Development of the Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans

by

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ABSTRACT

Internalized racism is a destructive, yet insidious psychological effect of racism. Although it has garnered increased attention in the research and clinical community due to its pervasive impact in racial minority individuals, empirical research on this topic has been limited. At the time of this study, no existing scale captures the key dimensions of internalized racism of Asian Americans. This study attempted to fill this gap by developing a self-report instrument that identified the key dimensions of this psychological construct. Seven hundred and fourteen Asian Americans participated in this study, and exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to investigate the factor structure of the scale. Results indicated that the Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans (IRSAA) has five factors, which are Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes, Sense of Inferiority, Denial or Minimization of Racism, Emasculation of Asian American Men, and Within-group Discrimination. This dissertation also examines and discusses the evidence of convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity for the IRSAA subscales.

DEDICATION

To my Mother, who loves me unconditionally,

I love you!

To Preethi, the love of my life!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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"There are these two young fish swimming along, and happened to meet an older fish swimming the other way, who nods to them and says, 'Morning boys, how's the water?' The two young fish swim on for a bit, and eventually one of them looks over at the other and says, 'What the hell is water?'" – David Foster Wallace, graduation commencement speech, delivered at Kenyon College in 2005

Introduction

Racism is the expression of racial prejudice or aversion through individual actions and social and institutional practices (Jones & Carter, 1996; Omi & Winant, 1994; Young, 1990). Contemporary racism in the U.S. is often subtle and covert (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013; Sears, 1988; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, et al., 2007). Although it is less likely to be characterized by physical violence and overt discrimination compared to the past, racism continues to be a powerful force of oppression that affects racial minorities (Carter, 2007). The psychological injuries of racism suffered by people of color are well-known (Carter, 2007), yet one of its most destructive effects, internalized racism, is often neglected (Pyke, 2010a; Speight, 2007). Internalized racism is the internalization of negative racial stereotypes, values, and ideologies perpetuated by the racial dominant society (Pyke, 2010a; Speight, 2007). Although it leads to adverse psychological and behavioral effects (David & Derthick, 2014; Speight, 2007), it develops unbeknownst to the victim (Lipsky, 1977; Pyke, 2010a). Like fish in water, we are often not aware of aspects of ourselves that are shaped by our environment.

Suzanne Lipsky (1977), one of the first authors to describe the phenomenon of internalized racism and its effects, called the recognition of internalized racism "a

breakthrough of major importance" (p. 5). When the concept arose out of meetings and

workshops with other African Americans, she underlined its significance when she

poignantly stated, "no Black person in this society has been spared" of internalized

racism (p. 5). In her response to Carter's (2007) article on the effects of racism, Speight

(2007) emphasized that the internalization of racism is "a key piece of the puzzle

necessary to fully assess the impact of racism" (p. 126).

Although research in how Asian Americans internalize racism has been growing,

most of this research took place in the past decade (David & Okazaki, 2006a; Millan and

Alvarez, 2014; Shen, Wang, & Swanson, 2011; Yoo, Burrola, & Stegger, 2010). A

missing piece critical to advancing future studies in this area is the development of a

scale that assesses the internalized racism of Asian Americans (IRAA). At present no

existing scale captures the key dimensions of IRAA. The primary purpose of this study is

to develop an Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans (IRSAA) that would fill

this major gap and help clarify and provide empirical support for a theory describing this

psychological construct. The scale could increase our understanding of this phenomenon

and contribute to efforts mitigating its adverse effects on racial minority individuals.

In the literature review I first described a framework for understanding

internalized racism. Given that internalized racism stems from racial stereotypes,

messages, and ideologies perpetuated in society, I examined racism and its various forms,

with a specific focus on racism toward Asian Americans. Drawing upon extant literature

on internalized racism, I then identified and discussed the five major themes of IRAA, as

they are related to contemporary racism. The five themes are a sense of inferiority,

endorsement of negative stereotypes, desire to be "more White," within-group

discrimination, and denial or minimization of racism. In the study, I developed a self-report measure to validate the themes of IRAA, and discussed its implication for future research.

A Framework for Internalized Racism

Internalized racism is a direct effect of racism. In a special issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* about racism and its psychological effects, Carter (2007), citing his work with Jones (Jones & Carter, 1996), defined racism as "the transformation of racial prejudice into individual racism through the use of power directed against racial group(s) and their members, who are defined as inferior by individuals, institutional members, and leaders, which is reflected in policy and procedures with the intentional and unintentional support and participation of the entire race and dominant culture" (p. 24). In this definition, the central theme is the use of power by the dominant race to subjugate other racial groups to an inferior status. Doing so justifies the superiority of the dominant group and reinforces inequitable allocation of resources. In addition to racial discrimination at the individual or interpersonal level, racism includes policies and practices at the institutional level (institutional racism), and the belief that the cultural heritage of the dominant group is superior to the minority groups (cultural racism) (Jones & Carter, 1996).

Internalized racism is also a form of internalized oppression (David & Derthick, 2014). Other groups that suffer from internalized oppression include women (Bearman & Amrhein, 2014), LGBT (Nadal & Mendoza, 2014), and disabled people (Watermeyer & Görgens, 2014). As a form of internalized oppression that is race-based, the term "internalized racial oppression" is often used interchangeably with internalized racism

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(Lipsky, 1977; Padilla, 2001; Pyke & Dang, 2003). In other words, "racism" and "racial oppression" are terms used by scholars to describe the same race-based phenomenon (Carter, 2007; David, 2009; Lipsky, 1997; Padilla, 2001; Pyke 2010a). Pyke (2010a) aptly noted that the effects of racism may differ depending on the race of the perpetrator, and internalized racism, as generally written about by scholars, refers to "internalized White racism." Other terms used by scholars are "internalized White supremacy," "internalized Whiteness," and the much-criticized "racial self-hatred" (Pyke, 2010a).

Various definitions have been used to describe the phenomenon in which racism is internalized by its victims. They include the following:

- "Internalized oppression is this turning upon ourselves, upon our families, and upon our own people the distress patterns that result from the racism and oppression of the majority society" (Lipsky, 1977, p. 6).

- "Internalized racism refers to the acceptance, by marginalized racial populations, of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves" (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000, p. 255).

- Internalized racial oppression is "defined as the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one's racial group" (Pyke, 2010, p. 553).

- "Internalized racism is the 'subjection' of the victims of racism to the mystifications of the very racist ideology which imprison and define them" (Hall, 1986, p. 26).

Lipsky's description of internalized racism was written when the concept was still in its nascent form, and as such, it is unclear the psychological mechanism by which

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people would "turn upon" themselves the distress patterns that they experienced. A fundamental characteristic of internalized racism that emerged from the other three definitions, however, is the marginalized racial minority's acceptance of the racist stereotypes and beliefs of the dominant society. Implicit in the definitions of internalized racism is also the theme that the racial minority group is perceived as inferior to the dominant group. In addition, individuals with internalized racism would endorse racist ideologies perpetuated by the dominant group to maintain the racial status quo and racial inequalities.

The process of "internalization" involves the development of mental schemata, which are organized patterns of thinking (Piaget & Inhelder, 1958). According to Vygotsky (1978), who studied child development and formulated theories of learning, internalization is the process by which people incorporate shared knowledge of a culture into their cognition in order to understand their world and develop appropriate behavior, beliefs, and ways of thinking of the larger society. This involves the construction of mental schemata to make sense of and give meaning to their observation and interaction with the external environment. Internalized racism, therefore, encompasses mental concepts of inferiority that people develop about themselves and their race as a result of encounters with racism in its various forms (David & Derthick, 2014).

Related to the process of internalization are the processes of identification with other people and socialization (Williams, 2012). Identification is the process of modeling oneself after people who he or she considers important, such as one's parents (Bradshaw, 1988; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). Similarly, socialization is the process of learning what it means to be a member of a social group (Grusec & Hastings,

2007; Harro, 2010; Maccoby, 2007; Woods & Kurtz-Cortes, 2007). This includes self-expectation and expectation by others. It entails the acquisition of rules, roles, and values of the social group to which one belongs, as well as those of other social groups. For people of color, socialization occurs through participating in mainstream culture, learning from day-to-day encounters with members of one's racial group, and coping with the exigencies of racism as a minority within the American social order (Boykin & Toms, 1985).

The processes of identification and socialization suggest that internalized racism can be developed from two sources. The first is oppression by the dominant group in one's present environment. The second is messages transmitted by those who have suffered and internalized oppression from the past. For example, children of color may be told by parents or people of significance that dark skin is unattractive. They may also observe from others avoidance of social interaction with those who are unassimilated to mainstream White culture. This inter-generational transmission of historical oppression has been observed in Native Americans (Duran and Duran, 1995), Jewish survivors of the Holocaust (Krell, 1990; Moskovitz & Krell, 1990; Solomon, Kotter, & Mikulincer, 1988), and Japanese American WWII internees (Nagata, 1990).

Internalized racism, therefore, can develop through cognitive and social processes that take place without easily identifiable incidents of racism. Echoing scholars who describe the detrimental effects of cultural racism (Sue, 2003; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2002), Speight (2007) elaborated on how internalized racism is rooted in the dominant group's ability to shape norms. She cited Young's (1990) work on the five conditions that can be used as criteria to determine whether and how groups

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and individuals are oppressed. The five conditions are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, systemic violence, and cultural imperialism. Of the five conditions, Speight argued that cultural imperialism contributes most to internalized racism. Cultural imperialism, according to Young (1990), "involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm" (p. 59). The dominant group defines and creates what is representative of "normal," "real," and "correct." As a result, the subordinate group members often believe this version of reality and reinforce it by their own beliefs and actions. Because of the insidious and pervasive nature of cultural imperialism, an individual can develop internalized racism without being a target of blatant racial discrimination or harassment. Given recent research that suggest acts of racism can be covert and unintentional (Dovidio et al., 2002; Neville et al., 2013; Sears, 1988; Sue et al., 2007), there is agreement that the internalization of negative racial beliefs and stereotypes occurs as a consequence of living in a culture where they exist, even without experiencing overt acts of racial discrimination.

In order to understand the specific themes of negative racial messages, stereotypes, and ideologies that are internalized by Asian Americans, one needs to understand the various forms of racism that have been perpetrated against them. The following section will provide an overview of racism toward Asian Americans.

Racism toward Asian Americans

Asian Americans have lived in the United States for over 150 years, with roots reaching back to China, Japan, Korean, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Takaki, 1993). For most of this time, however, they were perceived and openly treated as outsiders and inferior. The perceived cultural inferiority of Asians was

at the core of how the East was represented in the European Western experience, which Said (1978) described as "Orientalism" (p. 1). The development of Orientalism coincided with the expansion of European colonialism into Asia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Orientalism was promoted to create a distinction between the familiar (the West) and the strange (the East), "us" versus "them" (p. 43). To highlight their sense of superiority, Westerners portrayed Asians as "irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, and 'different,'" in contrast to Europeans, who were "rational, virtuous, mature, and 'normal'" (p. 40). In his review of Asian Americans in U.S. popular culture during that period, Lee (1999) described the images of the Orientals as "the pollutant, the coolie, the deviant, the yellow peril, the model minority, and the gook" (p. 8). Political cartoons depicted the Chinese, who were and continue to be the largest Asian population living in the U.S., as conniving and untrustworthy (Chou & Feagin, 2008).

The negative portrayal of Asians in mainstream U.S. culture was reflected in acts of racism at both individual and institutional levels. At the individual level, anti-Chinese sentiment led to brutal attacks, such as the Chinese Massacre of 1871, in which 20 Chinese Americans were killed and many more injured (Japanese American Citizens League, 2008). At the institutional level, public policies were established that singled out Asians and Asian Americans for exclusion. For instance, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented Chinese from immigrating to the U.S. until 1943, when the legislation was repealed. Similarly the National Origins Act of 1924 prohibited immigration from Japan while permitting entries from Ireland, Italy, and Poland. With few exceptions, Asian immigrants were also forbidden from becoming naturalized citizens until the 1950s (Takaki, 1989a; Japanese American Citizens League, 2008). As a result, Asian

immigrants were disenfranchised from voting and, in some states, from land ownership (Japanese American Citizens League, 2008). One of the most notorious acts of discrimination was the internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II. This occurred despite the fact that the majority of internees were born in the U.S. and more than 33,000 Japanese Americans served in the U.S. Armed Forces during the war (Takaki, 1989a; Japanese American Citizens League, 2008).

The civil rights movement in the 1960s brought racial inequity to center-stage in the American consciousness. A result of this struggle for equality was the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which lifted strict restrictions on immigration from Asia to the U.S. The lifting of restrictions led to a substantial increase in Asian immigration, and the number of people who identified as Asian/Pacific Islander now makes up over 5% of the U.S. population (Hoefall, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2010).

Despite progress in civil rights and immigration policies, subtle and blatant negative stereotyping of Asians and Asian Americans persists. Often disguised as "good humor," caricatures of Asians as slant-eyed, buck-toothed, and/or heavily accented have appeared in magazines (Chan, 1997), videos (Liu, 2000), and merchandise (Tunison, 2006). In addition, anti-Asian hate crimes also have occurred on a regular basis. For instance, in Orange County, California, where there is a high concentration of Asian Americans, 10 hate crimes against this group were reported in the years 2009 and 2010 (Orange County Human Relations Commission, 2010). The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1992) noted that such racialized crimes were underreported because immigrant victims likely distrusted the police and had a limited understanding of U.S. laws.

