) and is unsurprising given the tendency of news and social media accounts to sensationalize and decontextualize violence (Noel, 2020). This finding also adds to the literature on the racial socialization of Asian American youth. As mentioned in Chapter 2, previous research established that parents rarely engage in conversations about racism or how to address it (Choi & Hahm, 2017; Daga & Raval,

2018; Juang et al., 2017; Young et al., 2021), yet this study found that families did engage in conversations about COVID-19 anti-Asian racism, albeit very brief ones that primarily focused on vigilance against racism. Although parents and elders likely focus on safety out of a belief that it will protect them from direct interpersonal racism, this type of messaging may actually elevate psychological distress among those who experience racism (Atkin et al., 2019; Chae et al., 2021), thus it is critically important that conversations move past preparation for personal victimization and instead contextualize experiences of racism. Indeed, how youth understand racism may mitigate potential deleterious effects from experiencing discrimination (Alvarez et al., 2006) as well as facilitate positive racial/ethnic identification, empowerment, and intersectional solidarity (H.-L. Cheng et al., 2021). Additionally, prior studies suggested that East Asian parents rarely talk to their children about racism because of a cultural value of emotional restraint and group harmony (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006). This perspective, however, fails to consider how parental socialization practices may be influenced by the ways in which Asian American families navigate a complex, dynamic and multilayered society built on racism and other intersecting forms of oppression (García Coll et al., 1996; Juang et al., 2017). Indeed, youth responses like Emma's seemed to indicate that some parents may intentionally elect to not engage in conversations about AAR with their children out of a desire to protect them from additional associated distress. Further, the lack of discussion about the root causes of anti-Asian violence in families may be attributed to racial conditioning under White supremacy, rather than cultural essentialism.

In alignment with previous studies (e.g., Alvarez et al., 2006; Chae et al., 2021; Chiang, Yang, & Tsai, 2022), participants commonly expressed distress from hearing about attacks directed at people of Asian descent throughout the pandemic. Indirectly, vicarious racism may

contribute to maladaptive mindsets and behaviors (Heard-Garris et al., 2018) and thus important to consider for schools and youth-organizations seeking to better support Asian American students.

Another notable finding presented in this chapter is the silence around AAR youth experienced in schools particularly relative to the response and attention of Asian American youth-serving groups, and the impact of such observations on youth's critical consciousness development. Given the relative absence of Asian American history and experiences in schools as discussed in Chapter 2, the minimal acknowledgement of COVID-19 AAR in schools is unsurprising. However, youth's observation of the lack of attention in school while seeing anti-Asian attacks frequently play out on social media is worth attending to. These observations may contribute to the consciousness-raising of youth (Bañales et al., 2019; Heberle et al., 2020; M. Lin, 2020; Schwarzenthal et al., 2022) or, on the other hand, cultivate racial animosity toward other marginalized groups who receive attention in school (H. Lee et al., 2022; Park, 2021)—both of which was observed in this study. Additionally, the relative silence from certain teachers, administrators, and peers elicited negative feelings, such as frustration, disappointment, and sadness, from many participants. These affective responses are important to examine as emotions can drive social and paradigmatic change (M. Lin, 2022). In a community-engaged ethnography of two interracial youth-led racial justice organizations, Lin (2022) illustrates the significance of "emotional counterpublics" or spaces that help participants harness emotions to "recuperate erased selves" in service of racial justice movement. Indeed, Asian American youth-serving groups and collectives like the high school Asian American Clubs and Dear Asians Initiative organized processing spaces for young people that validated their experiences and emotions in addition to helping them contextualize the violence directed toward Asian communities

throughout the pandemic. As illustrated in this chapter and in Chapter 4, youth groups and collectives also importantly encouraged deeper learning about systemic racism than what some youth encountered in their classrooms, thereby helping youth hone their analysis of racism and racial reflexivity, components of heightened racial consciousness (Bañales et al., 2021; Heberle et al., 2020). A number of participants also expressed appreciation for engaging in such learning and discussion within an affinity space. Some participants expressed a sense of comfort and relief in being in community with others who shared their experiences and feelings, while others mentioned how being amongst others with a shared identity allowed conversations to move past superficial conversations about racism that were more common in classes (Keels, 2019).

This chapter calls for greater urgency to center Asian American experiences in schools and broader societal dialogue as well as to attend to the emotional distress youth may experience from frequently witnessing AAR and not having it acknowledged outside of the Asian American community. While schools should support the efforts of afterschool and out-of-school groups that engage in such efforts, they must also not acknowledge their role in perpetuating anti-Asian sentiment through silence (D. W. Sue, 2013). Indeed, the findings in this chapter illustrate the positive impact of acknowledging AAR and engaging in in-depth dialogue about AAR on participants' psychosocial wellbeing as well as the possibilities for their CRC. For example, youth who were situated in schools that predominantly adopt a colorevasive stance around anti-Asian racism commonly encountered silence about the racial violence directed at Asian communities. This messaging minimizes AAR and conflicts with the victimization narrative youth encountered at home and on social media. Such discordance appeared to encourage youth who were connected with peer racial affinity spaces to speak out and draw attention to Asian American experiences while lead others to question the seriousness of AAR or feel slighted at

the silence surrounding AAR. Thus, inconsistent messaging may support learning and actions in service of racial justice—or foster doubt and other unproductive feelings that may limit youth's racism analysis and racial reflexivity or lead them to internalize racism.

CHAPTER 4: RECKONING WITH ANTI-BLACKNESS[1]

In this chapter, I advance understandings of adolescent sociopolitical development by examining the pathways and barriers to critical consciousness development for Chinese-identifying youth. I draw on theories of sociopolitical development (Watts et al., 2003)—with special attention to critical consciousness—and Asian American racial identity formation (Kim, 1999) to better understand the factors that may support or inhibit their development. An analysis of the 35 interviews conducted with youth in the fall of 2020 reveals that engagement online and with peers not only contributed to young people's understanding of systemic racism but also encouraged them to confront internalized anti-Blackness and/or anti-Blackness within the Chinese community. In some cases, schools served as spaces that facilitated youth's racial awareness and engagement with anti-racist efforts. However, youth self-reported experiences also indicate that schools commonly perpetuate problematic perspectives and behaviors that are harmful to all communities oppressed by White supremacy. Further complicating some youth's critical consciousness development are family members' deeply engrained anti-Black prejudices and a lack of support for young people for contextualizing and addressing these attitudes.

Theoretical Framework

Sociopolitical development (SPD) describes an ongoing process in which an individual acquires the knowledge, skills, emotional faculties, and capacity to understand and act against systems of oppression (Watts et al., 2003). It requires developing an understanding of the social, historical, and political structures and forces that perpetuate inequities and privileges—known as *critical consciousness*—as well as a capacity to envision and create a more just society (Watts

[1] This chapter serves as the foundation for a manuscript I co-authored with Quinmill Lei, Grace Su, and Sara Zhang titled "Acknowleding Anti-Blackness, Overlooking Anti-Asian Racism: Missed Developmental Opportunities for Chinese American Youth." The full reference for this manuscript is included in the "References."

et al., 2003). Critical consciousness (CC), or "conscientização" was first coined by liberation educator and philosopher (Freire, 2000), who believed that the process of developing an awareness of inequitable social conditions and their historical contexts fostered a sense of agency to act against oppressive systems.

Building on Freire's work, contemporary scholars conceptualize CC as consisting of three domains—*critical reflection* (the process of learning to question social arrangements and structures that marginalize groups of people), *critical motivation/political efficacy* (one's agency and commitment to address perceived injustices), and *critical action* (engagement in individual or collective behaviors to change perceived injustices)—that reinforce each other to aid in one's sociopolitical development (Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts et al., 2003). Social interactions, particularly discussions and experiences that prompt individuals to critically examine and challenge their surrounding sociopolitical environment, can encourage the development of CC (Freire, 2000; Watts & Guessous, 2006; Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). The majority of studies on CC, however, have focused on Black, Latinx, and low-income youth, and few have examined how CC develops—or may be inhibited—among Asian American adolescents (Bañales et al., 2021; Hope et al., 2021). These studies suggest that experiences of racism inform youth's critical social analysis and activism and that their racial and/or immigrant identity influences their motivation to address issues as well as the types of political behaviors in which they engage (Anyiwo et al., 2018). However, minimal attention has been paid to how race and racism–specifically, how learning about and experiencing racism, developing a sense of self in the context of racism, and critiquing or challenging racism based on one's understandings and experiences–influence CC development for youth (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Bañales et al., 2021;

Mathews et al., 2020) and how that development may look differently depending on context and identity.

Since the initial arrival of Chinese immigrants in the 19th century, people of Asian descent have occupied a precarious racial positioning within the White supremacist racial order (Wong, 2015). As racial triangulation theory posits, Asian Americans and immigrants are intentionally elevated or marginalized relative to White people and other non-White groups to reinforce White dominance and privilege (Kim, 1999). This racialization of Asian Americans "profoundly shapes the opportunities, constraints, and possibilities" of not only people of Asian descent but all other groups deemed inferior to Whites (Kim, 1999, p. 107). Thus, examining how the experiences and understandings of Asian American youth may diverge from that of other youth, and under what conditions might their sociopolitical development look similarly or differently, may provide new insights into the interplay between racism and CC development (Mathews et al., 2020) as well as the interplay between racism and anti-racist development (Anyiwo et al., 2020; Bañales et al., 2021) among adolescents.

Anti-racism among Chinese Americans requires intentional efforts to address internalized racism and anti-Blackness within the Asian American community (Hwang, 2021). Given that White supremacy structures certain privileges based on perceived phenotypic features, it also includes confronting colorism—or preference for fairer over darker skin tones—which is deeply rooted in Chinese culture[2] and intertwined with existing anti-Black sentiments (Bettache, 2020; Hunter, 2007). These complexities have yet to be fully considered in the theorizing of adolescent

[2] Historically, paler complexions indicated nobility and higher class status in ancient Chinese cultures. Thus, skin tone reflected a class-based hierarchical system (Bettache, 2020).

sociopolitical development, but likely have significant implications for how youth understand racism, relate to racial oppression, and engage with anti-racism.

Literature Review

Asian American Sociopolitical Development

Few studies have explored the process of sociopolitical development and factors that impact civic engagement in Chinese American youth (Chan, 2009; Junn & Masuoka, 2008). Extant research on civic engagement has primarily focused on Asian American college student populations. (Wray-Lake et al., 2017) found that there is a great degree of heterogeneity based on ethnic group and immigration status, highlighting the need for Asian American data disaggregation. Building on this observation, (Yi & Todd, 2021) examined differences in social change behaviors across various Asian ethnic groups (e.g., East, South, and Southeast Asians) and found that Southeast Asian and South Asian students tended to engage in more social change behaviors compared to East Asian students. Moreover, across all Asian ethnic groups, higher levels of participation in racial/ethnic identity-based organizations predicted more social change behaviors (Yi & Todd, 2021). Prominent factors that can influence civic engagement in Asian American college students include relationships (e.g., family, friends, peers), identity (e.g., racial, ethnic), and acculturation processes (e.g., tensions between youth and caregivers; Chan, 2009). Moreover, civic engagement has been linked to positive youth development factors such as self-esteem, leadership skills, and a sense of responsibility to others and the larger society (Chan, 2009).

Despite similar rates of certain political behaviors (i.e., writing to public officials, boycotting) as other youth, Asian American youth are often overlooked and understudied in their processes of sociopolitical engagement and development of critical action (Pritzker, 2012).

While the current body of literature has contributed important insights on youth sociopolitical development through the study of Black and Latinx youth (Bañales et al., 2020), there is a need to understand the factors that support and challenge the sociopolitical development of Asian American youth.

Primary Socializing and Politicizing Contexts of Asian American Youth

Schools play an important role in not only the ethnic-racial socialization of young people but also in their sociopolitical development. Schools are a prominent socializing context for adolescents and thus, may shape youth's understanding about and capacity to act against systems of oppression. As noted in Chapter 2, the under-representation and misrepresentation of Asian American experiences (Hartlep et al., 2016; Heilig et al., 2012) coupled with pervasive stereotypes of Asians as "model minorities" and "perpetual foreigners" (A. W. Cheng et al., 2017; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) within schools likely promote beliefs about Asian Americans and immigrants as politically apathetic or complacent (e.g., Jo, 1984), which in turn, may discourage the development of critical awareness about injustice and/or individual and collective social action against oppression. On the other hand, educators can positively influence youth sociopolitical development through curricular and facilitation choices (Rodríguez, 2018). For example, practices that promote youth's connectedness to Asian American racial group identity and their critical examination of political acculturation/exclusion processes may increase political participation among young people (Huang, 2012). Additionally, school administrators can support the development of youth's critical consciousness by promoting awareness of social issues, facilitating dialogue and critique of social inequity, and supporting organized student actions that seek to redress inequities (Ginwright & James, 2002).

Strong evidence suggests youth programs influence both Asian American youth sociopolitical and racial/ethnic identity development. The exploration and self-reflection of racial/ethnic identity is often the catalyst for sociopolitical engagement for many youth (Mathews et al., 2020). For instance, social justice-oriented and peer-led programming targeting Asian American youth which offer a safe space and opportunities for skill building and civic practice have been found to contribute to understandings of race and ethnicity, development of youth's own racial and ethnic identities, feelings of empowerment, and increased political engagement and social responsibility (J. L. L. Lin et al., 2018; Suyemoto et al., 2015). Targeted programming has also been found to shape CC development and help contextualize Asian-Black interracial tensions (Quinn & Nguyen, 2017). Providing Asian American youth the opportunities to critically engage with their own identities through youth programming can positively affect sociopolitical development.

Social media has been dubbed the "great equalizer" for youth political engagement–that is, social media allows for more youth to transcend historical barriers to political engagement (i.e., socioeconomic status, race; (Xenos et al., 2014). Evidence suggests that Asian American youth use social media to both explore their racial identity development, share information, and politically organize (Tynes et al., 2011). Additionally, youth use social media to challenge deficit-focused narratives of youth, promote social change through collective action, and assert agency (Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2018).