Contemporary Forms of Racism

In recent decades research on types of racism has focused on subtle forms that stem from racial bias, beliefs, or stereotypes. Blatant forms of racism have been considered by some to be "old-fashioned" because they are associated with uneducated and lower socioeconomic status Whites (Proshansky, 1966; Sears, 1969). Subtle forms of racism include symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), aversive racism (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002), racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007), and color-blind racial ideology (Neville et al., 2013). Studies have shown that many Whites, liberals and conservatives alike, carry out one form of racism or another (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Surprisingly, White Americans who possess egalitarian values and believe they are non-prejudiced are not immune to engaging in acts of subtle racism (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002).

Symbolic racism. Research in symbolic racism has been primarily focused on Whites' attitudes toward Blacks. Symbolic racism is characterized by the expression that Blacks are "violating cherished values and making illegitimate demands for changes in the racial status quo" (McConahay & Hough, 1976, p. 23). Attitudinally, symbolic racism includes the belief that Blacks demand special treatment because of their unwillingness to work hard and take responsibility. Such beliefs are manifested behaviorally in support for White political candidates (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; McConahay & Hough, 1976) and public policies that maintain the racial status quo, such as resistance to affirmative action policies (Kluegel & Smith, 1983). To discredit demands for social justice and deny the existence of systemic racism, some Whites have

used the distorted image of Asian Americans as model minorities to portray American society as color-blind and racist-free (Suzuki, 1989).

Aversive racism. Whereas symbolic racism is usually associated with White conservatives, aversive racism characterizes White individuals who endorse egalitarian values and support public policies that promote racial equality and ameliorate the consequences of racism (Dovidio et al., 2002). In contrast to open feelings of hostility and dislike, however, aversive racists experience negative feelings such as anxiety and uneasiness. These feelings may be rooted in normal, often adaptive, psychological processes, which involve individual factors such as socialization and intergroup functions such as realistic group conflict and mere categorization of people into in-groups and out-groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). As suggested by research in cognition, implicit attitudes and stereotypes are automatically activated by the mere presence of the attitude object (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Although such prejudice is unintentional, they can lead to discriminatory acts, often when they can be justified on factors other than race (e.g., questionable qualifications for a position). Researchers have identified acts of aversive racism in situations of emergency intervention (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977), hiring decisions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and college admissions decisions (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002). Although research in aversive racism toward Asian Americans is limited, results in one study (Devos & Banaji, 2005) showed that it can be manifested in Whites' view that Asian Americans are not "true" Americans. Specifically, using Implicit Association Tests, the researchers found that White participants were less likely to associate Asian Americans with the term "American" compared to White Americans.

Racial microaggression. Racial microaggression is a subtle form of racism that has gained widespread attention in recent years (Sue et al., 2007). Racial microaggressions are "brief and commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue et al., 2007, pg. 271). Forms of racial microaggression include remarks or comments that demean a person's racial heritage or identity (microinsults), explicit racial derogation (microassaults), and comments or behaviors that exclude or negate the experiential reality of a person of color.

Applying their framework to study the experiences of Asian Americans, Sue and colleagues (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009) identified eight racial microaggression themes through interviews conducted using focus groups.   The first is Alien in Own Land, and it is marked by comments such as, "Where are you from?" and "Where were you born?" The implication is that the individuals being questioned are foreigners and not "real" Americans. The second is Ascription of Intelligence, and statements such as, "You people always do well in school," put Asian Americans under pressure to conform to a stereotype, albeit a "positive" one. The third is Denial of Racial Reality, and it includes comments that negate the racism that Asian Americans experience. Another theme is Exoticization of Asian American Women. When approached by White men with "Asian fetishes," female participants of the study felt they were only needed for physical needs and nothing more. The fifth theme is the Invalidation of Interethnic Differences, and it is characterized by comments such as, "All Asians look alike." The theme of Pathologizing Cultural Values/Communication Styles was identified by participants who felt disadvantaged in academic settings because they

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endorsed cultural values such as the value of silence and speaking less. The seventh theme is Second Class Citizenship, and it describes situations in which Euro-Americans received preferential treatments over Asian Americans. The last theme of Invisibility is characterized by the experience of being overlooked, particularly when the issue of race was discussed. Participants in the study reported experiencing psychological conflict and distress as a result of trying to discern the motive of the person making the microaggression comment/behavior, dealing with the turmoil and agitation caused by the event, and determining how to respond to the microaggressions.

Extending Sue and colleagues' (2009) qualitative study, Lin (2011) developed the Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale and found empirical support for four types of commonly experienced racial microaggressions. They were 1) Asian Inferior Status, 2) Assumptions of Model Minority, 3) Alien in Own Land, and 4) Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes. In particular, the Asian Inferior Status subscale included items such as being made invisible, ignored, or unimportant in social setting, "not American enough," and feeling singled out or treated differently because of one's race.

Racial microaggressions are difficult to detect and ameliorate because the perpetrators of microaggressions are often not aware of their action due to cultural conditioning. Sue and colleagues (2007) stated, "the power of racial microaggressions lies in their invisibility to the perpetrator and, often times, the recipient" (p. 275). There are usually other plausible explanations for the slight or invalidation, such as when a racial minority is asked, "Where are you from?" or a person of color is being followed around the store. The victims are often perceived that they are being overly sensitive, and they may believe that the perception is accurate.

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The cumulative effects of racial microaggressions may be as damaging as overt forms of racism (Sue et al., 2007). Approximately 78% of Asian Americans participants in one study reported some form of racial microaggressions within a 2-week period (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013). The same study also found that the level of microaggressions predicted increases in somatic symptoms and negative affect. The alarming rate of racial microaggressions found in this study is consistent with Goto, Gee, and Takeuchi's (2002) investigation of perceived discrimination of Chinese Americans. They found that 21% of participants reported being unfairly treated in their lifetime because of race, ethnicity, language, or accent. Of the respondents who experienced some form of discrimination, 43% reported an incident within the past year.

Racial color-blindness. Like various forms of racial microaggressions, racial color-blindness is also a covert form of racism because the perpetuator can deny racial prejudice and intentionality to harm (Sue et al., 2007). People with color-blind attitudes believe racial differences do not matter in any important aspects of human relations, thereby denying people of color's racial/ethnic experience and potential hidden negative beliefs they harbor about racial minority groups (Sue et al., 2007). Based on research in racial color-blindness since the 1970s (American Psychological Association, 1997; Carr, 1997; Cose 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Schofield, 1986; Williams, 1997), Neville and colleagues (2013) described a framework for understanding color-blind racial ideology (CBRI). They argued that CBRI, as an unattainable ideal that reinforces racial prejudice and inequality, is a contemporary form of racism.

Building on the conceptual framework of Frankenberg (1993), Neville and colleagues (2013) identified two dimensions of CBRI – color-evasion and power-evasion.

Color evasion highlights sameness as a way to deny the idea of White racial superiority. Although "not seeing race" is an aspirational goal, it presumes that we live in a racially egalitarian society and ignores racial differences. The researchers cited studies that support the link between color-evasion and racially insensitive behavior (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006) and increased prejudice toward ethnic minorities (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008).

Similarly, power-evasion emphasizes the belief that everyone has equal opportunities. It ignores the power differential dictated by race. Power-evasion can be manifested as denial or minimization of 1) blatant racial issues, e.g., "Racism is not a major issue in American society;" 2) institutional racism, e.g., "Everyone has an equal chance to succeed in society;" and 3) White privilege, e.g., "Racism against Whites is a major problem in society." These three types of power-evasion are consistent with the subscales of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS, Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), which is the most widely used measure to assess CBRI (Neville et al., 2013).

Neville and colleagues (2013) noted that CBRI applies both to Whites and people of color. Whereas CBRI for Whites is linked to cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of racism (Neville et al., 2000; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Spanierman, Poteat, Oh, & Wang, 2008; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011; Soble, Spanierman, & Liao, 2011), CBRI for racial minorities is linked to internalized racism. For instance, a study of African Americans found that endorsement of color-blind racial beliefs was related to increased blame of African Americans

themselves for economic and social disparities (Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005). In a study of Asian Americans, endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes was associated with devaluation of their own racial group (Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, & Dodd, 2006). The internalization of CBRI in Asian Americans will be explored further in a later section.

Racial triangulation

As the U.S. population continues to diversify in recent decades due to immigration trends (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011), scholars have begun to conceptualize race and racism beyond the traditional "Black and White" (Kim, 1999; Wu, 2002). A major contribution to understanding how Asian Americans are racialized relative to Whites and Blacks is Kim's (1999) theory of racial triangulation. Kim (1999) built on Omi and Winant's (1984, 1994) theory of racial formation, which posited that race, as a major organizing principle of society, intertwines with the social, political, and cultural spheres. The construct of race and racial categories, therefore, are not static, but are interpreted and explained under various contexts, usually by the dominant race in mainstream culture. Applying this framework, Kim proposed that racial groups' relative status in public discourse can be viewed by their position along the dimensions of superior/inferior and insider/foreigner. In particular, Asian Americans are viewed as "superior" relative to Blacks, at the same time they are "foreign" and unassimilated with Whites on cultural and/or racial grounds.

Asian Americans have been valorized relative to Blacks via the model minority myth (Kim, 1999). Since the mid-1960s, Asian Americans' cultural values of diligence, family solidarity, and respect for education have been vaulted as a model of success and

achievement (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009; Osajima, 1988).

Takagi (1992) noted, however, that the concept of the model minority was born in the

midst of the tumultuous racial change of the 1960s, against the backdrop of mass

demonstration for civil rights. In the theory of racial triangulation, the model minority

myth is perpetuated to undermine efforts to challenge racial inequality and the status quo

(Kim, 1999). The relative success of some Asian American groups is used to suggest that

racial underclass is a result of individual differences (e.g., laziness and lack of discipline)

and cultural differences (e.g., weak family values); institutional barriers are ignored or

down-played. The distorted image of Asian Americans as a model minority has been

used speciously to justify racial color-blind attitudes and policies.

On the other hand, Kim (1999) argued that White Americans' readiness to

perceive Asian Americans as foreigners is a way to "ensure that Asian Americans will

not actually 'outwhite' Whites" (p. 126). Kim cited numerous media commentaries and

stories as examples of public discourse that insinuate Asian Americans are not "true"

Americans. For example, media commentary on Kristi Yamaguchi, a fourth-generation

Japanese American figure skater, hinted at the irony of her representing the United States

in the 1992 Olympics when she was competing against a skater from Japan (Deford,

1992). Kim contended that despite the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans are

nonetheless ostracized from political and civic membership.

Current Attitudes toward Asian Americans

Research in the field of contemporary forms of racism has been supported by

studies that investigated Whites' attitudes toward Asian Americans and stereotypes about

this group. Ho and Jackson (2001) conducted research that found a two-factor model in

college students' attitudes toward Asian Americans. One factor represented negative attitudes, and it comprised items that assessed threat (e.g., "Asian Americans are invading the job market and putting Americans out of jobs") and other negative perceptions (e.g., "One problem with Asian Americans is that they stick together too much"). The other factor represented positive evaluations, such as the perception that Asian Americans are smart, hardworking, and have close ties with their families.

Additional analyses by Ho and Jackson (2001) found that the positive factor did not necessarily protect participants from negative attitudes toward Asian Americans. Although the positive attitude factor was inversely correlated with the negative attitude factor, there was evidence that positive stereotypic attributes, such as being successful and intelligent, can be construed as threats and elicit a hostile sentiment. Specifically those who endorsed the minority model image that Asian Americans are intelligent and successful were more likely to perceive them with negative attributes, such as nerdy, antisocial, and unassimilated. Additionally, endorsement of egalitarian beliefs, such as, "Asian Americans do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do," did not moderate Whites' negative attitudes toward Asian Americans. This finding suggests that egalitarian beliefs did not inoculate a person from negative attitudes toward Asian Americans. Participants' general feelings toward Asian Americans seemed to be best described as ambivalent. The researchers found that two thirds of participants endorsed statements such as, "I have mixed feelings about Asian Americans: Sometimes I feel positive toward them, while at other times I feel negative toward them."

Ho and Jackson's research suggests that many White Americans hold negative attitudes toward Asian Americans, often in conjunction with positive views based on the

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model minority image. Moreover, stereotypic positive attributes associated with Asian Americans can increase the likelihood that they are perceived as competitors or a threat. Other studies have also shown that perception of competition and threat is linked to expressions of prejudice (Hsia, 1988; Jackson, 1993; Miller, 1969; Sherif & Sherif, 1979).

Ho and Jackson's study on attitudes toward Asian Americans complements Lin and colleagues' study on anti-Asian American stereotypes (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Lin and colleagues found that stereotypes of Asian Americans fell along the dimensions of excessively high competence and low sociability. These two dimensions were also highly correlated. In other words, those who viewed Asian Americans as excessively competitive (i.e., endorsed items such as Asian Americans are "constantly in pursuit of more power" and Asian Americans "aim to achieve too much") were also more likely to view them as unsociable. The researchers identified these individuals as high-prejudiced, and found that they were less likely to interact with Asian Americans than those who were less-prejudiced.