Although previous research suggests that parents play a vital role in the sociopolitical development in adolescents of color (Diemer, 2012; Diemer et al., 2009), there is a dearth of research on how this may differ across racial/ethnic minority groups, particularly for Asian American youth. In contrast to other youth of color, Asian American youth often do not have

opportunities to discuss and process their racial identity development with their family members (Young et al., 2021). Moreover, for second generation youth, there tends to be a bottom-up approach to racial socialization (i.e., children teaching parents about race) in Asian American families which is in contrast to processes of racial socialization in other racial/ethnic minorities (Young et al., 2021). To compensate for lack of familial support, Asian American youth may turn to peer support when exploring racial identity and sociopolitical development. Positive interracial friendships and relationships contribute to sociopolitical development by providing support for confronting instances of racism (Diemer et al., 2006, 2009). Further, interracial friendships can challenge negative beliefs and attitudes towards other racial groups (Shelton & Richeson, 2006), which is particularly meaningful when addressing anti-Blackness in Asian American individuals.

Data and Methods

The findings for this chapter are based on the same 35 semi-structured interviews analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3. Interviews were conducted on Zoom or by phone between October 2020 and December 2020. For more information about the sample and methods, refer to Chapter 1.

Findings

In the subsections below, I highlight the pathways and barriers to anti-racist sociopolitical development for Chinese American youth in this study. I describe the supports and challenges youth encounter in prominent socializing contexts (home, school, youth spaces, and online spaces), paying special attention to the ways in which these contexts shape - and are shaped by - their racial awareness development and participation in anti-racist efforts. Lastly, I discuss the ways in which the COVID-19 pandemic and Black Lives Matter movement may have

contributed to not only changes in young people's understanding of race and racism but also interest and engagement in political activism. The findings for this chapter are based off of a thematic analysis of 35 interviews conducted between October 2020 and December 2020.

Pathways to Anti-Racism Political Activism

Online spaces and youth spaces provided young people with resources that supported their racial and political learning. While some of their learning occurred in school classes, participants often pointed to online resources and engagement with peers as important facilitators of their understanding of systemic racism. Furthermore, these resources were often shared or created by their peers, which illustrates not only youth political agency but also the potential influence of social networks on young people's understanding of race and racism.

The ways in which social media and internet search engines facilitate the development of a critical and informed perspective are reflected in the interview with Gabe, a 9th grader at Grandview Prep. Gabe shares:

> I've just been reading more and just understanding the appropriate terms to refer to groups of communities because, again, our educational system-- it's f*cked up. Literally [we learn] nothing when it comes to history. We have to find our own resources to understand why are we here at this certain time and why are people doing this or talking about us in this certain light...

In his interview, he criticizes at length how his schooling has repeatedly centered White narratives and perspectives and avoided confronting White supremacist ideology out of a fear of upsetting White people. He goes on to share how social media platforms like TikTok have helped him develop this critical awareness and inspired him to be more informed and vocal:

> I've been just adjusting my feed to just reflect on contemporary issues that we face today and all these marginalized communities face today…I really love that [TikTok]'s been more politicized because it's been a platform that has brought youth to politics and push them to like, "Maybe I'll pursue a career in politics. Maybe I'll try to help enact some systemic change"... We are just creating a more progressive generation as TikTok is emerging, as social media is emerging. Twitter and Instagram and TikTok. All those things are really helping people get more into politics, especially youth. It's so important.

Although Gabe—and several other participants in the study—shared a particular interest in learning history on his own, such interest was not a requisite for the development of racial awareness and political positioning among youth in this study. Most participants in the study were like Jasmine, a 9th grader at Oak Hills, whose social connections played a significant role in their racial awareness development. When asked where she has learned about contemporary racial injustices, Jasmine replied:

> I'd say it was mostly through my friends on the internet. On a lot of social platforms, you go and you see a bunch of things about the Black Lives Matter protests. I didn't even find out about the protests until I got on Instagram, and I saw a bunch of it on the trending page on my homepage, everything… We didn't know about it until my friends started talking to me about it, and I was like, "Oh, my God, that happened."

As illustrated above, much of Jasmine's racial learning throughout 2020, particularly on the subjects of anti-Blackness and the Black Lives Matter movement, was defined in large part by her peers and other existing social connections online. Peers served as not only conduits for information but also as vital supports for processing racial learning, while online spaces became a common platform for both the exposure to and exchange of information. The role of virtual

spaces, however, is to be expected given the way in which the COVID-19 pandemic forced young people's social interactions online throughout most of 2020.

> Mostly, they just notify me about, if there's any movements or protests happening. If something bad happens, then they'll usually be the first ones to tell me. Sometimes we do discuss thoughts. Sometimes if someone's feeling upset about it, we have Discord, and there's one channel where people just put down their thoughts about it, and we all comfort them or whatever.

Earlier in the interview, Jasmine shared that her parents do not like talking about racism which contrasts the proactive engagement of her peers. Further, she shared that her parents instructed her and her sister to always report any experiences of racism (presumably interpersonal racial discrimination). While Jasmine agreed that one should not be silent about racism, she believes that more attention should be on anti-Blackness than on anti-Asian racism. Jasmine's comments highlight not only the immense influence peers, media, and other online resources may have on youth's critical consciousness development but also an opportunity to support youth to recognize how addressing anti-Blackness confronts oppression of other racial minority groups.

Peers in other settings also provided important anti-racist learning support. For example, a number of youth in the study shared that their high school's Asian American Club (AAC) organized workshops to help members - and others within the school community - develop a deeper, more complex understanding about systemic racism as well as to identify ways to respond to racial inequities on an individual level and as a collective. These workshops were typically organized and led by the student leaders of the AAC. Youth who participated in these workshops often discussed how much it helped them better understand not only their own racial identity but also the racial experiences of others as in Josh's case:

> I feel like I've learned and grown a lot from...being a leader in an identity club and working with other identity club leaders. I think I've learned more about the differences between race and-- I guess in middle school-- I knew that we were different races or things and we were all different but it wasn't explained to us in a way with regards to culture and history...I've learned a lot about Southeast Asia, East Asia, South Asia, and all the differences. I think going to Oak Hills and joining AAC has definitely helped me to learn more about myself [and] learn more about different identities.

Josh, who is a 12th grader at Oak Hills and a leader of the AAC at his school, shares how participation in AAC complemented other racial and political learning both within his school and outside of it. In his interview, he also mentioned how participation in the club provided him with opportunities to work with other identity clubs to raise racial and political awareness amongst students and staff:

> This past summer, we worked with BSU [Black Student Union] to host a presentation over Zoom that talked about anti-Blackness and the Asian American community. We reached out to different high schoolers and teachers across Chicago, and we gathered around 125 plus people. We had a discussion and presentation surrounding the topic… I learned a lot about our community and how collaboration is really needed between different identity groups. Beyond that initial presentation, we actually...presented it to our Asian American classes this year, so I had the opportunity to present it with different leaders to a broader range of students. We also partnered with an organization that I'm part of, for the presentation to be given out to other high schools in Chicago.

Thus, some youth spaces not only facilitated critical racial awareness but also presented participants avenues for engaging in anti-racist political activism and resistance across settings.

For participants in this study, out-of-school youth organizations, youth-led collectives, a handful of teachers, and school-wide initiatives (sometimes led by students) also helped shape racial understandings and resistance efforts. For example, some youth participants shared that their youth organizations and youth-led collectives made space to talk about Asian American identity and highly publicized racialized events, like the murder of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement, which contributed to their understanding of the current social and political context and their racial positioning within this context. Some participants also shared that certain teachers of theirs or school-wide initiatives helped them develop a more critical perspective on racial issues as well as the confidence to talk about these issues. Jasmine describes the impact some of these efforts had on her:

> During advisories, they make presentations on diversity, and especially after the Black Lives Matter movements and protests, we had a couple advisories and counseling sessions to introduce students to different kinds of change and different types of movements. We had a couple on how we should and shouldn't interact and use language or just don't be insensitive to people of different races, that kind of thing…I felt removed at first because it was all just on a screen, but then I remembered one of my classmates and we were talking about it and she had to go off call because she was really stressed and crying about it. I guess I really learned how some people view it and how serious it can get...A lot of my classmates deal with similar issues, and they've had similar experiences. It really means something to them when something like this happens, when people start having movements, and people start getting killed and things.

The efforts made by her school helped Jasmine learn about current racial injustices and efforts to address these injustices but perhaps more importantly, decreased the emotional distance between

her and these issues and increased her ability to empathize with those who have different experiences and identities.

Perhaps most notably, many youth in the study reported attempts to address anti-Black sentiment and/or garner support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement within the Asian American community. An overwhelming majority of youth shared that they engaged in conversations with family members about BLM and/or called out family members for anti-Black remarks. In her interview, Chloe, a 12th grader at Oak Hills, shares:

> In May, George Floyd, his death was widely publicized in all the news, all the news sources were putting videos of his murder on TV and I guess that was the first time my family had watched it. They're like, "Oh, that's really wrong. Why would they do that?" Then I was able to bring up the policing system in America and how it's always been anti-Black, and how Black people are really disenfranchised especially within the policing system and law enforcement, and the justice system in America. I think they really were able to internalize that because in the past, I know my parents have made some ignorant or problematic comments about the Black Americans. It might or mostly not, probably mostly related to college stuff.

While not all youth were as successful as Chloe, their efforts highlight an important generational difference in racial awareness and attitudes between youth and their family members - and also counter popular assumptions of Asian American political apathy.

Additionally, a small number of participants in the study worked with other young people to create and disseminate resources to educate others on BLM and ways to show solidarity, including interrogating their own anti-Blackness. Participants like Avery, a 12th grader at Blue Lake, for example, joined a youth-led social media education effort called Dear Asians Initiative

(DAI). In addition to translating letters in support of BLM into different Asian languages, DAI members conduct and translate research on a variety of social issues, like voter suppression and anti-Black bias, into Instagram posts to educate their followers.

Complications to Anti-Racist Development

While many accounts offered by youth in the study present an optimistic snapshot of youth engagement and activism, some experiences and reflections shared by participants also reveal conditions that can thwart young people's anti-racist development and reinforce problematic perspectives and behaviors that are harmful to communities oppressed by White supremacy. In this section, I highlight the challenges youth face at home and at school in their efforts to become more racially aware and anti-racist.

Anti-Blackness and Cultural Challenges within Youths' Families

Young people commonly remarked on how deeply ingrained their parents and elders' anti-Black prejudices are and how difficult it is for them to change their family members' perspectives. As Olivia, an 11th grader at Northview notes:

> They have quite strong stereotypical beliefs about Mexicans and Blacks. Every time they say Blacks are bad, it's like, "This conversation again." [Interviewer: do you talk to them about it?] Yes, it doesn't go well. I don't think they can absorb it, unless they really see it firsthand. I don't think they'll really have an opportunity to. It's basically to the point, if a Black man does not save them personally from dying, they will not believe that Black people are not bad.

Olivia's insight that her parents have not had experiences that would counter their prejudices is shared by other participants in the study. Youth observe that the racial attitudes of their family members are often reinforced by family members' own personal experiences of discrimination,

their social networks, and a general unawareness of systemic racism. For example, Caitlin, a senior at Hillsdale shares:

> My parents just don't feel comfortable with a lot of people that are different than them just because they come from a very different background than a lot of people from other cultures or other racial groups. They personally experienced a lot of racism as immigrants especially when they first moved and their English wasn't very good. I think that in some ways has shaped their perception of certain groups because they just received a lot of racism from specific groups when they first came which gave them a negative impression of the group as a whole.

For many first-generation Americans - regardless of country of origin - social networks tend to be more ethnically or culturally homogeneous as people are more comfortable interacting with those who share a common language and/or cultural framework. However, when the individuals that new immigrants are connected to endorse anti-Black perspectives and are unaware of systemic racism, this can exacerbate or reinforce prejudices. As Spencer, a 9th grader at Blue Lake, candidly shared about his family, and specifically his father:

> They hold a very strong belief that all African Americans are criminals, they're drug addicts, they're supposed to be in jail. Especially my father. He mentioned it to me once that if I marry an African American woman, he will use a broom to get me out of the house…These are beliefs that-- Well, maybe not all Chinese but the majority of Chinese have. I know that I can't change his beliefs, I've been trying very hard these couple of years to change his beliefs, but I don't think that he will ever change that belief… He has a very strong prejudice against African Americans. I've been trying to tell him that

> everyone's different, African Americans are people too, they're not subpar to humans but then he just keeps rebuking. I have no other way to change his mind on that.

Just as social media influences the perspectives of youth, young people observe how social media and other forms of online engagement by their parents and elders influences the racial attitudes of their family members. For example, Chloe remarks on how challenging it is to change her parents' perspective on affirmative action given the information her parents' friends share on WeChat: "I know at least in their WeChat groups they're always talking about affirmative action and all the stuff, and how-- I don't know. It bothers me and I don't know how to address it because they seem to have evidence or whatever." Family members' media consumption can significantly challenge or support young people who are trying to confront prejudices held by family members. More often than not, parents and elders are exposed to media that portrays racial injustices in problematic ways as is reflected in Simon's interview:

> Recently we had the Black Lives Matter protest...downtown and my dad was like, "Why are they just looting everything?" I'm trying to explain to them… "They're not trying to do it on purpose. They're just trying to send a message that they need to be treated equally. You've got to look away from the looting and look at the main message they're trying to point out." They finally understood after a few minutes of explaining to them about it.

In this example and in many other cases, youth shared that their family members - and sometimes even themselves - consumed media that often fixated on property destruction and looting during the Black Lives Matter protests. These portrayals are problematic because they oversimplify complex racial narratives, ignore historic injustices, center White feelings and biases, and further damaging stereotypes. Thus, the uncritical consumption of such dominant

narratives by many family members and for some youth in the study seemed to contribute to a misunderstanding of BLM and behaviors that perpetuated anti-Blackness or were antithetical to anti-racist efforts.

In addition to trying to work against these socializing factors, youth in the study also expressed difficulty finding common ground with parents and other elders because of language and differing cultural attitudes. For example, Gabe shares that even though he is able to engage with his parents conversationally, it is difficult for him to discuss systemic racism with them in a way that they can understand or empathize with:

> For my family it's really a language barrier. Yes, I can engage in conversational topics, but my mother cannot consider or recognize racism to be a construct that is not beyond my imagination. She often believes that just because I am born here that suddenly I'm crazy or the things that I have said have no reliability. She often talks like, "You're only just talking about this because you're born here," or, "Racism isn't real. You're just talking about it because you're born here," something like that. I'm just trying to explain to her what racism is because she does say some racist things and I have to really call her out. I often get mad at her because I have to tell her that. I tell her that she chooses to be ignorant. I've offered her resources, I've offered to give her resources and articles, and I was like, "These articles can be translated into Chinese, you can literally read this. You can really gain a different perspective on this." It's just this lack of solidarity for my parents. They realize that their community needs better things...but they cannot imagine that for other communities. They cannot imagine the same oppression, or even oppression that's even worse than ours, in other races or other communities or people with other identities. That is just so bad because I'm trying to explain to her why something that she

> has said is so bad and I can't really explain to her that well because of that language barrier which pisses me off a lot. I'm like, please - I'm just trying to make her understand these things.

While this interview excerpt highlights how language may be a barrier to productive conversations on racism, it also highlights the challenge of communicating with others who do not see the interconnectedness of their struggles with others', and who–because of systemic racism–are unlikely to have many experiences or supports to help them identify these connections. To further complicate matters, these difficult conversations may elicit unhealthy responses from family members as was evident in the experiences of Angela, a 9th grader at Grandview:

> For me, I disagree with their views because Asians are minorities and I feel like if we treat one minority badly, another minority will treat us badly as well. I think it's only right to treat other minorities how we want to be treated...I'm kind of scared to just say my thoughts in front of them because I'm afraid that they might despise me because of my views on society and social issues. I've been yelled at for having a certain view. I think it's not right to be yelled at just because of a certain view on social issues and politics in general.

Several youth shared that they stopped trying to talk to certain family members about anti-Blackness because of the psychological harm those conversations may elicit. Youth are cognizant that the pandemic can heighten the impact of such harm for them given that they are restricted to spend more time at home. Furthermore, disagreement with one's elders may be seen as disrespectful in some Chinese families which complicates such conversations as young people are expected to yield to the opinions and perspectives of their elders.

For some youth participants, combating family member's—as well as their own—internalized racism can be an additional challenge to their anti-racist development and sustained engagement in resistance efforts. Observations from a few study participants suggest that family members view being political as a dangerous activity and so discourage their youth from political engagement as is evident in Jasmine's case with her parents:

> Some of us think that we should be more outspoken about these things. Some of us are like they don't think it matters as much. They just want to lay low. If it happens, as long as it doesn't impact us too much, as long as-- It's not violent or harmful in any way, then we should just try to stay safe for the time being. Me and my sister were told that-- don't mention racism in the house because it's a really super touchy subject, and they don't want us talking about it. Then, at the same time, we're also told if an incident ever happens, that we should report immediately, that we should tell someone, and we should make sure that we let them know that it's not okay to say stuff or do stuff like that.

The demand to not bring up issues of race at the home and to "lay low" about racist incidents echoes ways in which marginalized groups have learned to cope with experiences of racism and at the same time, reinforces the pervasive stereotype of Asians/Asian Americans as the model minority. The instruction to only bring up racism that they experience also highlights how Jasmine's parents are unable to see the oppression of Black people in relation to the oppression they or their children experience. This disconnect is noticeable not only at home but also in schools and perhaps is one of the more significant challenges to the critical consciousness development and resistance efforts of Chinese American youth.

Curricular Challenges to the Development of Critical Consciousness

While these interviews reveal that some teachers prioritized anti-racist political education in their curricula, youth more often shared instances in which their schools failed to acknowledge and address racial injustices. One common criticism was how school administrators handled racist incidents perpetuated by students. Olivia, an 11th grader at Northview, shared the following about how her school handled a popular white student's use of the N-word on social media: "They didn't really respond in the most effective way, to be honest. Essentially, what it boiled down to was just like, 'Hey, kids. Don't do that again.' It wasn't really effective and I'm guessing that behind closed doors, it's probably still-- will happen." She shares in the interview that this same student was also accused of harassing other female students and recalls a similar consequence for a different student that was found to use anti-Mexican racial slurs.

Additionally, young people reveal ways in which curriculum and instruction discourages or undermines the development of critical consciousness and racial solidarity efforts. Caitlin's reflection below illustrates the promise of critical political education as well as the missed developmental opportunities within her school:

> If teachers don't address something and the current news that's really relevant and important to a lot of people. For instance, the election that recently happened, a lot of the student body-- Or if it's not addressed in their classes, it feels like the teachers are ignoring something that's really important to them and that's relevant. At the same time, if a teacher does decide to talk about it and they don't discuss it well, or they aren't able to facilitate the conversation in a way that takes care of everyone's emotional feelings, it's almost worse because people leave with even more negative feelings than they came in with. There are some teachers that I've had that have done a really good job of addressing things and other teachers that have either just ignored it or not done a good job.

Thus, schools may be sites that not only perpetuate racial ignorance and misconceptions but also generate distance from racial injustices. This may result when schools make space to learn about anti-Blackness but overlook or minimize anti-Asian racism as was the case for most of the young people in our study.

For most young folks, learning about the systemic oppression that Black communities have experienced generationally and presently, as well as the ways in which Black communities have organized to change societal conditions for themselves and other marginalized groups, is powerful. For those who do not come to understand how their cultural group's experiences with racism and privileges are interconnected with the historical and current violence toward Black communities, however, it may be difficult for them to understand how to work against White supremacy and racial oppression as is the case for Spencer:

> They keep talking about how African Americans are being harassed, intimidated, left out… I think they neglect everything else. They go with their narrative that Black and Hispanics are the ones [who] are the most poorly treated right now but then we have another victim that's silent right now. There's no one talking about that. [Interviewer: How do you feel about that?] I just feel that we're being left out of the racial movement right now. We have BLM that's happening right now, everyone's talking about how Black lives matter, but then Black lives do matter, they do matter, but do Asian lives matter? Do other people's lives matter? Does only Black lives matter and nothing else? I really don't get why they would leave this part out. It's solely focused on the African American community… As Chinese, we're like the silent victims. We're the ones that are being victimized for "spreading the Coronavirus"... I just feel left behind [in the] movement.

While BLM and the pandemic have heightened young people's racial awareness and sense of responsibility, schools seem to present anti-Black racism in ways that may deter Chinese American youth from fully recognizing their racial positioning and the development of racial solidarity. Teachers and administrators may unwittingly see students of Asian descent as model minorities and fail to acknowledge their experiences with discrimination - as well as the racism that Asian communities have experienced throughout the pandemic. This can consequently lead not only to the exclusion of Asian and Asian American experiences from conversations about race and racism but also to feelings of resentment from young people. Although youth may internalize racism and hold anti-Black attitudes, it is important to identify the ways in which schools, a primary socializing context for adolescents, contribute to this self-hate and racial wedging as opposed to aiding youth to develop a more critical and comprehensive understanding of racism.

These instances at home and in schools illustrate a need for developmental supports that not only center at times the struggles and resilience of Asian communities but also help build understanding of the context-dependent privileges associated with one's racial positioning within a white supremacist racial hierarchy.

Discussion

Contemporary theories are only beginning to consider how youth's experience with and understanding of racism interact with their sociopolitical development (Bañales et al., 2021). This chapter advances current conceptualizations by examining the interplay between Chinese American youths' racialized experiences and their CC development. Aligned with Anyiwo and colleagues (2018) integrative model for sociopolitical development, I find that racial sociocultural factors, such as racial discrimination and socialization, shape young people's social

analysis and political participation. However, the sociocultural factors that shape youths' social awareness and action look differently for participants in this study when compared to the experiences of Black and Latinx youth in other studies. The racialized experiences of Chinese youth are shaped by power structures that at times, privilege them and at other moments, exclude and dehumanize them.

The shifting positioning of Chinese Americans between "forever foreigners" who do not have a stake in American society and well-integrated "model minorities" who do not experience racial discrimination or social problems (Aguirre & Lio, 2008) suggests a critical need to create and support opportunities for youth to understand the privileges and oppression of Chinese Americans in relation to anti-Blackness and White supremacy. The current study sought to examine and further illuminate pathways and barriers for sociopolitical development in Chinese American youth. Similar to other youth of color, the presented findings suggest that Chinese American youth are often motivated to interrogate their own racial positioning as a result of experiences of racism and discrimination. These experiences may be a catalyst for critical consciousness development as youth may critically reflect upon and evaluate their experiences of racism and begin to connect them to greater systems of power and oppression (Watts et al., 2003). Additionally, I found that many Chinese American youth engaged in self-directed learning about historical and systemic racism and sought out opportunities for anti-racist critical dialogue with peers. Social interactions, particularly with peers outside of school, and online engagement that prompt critical examination of current and historical conditions may facilitate the development of critical consciousness (Watts & Guessous, 2006). As such, critical consciousness among Chinese American youth may be enhanced in the school context (i.e., expansion of curriculum to include Chinese American history), in targeted after-school

programming (i.e., Asian American Club), and among peers (i.e., conversations about race and racism).

Although youth in the current study explicated the various ways in which they engage in anti-racist learning and action, there still were marked challenges to this development. At home, youth faced challenges when attempting to discuss anti-Blackness with their family members. In addition to the deep level of internalization of these prejudices, family members' homogeneous social networks, personal experiences of discrimination, lack of understanding of systemic racism, and social media bubbles (i.e., WeChat) reinforced anti-Blackness across multiple domains and proved to be frustrating for Asian American youth. These findings add to the literature on Asian American sociopolitical development as they demonstrate the pervasiveness of anti-Blackness within family systems. Additionally, Asian American youth may face compounding cultural challenges when discussing anti-Blackness with family members. For example, the concept of filial piety positions elders in a highly regarded status whose authority and wisdom should not be challenged. As such, further research on Asian American youth sociopolitical development should also focus on further exploring these important cultural factors as they may inhibit attempts at discussion with family members, as well as variation among youth regarding anti-Blackness. Indeed, within this study, youth and their families did not all hold a uniform perspective on racism. This may reflect different stages of racial awareness and critical social analysis and further inquiry may shed light on the minimal conditions that propel youth into solidarity with other marginalized groups.

Chinese American youth strategically used social media and other online spaces to engage in critical action through anti-racist and political learning. These findings mirror previous research on Asian American youth and their use of social media to explore racial identity and

share information (Tynes et al., 2011). Contrary to deficit-based narratives of youth, youth are active agents when exploring and developing their identities–they engage in critical self-reflection, have conversations with their peers about these topics, and seek out narratives that expand their understanding. Additionally, youth participants reported using online spaces to identify gaps in their education which often center White history and narratives and exclude non-White experiences. Within standardized US school curricula, Chinese American history is often whitewashed and reduced to few mentions of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and Japanese concentration camps during World World II (Rodríguez, 2018). Moreover, when these topics are covered, they often center White experiences and viewpoints, minimize key contextual facts promote "othering" of Asian Americans, and contribute to the racial invisibility of Asian American history, experiences, and narratives.

The current chapter also highlights how individual and collective efforts are crucial to any social movement and in particular to the current movement for racial justice. Within this study, 13% identified as first-generation immigrants (meaning they were born outside of the U.S.) and 70% identify as second-generation (meaning that they were born in the U.S. but at least one of their parents was not). First-generation immigrants often do not have access to the same resources or opportunities as 1.5- and second-generation Americans (who grow up here or spend most of their childhood and adolescence here) that help them to develop cross-racial and cross-cultural understanding and empathy. These resources and opportunities are especially sparse in highly segregated areas, such as in the Chicago neighborhoods in which many of the participants resided, and for those employed in jobs that provide limited interactions outside of one's ethnic group, as is the case for many of the parents and caregivers of youth in this study. Additionally, new immigrants who settle in areas that are historically under-resourced are often

positioned in competition for scarce resources with communities that have been generationally disadvantaged, which can cultivate racial animosity and prejudice. The development of racial attitudes among first- and second-generation Asian immigrants may be further conditioned by the inundation of anti-Black messaging within their primary socializing contexts as well as within their broader context, as was observed in the study. Thus, youth efforts to interrogate racial misunderstandings and to practice cross-racial solidarity within these contexts truly exemplifies resistance to oppression and suggest pathways to anti-racism political activism that are often overlooked in the literature on adolescent sociopolitical development.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

"So what does anti-Asian racism during COVID-19 and the US national and global protests against anti-Black racism have in common? They are both fighting against white supremacy. And just so I'm clear, because oftentimes phrases like "white supremacy" are imperfectly understood or misinterpreted, I'm talking about the ideology of white supremacy and not the class of people I call "professional racists… The white supremacy I'm talking about is in the air we breathe and the water we drink. There is simply no escaping the reach of white supremacy…"

— Jennifer Ho (2020)

"Being a victim of oppression in the United States is not enough to make you revolutionary, just as dropping out of your mother's womb is not enough to make you human. People who are full of hate and anger against their oppressors or who only see Us versus Them can make a rebellion but not a revolution. The oppressed internalize the values of the oppressor. Therefore, any group that achieves power, no matter how oppressed, is not going to act differently from their oppressors as long as they have not confronted the values that they have internalized and consciously adopted different values."

— Grace Lee Boggs (1998)

The initial questions which eventually led to this study first emerged in 2017 while I served as an interviewer for the GenForward *Race and Place* study. Through interviews with nearly 50 Asian American young adults raised in Chicago, I found that these young people rarely encountered opportunities and resources for developing a critical analysis of racism. Those who had a sense of the causes and impacts of social inequities credited it to their involvement with

neighborhood-based organizations or families engaged in political advocacy work. This finding was both surprising and concerning.

Chicago has one of the largest Chinese and Asian American and diaspora populations amongst U.S. cities—and the largest in the Midwest. Chicago also has a long history of Asian migration, with the earliest Chinese immigrants arriving in the 1870s and its present-day Chinatown forming in 1912 (*Chinatown*, 2017). Additionally, unlike other urban Chinatowns that have not been able to weather increased gentrification efforts, Chicago's Chinatown has been growing steadily in recent decades (G. Lee, 2020; Semuels, 2019). In both Chicago and other cities, Chinatowns formed in large part because of racist redlining policies, other restrictions on the mobility of Chinese families, and White flight (G. Lee, 2020; Semuels, 2019). These neighborhoods have been essential to the survival of generations of Chinese immigrants, providing them with the tools, capital, and network to build their lives in the U.S. (I. Chang, 2003).