The research findings support the Stereotype Content Model principles, which assert that out-groups often fall into two mixed clusters – warm but incompetent (e.g., traditional women and disabled people), and competent but lacking warmth (e.g., Asians, Jews, and non-traditional women) (Fiske, 1998; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). The oppressed groups, therefore, are always stereotyped in a way that makes them deficient in one dimension or another. In addition, the dimensions of competency and warmth can be compared to the dimensions of superiority/inferiority and insider/outsider in Kim's (1999) theory of racial triangulation. The stereotypes that Asian Americans are not "true" Americans and low in sociability are both used to

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subjugate Asian Americans to an inferior status and maintain the dominant race group's sense of superiority.

Internalized Racism of Asian Americans

The effects of racism are many (Carter, 2007). Physiological effects include increased arousal states (e.g., anxiety and hypervigilance), which are linked to stress-related diseases, such as high blood pressure levels (Harrell, Hall, & Taliaferro, 2003). With regard to mental health, perceived racial discrimination is associated with increased psychological distress (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999); increased risk for veterans to develop PTSD (Loo, Fairbank, Scurfeld, Ruch, King, et al., 2001); increased symptoms of depression (Mossakowski, 2003; Noh & Kaspar 2003); and lower self-esteem (Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1991). Subjective experience of racism is also related to weakened peer relations (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and depressed academic performance (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000).

A lesser known and often neglected effect of racism is internalized racism (Speight, 2007). As previously described, internalized racism is the internalization of racial stereotypes, values, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society (Pyke, 2010; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). The means by which Asian Americans receive these negative racial messages include acts of racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2009), propagation of racial color-blind ideology (Neville et al., 2013), and negative attitudes toward Asian Americans (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin et al., 2005). As described in the definitions of internalized racism, the various manifestations of internalized racism of Asian Americans (IRAA) are linked to the themes of the negative racial messages that they received.

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The first two themes of IRAA are a *sense of inferiority* and *endorsement of negative Asian American stereotypes*. Both of these are related to internalization of negative racial beliefs. One of the primary beliefs is a sense of inferiority. This is a result of viewing oneself through the lens of the dominant race culture and ideologies. Related to this belief is endorsement of negative stereotypes about their racial groups. Even if the individual does not believe that the stereotypes are true of him- or herself, he or she views others in their racial group through these mental heuristics. The next two themes are the *desire to be "more White"* and the *desire to distance oneself from those who fit the negative stereotypes*. These interrelated desires are inextricably linked to internalized negative beliefs about oneself and one's race. The oppressed imitate the oppressor in order to be associated with those with more power. The fifth theme is the *minimization or denial of racism*. This is the consequence of internalizing racial color-blind ideology. These five themes will be discussed in the following sections.

Internalized racism is distinct from other similar race-based phenomena, such as hypervigilence, stereotype threat, and the endorsement of positive stereotypes about one's racial group. As a result of being targets of racial discrimination, people can become hypervigilent in situations in which they may become victims again. In Osajima's (1993) interviews with Asian American students, for example, some participants reported that in public and social situations, they were mindful of possible negative consequences due to their racial differences, even when no obvious instances of discrimination took place. This state of hypervigilence is a consequence of experiencing a traumatic event, similar to the symptoms of post-traumatic distress disorder (McNally, 2009). Although it is also an effect of racism, it is primarily a physiological response to fear of being attacked,

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physically or emotionally, and can occur without the individual experiencing an internalized sense of inferiority that is a distinct feature of internalized racism.

Internalized racism is also different from stereotype threat. Stereotype threat is the experience of anxiety or concern due to the potential to confirm a negative stereotype about one's social group (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Similar to internalized racism, it is a consequence of racist negative stereotypes. Unlike internalized racism, however, stereotype threat is also not defined by an internalized sense of inferiority. Moreover it applies specifically to situations, such as taking an intellectual test, in which one is exposed to the risk of confirming a negative stereotype.

Furthermore, the internalization or endorsement of positive Asian American stereotypes is distinct from internalized racism. Cokley (2002) argued that internalized racism is different from internalized racialism. Internalized racism is more narrowed in scope and focused on the internalization of negative stereotypes. Internalized racialism, in contrast, "entails identifying with any stereotype about one's racial group, positive or negative, that is predicated on the belief that racial categories have innate and, therefore, immutable characteristics" (p. 477). Therefore, the internalization of positive stereotypes is more applicable when considering internalized racialism.

Additionally, recall that racism is the use of power directed against racial groups that are seen as inferior, in order to justify the superiority of the dominant racial group and group-based self-interests (Carter, 1997). Therefore when some members of racial minority groups excel in a certain domain, or perform better than they are expected by the dominant racial group, they defy racial hegemony, rather than conform to it. To maintain its superiority status, therefore, the dominant racial group would 1) recast the positive

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qualities into negative ones and/or 2) use them in service of perpetuating inequitable racial ideology. With regard to the first aspect, the relative success of some groups of Asian Americans has been viewed by Whites as "too competitive" and associated with low sociability (Lin et al., 2005). Indeed, Ho and Jackson (2001) found that Whites who endorsed the model minority image of Asian Americans were more likely to perceive them with negative attributes such as nerdy, antisocial, and unassimilated. With regard to the second aspect, the model minority myth, as described by Kim's (1999) theory of racial triangulation, is used by the dominant racial group to justify racial color-blind attitudes and maintain racial status quo (e.g., everyone can succeed if he or she works hard). It is also coupled with the perception that Asian Americans are not "true" Americans. These two aspects can be illustrated by statements such as, "Many Asian Americans are good at math, *but* they are nerdy" and "Many Asian Americans have achieved financial success, *therefore* racism is a problem of the past." In understanding positive stereotypes as a manifestation of racism, therefore, the emphasis needs to be placed on the assertions following the "but" and "therefore" conjunctions. For these reasons, internalized racism of Asian Americans would encompass the internalization of positive-cum-negative qualities (i.e., overly competitive and low in sociability), the "perpetual foreigner" stereotype, and racial color-blind ideology, rather than the endorsement of positive stereotypes.

Recognizing the distinctions between internalized racism of Asian Americans (IRAA) and the related constructs described above helps lay the groundwork for understanding the five themes of IRAA, which I will describe in detail below. These five

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themes will also provide the basis for the development a new self-report instrument to assess internalized racism for Asian Americans.

Theme 1: Sense of Inferiority

The dimension of superiority and inferiority is at the nexus of racism (Jones & Carter, 1996; Kim, 1999). An element in Jones and Carter's (1996) definition of racism is that the racial minority group is defined as inferior by members of the dominant group. A historical manifestation of this racial prejudice was the colonization of Asian countries by Western powers. The self-described superiority of Western culture was used as a justification for colonialism and as a psychological tool to subjugate the colonized (Fanon, 1965). In contemporary society, racial prejudice is often manifested at the interpersonal level through racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2009). In particular, in one of the themes, Second Class Citizen, Whites receive preferential treatment over Asian American; in another theme, Invisibility, Asian Americans are ignored or overlooked.

The targets of racism are made to feel that there is something wrong with them. Lipsky (1977) argued that racism in its various forms cause the victims to attribute harmful patterns to faults of their own and mistrust of their own thinking. In Pyke's (2010a) definition of internalized racial oppression, internalization of negative beliefs leads to "feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (p. 552). The experience of racism also has been linked to lower self-esteem, which is one's evaluation of his or her own worth (Carter, 2007). Internalized racial oppression has found to be associated with lower levels of personal and collective self-esteem in Filipino Americans (David & Okazaki, 2006b; David, 2008; David, 2010) and African Americans (Bailey, 2009, Frame, 1999; Norrington-Sands, 2002). Subject to the force of racism, the

oppressed begin to engender a sense of inferiority compared to those who wield power (Lipsky, 1977).

Feelings of inferiority when compared to White Americans have been identified in members of various racial/ethnic minority groups. When Puerto Rican youths discussed negative emotions associated with their ethnic and cultural identities, a frequent one that arose was shame (Varas-Diaz & Serrano-Garcia, 2003). When comparing themselves to other groups, participants reported feeling ashamed to be Puerto Rican in certain situations and stated being Puerto Rican "is less than being something else" (p. 110). In her description of internalized oppression in the Latino community, Padilla (2001) discussed unhealthy behaviors such as "self-loathing" and experiencing self-doubt when studying or working in a high-prestige setting. In Bailey, Williams, and Favors' (2014) review of internalized racial oppression of African Americans, they reported narratives that reflected a negative view of one's racial group. For instance, one former gang member would steal from other African Americans, but not White individuals, because "he despised African Americans and saw them as 'less important' than White individuals" (p. 145). In another example based on a clinical study by Aymer (2010), a Black individual experienced guilt and shame after being the target of racial profiling. Together these findings suggest the possibility that feelings of shame and self-loathing could also be related to sense of inferiority in Asian Americans.

Keith Osajima (1993) was one of the first researchers to investigate internalized racism among Asian Americans. A sense of inferiority was one of the underlying themes from in-depth interviews that he conducted with 30 Asian American students in predominantly White colleges. Several participants reported worrying about being

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judged because they look different. One Korean American student stated, "when I was younger I loathed being different…I hated being Korean" (p. 86). In another example, a Filipino American college student from Hawaii talked about how his relationship to Whites made him feel ashamed to be Filipino, "Even in Hawaii, where you would think being Asian or Filipino wouldn't matter that much, I still, every once in a while, I felt ashamed that I was Filipino. It would be hard to admit that I was Filipino…" (Osajima, 1993, p. 87).

Additionally, one of the subscales in David and Okazaki's (2006b) Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans is characterized by a sense of inferiority. The researchers posited that an effect of colonialism is internalizing the inferiority that has been imposed by the colonizer. The items in the subscale that support this theme are marked by feeling inferior and ashamed about one's ethnic/cultural background, and the belief that one is not as good as Whites. Participants who reported higher scores on this subscale were also more likely to report lower self-esteem and increased symptoms of depression, suggesting that internalizing a sense of inferiority can lead to adverse psychological effects.

Theme 2: Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes

In addition to a sense of inferiority, the internalization of negative beliefs includes the endorsement of negative stereotypes about one's own racial/ethnic group. By way of developing mental schemata that are consistent with the racial messages they receive from the dominant group, people of color view others in their racial group using these same beliefs. Lipsky (1977) stipulated that internalized racism causes Blacks to accept many of the stereotypes created by the oppressive majority society. Thomas,

Witherspoon, and Speight (2004) found that many African American females endorsed various stereotypic images of African American women as dominant, aggressive, sexually promiscuous, rude, and loud. The finding is supported by another study (Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, & Terrell, 2011) that found a large number of African Americans endorsed stereotypes such as, "Black people are lazy," "Most Black people are on welfare," "Most criminals are Black men," and "Black men are irresponsible" (p. 486). In the Latino community, Padilla (2001) lamented that many Latino/as held the erroneous view that Latino/a immigrants are taking away jobs from Americans and unfairly taking advantage of U.S. social services. The endorsement of negative stereotypes has been found in other oppressed groups as well, such as women and LGBT (Amaro & Raj, 2000; Brown, 1986; Pheterson, 1986; Rosenwasser, 2002).

Shen, Wang, and Swanson (2011) developed the Internalization of Asian American Stereotypes Scale to assess the "the extent to which an individual's self-concept and behavior result from having adopted existing stereotyped characteristics of Asian Americans" (p. 284). Based on factor analysis of a pool of items they created, the researchers identified factors for 1) preference to enter a career that does not require a lot of reading, writing, and verbal communication; 2) pursuit of a prestigious or well-paying career; 3) emotional reservation; and 4) expectation of academic success. Although the researchers attempted to assess the internalization of Asian American stereotypes, a major weakness of the instrument is that the items conflate with endorsement of Asian American cultural values (Kim, Li, & Ng, 2005). In particular, the pursuit of a prestigious or well-paying career and expectation of academic success seem to stem from Asian American cultural values that emphasize family recognition through achievements

(Kim et al., 2005). Emotional reservation can also reflect cultural differences rather than internalization of stereotypes (Kim et al., 2005).

Based on review of literature, I have identified five primary negative stereotypes of Asian Americans. Asian Americans are generally stereotyped as low in sociability, overly competitive, and perpetual foreigners. In addition, Asian American men are stereotyped as emasculate, while Asian American women are stereotyped as hypersexual/hyperfeminine. These stereotypes are described in the following sections.

Low sociability and overly competitive. As discussed in the section on current attitudes toward Asian Americans, sociability and competence are interpersonal dimensions that often form the bases of stereotypic attributes. Lin and colleagues (2005) developed the Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes using the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002), which is a framework that describes the principles governing stereotyping processes. As described in the model, stereotypes can be captured by the dimensions of warmth and competence. To justify prejudice against members of subordinate groups, at least one dimension is perceived by the dominant group to be deficient. The Stereotype Content Model is also supported by decades of interpersonal behaviors research that depict interpersonal variables in a two-dimensional circle along the axes of power/dominance and love/affiliation (Benjamin, 1974; Carson, 1969; Kiesler, 1983; Leary, 1957; Lort & McNair. 1965; Wiggins, 1979).

Applying the Stereotype Content Model, Lin and colleagues (2005) found that various Asian American stereotypes from many decades fall within this framework. For instance, a 1933 study (Katz & Braly, 1933) showed that the Japanese were seen as intelligent and shrewd (competent) but shy and quiet (unsociable). Similarly, the Chinese

were seen as sly but tradition-loving and superstitious (implying deficient mainstream sociability). Related studies (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2001; Maykovich, 1972) conducted in later years identified the same pattern, that the Japanese and Chinese were seen as industrious and scientifically-minded but reserved. Other stereotypes of Asian Americans also fall within this category. In the workplace, Asian Americans are often stereotyped as unassertive and lacking communication and leadership skills (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions, 2011). Their lack of representation in high management positions has been described as "the bamboo ceiling" (Hyun, 2005). Another stereotype that fits into this category is the portrayal of Asian Americans as "nerdy," which is associated with technical competence but social awkwardness (Qin, 2010).