Historical and present-day accounts indicate that Chinese-serving associations in particular, played, and continue to play, a significant role in fighting discriminatory policies, economic and political marginalization, and anti-Chinese prejudice (I. Chang, 2003; P. Li & K, 2020; Y. Lu, 2020). Thus, it came as no surprise that young adults in the *Race and Place* study shared that participation in community-based organizations spurred their critical consciousness development especially with understanding how racism has shaped present-day inequities within their city as well as with understanding how to challenge these inequities. What did come as a surprise, though, was the relatively limited politicizing opportunities that seemed to be available to young Asian Americans in such a large and diverse city and during a period of greater racial reckoning. It led me to wonder whether young people growing up in Chicago and other parts of

the Midwest still continued to experience the same lack of opportunities I did fifteen years ago in a predominantly White neighborhood outside of Detroit.

Thus, I set off to examine the work of community-based ethnic organizations and how youth programs situated in these organizations contributed to youth's sociopolitical development and racial consciousness. Volunteer work with one such youth program, in particular, led me to wonder how *racial dialogue* and *ethnic community engagement* shape youth's understanding of race and racism, racial identification and attitudes, and political motivation and engagement. Studies on intergroup dialogue programs (IGD) suggested that sustained and intentional critical racial dialogue can, indeed, develop young people's ability to recognize inequalities and its causes as well as empathy for others (e.g., Aldana et al., 2012; Boulden, 2006; Gurin et al., 2013; Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). These studies, however, primarily examined the impact of IGD amongst racially diverse college populations situated in relatively well-resourced institutions that could afford to evaluate and adjust curriculum and facilitation and to train facilitators (Dessel & Rogge, 2008)—as opposed to co-ethnic groups in underresourced community-based organizations. The literature on Asian American adolescents and social justice programs, which more closely aligned with my population and sites of interest, found that participation in social justice programs commonly enhanced Asian American youth's understandings of race and ethnicity, racial and ethnic identification, a sense of empowerment, social responsibility, and ability to name and critique the manifestations of racism, such as existing tensions between Black and Asian communities (Ngo, 2017; C. Nguyen & Quinn, 2018; Suyemoto et al., 2015). Still though, these studies did not clarify how youth's racial literacy developed in programs without explicit social or racial justice aims or within the context of peer-to-peer interactions absent of adult facilitators.

Thus, I considered these gaps in the literature in the design of the dissertation project which ultimately sought to identify opportunities to enhance the critical racial consciousness of Chinese and Asian American youth as well as to uncover the challenges young people encounter in developing an understanding of and empathy for other marginalized groups—competencies that can facilitate or sustain anti-racist actions. Specifically, my study pursued the following questions: 1) How do Chinese American youth develop an understanding of and response to systemic racism? 2) What implications might their racial socialization experiences have on their understanding and appreciation of their own racial/ethnic identity? 3) How might their racial socialization experiences influence their empathy for and solidarity with other marginalized communities? Given the particular moment in which this study was developed and conducted, special attention was also given to examining how youth understand and relate to anti-Blackness and anti-Asian racism. The Black Lives Matter movement had importantly elevated consciousness about systemic racism, specifically the ways in which anti-Blackness permeates every level of society and is institutionalized in state actors. However, there remained uncertainty about if and how young Asian Americans understood the connection between the rise in anti-Asian sentiment and anti-Blackness.

In pursuit of these questions, I surveyed and interviewed 74 high-school-aged youth in Chicago throughout 2020-2021. My query revealed that online spaces and youth-led spaces importantly contributed to the consciousness-raising of Chinese and Asian American youth, both in terms of understanding the history and manifestations of anti-Blackness and potential opportunities for individual and collective redress. While a number of youth shared that their teachers and administrators helped elevate their awareness of anti-Blackness, many youth also illustrated the ways in which their schools avoided directly confronting White supremacy,

addressing anti-Asian racism, and committing to systemic and cultural changes for the liberation of Black, Indigenous, Asian, and Latinx communities.

Thus, youth engaged in activities to educate themselves about histories commonly excluded from, or deluded within, the White, Euro-centric school curricula. Some of their efforts were more intentional as reflected in cases where youth sought out online resources or participated in learning spaces organized by Asian American-serving youth groups and programs. Some efforts were less intentional like coming across social media posts. Both types of practices, though, helped youth recognize the privileging of Whiteness and/or the mistreatment of Black and Asian communities within the education system and broader society. While such awareness appeared to contribute to the development of racism analysis, it did not always seem to necessitate a critique of White supremacy. For example, some youth criticized the attention to the Black Lives Matter movement rather than the educators or administrators who minimally acknowledged, if at all, the violence directed toward Asian communities under the Trump administration and throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. This gap between learning about racism and critiquing White supremacy, however, is unsurprising given the pervasiveness of White supremacist ideology and youth's relatively minimal exposure to counternarratives and anti-racist frameworks. Indeed, as so many youth shared, Asian American experiences and narratives are largely unseen or misportrayed in schools and broader society.

Asian American-serving youth programs and groups perhaps played the most significant role in helping young people develop what Banales and colleagues describe as racism analysis and racial reflexivity (discussed in the "Theoretical Framework" section of Chapter 3). These programs and groups helped youth locate their racial positioning and contextualize their racialized experiences. Contextualizing one's racialized experiences included helping youth

understand how racism has functioned historically and how it manifests in present-day race relations, disparities, and experiences. It also entails understanding how other groups are racialized and the ways in which one's experiences intersect with those from other marginalized groups. In alignment with previous studies (Bañales et al., 2021; Ngo, 2017; C. Nguyen & Quinn, 2018; Suyemoto et al., 2015), the Asian American-serving youth groups and programs mentioned in the study appeared to promote positive racial-ethnic identification as well as enhance CRC. According to study participants, these spaces proactively facilitated learning and dialogue about Asian American history and experiences, racial stereotypes (including the model minority myth), anti-Blackness, the Black Lives Matter movement, anti-Asian racism, racial solidarity, and other topics. Additionally, youth groups and programs encouraged participants to engage in individual and collective efforts to address racism within their schools. For example, the Asian American Clubs at Oak Hills and Northview organized the bystander trainings for their school communities which importantly integrated history and context about anti-Asian racism from a leading Asian American organization dedicated to racial justice.

Consistent with prior literature, my study found that Asian American narratives and experiences remained largely absent in schools or mis-represented when included. Even with the rise in anti-Asian sentiment throughout the pandemic, youth shared that their schools and teachers largely failed to acknowledge the violence directed at Asian communities. After witnessing their schools' responses to the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, many youth expressed frustration at the limited efforts to address AAR and believed that their schools could do more to educate on the issue and support Asian American students. For some participants, this awareness that teachers and administrators could engage in additional efforts to learn from and center Asian American experiences and narratives seemed to

facilitate critique of White supremacy; however, for others, the difference in response to anti-Blackness relative to anti-Asian racism seemed to generate animosity specifically at the attention Black communities were given as discussed in Chapter 4.

The affective responses from constantly viewing acts of violence, both physical and verbal, as well as from noticing silence or disregard from others concerning these events can deter critical racial consciousness in ways not fully attended to in existing literature about adolescent sociopolitical development.

> Mentally, it's a lot to juggle on top of it, this school stress or the stress of the pandemic, in general. I know that a lot of people, especially if you are on the line and you're more isolated, a lot of my friends have been struck more mentally, just because our situations. To have this added pressure, weigh on their minds, has taken a toll.

As Caitlin notes, youth are already contending with multiple stressors because of the pandemic, such as disruption to their schooling and sudden increased social isolation. In addition, youth are dealing with stress stemming from concerns about health and safety, increased exposure to unhealthy family dynamics, and repeatedly witnessing racial violence and silence. As I discuss in Chapter 2, such persisting invisibility about the experiences of Asian Americans can really challenge their wellbeing in ways that discourage critical racial consciousness development, particularly the capacity to engage in resistance efforts such as showing up for others. Indeed, the emotional strife that youth experience from repeatedly witnessing racial violence and silence is important to attend to.

> I found out about it on Instagram that night, and I guess I completely did not process it until the next day after. I think hearing that six of them were Asian, it made me feel scared, not for myself but more so for my mom, because she's a service worker, and it

> just felt very personal to me. It just made me realize a lot of things that I didn't before… As Asians, we're seen as the white adjacency. I gaslighted myself into believing that we don't face as much discrimination and racism as other groups. The shooting denied all those feelings and invalidated those feelings. Also, when I started to notice my friend's reactions and how outspoken they were, I started realizing who really cared for me and who didn't.

As Jessica illustrates, ignoring AAR is a form of racial gaslighting. Avoidance and minimization from teachers, administrators, peers, and mainstream news sources perpetuate and normalize a White supremacist narrative that Asian Americans do not experience racism or do not have it "that bad" (Davis & Ernst, 2019). Racial gaslighting about AAR leads youth to question the legitimacy of their oppression which may immobilize them from seeing the way these individual actions at the micro-level work through and in service of white supremacy.

Thus, this dissertation importantly calls attention to the need to consider the consequences of enduring racial invisibility on Asian Americans as well as the need to talk about racism from an intersectionality standpoint. Indeed, the findings from this study support the notion that an *intersectional understanding of differential racialization* is foundational to developing a framework for understanding racism as theorized by Bañales and colleagues (2021) and which draws on the work of intersectionality scholars like Kimberlé Crenshaw and Patricia Hill Collins:

> Racialization refers to the ongoing sociohistorical process through which bodies, groups, interactions, and social structures come to be assigned racial meaning and significance (Hochman, 2019). In essence, racialization is the cumulation of the social construction of

> race—not simply as a categorical label—but as a tool of white supremacy to (re)create a caste system that targets people deemed non-white. The racialization of individuals is not limited to associating physical markers of racial/ethnic background (e.g., phenotype, hair texture), but also styles of dress, hairstyles, body sizes, speaking styles, and languages spoken with certain racial groups (Rosa, 2018). Youth recognize that people are racialized in the U.S. (Bañales et al., 2020), particularly youth who are racialized themselves (Rios, 2011; Sirin, 2008).

As this study shows it is imperative for all young people and not only Asian Americans to develop an understanding of how their oppression intersects with the oppression of other marginalized groups. Without such awareness, young people may problematically remain silent about racial injustices and be less likely to engage in solidarity efforts which is essential to challenging White supremacy. Indeed, supports and resources that help youth contextualize the rise in anti-Asian sentiment relative to anti-Blackness may help mobilize youth to confront systemic racism. In the absence of such opportunities, feelings of racial invisibility emerge and contribute to resentment toward other communities oppressed under White supremacy (Kim, 1999). Further, these feelings encourage false notions of scarcity, such that youth come to believe that there is not enough time or space to talk about anti-Asian racism. Such scarcity of attention may manifest as excluding the experiences of Asian Americans in school curriculum because of lack of time or other priorities. Uncritically accepting these conditions not only prevents youth from fully recognizing that schools and society *can* indeed attend to the experiences of Black and Asian communities but also invites competition between oppressed groups.

Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research

This study has several implications for policy, practice, and future research. First, this research supports the ongoing demand for Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies in K-12 classrooms. Since the start of the project, several states introduced bills to require teaching Asian American history in public schools (Bellamy-Walker, 2022). Illinois became the first state to require Asian American studies in public schools after an aggressive campaign led by several Asian American community groups with Asian American s Advancing Justice-Chicago at the helm (Yam, 2021). Five other states have since followed suit and campaigns to pass similar legislation in other states is underway. While these legislative wins and the grassroots efforts behind them are promising, the call for legislation at this current moment highlights the long-endured neglect of Asian American experiences in schools. This study not only supports the movement to codify Asian American history and narratives in K-12 curricula but also urges for anti-oppressive education. Anti-oppressive education is a form of education that actively challenges injustice from the micro-level of teaching to the macro-level of education reform and draws on multiple theoretical traditions such as critical race theory, feminist theory, queer theory, and decolonial theory (Kumashiro, 2000, 2006). Integrating Asian American experiences and talking about anti-Asian racism in schools is an important step forward—and one with significant consequences on the racial socialization and critical consciousness development of youth—however, it is just one of many steps needed to create a future of collective liberation.

Along these lines, changes in pedagogical practice is essential to this future. This dissertation illustrated the many ways in which teachers and administrators fell short of supporting Asian American students at a time of heightened anti-Asian violence. Findings offer a number of recommendations for educators, including but not limited to: acknowledge anti-Asian racism, facilitate conversations and lessons about Asian American history and narratives

throughout the school year or course, engage in learning to better understand how racism and discrimination impacts Asian American youth, check in with students periodically or after highly publicized racialized incidents, adapt lessons in ways that allow all students to be engaged which includes creating space for students to share their learning, reach out to Asian parents and caregivers, and last but not least, advocate for a school plan that ensures long-term safety and care for all marginalized students.

Additionally, schools and youth organizations should consider ways to support youth in navigating and critiquing messages about race and racism. For example, schools and families were often silent about the rise in violence directed toward Asian communities throughout the pandemic, even following the Atlanta tragedy in March of 2021, which minimized the racism that people of Asian descent experience. Social media, on the other hand, brought attention to anti-Asian racism but often in a decontextualized manner. For those involved in Asian American-serving organizations and groups, youth received supports and resources that not only helped them understand the root causes of anti-Asian racism and its relation to White supremacy but also importantly validated their experiences and concerns. Thus, this study brings to light the various messages youth must decipher from different socializing agents as well as the weight silence about their experiences may have on their well-being and sociopolitical development. It is therefore important to consider scaffolds and interventions that may help youth navigate their racialized contexts.

Lastly, this study presents a number of opportunities for future research. For one, future research should examine more closely the history and work of Asian American youth-led groups. Asian American Clubs and online collectives like Dear Asians Initiative played an outsized role throughout 2020 to 2021 in supporting and politicizing youth in this study. Yet little is known in

the literature about how these groups came to be and self-organize or about the long-term impacts of participation on youth's development. Participatory action research studies and/or studies that prioritize reciprocity would be of particular interest to these youth groups to help support their activism. Secondly, future studies should further investigate interventions and conditions that encourage rather than inhibit participation in solidarity efforts. This dissertation argues that understanding how interpersonal experiences of discrimination intersect with the experiences of other marginalized groups under White supremacy is necessary for developing empathy and allyship with others. Third, future research must support both the development of curriculum and instruction. These studies should help identify changes to curriculum and professional development for educators that better present the stories of Asian Americans, promote intersectional analysis, and foster empathy. Interpretation of the newly passed laws requiring integration of Asian American experiences in K-12 school curricula will likely vary. Studies that evaluate both impact and implementation are especially valuable in informing curricular and pedagogical changes and ensuring fidelity to the laws. Additionally, future research should attend to how youth negotiate conflicting or differing messages about race. As evident in this study, youth received messages from social media that heightened concerns about their racial-ethnic identity but relative silence in school that ignored this aspect of them. Findings suggest that such dissonance could facilitate critical racial consciousness but also that it could inhibit it. Thus, more information is needed to how the interplay of contexts may influence youth's sociopolitical development. Lastly, theoretical endeavors are needed to tie together the bodies of literature on affective responses and racism. As discussed in this dissertation, youth expressed a range of feelings from experiencing racism, observing it, talking about it, and sitting alone with it. Future empirical studies and theoretical work should consider what supports and

resources help youth move through these emotions toward greater critical consciousness and activism, as well as what challenges such progress.

Appendix A: Recruitment Materials

Invitation to Youth Program Participants to Participate in Study - Email Script – Fall 2020

Hello,

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD student and researcher at the University of Chicago. I am conducting a study to better understand the identity and agency development of Chinese American youth (AURA IRB: IRB20-1080). **I am emailing to see if you would be willing to participate in the study.**

Participation is completely voluntary and any publicly shared results from the study will anonymize all study participants. **If you choose to participate, you will be interviewed three times (approximately one hour each), complete an online survey, take part in two focus group interviews (approximately one hour each), and be observed throughout the year.** In order to participate in the study, you must be an active participant in the [CBO] youth program, be enrolled in high school during the 2020-2021 academic year and identify as Chinese. At this time, all interviews and observations will be conducted virtually and over the phone. I will not be doing in-person fieldwork or interviews until the university gives permission and state/federal government declares it is safe to do so.

You will receive a $100 gift card as compensation for your participation in the study. **If you would like to participate in the research study, please complete this interest form! I can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX if you have any questions about the study.**

Thank you for your consideration. I hope to hear back from you!

Sincerely,

Helen Lee
University of Chicago

Invitation to Non-Program Participants to Participate in Study - Email Script – Fall 2020

Hello,

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD student and researcher at the University of Chicago. I am conducting a study to better understand the identity and agency development of Chinese American youth (AURA IRB: IRB20-1080). **I am emailing to see if you would be willing to participate in the study.**

Participation is completely voluntary and any publicly shared results from the study will anonymize all study participants. **If you choose to participate, you will complete two online surveys. You may also be asked to participate in three interviews (approximately one hour each).** In order to participate in the study, you must be enrolled in a Chicago-area high school during the 2020-2021 academic year and identify as Chinese. At this time, all interviews will be conducted virtually and over the phone. No in-person interviews will be conducted until the university permits it and the state/federal government declares it is safe to do so.

You will receive a $20 gift card as compensation for completing both online surveys. If you are asked to participate in interviews, you will receive a $45 gift card as additional compensation for completing all three interviews. **If you would like to participate in the research study, please complete this interest form. I can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX if you have any questions about the study.**

Thank you for your consideration. I hope to hear back from you!

Sincerely,

Helen Lee
University of Chicago

Recruitment Flier for Youth Program Participants – Fall 2020

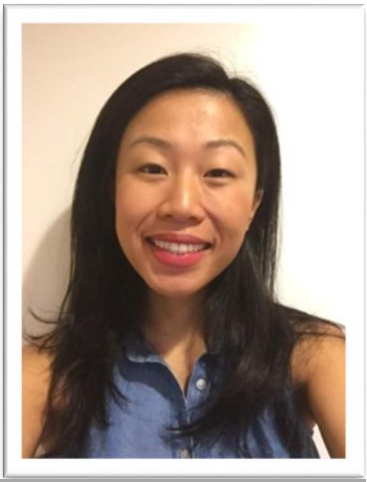
CHICAGO ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WHO I AM

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD candidate in the Department of Comparative Human Development at the University of Chicago. Before starting my graduate program, I worked in schools and community organizations. I grew up in Michigan and moved to Chicago five years ago. My dad is from a Taishanese-speaking area of the Guangdong Province in China and my mom was born and raised in Vietnam. I grew up in a Cantonese-speaking household.

I can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX. You can also learn more about me at voices.uchicago.edu/helenlee.



WHY I AM CONDUCTING THIS STUDY

I grew up in an area where there weren't places for young people of color to realize their political power and to explore their identities. I really admire the work of [CAO] and [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] because they try to provide that space for Asian American youth.

WHAT I WILL BE DOING

I am partnering with [CAO] to study the experiences of high-school-aged Asian American youth. To learn about their experiences, I will be doing the following things throughout the year:

- Taking notes at [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] meetings, workshops, and events
- Interviewing [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth participants and facilitators
- Interviewing other Asian American youth in Chicago
- Facilitating workshops and discussions
- Documenting [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] presentations, chat exchanges, projects, and email communication (but not photographing/video recording people)
- Occasionally asking questions and participating in [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] meetings, workshops, and events

Please feel free to approach me at any point with questions or concerns you may have. You can also reach me through email or phone.

ABOUT THE STUDY

Often, young people are not provided opportunities to engage in productive conversations about race with others – let alone in spaces with peers who share a similar cultural background. Yet, young people of color encounter all types of racialized experiences from the moment they are born.

With this research study, I hope to learn more about how to create spaces for young Asian Americans to explore and interrogate their racial and ethnic identity. In addition to contributing to general knowledge about the need and impact of racial dialogue for young people, I also hope to use what I learn to support the [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth program.

CAN I INTERVIEW YOU?

I am looking to interview at least 10 [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth members. If you fit the criteria below and are interested in taking part in the research study, you will be asked to complete two online surveys (15-20 minutes) and to participate in three one-on-one interviews (30-60 minutes) throughout the year. I will do my best to accommodate your schedule for the interviews.

Please reach out to me via email or phone if you might be interested in participating! All participants will be compensated with a $100 Visa gift card for completing the interviews and surveys.

CRITERIA

- Enrolled in a high school in the city of Chicago in the 2020-2021 school year
- Self-identify as Asian
- Resides in the city of Chicago

Recruitment Flier for Non-Program Participants – Fall 2020

CHICAGO ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CAN YOU JOIN OUR STUDY?

In Fall of 2020, we began speaking with high-school-aged Chinese Americans who reside in Chicago about their experiences and perspectives. We are looking to survey 10-25 additional students. If you fit the criteria below and are interested in taking part in the research study, you will be asked to complete one online survey (15-20 minutes). You may be asked to complete a follow-up phone or Zoom interview (30-45 minutes).

CRITERIA

- Enrolled in a high school in the city of Chicago in the 2020-2021 school year
- Self-identify as Chinese
- Reside in the city of Chicago

Please complete this short form if you are interested in participating! All participants will be compensated with a $10 electronic gift card or payment for completing the online survey. Those asked to participate in follow-up interviews will receive an additional $15 in the form of an electronic gift card or payment.

ABOUT THE STUDY

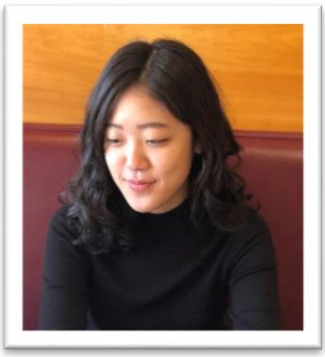
Often, young people are not provided opportunities to engage in productive conversations about race with others – let alone in spaces with peers who share a similar cultural background. Yet, young people of color encounter all types of racialized experiences from the moment they are born.

With this research study, we hope to learn more about how to create spaces for young Asian Americans to explore and interrogate their racial and ethnic identity. In addition to contributing to general knowledge about the need for racial dialogue and its impact on young people, we also hope to use what we learn to support youth programs that serve Asian Americans.

ABOUT OUR RESEARCH TEAM

Helen Lee is the primary investigator for this study. She is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Comparative Human Development at The University of Chicago. She can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or xxx-xxx-xxxx. You can also learn more about her at voices.uchicago.edu/helenlee.

Grace Su is a key collaborator on the project. She is a graduate of The University of Chicago who double-majored in Political Science and Public Policy Studies. In addition to assisting on the research project, Grace conducts policy research on poverty alleviation in Illinois through quantitative and qualitative methods. Previously, she has worked on education policy and early childhood policy. She is from New Mexico and identifies as a Chinese American.



Soo Young Lee is a third culture Korean / Asian American PhD student in Social Work at the University of Chicago. She will be assisting with interviews and other project aspects. Her research interests are grounded in engaging storytelling methods to explore identity formation and critical consciousness development among Asian American young people.

Elizabeth Shen is a fourth-year undergraduate studying Comparative Human Development and Human Rights at the University of Chicago. Her research interests include gendered subjectivity and the development of social consciousness, and she is a big fan of qualitative and interdisciplinary methods. She is the daughter of Chinese immigrants, born in Toronto and raised in San Jose, and is currently exploring identity through visual art (@chickenswithopinions on Instagram).

Invitation for Interview – Email Script – Fall 2020

Hello again,

Thank you so much for completing the survey! We are interested in talking to you about your experiences growing up in Chicago. **Could you please select a time for an interview via calendly at your earliest convenience?**

The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Either Grace (one of my research team members) or I will interview you over Zoom or the phone (depending on your preference).

Let me know if you have any questions or issues with the scheduler or survey! We are looking forward to speaking with you!

Thanks again!

Helen Lee
University of Chicago
IRB20-1080

Notification to Previously Consenting Participants - Email Script – Spring 2021

Hello,

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD student and researcher at the University of Chicago. I am currently conducting a study to better understand the opportunities available to high-school-aged Chinese American youth to engage in conversations about race and racism (AURA IRB: IRB20-1080). **Last fall, you participated in the study and provided important insights that helped me get a better sense of the experiences of young people in Chicago** (the findings from fall interviews will be posted here next month so please check back if you are interested in reading about it)**.**

I am reaching out to you today because I would like to ask you additional questions about your experiences. If you are okay with continuing participating in the research study, then

- please complete this Qualtrics survey (at least 24 hours before your scheduled interview) and
- let me know a good time to interview you via my Calendly page

Both surveys and interviews will continue to be conducted online or over the phone. **You will be compensated with a $10 electronic gift card or electronic payment for completing the second survey and an additional $15 for participating in the interview.**

As before, participation is completely voluntary, meaning that you do not have to participate if you do not want to and you can withdraw from the study at any point even after consenting to participate. If you do participate in the study, we will continue to do our best to protect the information you share with our research team and anonymize your responses so that any publicly shared results from the study is not traced back to you.

If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to reach out to me at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Thank you for your consideration. I hope to connect with you again soon. I also hope that you are taking care in light of last Tuesday's tragedy.

Sincerely,

Helen Lee
University of Chicago

Invitation to New Participants to Participate in Study - Email Script – Spring 2021

Hello,

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD student and researcher at the University of Chicago. I am conducting a study to better understand the experiences of high-school-aged, Chinese American youth in Chicago (AURA IRB: IRB20-1080). **I am emailing to see if you would be willing to participate in the study.**

In order to participate in the study, you must be

- enrolled in a Chicago-area high school during the 2020-2021 academic year
- and identify as Chinese (this includes identifying as Chinese and mixed-race/biracial/another Asian ethnicity).

All interviews will be conducted virtually or over the phone. Participation is completely voluntary and any publicly shared results from the study will anonymize all study participants. **If you choose to participate, you will complete at least one online survey. You may also be asked to participate in 1-2 interviews (approximately 30-45 minutes each).** You will receive a $10 electronic gift card or payment as compensation for completing each online survey. If you are asked to participate in interviews you will receive an additional $15 compensation for each interview completed.

If you would like to participate in the research study, please complete this interest form. I can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX if you have any questions about the study.

Thank you for your consideration. I hope to hear back from you!

Sincerely,

Helen Lee
University of Chicago

Recruitment Flier for Youth Program Participants – Spring 2021

CHICAGO ASIAN AMERICAN YOUTH RESEARCH STUDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WHO I AM

My name is Helen Lee and I am a PhD candidate in the Department of Comparative Human Development at the University of Chicago. Before starting my graduate program, I worked in schools and community organizations. I grew up in a Detroit suburb and moved to Chicago five years ago. My dad is from Southern China and my mom was born and raised in Vietnam. I grew up in a Cantonese-speaking household.

WHAT I WILL BE DOING

I am partnering with to study the experiences of high-school-aged Asian American youth. To learn about their experiences, I will be doing the following things throughout the year:

- Taking notes at [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] meetings, workshops, and events
- Interviewing [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth participants and facilitators
- Interviewing other Asian American youth in Chicago
- Facilitating workshops and discussions
- Documenting [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] presentations, chat exchanges, projects, and email communication (but never photographing/video recording people)
- Occasionally asking questions and participating in [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] meetings, workshops, and events

Please feel free to approach me at any point with questions or concerns you may have. You can also reach me by email or phone. I can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX. You can also learn more about me at voices.uchicago.edu/helenlee.

ABOUT THE STUDY

Often, young people are not provided opportunities to engage in productive conversations about race with others – let alone in spaces with peers who share a similar cultural background. Yet, young people of color encounter all types of racialized experiences from the moment they are born.

With this research study, I hope to learn more about how to create spaces for young Asian Americans to explore and interrogate their racial and ethnic identity. In addition to contributing

to general knowledge about the need and impact of racial dialogue for young people, I also hope to use what I learn to support the [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth program.

CAN I INTERVIEW YOU?

I am looking to speak with the same [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] youth members who participated in the study last fall and 3-5 more additional [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM] members. If you fit the criteria below and are interested in taking part in the research study, you will be asked to complete an online survey (15-20 minutes) and an one-on-one interview (30-45 minutes) sometime between March and June 2021. I will do my best to accommodate your schedule for the interviews.

CRITERIA

- Enrolled in a high school in the city of Chicago in the 2020-2021 school year
- Self-identify as Asian
- Resides in the city of Chicago

RETURNING STUDY PARTICIPANTS

If you would like to continue participating in the research study, then please complete the Qualtrics survey emailed to you and let me know a good time to interview you via my Calendly page. If you do not see the email with the Qualtrics survey, please let me know via email or phone! **You will be compensated with a $25 electronic gift card or payment for completing both the survey and interview.**

NEW STUDY PARTICIPANTS

If you would like to participate in the study and had not participated before, please let me know by filling out this interest form. The interest form contains a consent form that you will need to review and sign. Please reach out if you have questions or concerns about the consent form or the study itself.