Lin and colleagues (2005) extended the Stereotype Content Model further and posited that positive traits can be distorted as well. They asserted that the perceived competence of Asian Americans can engender perceptions of threat and competition. To alleviate the feeling of threat, one can characterize an otherwise desirable quality as extreme. Thus the qualities of industriousness and hard-working are portrayed as excessively competitive (Lin et al., 2005). They found evidence of such perception in their study; some White American participants endorsed items that characterized Asian Americans as low in sociability, as well as items that characterized them as excessively competitive.

The researchers' findings supported their hypothesis that the dimensions of warmth and competence are applicable to categorizing stereotypic attributes that describe Asian Americans. Similar to studies that showed African Americans endorsed negative

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view of their own racial group (Bailey et al., 2011; Thomas et al., 2004), these two stereotypes - Asian Americans are low in sociability and overly competitive - are also likely endorsed by Asian Americans because their view of themselves are colored by the racial messages that they received. Specifically, the low sociability factor taps into the stereotype that Asian Americans are awkward and isolated and their perceived inability to function well in social situations (Lin et al., 2005). The overly competitive factor captures a sense of aggressive competition and adhering too fervently to the desire to accumulate power and over-achieve (Lin et al., 2005).

Perpetual foreigner. To view Asian Americans as foreigners has been a persistent prejudice held by the U.S. general population (Lee et al., 2009; Tuan, 1998; Wu, 2002). As aforementioned, one of the most notorious acts of racism is the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. This occurred while German Americans and Italian Americans were assumed innocent until proven otherwise (Daniels, 1972).

In her book *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites?* Tuan (1998) discussed the reasons why Asian Americans continue to be perceived as "forever foreigners." First, although some Asian American ethnic groups, such as the Chinese and Japanese, have over 150 years of immigration history in the U.S., other groups, such as Vietnamese and Asian Indian, have arrived en-mass relatively recently (Gold & Kibria, 1993). Recent data indicated that approximately 60% of Asian Americans were born outside the U.S (Asian American Center for Advancing Justice, 2011). The influx of Asian newcomers has undoubtedly shaped the public perceptions of Asian Americans, as many White Americans are unable or unwilling to recognize ethnic, much less generational,

differences between and within Asian groups (Hayano, 1981; Kitano, 1992). The second

reason is anti-Asian sentiments. In the 1980s, the economic success of Japan was

regarded as a threat, which translated into increased anti-Asian hostility and hate crimes

(Espiritu, 1992; Min, 1995; Nishi, 1989; Pimental, 1995; U.S. Commission on Civil

Rights, 1986, 1992). A notable case was the killing of Vincent Chin, a Chinese

American, in Detroit, Michigan, by disgruntled autoworkers who accused Chin of being a

"job-stealing Jap" (Takaki, 1989b, p. 23). The unsubstantiated accusation of Wen Ho Lee,

a Taiwanese American scientist working at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, as a spy

for China is another jutting example. His prosecution, which began in 1999 and ended in

2006, was a representative case of racial profiling, the concern of China as a growing

economic and geopolitical threat, as well as the view that Asian Americans' allegiance

lies with their country of ancestral origin (Wu, 2002). A 2009 survey (Committee of 100,

2009) found that 45% of the general population believed that Asian Americans are more

loyal to their countries of ancestry than to the U.S.

In addition to the two reasons cited above that contribute to the perceptions that

Asian Americans are "perpetual foreigners," Kim (1999) argued in her racial

triangulation theory that the perception of in-group/out-group is a source of racial

discrimination. Applying the concept that racial positions can be multi-dimensional (Omi

and Winant, 1984, 1994), she posited that the construct of in-group/out-group is a key

element in the formation of racial mental schemata. To cast Asian Americans as

foreigners is a way to ostracized them from the in-group while valorizing their relative

success compared to Blacks. In doing so, the dominant racial group (i.e., White

Americans) can manipulate the Asian American model minority myth to deny or

minimize the reality of racism, while keeping them at arm's length from political and public discourse.

The preconception that Asian Americans are aliens residing in the U.S. can be manifested in acts of racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2009). In this type of microaggression, Asian Americans are often asked, "Where are you from?" and "Where were you born?" and received comments such as, "You speak good English." The implication of these remarks is that the recipients are foreigners or not born in the U.S. Evidence for this racial prejudice was found in a study in which photos of White Americans were rated by Whites as more "American" than photos of Asian Americans (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Similar results were found in another study using Implicit Association Tests (DeVos & Banaji, 2005). The researchers found that White American participants were less likely to associate Asian Americans with the term "American" compare to White Americans.

The same study (DeVos & Banaji, 2005) also provided evidence that Asian Americans internalized the perception that they are less American than their White counterparts. Whereas African American participants showed an equal association between "White + American" and "Black + American" in the implicit tests, Asian American participants associated "White + American" more quickly than "Asian + American". Pyke and Dang (2003) also noted that many participants in their study used the term "American" to denote White Americans, e.g., "I like to eat more American foods, and I like White guys and I dress like Americans" (p. 156). The researchers stipulated that equating "real" Americans as White exemplifies the internalization of the dominant

racial ideology, in this instance Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. To endorse of this prejudiced view, therefore, is an element of IRAA.

Emasculation of Asian American men. Given the centrality of sex in the human experience, it is not surprising that sexuality is another organizing principle in racial positioning (Eng, 2001; Espiritu, 1997). A primary theme emerged when analyzing the work of Asian American scholars in this area – Asian American men are asexual (Eng, 2001; Espiritu, 1997; Iwamoto & Liu, 2009), while Asian American women are hypersexualized/hyperfeminized (Espiritu, 1997; Hall, 2009; Marchetti, 1993). The hypersexualization/hyperfeminization of Asian American women will be discussed in the next section.

In his book *Racial Castration*, Eng (2001) argued that the feminization of the Asian American male is inextricably linked to the racial formation of Asian American men in society. Eng traced the beginning of this Asian American stereotype to anti-miscegenation and exclusion laws that interdicted the entry of Chinese wives into the U.S at the turn of the twentieth century. Such exclusion produced "bachelor communities" that influenced perceptions of sexuality held by the White majority (Eng, 2001). Additionally, a high number of Asian American male immigrants partook in what were typically thought of as "feminized" professions, such as laundryman, cooks, and tailors, due to the lack of employment options. This legacy reinforced the image of the effeminate Asian man.

To depict the psychological effects of this stereotype on Asian American men, Eng (2001) analyzed in-depth the works of Asian American writers. In particular, Eng juxtaposed novels written by Maxine Hong Kingston (1980) and Frank Chin (1991) to

detail the various perspectives of Asian American men who were restricted in their access to heterosexual norms such as nuclear family formation. Eng also drew on characters from the short story *the Shoyu Kid* (Kaneko, 1976) and the play *M. Butterfly* (Hwang, 1988) to explicate the tormented psyche of the emasculated Asian American men. Eng quoted from *M. Butterly* the line, "I am an Oriental, and being an Oriental, I could never be completely a man," as representative of the racial castration that Asian American men suffer due to the burden of past legacies.

The image of Asian American men as asexual also has been perpetuated in contemporary media (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). Negative images of Asian American men in widely seen movies include the buck-toothed Mr. Yunioshi from *Breakfast at Tiffany's* and the greasy-haired Long Duk Dong, who chased after the horrified White female protagonist in *Sixteen Candles*. In the few big-budget movies in which Asian men were cast as the lead, such as Chow Yun-Fat in *Anna and the King* and Jet Li in *Romeo Must Die*, the male protagonists did not kiss their romantic counterpart, as most movies do. In pop-culture magazines, a featured spread in an April 2004 issue of *Details* magazine, titled, "Gay or Asians," equated gay with being an Asian American male.

Research findings have suggested that these negative images are internalized by both Asian American females and males. In a study using Hmong American female high school students (Lee & Vaught, 2003), the endorsement of Asian American men as unappealing and emasculate was pervasive. Some participants remarked that they were "not attracted to Asian men at all" (p. 457), and thought Asian men were too short and unattractive. Another study (Chua & Fujino, 1999) found that Asian international female students, Asian American women, and White women all viewed Asian American

masculinity cautiously. They viewed Asian American men as adhering to traditional gender roles and were more nurturing, while White men were seen as more physically attractive, masculine, and outgoing.

Although there have been limited empirical studies regarding the extent to which Asian American men endorse asexual images of themselves, some research findings suggest that they do (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). One study (Chua & Fujino, 1999) found that Asian American men were less likely to report that they are masculine and physically affectionate than White men (60-80% versus 80%, respectively). With regard to Asian American women who exclusively date White men, some Asian American men felt that their masculinity is challenged and undermined (Chua & Fujino, 1999). The concern about their sexual undesirability may also be reinforced by statistics that show Asian American women marry or date White partner at a higher rate than Asian American men (Fujino, 1997; Le, 2006). Okazaki (1998) wondered if these statistics and the negative stereotypes have "damaging effects to the Asian Americans self-concept as well as for dating and marriage patterns" (p. 46).

The image of the emasculated Asian/Asian American men is in stark contrast to masculine norms. Research suggests this image is endorsed by both Asian American women and men (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Iwamoto & Liu, 2009; Lee & Vaught, 2003), suggesting that it is an internalized stereotype of IRAA.

Hypersexualization/hyperfeminization of Asian American women. Whereas Asian American men are portrayed as effeminate or asexual in popular culture, Asian American women are sexualized for their perceived exotic physical features and subservience (Espiritu, 1997; Hall, 2009; Sue et al., 2009). In her book, *The*

Hypersexualization of Race: Performing Asian/American women on Screen and Scene,
Shimizu (2007) chronicled the sexualized images of Asian/Asian American women in
movies and pornography from the 1920s to the present. These images include the
"dragon lady, the lotus blossom, the prostitute with a heart of gold, the little brown
fucking machine powered by rice, the dominatrix, and the whore" (p. 4). They emerged
in films in which Asian American actresses played a major role or important supporting
role, such as *the Thief of Bagdad* (1924), *the World of Suzie Wong* (1960), and *Charlie's
Angels* (2000), as well as pornography in which the Asian identity of the woman is
marketed for their "exotic" appeal. These images are also analyzed in-depth in Gee's
(1988) documentary *Slaying the Dragon: Asian Women in U.S. Television and Film*,
which traces Hollywood's portrayal of Asian women over sixty years. An important
stereotype examined in the documentary is that of a bad girl/prostitute, who is portrayed
as a sexual plaything for White men. Alquizola and Hirabayashi (2003) noted that the
sexualized images of Asian women persist in contemporary society. In classroom
discussions, students were able to describe stereotypical images of Asian women as
"exotic, sexual, beautiful, mysterious …" (p. 157).

Related to the hypersexualized image of Asian/Asian American women is the
image that they are innocent, docile, and obedient. This hyperfeminine image arose out
of Americans' involvement in Asia during World War II, the Korean War, and the
Vietnam War, when about 150,000 military brides came to the U.S. from Asia (Saenz,
Hwang, & Aguirre, 1994). Whereas the hypersexualized image perpetuates the sexual
objectification of Asian women, e.g., prostitutes catering to the sexual needs of American
soldiers, the hyperfeminine image portrayed them as "ideal" wives who can attend to a

man's every need. For instance, American military involvement in Japan contributed to the image of "geisha," who are professional prostitutes in traditional Japanese culture (Hall, 2009). These women served men with baths, massages, tea, dancing, and sex. In studies of military wives and correspondence marriage (also known as mail-order marriage), the stereotype that Asian women are obedient, sexually submissive, and good housekeepers was a contributing factor to White American men choosing Asian women as wives over American women (Constable, 2003; Filipe, 2010; Spickard, 1989; Yuh, 2002). Many White men reported that they intentionally chose foreign-born Asian American women for marriage because of the perception that they are more traditional and family-oriented (Nemoto, 2009).

Some scholars argued that the hyperfeminine image of Asian women has been used to counter modern feminist challenges to white masculinity (Koshy, 2004; Marchetti 1993). Many White American men who have foreign-born Asian American wives described White women as overly assertive and self-centered (Nemoto, 2009). The hyperfeminine image of Asian women, which is characterized by women's subordination to male, enhances their sense of masculinity and protects their interests in perpetuating the inequalities of gender hierarchy. From this perspective, the Western construction of the passive Asian beauty is pitted against the modern, emancipated Western women. Asian women are idealized as more "feminine" and desirable as a mean to signal to White women the need to return to traditional gender roles (Marchetti, 1993).

The hypersexualized/hyperfeminine images of Asian/American women affect Asian Americans negatively. The exoticization of Asian women has been identified as one of the major themes of racial microaggression in a qualitative study (Sue et al., 2009).

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In the study, one participant stated, "White men believe Asian women…wait hand and foot on men…and have beautiful skin and are just sexy and have silky hair" (p. 94). Another participant noted being frequently approached by White men with "Asian fetishes" of subservience and pleasing them sexually. Although the intent of the aggressors may be to praise Asian women, these microaggressions subjugate Asian American women to roles of sexual objects and submissive partners.