After you indicate your interest in participating, I will reach out to you about scheduling an interview and completing a survey. **You will be compensated with a $25 electronic gift card or payment for completing both the survey and interview.**

Recruitment Flier for Non-Program Participants – Spring 2021

CHICAGO CHINESE AMERICAN YOUTH

CAN YOU JOIN OUR STUDY?

In Fall of 2020, we began speaking with high-school-aged Chinese Americans who reside in Chicago about their experiences and perspectives. We are looking to survey 10-25 additional students. If you fit the criteria below and are interested in taking part in the research study, you will be asked to complete one online survey (15-20 minutes). You may be asked to complete a follow-up phone or Zoom interview (30-45 minutes).

CRITERIA

- Enrolled in a high school in the city of Chicago in the 2020-2021 school year
- Reside in the city of Chicago
- Self-identify as Chinese
  *this includes those who identify as Chinese and mixed-race/biracial/another Asian ethnicity

OR

- Enrolled in a high school in the city of Chicago in the 2020-2021 school year
- Reside in the city of Chicago
- Lead an Asian American Club (do not have to identify as Chinese)

Please complete this short form if you are interested in participating!

All participants will be compensated with a $10 electronic gift card or electronic payment for completing each online survey. Those asked to participate in follow-up interviews will receive an additional $15.

ABOUT THE STUDY

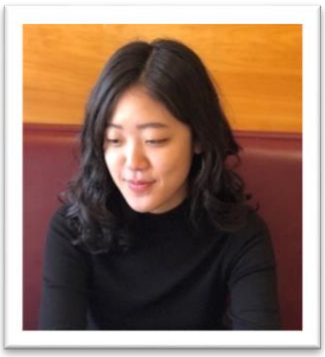
Often, young people are not provided opportunities to engage in productive conversations about race with others – let alone in spaces with peers who share a similar cultural background. Yet, young people of color encounter all types of racialized experiences from the moment they are born.

With this research study, we hope to learn more about how to create spaces for young Asian Americans to explore and interrogate their racial and ethnic identity. In addition to contributing to general knowledge about the need for racial dialogue and its impact on young people, we also hope to use what we learn to support youth programs that serve Asian Americans.

ABOUT OUR RESEARCH TEAM

Helen Lee is the primary investigator for this study. She is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Comparative Human Development at The University of Chicago. She can be reached at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX. You can also learn more about her at voices.uchicago.edu/helenlee.

Grace Su is a key collaborator on the project. She contributes to many important aspects of the project, including but not limited to interviewing study participants. She is a graduate of The University of Chicago who double-majored in Political Science and Public Policy Studies. In addition to assisting on the research project, Grace conducts policy research on poverty alleviation in Illinois through quantitative and qualitative methods. Previously, she has worked on education policy and early childhood policy. She is from New Mexico and identifies as a Chinese American.



Soo Young Lee also contributes to many important aspects of the project, including but not limited to interviewing study participants. She is a third culture Korean / Asian American PhD student in Social Work at the University of Chicago. Her research interests are grounded in engaging storytelling methods to explore identity formation and critical consciousness development among Asian American young people.

Elizabeth Shen is another key contributor to the project, who will assist with interviews and data analysis. She is a fourth-year undergraduate studying Comparative Human Development and Human Rights at the University of Chicago. Her research interests include gendered subjectivity and the development of social consciousness, and she is a big fan of qualitative and interdisciplinary methods. She is the daughter of Chinese immigrants, born in Toronto and raised in San Jose, and is currently exploring identity through visual art (@chickenswithopinions on Instagram).

Invitation for Interview – Email Script – Spring 2021

Hello,

Thank you so much for completing both surveys. We would like to schedule an interview to learn more about your experiences.

At your earliest convenience, could you let us know the best time to speak with you using this Calendly link? You will be compensated an additional $15 in the form of an electronic store gift card or electronic Paypal/Venmo payment for participating in the interview. The interview will take place on Zoom or over the phone depending on your preference. Either I or one of my research team members will conduct the interview with you.

Please reach out if you have any questions or concerns. Many thanks for your time and consideration!

Helen Lee
University of Chicago
IRB20-1080

Appendix B: Survey Questions

Survey Questions – Fall 2020

Q1.1 Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study!

The survey will take approximately 15 minutes. Please take your time and answer all questions to the best of your ability. If you have any questions or no longer want to participate in the study, please reach out to Helen Lee at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Q2.1 First Name

Q2.2 Last Name

Q2.3 What is the best way to reach you? Check all that apply and then include your contact information in the space provided.

- ☐ Email (1) _____
- ☐ Text message (please include area code) (2) _____
- ☐ Phone (please include area code) (3) _____

Q2.4 For completing the first survey you will receive $10. If you are asked to complete an interview, you will receive an additional $15. How would you like to receive compensation for your participation in the research study? Check all that apply and then include relevant information in the space provided.

- ☐ Store gift card (please include name of store and email address to send gift card to) (3) _____
- ☐ Venmo (please include Venmo handle) (2) _____

Q3.1 Race (check all that apply)

- ☐ Asian (1)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (2) _____

Q3.2 Ethnicity (check all that apply)

- ☐ Chinese (1)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (2) _____

Display This Question:

If Ethnicity (check all that apply) = Chinese

Q4.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnic background. (1)	○	○	○	○
I have read books/articles and watched films/videos that center the experiences of Chinese people (2)	○	○	○	○
I feel negatively about being Chinese (3)	○	○	○	○
I am proud to be Chinese (4)	○	○	○	○
I rarely think about my ethnicity (5)	○	○	○	○
I understand the cultural customs my family practices (6)	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Ethnicity (check all that apply) != Chinese

Q5.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnic background (1)	○	○	○	○
I have read books/articles and watched films/videos that center the experiences of people from my ethnic background (2)	○	○	○	○
I feel negatively about my culture (3)	○	○	○	○
I am proud of my heritage (4)	○	○	○	○
I rarely think about my ethnicity (5)	○	○	○	○
I understand the cultural customs my family practices (6)	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Ethnicity (check all that apply) = Chinese

Q6.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
I have close friends who are Chinese (1)	○	○	○	○
I have classmates who are Chinese (2)	○	○	○	○
I have had a teacher or adult mentor (e.g., coach, youth pastor, tutor) who is Chinese (3)	○	○	○	○
I have had classes that covered Asian American history, culture, and/or identity (4)	○	○	○	○
My family is very involved in organizations or causes that serve the Chinese American community (5)	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties talking to my family because of language (6)	○	○	○	○

I often do not agree with the opinions or values of other Chinese people I know (7)	○	○	○	○
My family does not trust other Chinese people (8)	○	○	○	○
We have neighbors who are Chinese (9)	○	○	○	○
We know our neighbors well (10)	○	○	○	○

Display This Question:

If Ethnicity (check all that apply) != Chinese

Q7.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
I have close friends who are Chinese (1)	○	○	○	○
I have classmates who are Chinese (2)	○	○	○	○
I have had a teacher or adult mentor (e.g., coach, youth pastor, tutor) who is Asian (3)	○	○	○	○
I have had classes that covered Asian American history, culture, and/or identity (4)	○	○	○	○
My family is very involved in organizations or causes that serve the Asian American community (5)	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties talking to my family because of language (6)	○	○	○	○
I do not feel comfortable around people who are Asian (7)	○	○	○	○

My family does not trust people who are Asian (8)	○	○	○	○
We have neighbors who are Asian (9)	○	○	○	○
We know our neighbors well (10)	○	○	○	○

Q8.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
I can talk to my family about racism I experience or witness (1)	○	○	○	○
My friends and I talk about race-related issues outside of school (17)	○	○	○	○
My teachers use class time to talk about issues that affect Asian Americans (3)	○	○	○	○
My close friends care very little about issues that affect Asian American communities (4)	○	○	○	○
I am involved in groups or organizations that talk about the experiences of Asian Americans (6)	○	○	○	○
I struggle to talk to my family members about their racially insensitive or racist comments (18)	○	○	○	○

I feel comfortable confronting racially insensitive remarks my friends make (8)	○	○	○	○
People I follow on social media bring attention to racism that Black people experience (11)	○	○	○	○
People I follow on social media bring attention to racism that Asian people experience (12)	○	○	○	○
People I follow on social media have posted racially insensitive or racist material (13)	○	○	○	○
I have posted content on my social media in support of Black Lives Matter (14)	○	○	○	○
I have posted content on my social media to increase awareness of anti-Asian racism (15)	○	○	○	○

Q9.1 Please indicate how well each statement applies to you.

	Does not describe me at all (1)	Describes me a little (2)	Describes me well (3)	Describes me very well (4)
My friends and I help each other learn more about issues that affect communities of color (2)	○	○	○	○
I have confronted a family member about a racially insensitive or racist remark they've made (3)	○	○	○	○
I have confronted a close friend about a racially insensitive or racist remark they've made (4)	○	○	○	○
I participate in actions to address issues that matter to me (7)	○	○	○	○
I believe that I can affect change on issues that matter to me (5)	○	○	○	○
I work with my peers to address issues that matter to us (6)	○	○	○	○

I believe a better future is possible (8)	○	○	○	○
I know how to navigate the political landscape to address issues that matter to me (9)	○	○	○	○

Q10.1 Since the beginning of the pandemic, have one or more of your immediate family members

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Been exposed to the coronavirus (1)	○	○	○
Passed away (2)	○	○	○
Lost their job (3)	○	○	○
Had difficulties securing their unemployment benefits (4)	○	○	○
Had a lapse in their medical care coverage (5)	○	○	○
Returned to/started a job that places them at high risk of exposure to COVID19 (6)	○	○	○
Been working or studying from home (14)	○	○	○
Worried about making rent, paying bills, or putting food on the table (7)	○	○	○
Worried about the well-being of an elderly relative (8)	○	○	○
Felt unsafe outside of our home because of their race (9)	○	○	○
Been threatened or attacked outside of our home because of their race (10)	○	○	○

Experienced new health complications (11)	○	○	○
Started seeing a mental health professional (13)	○	○	○

Q11.1 Since the beginning of the pandemic, have one or more of your immediate family members

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Attended a protest or public demonstration (1)	○	○	○
Donated or volunteered to provide relief to those affected by COVID19 (2)	○	○	○
Contacted their public officials about police accountability (3)	○	○	○
Contacted their public officials about COVID19 relief (4)	○	○	○
Canvassed for or donated to a political candidate (5)	○	○	○
Registered to vote for the first time (6)	○	○	○

Q12.1 Since the start of the pandemic, have you

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Been worried about a family member's health (1)	○	○
Felt unsafe outside of your home because of your race (2)	○	○
Been threatened or attacked outside of your home because of your race (3)	○	○
Experienced new health complications (4)	○	○
Started seeing a mental health professional (5)	○	○
Spent more time on social media than before the pandemic (6)	○	○
Felt anxious about the state of the world or the future of the country (7)	○	○
Been concerned about the safety or well-being of close friends or family members (8)	○	○

Q13.1 Since the start of the pandemic, have you

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Talked with your family members about anti-Blackness or Black Lives Matter (1)	○	○
Talked with your family members about anti-Asian racism (2)	○	○
Talked with your close friends about anti-Blackness or Black Lives Matter (3)	○	○
Talked with your close friends about anti-Asian racism (4)	○	○
Talked with acquaintances about anti-Blackness or Black Lives Matter (5)	○	○
Talked with acquaintances about anti-Asian racism (6)	○	○

Q14.1 Since the start of the pandemic, have you

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Participated in a social media campaign (1)	○	○
Attended a protest or public demonstration (2)	○	○
Donated or volunteered to provide relief to those affected by COVID19 (3)	○	○
Contacted public officials about police accountability (4)	○	○
Contacted public officials about COVID19 relief (5)	○	○
Canvassed for or donated to a political candidate (6)	○	○
Organized your community to participate civically (7)	○	○
Helped others navigate the voting process (e.g., registering to vote, applying for an absentee/mail-in ballot, understanding the ballot) (8)	○	○
Helped others complete the Census (9)	○	○

Q15.1 Please respond to the following statements by indicating how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mostly Disagree (2)	Slightly Disagree (3)	Slightly Agree (4)	Mostly Agree (5)	Strongly Agree (6)
Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women have fewer chances to get ahead (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important for young people to know what is going on in the world (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important to correct social and economic inequality (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○

It is my responsibility to get involved and make things better for society (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
People like me should participate in the political activity and decision making of our country (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q16.1 After each statement, tell us how often you have experienced each of the following types of discrimination <u>because of your race or ethnicity</u>.

	Have you experienced this?		**<u>If you marked "yes"</u>** - how much did this experience upset you?				
	Yes (1)	No (2)	Not at all (1)	Slightly (2)	Moderately (3)	Considerably (4)	Extremely (5)

I was discouraged from joining an advanced level class (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was wrongly disciplined or given after-school detention (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was given a lower grade than I deserved (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was discouraged from joining a club (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My peers did not include me in their activities (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People expected more of me than they expected of my peers (23)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

People expected less of me than they expected of my peers (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People assumed my English was poor (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was hassled by the police (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was hassled by a store clerk or security guard (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was called racially insulting names (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I received poor service at a restaurant or store (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People acted as if they thought I was not smart (12)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

People acted as if they were afraid of me (13)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was threatened (14)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q17.1 What Chinese American organizations have you been apart of? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community (CBCAC)/ORIGIN (1)
- ☐ Chinese Christian Union Church (2)
- ☐ Pui Tak Center (3)
- ☐ Project Vision (4)
- ☐ Chinese American Service League (CASL) (5)
- ☐ St. Therese Church (6)
- ☐ United Chinese Association and Midwest American Health Association (7)
- ☐ Asian Americans Advancing Justice/KINETIC (8)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (9) _____
- ☐ None (10)

Q17.2 I am currently involved in an organization, group or program that centers the experiences of Chinese or Asian Americans.

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If I am currently involved in an organization, group or program that centers the experiences of Chi... = No

Q17.3 List all Chinese/Asian American organizations, groups, or programs you are currently involved in.