At present no research indicates whether or not the image of the subservient, sexualized Asian/Asian American women is internalized by Asian Americans. This study attempts to fill this gap by investigating if Asian Americans endorse this image. The hypersexualization/hyperfeminization of Asian American women is therefore included as one of the hypothesized internalized stereotypes of IRAA.

Theme 3: Desire to be "more White"

The desire to imitate the oppressor is a hallmark of internalized oppression (David & Derthick, 2014; Freire, 1968). In one of the classic texts on the psychological effects of oppression, Freire (1968) observed that under the dehumanizing force of oppression, the oppressed begin to question their identity. They develop the belief that perhaps it is better to be like the oppressor because they are not "good enough." The oppressed internalize a sense of inferiority and negative stereotypes about their own racial group. This internalization is reinforced by the existence of a racially demarcated in-group and out-group, where members of the in-group wield power (Freire, 1968). Members of the out-group, as described by Young (1990) in relation to the five conditions that characterize oppression, are those who are exploited, marginalized, powerless, and victims of systemic violence and cultural imperialism. Anxiety and fear arise in the

racial minorities because they belong to the out-group. As a result of these negative feelings, the oppressed attempt to look and act in ways to imitate members of the in-group, i.e., they play by the rules of the system in order to get ahead (Freire, 1968). This desire can be heightened when their affiliation with the in-group is questioned (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

The qualitative differences between people of color's attitudes toward their racial group and their attitudes toward the dominant group are also reflected in their racial identity development. To conform and identify with the dominant White culture is indicative of the initial status or stage of minority members' racial identity development (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989; Helms, 1995). In Atkinson and colleagues' Minority Identity Development Model (Atkinson et al., 1989), the first stage is named Conformity and it is characterized by preference for dominant culture value and negative views toward the individual's own culture. In Helms' (1995) People of Color Racial Identity Development model, the first status is also named Conformity, and it is similarly associated with "devaluing of own group and allegiance to White standards of merit" (p. 186). Although individuals are assumed to progress to more mature statuses or stages that take into account socioracial concerns, development is not linear. For this reason, Helms (1995) made a distinction between developmental stage and status. When triggered in a certain situation, the individuals may still rely on information processing strategies that are associated with less developed statuses. This means the desire to be "more White" can still arise for those who normally have more mature and sophisticated racial identity attitudes.

The desire to be "more White" was a common theme in studies of IRAA. In Osajima's (1993) interviews with Asian American students, to be more "American" was a way to deal with the taunts they received for being different. One student expressed, "I wish I was American, all my friends are, they called me names and stuff" (p. 86). In Pyke and Dang's study (2003) on the use of the labels "FOB" (fresh-off-the-boat) and "whitewashed" by Korean and Vietnamese Americans, although the term "whitewashed" has derogatory connation, it carried positive status among some participants. They took it as an affirmation that they have successfully assimilated into the dominant culture. For example, a participant expressed, "I don't really mind being called 'whitewashed.' I feel that it's a compliment in some ways 'cause that shows that my friends see me as one of them. I feel like part of the White race or something. I'm not saying that Koreans are bad but it seems that to be White is to be the best" (p. 161). Similar phenomenon also exists in the Latino community, in which some members prefer to represent themselves as White (Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014; Padilla, 2001).

The desire to be "more White" can be manifested through various aspects of the racial minority individual's life, such as physical appearance, life-style, and value systems (Atkinson et al., 1989). The most direct expression is in physical appearance, and many people of color harbor the desire to have White physical features. Through interviews and survey data, Rondilla and Spickard (2007) detailed the links between Asians and Asian Americans' preference for lighter skin and European-like facial features and systems of racial inequalities. In David and Okazaki's (2006b) Colonial Mentality Scale, items endorsed by Filipino American participants include preference for light skin-tones and bridged noses (versus flat noses). In Bailey and colleagues' (2011)

Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black individuals, one of the factors is alternation of hair to make it straight. The preference for light skin tone is also pervasive in the Latino community (Hall, 1994; Hipolito-Delgado, Payan, & Baca, 2014; Padilla, 2001).

Other ways to identify oneself as part of the dominant group include wearing clothing associated with popular White culture and language use (Pyke & Dang, 2003). In one of Pyke and Dang's (2003) interviews, the participant sought affirmation from the interview that he was indeed "whitewashed" by listing interests in surfing and skateboarding, and, pointing to his "skate shoes," stated, "You see Caucasian kids dressed like this, but you rarely see Asians dressed like this. Right?" (p. 161). The researchers also noted that the label "whitewashed" was also used to describe Asian Americans who cannot or refuse to speak their native language with their peers, and as one participant described, "tried to talk like White people, saying 'dude' and 'like' a lot" (p. 160). The importance that the participants placed on the use of language reflected the centrality of language in the assimilation process, and the tendency to discriminate others based on their language and accent (Lippi-Green, 1997).

The desire to be "more White" can also manifest in preference for friends and romantic partners. Pyke and Dang (2003) noted that having many non-Asian friends, especially White friends, is associated with being "whitewashed" and assimilated into mainstream culture. In another study, Pyke (2010b) interviewed second-generation Korean and Vietnamese American women and found that those who expressed a desire for White men as romantic partners exhibit beliefs in White male supremacy and pro-assimilation. Although this desire can be a manifestation of resistance to patriarchal,

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domineering Asian male culture, these women overlooked White men's gender and racial oppression in their idealization of White men as "egalitarian knights." Partnering with White men also becomes a strategy to assimilate and associate oneself with the perceived superior race. Similarly, Liu (Pierson, 2004), a researcher whose studies focus on Asian American men, posited that some Asian American men court non-Asian women as a sign of success.

The research findings above support writings by early scholars on race that the desire to "more White" is a hallmark of internalized racism. The pervasiveness of this desire across participants in various studies suggests that it is an important element of IRAA.

Theme 4: Within-group Discrimination

The counterpart of the desire to be "more White" is the desire to distance oneself from those who fit the negative racial stereotypes and remind him or her of his or her perceived inferiority (Freire, 1968). In her seminal article on internalized racism, Lipsky (1977) called it "this turning upon ourselves, upon our families, and upon our own people the distress patterns that result from the racism and oppression of the majority society" (p. 6). As aforementioned in the minority and people of color identity development model (Atkinson et al., 1989; Helms, 1995), the Conformity status/stage is marked by attitudes toward one's own group that are shaped by the dominant group's racial negative stereotypes, messages, and ideology. Individuals with these attitudes view association with those who fit the negative stereotypes as a handicap to success.

Lipsky (1977) argued that this distress pattern is evidenced in the Black community in various forms. They include dramatized feelings of fear, indignation,

frustration, and powerlessness at other Blacks, invalidating others and group effort, criticism or unrealistic expectation of Black leaders, and isolation from other Blacks. Similarly in the Latino community, Padilla (2003) observed that this is manifested in forfeiting of one's cultural and ethnic identity and questioning the qualification of successful Latinos/as. In addition, the leadership credibility of an individual is sometimes undermined for being "not Mexican enough," "too White," or "too dark," depending on the issue at hand. Furthermore, less acculturated Latinos/as are also called derogatory names such as "paisa" or "ghetto" (Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014).

The use of derogatory labels to denigrate co-ethnics was the focus of Pyke and Dang's (2003) study. Their insight came from in-depth interviews of Korean and Vietnamese immigrants, born or came to the U.S. before age 15, about the negative identity labels "FOB" (fresh-off-the-boat) and "whitewashed." Their study grew out of unanticipated repeated use of these terms when the participants were asked open-ended questions about their family relations, social experiences, and how they grappled with different cultural worlds.

Pyke and Dang (2003) built on Osajima's (1993) finding that Asian American students relied heavily on negative Asian stereotypes in forming their everyday sense of self. From their interviews, Pyke and Dang learned that the participants took effort not to appear as "too Asian." They found that "FOB" was a widely used derogatory term used by the participants to describe those who fit the negative stereotype of newly-arrived immigrants, such as speaking accented English, dressing in styles associated with homeland or ethnic enclaves, or socializing with recently immigrated co-ethnics. In addition, "FOB" was also used to describe those who fit negative Asian American

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stereotypes such as the unattractive nerd and the highly erotic female. The derogatory term was associated with low level of acculturation into the dominant culture.

At the other end of the assimilation spectrum were the "whitewashed." This term was used to describe those who were thought to be ashamed of their race and ethnicity and tried, as described by one participant, to "take on the role of a White person" to improve their social status. (As mentioned previously, the label "whitewashed" carried positive status among some participants.) The term "whitewashed," however, connoted also a disdain for one's racial/ethnic heritage, and its use entailed resentment by other group members toward those who were highly assimilated. Pyke and Dang (2003) insightfully pointed out that although using the term "whitewashed" was a strategy to resist racism and pro-assimilation pressure, it also reaffirmed the mainstream notion that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners and can never be "true" Americans.

Pyke and Dang (2003) recognized the use of the labels "FOB" and "whitewashed" as marks of internalized racial oppression. The participants, subjected to the dominant culture's racial schemata, hierarchy, and negative stereotypes, were denied the power of self-identity. They were forced to define themselves in relation to racial constructs created by the dominant group. Pyke and Dang (2003) coined the term "intraethnic othering" to describe the process by which subordinated racial groups attempt to resist a racially stigmatized status. Although it is an adaptive response to racial oppression, by creating and denigrating sub-ethnic identities, Pyke and Dang (2003) stated that "it reproduces racial stereotypes and a belief in the essential racial and ethnic differences between Whites and Asians" (p. 168).

The study's findings are consistent with David and Okazaki's (2006b) research in the colonial mentality of Filipino Americans. They identified discrimination against less Americanized Filipino Americans as a characteristic of the internalized oppression they experienced due to the legacy of colonialism in the Philippines. They found empirical support for this attribute in their development of the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans (David & Okazaki, 2006b). Many research participants endorsed items such as, "In general, I do not associate with newly-arrived (FOBs) Filipino immigrants," and, "In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth Filipinos who are not very Americanized in their behaviors." Additionally, higher scores on this subscale were correlated with lower self-esteem and increased symptoms of depression.

The prevalence of within-group discrimination among Asian Americans supports the view that the oppressed, subject to the force of oppression, would re-enact the mistreatment their received upon members of their own group (Fanon, 1965; Freire, 1968; Lipsky, 1977). This is a behavioral manifestation of internalizing racial prejudice from the dominant culture. Within-group discrimination, therefore, is a hallmark of IRAA.

Theme 5: Denial or Minimization of Racism

The denial or minimization of racism is closely related to the concept of racial color-blindness. Although there are various definitions of racial color-blindness, Neville and colleagues (2013) viewed it as a form of contemporary racism and identified two dimensions that comprised what they called Color-blind Racial Ideology (CBRI) – color evasion and power evasion. They defined color evasion as "denial of potential racial differences by emphasizing sameness," and power evasion as "denial of racism by emphasizing the belief that everyone has the same opportunities" (p. 457). In particular,

power evasion includes denial, minimization, or distortion of blatant forms of racism, institutional racism, and racial privilege (Neville et al., 2000; Neville et al., 2013). CBRI is also consistent with racial microaggression statements that deny racial reality and invalidate people of color's experience of discrimination (Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2009). When such microaggression comments are directed toward Asian Americans, such as, "Asians are the new Whites," it implies that Asian Americans do not experience discrimination and racism.

Neville and colleagues (2013) argued that the CBRI framework is applicable to people of color and explicitly linked CBRI to internalized racism. Racial minorities who endorse CBRI have internalized the dominant racial ideology that race is a nonfactor in economic and social spheres. The link between the endorsement of CBRI and internalized racism is also described in the racial minority identity development models (Helms, 1990; Sue & Sue, 1971). In these models, denial of racism is associated with lower developmental stages or statuses. This is supported in a study (Chen et al., 2006) that showed Asian Americans with a Conformity stage/status identity profile are more likely to exhibit higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes.

Neville and colleagues (2013) hypothesized that racial minorities who endorse CBRI would blame themselves for inequalities that are perpetuated by institutional racism, resulting in adverse mental health. This was supported in a study that found African Americans who adopted greater levels of CBRI also reported increased blame of African American themselves for economic and social disparities (Neville et al., 2005). Studies on the CBRI of Asian Americans, however, showed that the endorsement of CBRI is linked to both positive and negative mental health effects. On one hand, studies

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showed that Asian Americans with higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes were more likely to report lower level of stress in response to perceived racist events (Chen et al., 2006) and fewer symptoms of depression (Tran, 2010). A possible explanation for these findings is that racial minorities who endorse CBRI have limited awareness about racial discrimination, thus do not interpret such experiences to be racially-based and do not perceive them to be discrimination (Neville et al., 2000). Therefore this lack of awareness could buffer the effects of covert and subtle form of interpersonal racial discrimination. On the other hand, Yoo, Burrola, and Steger's (2010) study on the Asian American model minority myth showed that the denial or minimization of racism is associated with negative mental health effects. In particular, Asian American participants who endorsed the view that they are less likely to face workplace barriers and experience racial discrimination were more likely to report higher level of general stress and somatic stress (Yoo et al., 2010). This finding supported the researchers' hypothesis that Asian Americans who endorse the concept of unrestricted social and economic mobility would be at a greater risk of not seeking help to deal with their academic, professional, and mental health issues.

In summary, literature so far has suggested that Asian Americans who believe race does not matter in social and economic spheres may experience positive and negative mental health effects. Although the positive effects are unexpected, researchers still agree that the denial or minimization of racism is a component of internalized racism. Therefore, this study incorporated the denial or minimization or racism as a component of IRAA.

The Current Study

At present no single scale captures the five themes of IRAA, which are a sense of inferiority, endorsement of negative stereotypes, the desire to be "more White," within-group discrimination, and denial or minimization of racism. The application of the Colonial Mentality Scale (David & Okazaki, 2006b) is limited to Filipino Americans, whose country of origin has had a long history of colonization. Many items in the Internalization of Asian American Stereotypes Scale (Shen et al., 2011) conflate with Asian American cultural values (Kim et al., 2005). Additionally, the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo et al., 2010) focuses only on the model minority myth of Asian Americans. These measures do not capture comprehensively the key dimensions of IRAA.

The purpose of the current study was to fill this gap in research by developing the Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans (IRSAA). This measure would incorporate the major themes of IRAA identified in the literature, and several validation studies for the measure will be conducted. The findings from this research may also contribute to our understanding of IRAA and enhance theories that describe internalized racism.

In this two-study project, I first identified an initial pool of items for each of the nine hypothesized IRAA factors. After these items were reviewed and revised, the resulting item pool was subjected to an exploratory factor analysis to identify its factor structure. The scores on the identified factors were compared with the score of a self-esteem scale to determine initial validity. In the second study, I administered the final

instrument to another sample of Asian Americans to confirm the instrument scores' factor

structure and examine its reliability and concurrent and discriminant validity.

Study 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis and Initial Validation

Initial Scale Development

Based on the above literature review, I hypothesized that the IRSAA would have

nine factors, which are listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Hypothesized factors of Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans

Factor		Characterized by
1	Sense of inferiority	
2		Low sociability
3		Excessive competitiveness
4	Endorsement of negative stereotypes	Perpetual foreigner
5		Emasculation of Asian American men
6		Hypersexualization/ hyperfeminization of Asian American women
7	Desire to be "more White"	
8	Within-group discrimination	
9	Denial or minimization of racism	

An initial pool of items was generated based on the hypothesized factors. Given

the IRSAA's relation to scales that measure related constructs, some of the items in the

following four scales were modified and adapted for the IRSAA. Permissions to use and

modify the items were granted by the primary authors or advisor of the research articles

in which these scales were published. The scales were the Colonial Mentality Scale for

Filipino Americans (David & Okazaki, 2006b), the Scale of Anti-Asian American

Stereotypes (Lin et al., 2005), the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure

(Yoo et al., 2010), and the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000). Specifically, the hypothesized

Low Sociability factor and Excessive Competitiveness factors comprised mostly items

from the Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes (Lin et al., 2005), and the hypothesized Denial or Minimization of Racism factor comprised the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) and modified items from the Unrestricted Mobility subscale of the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo et al., 2010). The other six hypothesized factors comprised mostly new items derived from specific themes discussed in the literature review above.

An additional seven items were modified and adapted for the IRSAA from the following three scales. They were the Internalized Homophobia Scale (4 items, Ross & Ross, 1996), Attitudes Toward Asian Americans scale (2 items, Ho & Jackson, 2001), and the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals (1 item, Bailey, et al., 2011). Permission to modify the four items (see Appendix C) from the Internalized Homophobia Scale is still pending at the time of dissertation publication.

For the Denial or Minimization of Racism factor, the three subscales of the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) were expected to load together onto one factor, since they were found to be highly correlated (correlations ranged from .60 to .63) in a study of Asian American adults (Chen et al., 2005). In addition, I hypothesized items modified from the Unrestricted Mobility subscale of the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo et al., 2010) would also load onto the same factor because they also assess lack of awareness of racial discrimination and White privilege, two of CoBRAS's subscales.

The initial pool of items were reviewed for face validity by six experts in multicultural psychology, some of whom have published in the field of internalized racism, in addition to the three members of the dissertation committee. Some items were

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modified and new ones were added based on the feedback and comments provided by these reviewers.

The review process resulted in 152 items (see Appendix A). The items comprised of nine groups, corresponding to the nine hypothesized factors in Table 1. The groups were as follows: Sense of Inferiority, 12 items; Low Sociability, 16 items; Overly Competitive, 11 items; Perpetual Foreigner, 10 items; Emasculation of Asian American Men, 13 items; Hypersexualization/Hyperfeminization of Asian American Women, 25 items; Desire to be "more White," 22 items; Within-group Discrimination, 18 items; and Denial or Minimization of Racism, 25 items.

In addition to the hypothesis that the IRSAA would have nine factors, I expected the Denial or Minimization of Racism factor to be uncorrelated with the Sense of Inferiority factor because the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) has found to be uncorrelated to self-esteem in a sample of Asian Americans (Tran, 2010).

Method

Participants. To qualify for the study, participants had to self-identify as Asian American or Asian and be at least 18 years old. Additionally, they must 1) be born in the U.S. or 2) have emigrated to the U.S. at or prior to age 15 and have lived in the U.S. for at least five years. Participants were recruited primarily through announcements on listservs associated with university and college Asian American student organizations, as well as Asian American professional organizations. Some participants were recruited through in-person announcements in class and club meetings at a large southwestern university. Moreover, announcements were posted on YouTube videos, Reddit discussion forums, and Facebook group pages that were created and/or used by Asian

Americans. Additional participants were recruited in the community through flyers posted in locations, such as supermarkets and restaurants, that were frequently visited by Asian Americans. To facilitate recruitment, participants were offered the opportunity to enter into a raffle to win one of 40 $25 gift certificates. The author also created a 2-minute video, posted on YouTube, that was linked to most of the online announcements.

The final Study 1 sample consisted of 325 self-identified Asian Americans who were at least 18 years old. Six hundred and eight-two participants started the online survey, but 357 of them either did not answer all four validity items correctly (see Online Survey section below), or did not meet the criteria for the study. Mean age of participants was 24.7 ($SD = 8.0$), with 113 men and 209 women (three self-identified gender as "other"). Generational status included 68 first-generation, 201 second-generation, 37 third-generation, 14 fourth-generation, 3 fifth-generation (two "unknown"). All first-generation participants arrived in the U.S. at or prior to the age of 15, and have spent at least 5 years in the U.S. Self-identified ethnic groups included 132 Chinese, 44 Filipino/a, 37 Vietnamese, 24 Korean, 18 Hmong, 18 Taiwanese, 15 multiracial/multiethnic, 14 Japanese, 11 Asian Indian, 6 Thai, 2 Cambodian, 1 Malaysian, 1 Pakistani, 1 Singaporean, and 1 Laotian. Participant's annual income, or annual income of their family if they are not financially independent, included 44 individuals who reported $20k or less, 56 reported $20k–$40k, 65 reported $40k–$60k, 29 reported $60k–$80k, 38 reported $80k–$99k, and 92 reported $100k or more (one did not respond).

Materials and Measures

        Online survey. The questionnaires for this study, which are described below, were available in online format. Participants were required to respond to each item in a page before moving onto the next page. Four validity questions were dispersed randomly throughout the survey. For each of the validity items, participants were asked to select a specific answer, such as "Moderately Agree."

        Demographic questionnaire. Participants provided information on their age, gender, ethnicity, generational status and/or age immigrated to the U.S., family income, education level, parents' education level, language proficiency, and skin color (see Appendix B).

        Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans (IRSAA) - Preliminary. The preliminary instrument comprised 152 items. The items were arranged in random order prior to the data collection process, and this ordering remained the same for each participant. In the questionnaire, respondents were instructed to indicate their responses using a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 2 = *moderately disagree*; 3 = *mildly disagree*; 4 = *mildly agree*; 5 = *moderately agree*; 6 = *strongly agree*).

        Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965). The Rosenberg's 10-item Self-Esteem Scale (1965) is one of the most widely used measures of self-esteem (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991). Five items are oriented in a positive direction (e.g., "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others"), and five in a negative direction (e.g., "At times I think I am no good at all"). Each statement is rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*) Likert-type scale. The scale has demonstrated construct validity in the past (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991) and has been

associated with psychological distress (Kim & Kim, 2001) and lower quality of life (Shen et al., 2011) in Asian American samples. The reliability estimate of the scale for this study was .91.

Results

All analyses in this study were conducted using SPSS version 22.

Exploratory factor analysis. To investigate the factor structure and develop the final instrument, I subjected the 152 IRSAA-Preliminary items to an exploratory factor analysis (principal axis factor analysis with direct oblimin rotation, delta = 0). I chose an oblique rotation because of the hypothesized correlation between factors. This procedure yielded 36 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. The scree plot indicated an "elbow" after the fifth or sixth factor. The first six eigenvalues were 26.51, 11.36, 8.50, 5.82, 4.26, and 3.56. I used a separate parallel analysis with 1,000 randomly permutated data sets (O'Connor, 2000), which suggested a 13-factor solution. In particular, the eigenvalues from the first 13 factors exceeded the 95th percentile random eigenvalues from 1,000 randomly generated data sets. Separately, the Minimum Average Partial test (MAP; Velicer, 1976) suggested an 18-factor solution.

An examination of the interpretability of the pattern matrix factor loadings suggested a six-factor solution. Specifically, I first identified items whose factor loadings are greater than |.40| on the intended factor and below |.30| on all the other factors, which is the recommended guideline for inclusion of items (Pett, Lackey, & Sullivan, 2003). Using this criterion, I found 29 items, 18 items, 23 items, 11 items, 7 items, and 3 items (91 items total) for the first six factors, respectively. Next I tried to identify the theme that best described each factor. Factor 1 was associated with endorsement of negative

stereotypes, Factor 2 with sense of inferiority, Factor 3 with denial or minimization of racism, Factor 4 predominantly with Asian American men stereotypes, Factor 5 with within-group discrimination, and Factor 6 with preference for lighter skin color.

The distribution of scores for each of the 91 items was inspected to identify items that yielded an insufficient range of responses or substantial skew (skew > 2.00) or kurtosis (kurtosis > 7.00) (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999). One item ("I would consider surgical procedures to make my features less Asian," skew = 2.16) was eliminated due to substantial skew.

We subjected the remaining 90 items to another identical factor analysis described above. The sixth factor, linked to preference for lighter skin color, deteriorated markedly, with no items whose factor loading was greater than |.40|. Removing those items resulted in a five-factor solution (see Table 2).

Given that Factor 1 contained many items about Asian American women stereotypes and Factor 4 contained mostly items with Asian American men stereotypes, I conducted the above exploratory factor analysis for 90 items with male participants only and female participants only separately to see if these gender-specific items would load differently depending on gender. (There were not enough male participants to conduct an exploratory factor analysis on the initial 152-item pool.) Results showed that the factor structures were similar for both male and female participants. Specifically, for female participants, results suggested a five-factor structure that was identical to that of the overall participant population. For male participants, analysis indicated that four of the five factors were the same as the overall population, though one of the factors split into two. Specifically, the Desire to be "more White" category of items (5 items, see

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items denoted with superscript 'a' in Table 2) loaded onto its own factor, rather than

loading onto the same factor as the Sense of Inferiority category of items. The result of

EFA for female participants only and the result of the EFA for male participant only both

indicated, however, that the items describing Asian American women stereotypes (i.e.,

hypersexualization/hyperfeminization of Asian American) loaded on to factor 1, and the

men stereotype items (i.e., emasculation of Asian American men) loaded on to its own

factor. Thus, the gender-stereotype items loaded on to the same two factors for both the

male participants only analysis and the female participants only analysis. Therefore, I

decided to conduct future analyses with the overall participant population.