Q17.4 Answer the following questions with one of the organizations/groups/programs you listed above in mind:

Q17.5 This past year, my organization/group/program talked about

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Social unrest in the US (1)	○	○	○
Anti-Asian racism (2)	○	○	○
Anti-Black racism (3)	○	○	○
Police brutality (4)	○	○	○
Mental health (5)	○	○	○
Homelessness (6)	○	○	○
Sexual orientation and gender identity/expression (7)	○	○	○
Transphobia (8)	○	○	○
US elections (9)	○	○	○
Gentrification (10)	○	○	○
Immigration (11)	○	○	○
Youth activism/organizing (12)	○	○	○
Asian American activism/organizing (13)	○	○	○
Asian American history (14)	○	○	○

Chicago history (15)	○	○	○
Issues important to me (16)	○	○	○

Q17.6 This past year, my organization/group/program engaged in efforts to

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Build solidarity with other Asian ethnic groups (1)	○	○	○
Build solidarity with other racial groups (2)	○	○	○
Increase voter turnout (3)	○	○	○
Increase census completion (4)	○	○	○
Provide COVID-specific information or support to the Chinese community (5)	○	○	○
Provide COVID-specific information or support to other/non-Chinese communities (6)	○	○	○

Q18.1 Date of Birth

Month (1)	▼ January (1) ... (150)
Day (2)	▼ January (1) ... (150)
Year (3)	▼ January (1) ... (150)

Q18.2 Grade in 2020-2021 school year

▼ 9th (19) ... 12th (22)

Q18.3 Click to write the question text

- School you currently attend (1) _____
- Other schools you have attended (2) _____

Q18.4 Click to write the question text

- Neighborhood you reside in (1) _____
- Years at current residence (2) _____
- Other places you have lived in and length of time you lived there (3) _____

Q18.5 Language(s) spoken at home (check all that apply)

- ☐ Cantonese (1)
- ☐ Mandarin (2)
- ☐ Taiwanese (6)
- ☐ Toishanese/taishanese (3)
- ☐ English (4)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q18.6 Generation status

- ○ My parents/guardians and I were born in the United States (1)
- ○ I was born in the United States, but at least one of my parents/guardians was born outside of the United States (2)
- ○ I was born outside of the United States (3)

Q18.7 Preferred pronouns

- ☐ She/her (1)
- ☐ He/him (2)
- ☐ They/them (3)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (4) _____

Q18.8 Please answer the following questions about the people you live with.

Q18.9 Household member #1

- Who do you live with? State your relationship to them (e.g., mother, cousin, uncle). (1) _____
- Age (2) _____
- Highest level of education (add "*" if completed outside of the US) (3) _____
- Occupation (4) _____
- Birth location (city, country) (5) _____

Q18.10 Household member #2

- Who do you live with? State your relationship to them (e.g., mother, cousin, uncle). (1) _____
- Age (2) _____
- Highest level of education (add "*" if completed outside of the US) (3) _____
- Occupation (4) _____
- Birth location (city, country) (5) _____

Q18.11 Household member #3

- Who do you live with? State your relationship to them (e.g., mother, cousin, uncle). (1) _____
- Age (2) _____
- Highest level of education (add "*" if completed outside of the US) (3) _____
- Occupation (4) _____
- Birth location (city, country) (5) _____

Q18.12 Household member #4

- Who do you live with? State your relationship to them (e.g., mother, cousin, uncle). (1) _____
- Age (2) _____
- Highest level of education (add "*" if completed outside of the US) (3) _____
- Occupation (4) _____
- Birth location (city, country) (5) _____

Q18.13 Household member #5

- Who do you live with? State your relationship to them (e.g., mother, cousin, uncle). (1) _____
- Age (2) _____
- Highest level of education (add "*" if completed outside of the US) (3) _____
- Occupation (4) _____
- Birth location (city, country) (5) _____

Q18.14 Please list all other household members who live with you but who are not mentioned above.

_____

Survey Questions – Spring 2021

Q1 Thank you for continuing to participate in this study!

This survey will contain different questions than the first survey you took. Like the first survey, though, this survey will take approximately 15 minutes and will help our research team get a better sense of your experiences before the interview.

Please take your time and answer all questions honestly and to the best of your ability. If you have any questions or no longer want to participate in the study, please reach out to Helen Lee at helenlee@uchicago.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Q2 First Name

Q3 Last Name

Q4 What is the best way to reach you? Check all that apply and then include your contact information in the space provided.

- ☐ Email (1) _____
- ☐ Text message (please include area code) (2) _____
- ☐ Phone (please include area code) (3) _____

Q5 For completing this survey you will receive $10. If you are asked to complete an interview, you will receive an additional $15. How would you like to receive compensation for your participation in the research study? Check all that apply and then include relevant information in the space provided.

- ☐ Store gift card (please include name of store and email address to send gift card to) (3) _____
- ☐ Venmo (please include Venmo handle) (2) _____
- ☐ Paypal (please include username, email, or mobile associated with Paypal account) (4) _____

Q6 Since the beginning of the pandemic, have one or more of your immediate family members

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Been exposed to the coronavirus (1)	○	○	○
Passed away (2)	○	○	○
Lost their job (3)	○	○	○
Had difficulties securing their unemployment benefits (4)	○	○	○
Had a lapse in their medical care coverage (5)	○	○	○
Returned to/started a job that places them at high risk of exposure to COVID19 (6)	○	○	○
Been working or studying from home (14)	○	○	○
Worried about making rent, paying bills, or putting food on the table (7)	○	○	○
Worried about the well-being of an elderly relative (8)	○	○	○
Felt unsafe outside of our home because of their race (9)	○	○	○
Been threatened or attacked outside of our home because of their race (10)	○	○	○
Experienced new health complications (11)	○	○	○

Started seeing a mental health professional (13)	○	○	○

Q7 Since the start of the pandemic, have you

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Been worried about a family member's health (1)	○	○
Felt unsafe outside of your home because of your race (2)	○	○
Been threatened or attacked outside of your home because of your race (3)	○	○
Experienced new health complications (4)	○	○
Started seeing a mental health professional (5)	○	○
Spent more time on social media than before the pandemic (6)	○	○
Felt anxious about the state of the world or the future of the country (7)	○	○
Been concerned about the safety or well-being of close friends or family members (8)	○	○

Q8 In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Hispanic or Latino, Mexican American, Black or African American, Haitian, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Q9 My ethnicity is

_____

Q10 Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Disagree (3)	Strongly disagree (4)
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs. (1)	○	○	○	○
I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group. (2)	○	○	○	○
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me. (3)	○	○	○	○
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership. (4)	○	○	○	○
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to. (5)	○	○	○	○
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group. (6)	○	○	○	○
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me. (10)	○	○	○	○

In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group. (11)	○	○	○	○
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group. (13)	○	○	○	○
I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. (14)	○	○	○	○
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group. (18)	○	○	○	○
I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background. (15)	○	○	○	○

Q11 My father's ethnicity is

_____

Q12 My mother's ethnicity is

_____

Q13 Please respond to the following statements by indicating how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mostly Disagree (2)	Slightly Disagree (3)	Slightly Agree (4)	Mostly Agree (5)	Strongly Agree (6)
Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women have fewer chances to get ahead (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important for young people to know what is going on in the world (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is important to correct social and economic inequality (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is my responsibility to get involved and make things better for society (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○

People like me should participate in the political activity and decision making of our country (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	

Q14 After each statement, tell us how often you have experienced each of the following types of discrimination **because of your race or ethnicity**.

	Have you experienced this?		**If you marked "yes" -** how much did this experience upset you?				
	Yes (1)	No (2)	Not at all (1)	Slightly (2)	Moderately (3)	Considerably (4)	Extremely (5)

I was discouraged from joining an advanced level class (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was wrongly disciplined or given after-school detention (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was given a lower grade than I deserved (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was discouraged from joining a club (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My peers did not include me in their activities (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People expected more of me than they expected of my peers (23)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People expected less of me than they expected of my peers (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

People assumed my English was poor (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was hassled by the police (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was hassled by a store clerk or security guard (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was called racially insulting names (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I received poor service at a restaurant or store (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People acted as if they thought I was not smart (12)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
People acted as if they were afraid of me (13)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I was threatened (14)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q15 Throughout the past year, did you follow news coverage or reporting on Black Lives Matter demonstrations and actions?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Q16 Do you agree or disagree with how these events were reported in the news?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (4)

Q17 Throughout the past year, did you talk with the following people about Black Lives Matter or anti-Blackness?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Family (1)	○	○
Close friends (2)	○	○
Teachers/students at my school (either in class or in a club) (7)	○	○
Staff/peers at a youth program/organization you're apart of (13)	○	○
Online acquaintances (e.g., people you follow or who follow you on social media) (10)	○	○

Q18 Do you agree or disagree with how your school has addressed anti-Black racism?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (3)

Q19 Throughout the past year, did you follow news coverage or reporting on anti-Asian sentiment?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Q20 Do you agree or disagree with how these events were reported in the news?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (4)

Q21 Throughout the past year, did you talk with the following people about anti-Asian sentiment?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Family (1)	○	○
Close friends (2)	○	○
Teachers/students at my school (either in class or in a club) (7)	○	○
Staff/peers at a youth program/organization you're apart of (13)	○	○
Online acquaintances (e.g., people you follow or who follow you on social media) (10)	○	○

Q22 Do you agree or disagree with how your school has addressed anti-Asian racism?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (3)

Q23 Throughout the past year, did you follow news coverage or reporting about White supremacist groups and demonstrations?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Q24 Do you agree or disagree with how these events were reported in the news?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (4)

Q25 Throughout the past year, did you talk with the following people about White supremacy?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Family (1)	○	○
Close friends (2)	○	○
Teachers/students at my school (either in class or in a club) (7)	○	○
Staff/peers at a youth program/organization you're apart of (13)	○	○
Online acquaintances (e.g., people you follow or who follow you on social media) (10)	○	○

Q26 Do you agree or disagree with how your school has addressed White supremacy?

- ○ Agree (1)
- ○ Disagree (2)
- ○ No opinion (3)

Q27 I am currently involved in at least one organization, group, club or program that centers the experiences of Chinese or Asian Americans **or** that serves predominantly Chinese or Asian Americans.

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If I am currently involved in at least one organization, group, club or program that centers the ex... = No

Q28 The next set of questions will ask you about your involvement and experiences in organizations, groups, clubs, or programs that center on the experiences of Chinese or Asian Americans.

Q29 Please list the Chinese/Asian American organization/group/club/program you are **most actively** involved in at this time.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q30 How long have you been involved with this organization/group/club/program?

- ○ Less than 1 year (1)
- ○ 1 year (2)
- ○ 2 years (3)
- ○ 3 years (4)
- ○ 4 or more years (5)

Q31 Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program? = Yes

Q32 What is the leadership position that you hold? If you have multiple leadership roles, please list them all.

_____

Q33 If you are **currently** involved in another Chinese/Asian American organization/group/club/program, please list the name of it.

If you are not involved in any other organizations beyond the one(s) you've already listed, then you may skip the rest of this section.

Q34 How long have you been involved with this organization/group/club/program?

- Less than 1 year (1)
- 1 year (2)
- 2 years (3)
- 3 years (4)
- 4 or more years (5)

Q35 In this organization/group/club/program, do you have opportunities to learn about Asian American history and narratives and/or to discuss your experiences as Asian American?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q36 Have members in this organization/group/club/program acknowledged or talked about anti-Asian racism this past year?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q37 Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program? = Yes

Q38 What is the leadership position that you hold? If you have multiple leadership roles, please list them all.

Q39 If you are currently involved in another Chinese/Asian American organization/group/club/program not already listed above, please list the name of it.

If you are not involved in any other organizations beyond the one(s) you've already listed, then you may skip the rest of this section.

Q40 How long have you been involved with this organization/group/club/program?

- Less than 1 year (1)
- 1 year (2)
- 2 years (3)
- 3 years (4)
- 4 or more years (5)

Q41 In this organization/group/club/program, do you have opportunities to learn about Asian American history and narratives and/or to discuss your experiences as Asian American?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q42 Have members in this organization/group/club/program acknowledged or talked about anti-Asian racism this past year?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q43 Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you have a leadership position in this organization/group/club/program? = Yes

Q44 What is the leadership position that you hold? If you have multiple leadership roles, please list them all.

Q45 Which of the following organizations have you participated in the **past** but are no longer active in now? **Check all that apply.**

- Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community (CBCAC)/ORIGIN (1)
- Chinese Christian Union Church (2)
- Pui Tak Center (3)
- Project Vision (4)
- Chinese American Service League (CASL) (5)
- St. Therese Church (6)
- United Chinese Association and Midwest American Health Association (7)
- Asian Americans Advancing Justice/KINETIC (8)
- None (10)

Q46 Please share any other Chinese/Asian American-serving organizations/programs you have participated in the **past** that is **not listed above**.

Q47 How old are you?

- ○ 13 (1)
- ○ 14 (2)
- ○ 15 (3)
- ○ 16 (4)
- ○ 17 (5)
- ○ 18 (6)
- ○ 19 (7)

Q48 Preferred pronouns

- ☐ She/her (1)
- ☐ He/him (2)
- ☐ They/them (3)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (4) _____

Q49 Gender identity

- ☐ Woman (1)
- ☐ Man (2)
- ☐ Transgender (3)
- ☐ Non-binary/non-conforming (4)
- ☐ Different identity not listed here (please specify) (5)
  _____
- ☐ Prefer not to respond (6)

Q50 Grade in 2020-2021 school year

▼ 9th (19) ... 12th (22)

Q51 Name of high school you currently attend

Q52 Names of other schools you have attended, including elementary schools

Q53 Zipcode of your current residence

Q54 Zipcode(s) of places where you previously resided

Q55 Race (check all that apply)

- ☐ Asian (1)
- ☐ White, not-Hispanic (3)
- ☐ Black or African (4)
- ☐ Hispanic/Latinx (5)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (2) _____

Q56 Ethnicity (check all that apply)

- ☐ Chinese (1)
- ☐ Taiwanese (3)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (2) _____

Q57 Language(s) spoken at home (check all that apply)

- ☐ Cantonese (1)
- ☐ Mandarin (2)
- ☐ Taiwanese (6)
- ☐ Toishanese/taishanese (3)
- ☐ English (4)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q58 Generation status

- ○ My parents/guardians and I were born in the United States (1)
- ○ I was born in the United States, but at least one of my parents/guardians was born outside of the United States (2)
- ○ I was born outside of the United States (3)

Q59 What is the highest degree or level of school that your father or father figure has completed?