Table 2

Items and Factor Loadings from the results of EFA on the 90-Item Reduced Set in Study 1

Item	Item	Factor				
#		1	2	3	4	5
57	Asian American women are generally more devoted to their romantic partners or husbands than women of other racial groups.	**0.81**	-0.03	0.04	-0.01	0.03
150	Asian American women are more sexually accommodating than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.78**	-0.02	0.01	0.04	0.06
85	Asian American women are more feminine than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.76**	0.06	-0.01	0.02	0.05
149	Asian American women are more likely to be sexually deviant than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.75**	-0.04	-0.04	0.18	-0.05
53	Asian American women are more likely to be subservient to men than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.74**	-0.09	0.06	-0.14	0.01
98	Asian American women are more likely to uphold traditional gender roles than women of other racial backgrounds.[d]	**0.73**	0.00	-0.02	-0.05	0.06
110	Asian American women are more maternal than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.73**	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.01
49	Asian American women are generally more loyal to their romantic partners or husbands	**0.71**	-0.01	0.07	-0.06	-0.06

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	than women of other racial backgrounds.[d]					
54	Asian American women make better romantic partners.	**0.69**	-0.03	0.06	0.05	0.01
79	Asian American women pay more attention to their appearances than women of other racial backgrounds.[e]	**0.67**	0.05	-0.05	0.12	0.02
14	Asian American women are more willing to please men sexually than women of other racial groups.	**0.66**	0.03	-0.08	0.05	-0.05
1	Asian American women are generally more willing to perform household chores than women of other racial backgrounds.[e]	**0.66**	-0.01	0.09	-0.07	-0.14
83	Asian American women are more likely to be sexually masochistic or sadistic than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.62**	0.00	-0.10	0.03	-0.12
35	Asian American women are more demure than women of other racial backgrounds.[e]	**0.62**	-0.11	0.01	-0.10	0.11
138	Asian American women on average are more traditional and family-oriented than women of other racial backgrounds.[e]	**0.60**	-0.14	0.11	-0.05	0.18
2	The majority of Asian Americans tend to be shy and quiet.	**0.58**	-0.04	0.12	-0.21	-0.02
137	Asian American women are more interested in shopping than women of other racial backgrounds.[e]	**0.54**	0.06	-0.18	0.05	0.06
8	Asian American women are more likely to dress in a way that is sexually suggestive than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.54**	-0.07	-0.15	0.18	-0.08
128	Asian American women generally have an "exotic" look about them.[e]	**0.53**	-0.22	-0.09	0.02	0.08
148	Asian Americans are more loyal to their countries of ancestry.	**0.53**	-0.03	0.07	0.06	0.08
82	Asian Americans have "poker faces" (i.e., an expression that does not reveal thoughts or feelings).	**0.52**	0.12	0.01	-0.09	0.19
142	Asian American women are not as forceful and aggressive as women of other racial groups.[e]	**0.51**	0.02	0.00	-0.11	0.16
73	Asian Americans commit less time to socializing than others do.	**0.51**	0.03	0.00	-0.23	0.11
120	Asian American women are mysterious and alluring.[e]	**0.51**	-0.17	-0.01	0.10	0.06
112	Asian Americans rarely initiate social events or gatherings.	**0.51**	-0.03	-0.16	-0.21	-0.02
130	Asian American women in general have a look that is sexually arousing for men.[e]	**0.51**	-0.05	-0.02	0.22	0.12

No.	Item	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
117	Asian Americans tend to work all of the time.	**0.46**	0.22	0.01	-0.07	0.24
102	Asian Americans tend to have less fun compared to other social groups.	**0.42**	0.01	-0.25	-0.24	0.08
7	Most people of Asian descent living in the U.S. are not American enough.	**0.40**	-0.07	-0.15	-0.07	0.15
114	Asian Americans do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S. R	0.08	**0.75**	-0.04	0.00	0.04
113	I feel I am on equal footing with White Americans.	-0.05	**-0.71**	0.06	0.08	-0.01
43	Asian Americans are treated as equals to Whites.	0.01	**-0.70**	0.00	0.05	0.07
129	Asian Americans are not likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.	0.22	**-0.67**	-0.12	0.11	-0.07
71	Racism against Asian Americans may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	0.22	**-0.66**	-0.10	0.09	0.02
136	White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. R	-0.03	**0.65**	0.01	0.02	0.10
9	Racism against Asian Americans is a major problem in the U.S. R	-0.01	**0.64**	-0.09	0.20	0.05
116	It is difficult for Asian Americans to climb the corporate ladder. R	0.11	**0.63**	-0.08	-0.02	0.12
125	Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	0.12	**-0.62**	0.04	0.08	0.12
107	Racial problems for Asian Americans in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	0.19	**-0.56**	-0.02	0.04	0.10
6	Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.[e] R	0.17	**0.54**	0.04	0.05	-0.03
66	Asian Americans are not likely to face racial barriers at work.[e]	0.17	**-0.53**	0.01	0.05	-0.01
108	Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.[e] R	-0.02	**0.52**	0.06	-0.07	-0.01
10	Asian Americans hesitate in revealing their inner experiences.[e] R	0.29	**0.52**	0.02	-0.04	0.01
23	It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.[e] R	-0.11	**0.51**	-0.07	0.07	-0.07
152	Asian Americans who talk about racial issues cause unnecessary tension.[e]	0.21	**-0.51**	-0.16	0.07	0.17
97	Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	0.12	**-0.50**	-0.15	0.03	0.07

Num	Item					
133	There are situations where I feel inferior because of my racial background.[c] R	0.04	**0.48**	-0.27	0.08	0.08
50	It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of Asian Americans.[e] R	-0.05	**0.48**	0.08	0.19	-0.02
15	Asian Americans are not likely to experience racism in the United States.[e]	0.18	**-0.45**	0.03	-0.07	-0.13
47	White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than Asian Americans.[e] R	0.06	**0.44**	-0.08	0.08	0.03
20	Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.[f] R	-0.06	**0.41**	0.00	0.17	-0.12
37	Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.[e] R	0.07	**0.40**	-0.13	0.10	0.00
145	I would prefer to be more White.	0.03	-0.10	**-0.83**	0.07	0.03
143	I wish I looked more White.[d]	0.02	0.00	**-0.78**	0.05	0.09
41	I often do not like being Asian/Asian American.	-0.01	0.21	**-0.71**	-0.09	-0.02
67	I sometimes loathe being viewed as Asian.	-0.02	0.13	**-0.65**	0.00	-0.01
89	I don't like thinking about my "Asian-ness".	-0.06	-0.06	**-0.63**	-0.01	0.07
151	Even if I could change my race I wouldn't. R	0.05	-0.06	**0.63**	0.00	-0.02
75	On the whole, I am satisfied with being an Asian/Asian American. R	-0.02	-0.20	**0.61**	0.10	0.17
16	I feel comfortable being an Asian/Asian American. R	0.04	-0.25	**0.61**	0.10	0.14
100	I take a positive attitude towards being an Asian/Asian American.[e] R	-0.07	-0.05	**0.61**	0.14	0.20
144	I prefer White romantic partners.[a]	0.02	-0.22	**-0.60**	-0.05	0.07
99	In general, I feel that being a person of my racial background is not as good as being White.[e]	0.18	0.22	**-0.56**	0.05	0.00
45	I feel I do not have much to be proud of as an Asian/Asian American.[e]	0.03	0.05	**-0.55**	-0.07	0.00
146	I like to style my hair the way Europeans/European-Americans do.[a]	0.01	-0.10	**-0.54**	0.05	0.14
36	I prefer to socialize with Whites than with other Asians/Asian Americans.[a]	0.01	-0.22	**-0.54**	-0.15	0.11
127	I would only date White Americans.[a,e]	0.06	-0.18	**-0.53**	-0.02	0.00
80	I feel comfortable wearing clothing that is associated with people from my ethnic culture.[e] R	0.15	-0.03	**0.46**	0.16	-0.13
131	I like to wear clothing that is popular with my White American peers.[a,e]	0.02	-0.08	**-0.46**	0.06	0.26
74	Asian American men are sexually exciting. R	-0.04	0.11	0.11	**0.73**	0.01
21	Asian American men are very sensual. R	0.19	0.01	-0.10	**0.71**	-0.18

140	Asian American men are attractive. R	-0.05	0.17	0.24	**0.59**	0.11
147	Asian American men are ruggedly handsome. R	0.06	0.01	0.06	**0.55**	-0.11
30	Most Asian American men are not very sexual.	0.24	0.03	-0.08	**-0.53**	0.05
87	Asian American men are physically affectionate. R	0.06	-0.04	-0.05	**0.53**	-0.03
28	Asian Americans know how to have fun.[c] R	-0.17	0.06	0.12	**0.53**	0.14
65	Asian American men are sexually potent. R	0.03	0.19	0.10	**0.46**	0.10
61	Most Asian American men are not good sex partners compare to men of other racial groups.	0.29	-0.07	-0.17	**-0.44**	-0.04
19	Asian Americans function well in social situations.[c] R	-0.13	-0.13	0.08	**0.43**	0.04
132	Asian Americans put high priority on their social lives.[b] R	0.06	0.00	-0.04	**0.38**	0.01
122	I tend to divide Asian Americans into two types: the FOBs (Fresh off the boat) and the Asian Americans.	-0.04	-0.01	-0.06	0.01	**0.67**
135	I can always pick out the "FOBs" around me.	0.01	0.09	0.04	0.02	**0.66**
76	I would not want my children to speak English with any accent.	-0.20	-0.06	-0.24	0.01	**0.55**
139	Asian Americans always seem to compare their own achievements to other people's.[c]	0.24	0.01	0.05	-0.05	**0.54**
4	I think some Asians are "FOB" (Fresh of the Boat).	0.06	0.00	-0.02	-0.06	**0.48**
90	I think some Asian/Asian Americans are "whitewashed."	0.14	0.20	0.21	-0.01	**0.45**
94	I would like to have children with light skin-tones.[f]	0.14	-0.24	-0.22	0.08	**0.42**
69	Asian Americans are overly competitive.[b]	0.25	0.01	-0.06	-0.04	**0.32**
46	I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.[b]	0.20	-0.23	-0.16	0.01	**0.31**
44	I would not mind if my child has dark skin.[b] R	-0.20	0.14	0.10	-0.02	**-0.30**

Note: R denotes reversed-score item

[a] Five items that loaded onto its own factor after EFA with male participants only

[b] Removed from the final scale due to factor loading less than |.4|

[c] Removed because the item does not fit the theme of the factor on which it loaded

[d] Removed because the item was highly correlated ($r > .7$) and have similar meaning and phrasing with another item

[e] Removed due to large number of items in the factor

[f] Removed due to factor loading less than |.4| after final iteration of EFA with the 54-item pool

To reduce the length of the final scale, I took the following approach (see Table 3 for summary). This approach was based on the objectives of increasing the interpretability and reliability of each subscale, reducing item redundancy, and retaining items that represented important thematic components of a subscale. First, I eliminated from the 90 items four items that did not load saliently on any factor (loadings < |.4|) (Pett et al., 2003) (items denoted with superscript 'b' in Table 2). Second, I removed five items that did not fit the theme of the factor on which they loaded (items denoted with superscript 'c' in Table 2). For instance, the item "Asian Americans hesitate in revealing their inner experiences" was removed from the factor associated with denial or minimization of racism factor. Third, I eliminated three items that were highly correlated ($r > 0.7$) and have similar phrasing and meaning with other items (items denoted with superscript 'd' in Table 2). Next, I removed items from the first three factors because of their large numbers (items denoted with superscript 'e' in Table 2). Specifically, 19 of the 27 items in factor 1 were associated with Asian American women stereotypes. I decided to keep the top five highest loading items that describe the hypersexualized stereotype of Asian American women, and the top five highest loading items for the remaining items associated with Asian American women stereotypes. Similarly, for the factor associated with sense of inferiority, I kept the top five highest loading items that described a sense of inferiority, and the top five highest loading items that were in the Desire to be "more White" category of items. For the denial or minimization of racism factor, I retained the top 10 highest loading items. Of these 10 items, three were modified items from the Unrestricted Mobility subscale of the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo et al., 2010), three were from the Racial Privilege

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subscale of the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000), and three were from the Blatant Racial

Issues subscale of the CoBRAS. Because the CoBRAS has a third subscale, the

Institutional Discrimination subscale, I decided to include the two items from this

subscale (there were only two that loaded to this factor), even though their factor loadings

were not as high as those of the top 10 highest loading items.

Table 3

Summary of Steps to Reduce 90-item Set to 54-item Set

Step	Objective	Description	# of items removed
1	Increase scale reliability	Did not load saliently on any factor (loadings $< |.4|$)	4
2	Increase scale interpretability	Did not fit the theme of the factor on which they loaded	5
3	Reduce item redundancy	Highly correlated ($r > 0.7$) and have similar phrasing and meaning with other items	3
4	Reduce item redundancy	Reduced items describing Asian American women stereotype	9
5	Reduce item redundancy	Reduced items describing Sense of Inferiority and Desire to be "more White"	6
6	Reduce item redundancy	Reduced items describing Denial or Minimization of Racism	9

A total of 54 items remained after the item reduction process described above. I

reanalyzed these 54 items once more via EFA and eliminated two more items due to non-

salient loading, i.e., factor loading less than $|.4|$ (items denoted with superscript 'f' in

Table 2). For the final 52-item scale (see Table 4), the first five factors accounted for

approximately 50.1% of the total variance. Factor 1 with 18 items accounted for 19.7%

of the variance. I named this factor Endorsement of Negative Stereotype (ENS) because

it encapsulates the negative stereotypes, excluding Asian American men stereotypes, that

were described in the hypothesized factors. Specifically, five items described the

stereotype that Asian Americans are low in sociability, one item described the stereotype

that Asian Americans are overly competitive, two statements were associated with the

stereotype that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners, and 10 items described the

stereotype that Asian American women are hypersexualized/hyperfeminine.