- ○ Less than 1st Grade (1)
- ○ 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th Grade (2)
- ○ 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th Grade (3)
- ○ 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th Grade but no diploma (4)
- ○ High School Grad - Diploma/Equivalent (5)
- ○ Some College But No Degree (6)
- ○ Associate Degree (7)
- ○ Bachelor's Degree (8)
- ○ Master's Degree (e.g., MA, MS, MBA) (9)
- ○ Professional or Doctorate Degree (e.g., JD, MD, DDS, PhD, EdD) (10)
- ○ Not Applicable (No Father/Father Figure) (11)

Q60 What is the highest degree or level of school that your mother or mother figure has completed?

- Less than 1st Grade (1)
- 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th Grade (2)
- 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th Grade (3)
- 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th Grade but no diploma (4)
- High School Grad - Diploma/Equivalent (5)
- Some College But No Degree (6)
- Associate Degree (7)
- Bachelor's Degree (8)
- Master's Degree (e.g., MA, MS, MBA) (9)
- Professional or Doctorate Degree (e.g., JD, MD, DDS, PhD, EdD) (10)
- Not Applicable (No Mother/Mother Figure) (11)

Q61 Does your family own or rent the home you live in?

- Own (with or without mortgage) (1)
- Rent (2)
- Don't know (3)

Q62 Who do you currently live with? (E.g., mother, maternal grandparents, uncle, cousin, friend)

Q63 What is your father or father figure's occupation?

Q64 What is your mother or mother figure's occupation?

Q65 This is the end of the survey. Clicking the forward arrow will submit your responses. Please make sure your responses are completed to the best of your ability and accurately reflect your experiences/perspectives before clicking the forward arrow.

Appendix C: Interview Guide – Fall 2020

Background/Opening questions

1. In the survey, you shared that you currently live in [neighborhood]. What's your neighborhood like?
    a. [If participant lived in a different neighborhood/city] How does where you live now compare to where you lived previously?
2. Tell me about your closest friends.
    a. (Probe: cultural background, SES background, neighborhood)
    b. (Probe: how they met – e.g., school, neighbors, youth program)
3. What's your school like?

Racial/ethnic learning (in school, neighborhoods, and at home)

4. In your survey you indicated that you identify as [racial category]. I'm interested in hearing about moments where you became more aware of your racial identity.
5. What values do your parents/family members try to pass on to you? Share an example of something they said or did that makes you believe that those are their values.
    a. (Probe: what do you agree with?)
    b. (Probe: how do these values compare to those of your community? To those of your closest friends?)
6. In your survey, you said you [did not/did] have classes that examined Asian American history, culture, and/or experiences.
    a. *If they marked "Does not describe me at all" in survey, ask:* Where have you learned about AA history, culture, and/or experiences outside of your classes (e.g., organizations, their own research, talking to family members)?
        i. Probe: What did you learn?
    b. *If they marked any other option, ask:* What did you learn in these classes?
        i. Probe: What do you wish your school or classes covered or went more in-depth with but didn't?
7. In your survey, you mentioned that you [have/have not] been exposed to materials or cultural events that have helped you understand more about your culture.
    a. *If marked "Does not describe me at all" in survey, ask:* Do you feel like you know a lot about your culture/heritage even though you weren't exposed to a lot of materials or events about your culture?
        i. Probe: What do you wish your parents/family shared with you or emphasized more?
    b. *If they marked any other option, ask:* Tell me about the things that you read/watch/went to growing up that helped you understand more about your culture.
        i. Probe: How did being exposed to these things influence your beliefs about yourself and your community?
        ii. Probe: What do you wish your parents/family shared with you or emphasized more?
8. What have you learned about your own culture or other cultures from your friends?
9. What kind of interactions do your parents/family members have with people from other cultural backgrounds?

a. (Probe: attitudes towards/beliefs about Black people, White people, immigrants, other Asian ethnic groups)

10. Tell me about moments in which you've been treated differently because of your race.
    a. Did you talk to anyone about the interaction?
        i. If yes - can you tell me about how that conversation went?
        ii. If no - can you tell me why you did not?

Racial Dialogue

11. Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been an upsurge in reports of anti-Asian racism.
    a. How has your family navigated conversations about anti-Asian hate?
    b. -- what about your friend group?
    c. – what about at school?
    d. How have these incidents affected you this past year?

12. Throughout this past year, we have also seen mass demonstrations and increased public dialogue in defense/support of Black lives. And on the other side, counterprotests and vocal segments of our population in support of White supremacy and "law and order."
    a. What have conversations with your family members around these events been like?
        i. [If participant has not engaged with family members] Why do you think these conversations have not come up?
    b. How have the conversations with your friends gone?
        i. [If participant has not engaged with friends] Why do you think these conversations have not come up?

13. How have your teachers approached these conversations?
14. Can you describe any spaces you have been in where you have felt comfortable talking about your experiences as an Asian American? These spaces can be in the classroom, casual hangouts with friends, in an afterschool program, at home, etc.

[CAO YOUTH PROGRAM]/Youth Program Experience

15. How did you get involved with [CAO YOUTH PROGRAM]/the youth program?
    a. What motivated you to participate in it?
    b. What has your experience in the program been like so far?
    c. What do you wish was different? [Can consult survey response here]

Political Learning

16. [If participant indicated In your survey, you mentioned that you joined groups that worked on issues that you cared about. How have these groups helped you understand more about issues you care about?
17. What political activities outside of this youth leadership program have you been involved in?
    a. (Probe: how participant came to be connected to these activities; what participant has learned from participating in these activities)

Appendix D: Interview Guide – Spring 2021

New participants start here:

Background/Opening Questions
I see that you attend [name of school]. Tell me about what you're school is like. How is your high school similar or different from where you went to elementary school?

Anti-Asian Racism
I'd like to start the interview today on a topic that may feel heavy or very personal, and so you should share as much or as little as you feel comfortable sharing.

1. Since the start of this year, what stories about anti-Asian sentiment have you heard about (on the news, social media, or through people you know)?
    a. Probe: white gunman who targeted mostly Asian workers at Asian-owned spas in Atlanta (can also probe about stories about attacks in Bay Area and NYC that have targeted the elderly and women but see what they share first).
    b. Probe: How did hearing about these stories make you feel?
        i. Probe: How does this compare to how you felt this time last year when we saw the first pandemic-related wave of anti-Asian sentiment?
        ii. How have these incidents impacted your family? Your friends who identify as Asian?
            1. Probe: thoughts, perspectives, feelings, behaviors
    c. Probe: Where did you learn about these stories?
        i. E.g., Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, text messages with friends, local news, parents, etc.

Returning participants start here:

*** Check their survey responses to see who they said they had conversations with and to determine which of the following questions to ask. Questions in gray are lower-priority.***

2. How has your school addressed <u>recent</u> anti-Asian hate incidents?
    a. Probe: How have your teachers facilitated discussions about it? How has your administration responded?
    b. If applicable: what has helped them engage in these conversations (e.g., feel supported, comfortable being vulnerable); what has caused them to disengage from conversations
    c. Probe: How does their response now compare to how they responded around this time last year?
3. If involved with an AA-centered youth space: How did [the youth organization you're most involved in] address anti-Asian racism?
    a. Probe: specifics, examples, anecdotes, comparison with school response

    b. Probe (if there is time): How have other AA-centered youth spaces you're apart of responded to anti-Asian hate?
4. What have conversations with your friends been like?
    a. What about with your family?
    b. How have your non-Asian friends responded compared to your Asian friends?
5. How has anti-Asian racism been presented recently on your social media platforms?
    a. You noted in your survey that you [agree/disagree] with how anti-Asian racism has been reported. What do you [agree/disagree] with? (Get a sense of whether they agree/disagree with the extent of coverage, framing of stories, etc.)
6. How aware do you think non-Asian students at your school are of the discrimination and racism that people of Asian descent experience?
    a. Probe: observations/interactions they've had that leads them to believe this.
    b. If applicable: Why do you think some people are so unaware about the experiences of Asian Americans?
    c. Probe (if there is time): What do you think would help make Asian American experiences more visible?
7. If applicable: Why do you think anti-Asian sentiment did not come up [in school/at home/in conversations with your friends/in the program or org you're apart of where majority of youth identify as Asian/on your social media feeds]? **Note: prioritize school and home contexts.
8. You noted in your survey that you [agree/disagree] with how your school addressed anti-Asian racism.
    a. If disagree: What do you think they should have done?
    b. What else do you think your school should do to better support Asian students?

*** Check their survey responses to see who they said they had conversations with and to determine which of the following questions to ask. Questions in gray are lower-priority.***

White Supremacy

I also noticed in your survey that you [agree/disagree] with how your school has addressed White supremacy.

9. How did your school or teachers address it?
    a. Probe: specifics, examples, anecdotes
    b. Probe: How did your school/teachers respond to the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol?
    c. You noted in your survey that you [agree/disagree] with how your school addressed White supremacy. What do you [agree/disagree] with?
    d. If involved with an AA-centered youth space: How did the conversations at school compare with the conversations at the youth organization you're most involved in [can refer to their survey for the name of the org/program]?
10. What else should your school do to address White supremacy if anything at all?
    a. How might your school help students and staff who identify as White work

against White supremacy?

Racial Solidarity/Allyship

So we have been talking about conversations and experiences you've had. Now I'd like to shift and ask you about your perspective on and understanding of race relations in the US.

11. How do you think society treats Asian Americans relative to White Americans?
    a. Relative to Black Americans?
        i. If participant identifies as mixed-race: How are the experiences of mixed-race Asian Americans different or similar from monoracial Asian Americans? How are they similar?
    b. Probe: How are Asian American experiences similar or different from the experiences of White Americans? From Black Americans?
    c. Probe: specifics, examples, anecdotes
12. What examples have you seen, either historically or presently, of Asian Americans and Black Americans working together?
    a. Probe (if there is enough time): what brought them together; what did they accomplish; where did you learn about this
13. For non-Asians who want to be an ally to Asian Americans right now, what do you think they need to do?
    a. For Asians who want to be allies to Black Americans, what does that look like?
    b. How is being an ally different or similar to being anti-racist?
        i. Probe: specific behaviors, actions, learning
14. I'm wondering what resources or opportunities would be helpful to young people to learn more about systemic racism and/or engage in conversations about racism?

Closure

I'd like to begin wrapping us up now and have two more questions for you.

15. In this really difficult year we've had, I'm wondering what are some things you've done to take care of your mental health?
    a. Alternative: What are some things you've done to manage or reduce the stress you've experienced throughout this past year?
16. When the pandemic is controlled, what are you most excited to do again?

Appendix E: Additional Tables

Table 8. *Participants' Pandemic Context*

	Fall 2020 (n=54)				Spring 2021 (n=67)			
Since the start of the pandemic, have you	**Yes**		**No**		**Yes**		**No**	
Been worried about a family member's health	48	89%	6	11%	63	94%	4	6%
Felt unsafe outside of your home because of your race	26	48%	28	52%	49	73%	18	27%
Been threatened or attacked outside of your home because of your race	3	6%	51	94%	7	10%	60	90%
Experienced new health complications	4	7%	50	93%	7	10%	60	90%
Started seeing a mental health professional	2	4%	52	96%	7	10%	60	90%
Spent more time on social media than before the pandemic	42	78%	12	22%	60	90%	7	10%
Felt anxious about the state of the world or the future of the country	51	94%	3	6%	64	96%	3	4%
Been concerned about the safety or well-being of close friends or family members	50	93%	4	7%	62	93%	5	7%

Note: Spring sample excludes fall participants who declined to continue with the study as well as includes new participants.

Table 9. *Experiences with Discrimination*

	Fall (n=54)				Spring (n=66)			
Have you experienced this?	**Yes**		**No**		**Yes**		**No**	
I was discouraged from joining an advanced level class	4	7%	50	93%	6	9%	60	91%
I was wrongly disciplined or given after-school detention	7	13%	47	87%	5	8%	61	92%
I was given a lower grade than I deserved	11	20%	43	80%	13	20%	53	80%
I was discouraged from joining a club	5	9%	49	91%	8	12%	57	88%
My peers did not include me in their activities	18	33%	36	67%	17	26%	49	74%
People expected more of me than they expected of my peers	36	67%	18	33%	41	62%	25	38%
People expected less of me than they expected of my peers	10	19%	44	81%	12	18%	54	82%
People assumed my English was poor	19	35%	35	65%	29	44%	37	56%
I was hassled by the police	0	0%	53	100%	1	2%	65	98%
I was hassled by a store clerk or security guard	1	2%	53	98%	1	2%	65	98%
I was called racially insulting names	24	44%	30	56%	31	47%	35	53%
I received poor service at a restaurant or store	10	19%	44	81%	9	14%	57	86%
People acted as if they thought I was not smart	12	22%	42	78%	10	15%	56	85%
People acted as if they were afraid of me	7	13%	47	87%	11	17%	55	83%
I was threatened	6	11%	48	89%	8	12%	58	88%

Note: Spring sample excludes fall participants who declined to continue with the study as well as includes new participants. One response was missing from the spring sample.

Table 10. *Following of News By Topic Throughout 2020-2021*

Throughout the past year, did you follow news coverage or reporting on	Yes		No	
anti-Asian sentiment?	63	94%	4	6%
Black Lives Matter demonstrations and actions?	61	91%	6	9%
White supremacist groups and demonstrations?	40	60%	27	40%

Table 11. *Opinion of News Reporting by Topic Throughout 2020-2021*

Do you agree or disagree with how these events were reported in the news?	Agree		Disagree		No opinion	
anti-Asian sentiment?	16	24%	30	45%	20	30%
Black Lives Matter demonstrations and actions?	16	24%	29	44%	21	32%
White supremacist groups and demonstrations?	12	18%	23	35%	31	47%

Note: Spring survey sample. Missing one response.

Table 12. *Opinion of School Response by Topic Throughout 2020-2021*

Do you agree or disagree with how your school has addressed	Agree		Disagree		No opinion	
anti-Asian sentiment?	22	37%	23	39%	14	24%
Black Lives Matter demonstrations and actions?	37	63%	11	19%	11	19%
White supremacist groups and demonstrations?	10	17%	20	33%	30	50%

Note: Spring survey sample. Missing eight responses because question was added to survey after survey had already been administered.

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