Table 4

Items and Factor Loadings for the Final 52- Item Scale in Study 1

Item #	Item	Factor				
		1	2	3	4	5
Factor 1 - Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes						
150	Asian American women are more sexually accommodating than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.79**	-0.04	0.02	0.05	0.05
57	Asian American women are generally more devoted to their romantic partners or husbands than women of other racial groups.	**0.79**	-0.04	0.04	-0.02	0.01
149	Asian American women are more likely to be sexually deviant than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.76**	-0.06	-0.02	0.20	-0.03
85	Asian American women are more feminine than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.76**	0.06	-0.01	0.01	0.02
110	Asian American women are more maternal than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.72**	-0.01	0.06	0.01	-0.03
53	Asian American women are more likely to be subservient to men than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.71**	-0.11	0.07	-0.13	-0.02
54	Asian American women make better romantic partners.	**0.69**	-0.03	0.09	0.02	-0.01
14	Asian American women are more willing to please men sexually than women of other racial groups.	**0.68**	0.01	-0.06	0.05	-0.05
83	Asian American women are more likely to be sexually masochistic or sadistic than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.65**	0.01	-0.07	0.04	-0.07
2	The majority of Asian Americans tend to be	**0.57**	-0.05	0.12	-0.14	-0.01

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	shy and quiet.					
8	Asian American women are more likely to dress in a way that is sexually suggestive than women of other racial backgrounds.	**0.55**	-0.10	-0.12	0.19	-0.04
73	Asian Americans commit less time to socializing than others do.	**0.54**	0.02	-0.03	-0.12	0.12
112	Asian Americans rarely initiate social events or gatherings.	**0.53**	-0.05	-0.13	-0.15	-0.01
82	Asian Americans have "poker faces" (i.e., an expression that does not reveal thoughts or feelings).	**0.53**	0.09	0.01	-0.07	0.20
148	Asian Americans are more loyal to their countries of ancestry.	**0.51**	-0.05	0.07	0.01	-0.01
117	Asian Americans tend to work all of the time.	**0.49**	0.17	-0.02	-0.03	0.16
102	Asian Americans tend to have less fun compared to other social groups.	**0.47**	0.01	-0.25	-0.14	0.09
7	Most people of Asian descent living in the U.S. are not American enough.	**0.42**	-0.10	-0.15	-0.04	0.15

Factor 2 - Denial or Minimization of Racism

114	Asian Americans do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S. R	0.13	**0.76**	-0.05	0.04	-0.01
113	I feel I am on equal footing with White Americans.	-0.11	**-0.76**	0.07	0.02	-0.01
43	Asian Americans are treated as equals to Whites.	-0.01	**-0.72**	0.02	0.01	0.08
129	Asian Americans are not likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.	0.20	**-0.70**	-0.08	0.08	-0.03
71	Racism against Asian Americans may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	0.21	**-0.68**	-0.08	0.07	0.01
9	Racism against Asian Americans is a major problem in the U.S. R	0.02	**0.63**	-0.11	0.17	0.02
116	It is difficult for Asian Americans to climb the corporate ladder. R	0.16	**0.62**	-0.11	0.05	0.11
136	White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. R	-0.01	**0.60**	-0.02	0.04	0.08
125	Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	0.11	**-0.60**	0.05	0.02	0.08
107	Racial problems for Asian Americans in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	0.20	**-0.59**	0.01	0.01	0.06
97	Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.	0.13	**-0.47**	-0.17	0.03	0.06

Factor 3 – Sense of Inferiority						
145	I would prefer to be more White.	0.05	-0.12	**-0.78**	0.03	0.04
41	I often do not like being Asian/Asian American.	0.00	0.19	**-0.73**	-0.07	-0.02
67	I sometimes loathe being viewed as Asian.	-0.02	0.12	**-0.66**	0.02	0.04
16	I feel comfortable being an Asian/Asian American. R	0.03	-0.25	**0.64**	0.04	0.11
89	I don't like thinking about my "Asian-ness".	-0.02	-0.05	**-0.63**	-0.01	0.03
75	On the whole, I am satisfied with being an Asian/Asian American. R	-0.05	-0.22	**0.62**	0.02	0.11
151	Even if I could change my race I wouldn't. R	0.02	-0.05	**0.61**	0.00	-0.02
144	I prefer White romantic partners.	0.05	-0.23	**-0.57**	-0.11	0.06
36	I prefer to socialize with Whites than with other Asians/Asian Americans.	0.02	-0.23	**-0.53**	-0.16	0.13
146	I like to style my hair the way Europeans/European-Americans do.	0.04	-0.13	**-0.51**	0.01	0.13
Factor 4 – Emasculation of Asian American Men						
74	Asian American men are sexually exciting. R	-0.07	0.06	0.07	**0.81**	0.10
21	Asian American men are very sensual. R	0.16	-0.04	-0.12	**0.74**	-0.15
140	Asian American men are attractive. R	-0.05	0.13	0.21	**0.63**	0.13
147	Asian American men are ruggedly handsome. R	0.06	-0.01	0.05	**0.61**	-0.12
87	Asian American men are physically affectionate. R	0.04	-0.07	-0.07	**0.55**	0.03
30	Most Asian American men are not very sexual.	0.27	0.05	-0.07	**-0.54**	0.07
65	Asian American men are sexually potent. R	0.01	0.15	0.07	**0.53**	0.17
61	Most Asian American men are not good sex partners compare to men of other racial groups.	0.31	-0.03	-0.13	**-0.49**	-0.05
Factor 5 – Within-group Discrimination						
122	I tend to divide Asian Americans into two types: the FOBs (Fresh off the boat) and the Asian Americans.	-0.03	-0.06	-0.06	0.02	**0.77**
135	I can always pick out the "FOBs" around me.	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.02	**0.69**
4	I think some Asians are "FOB" (Fresh of the Boat).	0.06	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	**0.57**
76	I would not want my children to speak English with any accent.	-0.13	-0.08	-0.24	0.02	**0.45**
90	I think some Asian/Asian Americans are "whitewashed."	0.18	0.16	0.20	0.02	**0.41**

Note: R denotes reversed-score item.

Factor 2 with 11 items accounted for 10.6% of the variance. I labeled this factor Denial or Minimization of Racism (DMR) because it was characterized by statements that Asian Americans have the same opportunity as White people or statements that deny racism against Asian Americans is a problem. Factor 3 with 10 items accounted for 9.4% of the variance. I named this factor Sense of Inferiority (SI) because it contained five items from the hypothesized Sense of Inferiority factor. Additionally, and it contained another five items from the hypothesized the Desire to be "more White" factor, such as "I would prefer to be more White" and "I prefer White romantic partners."

Factor 4 had eight items, and they accounted for 6.0% of the total variance. I named this factor Emasculation of Asian American Men (EAAM), and most of the items were reverse-scored statements related to the sexual appeal and attractiveness of Asian American men. Factor 5 with five items account for 4.5% of variance, and I labeled this factor Within-group Discrimination (WGD) because its items were associated with discrimination of people who are "Fresh of the Boat" or "whitewashed."

Descriptive and internal reliability. The mean score for IRSAA-ENS was 2.80 ($SD = 0.87$); the mean score for IRSAA-DMR was 2.53 ($SD = .87$); the mean score for IRSAA-SI was 2.06 ($SD = .86$); the mean score for IRSAA-EAAM was 2.98 ($SD = .87$); and the mean score for IRSAA-WGD was 3.94 ($SD = 1.06$). The internal consistency reliability, or alpha, of the five factors were .92, .86, .87, .84, and .84, respectively. The correlations between the subscales and reliability estimates of the subscales are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Study 1 Intercorrelations and Internal Reliability

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Self-esteem	-					
2. IRSAA – ENS	-.11	-				
3. IRSAA – DMR	.21**	.21**	-			
4. IRSAA – SI	-.35**	.24**	.02	-		
5. IRSAA – EAAM	-.15**	.20**	.15**	.29**	-	
6. IRSAA – WDG	-.04	.29**	.02	.18**	.04	-
Alpha	.91	.92	.86	.87	.84	.84

Note: Self-esteem = Rosenberg Self-Esteem; IRSAA = Internalized Racism Scale of Asian Americans; ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes; DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism; SI = Sense of Inferiority; EAAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men; WGD = Within-group Discrimination

**$p < .01$

Initial convergent validity. I examined correlations between the IRSAA subscales and self-esteem (Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; Rosenberg, 1965) to assess initial convergent validity (Table 5). (Additional convergent validity tests were conducted in Study 2.) Each factor, except DMR, was expected to have a statistically significant negative correlation with self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). DMR was not expected to correlate with self-esteem because of earlier findings that showed Asian Americans with higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes were more likely to report lower level of stress in response to perceived racist events (Chen et al., 2006) and fewer symptoms of depression (Tran, 2010).

In partial support of convergent validity, self-esteem scores were negatively correlated with SI scores ($r = -.35, p < .05$) and EAAM scores ($r = -.15, p < .05$). Although the correlation between self-esteem scores and ENS scores was not statistically significant using the threshold of *p*-value < 0.05, the *p*-value was at the threshold ($r = -.11, p = .050$). The positive correlation between self-esteem scores and DMR scores (*r*

= .21, $p < .05$) is inconsistent with the hypothesis that they would be uncorrelated. Contrary to expectation, self-esteem scores did not significantly correlate with WGD scores.

Study 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis, Convergent Validity, Discriminant Validity, and Incremental Validity

The purpose of Study 2 was to confirm the fit of the five-factor structure of the IRSAA using an independent sample and confirmatory factor analytic approaches. Moreover, I investigated the measure's convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity.

Method

Participants. Participants were recruited in the same manner as in Study 1, i.e., primarily through announcements on listservs associated with university and college Asian American student organizations, as well as Asian American professional organizations. A raffle drawing for the forty $25 gift certificates was conducted at the completion of data collection for Study 2, and the author used the same 2-minute YouTube video that he created for Study 1 to facilitate participant recruitment.

Criteria to participate in the study were same as those in Study 1. The final Study 2 sample consisted of 389 self-identified Asian Americans who were at least 18 years old. Six hundred and ninety-eight participants started the online survey, but 309 of them either did not answer all three validity items correctly (see Online Survey section below), or did not meet the criteria for the study. Mean age of participants was 24.4 ($SD = 6.8$), with 133 men and 251 women (5 self-identified their gender as "Other"). Generational status included 23 first-generation, 245 second-generation, 34 third-generation, 14 fourth-

generation, 4 fifth-generation (two "unknown"). All first-generation participants arrived in the U.S. at or prior to the age of 15, and had spent at least 5 years in the U.S. Self-identified ethnic groups included 156 Chinese, 40 Asian Indian, 36 Filipino/a, 36 Korean, 30 multiethnic, 29 Vietnamese, 23 Taiwanese, 15 Japanese, 7 Hmong, 4 Bangladeshi, 3 Pakistani, 2 Thai, 2 Cambodian, 2 Singaporean, 2 Indonesians, 1 Malaysian, and 1 Laotian. Participant's annual income, or annual income of their family if they were not financially independent, included 35 individuals who reported $20k or less, 63 reported $20k–$40k, 73 reported $40k–$60k, 38 reported $60k–$80k, 52 reported $80k–$99k, and 128 reported $100k or more.

Materials and Measures

Online survey. The questionnaires for this study, which are described below, were available in online format. Incorporating feedback from participants in Study 1, I allowed participants in Study 2 to skip items on a page. Three validity questions were dispersed randomly throughout the survey. For each of the validity items, participants were asked to select a specific answer, such as "Moderately Agree."

Demographic questionnaire. Participants provided information on their age, gender, ethnicity, generational status and/or age immigrated to the U.S., family income, education level, parents' education level, language proficiency, and skin color (see Appendix B).

Internalized Racism Scale for Asian Americans (IRSAA) – 52 items. The 52 items were derived from Study 1, and they were arranged in random order prior to the data collection process. This ordering remained the same for each participant. In the questionnaire, respondents were instructed to indicate their responses using a 6-point

Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 2 = *moderately disagree*; 3 = *mildly disagree*; 4 = *mildly agree*; 5 = *moderately agree*; 6 = *strongly agree*).

Asian American Values Scale – Multidimensional (AAVS-M; Kim et al., 2005). The AAVS-M is a 42-item measure of one's endorsement of Asian American values. The items in the instrument were rated using a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 4 = *neither agree nor disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*). The five subscales of the AAVS-M are Collectivism (e.g., "The welfare of the group should be put before that of the individual"); Conformity to Norms (e.g., "Conforming to norms is the safest path to travel"); Emotional Self-Control (e.g., "One should not express strong emotions"); Family Recognition (e.g., "One should achieve academically since it reflects on one's family"); and Humility ("One should not sing one's own praises"). The subscales were found to be correlated with the Asian Values Scales and uncorrelated with self-esteem in an Asian American sample (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). For our study's sample, the coefficient alphas for the five subscales were .83, .79, .85, .93, and .97, respectively.

Hopkins Symptom Checklist—21 (HSCL-21; Green, Walkey, McCormick, & Taylor, 1988). The HSCL-21 is 21-item version of the 58-item HSCL (Derogatis, Lipman, Uhlenenhuth, & Covi, 1974). It comprises three subscales, measuring distress symptoms in three areas - general distress (e.g., "feeling lonely"), somatic distress (e.g., "soreness of your muscles"), and performance difficulty (e.g., "difficulty in speaking when you're excited"). Respondents indicated how much each item had caused them distress over the past week on a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*), with higher scores representing greater distress. The HSCL-21 has been

used across a wide variety of population, including college students (Cepeda-Benito & Gleaves, 2000) and Asian Americans (Liu & Goto, 2007; Su, Lee, & Vang, 2005; Yoo et al., 2010). For this study's sample, the reliability estimates for the three subscales were .89, .79, and .83, respectively.

Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985). The SWLS is a 5-item instrument assessing subjective well-being. Respondents indicated how much they agreed with five statements, such as, "I am satisfied with my life" and "If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing." Each statement was rated on 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The SWLS has been shown to be a valid and reliable measure of life satisfaction, suitable for use with a wide range of age groups and populations (Pavot, Diener, Colvin, & Sandvik, 1991). For this study's sample, the reliability estimate of the scale was .89.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R is a two-factor instrument used to assess individuals' 1) exploration about their ethnic background and 2) commitment to their ethnic group. Each factor of the MEIM-R comprises 3 items. An item from the exploration factor is, "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs;" and an item from the commitment factor is, "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group." Respondents rated each item on 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Although research using the MEIM-R is still limited, a review of studies using the original MEIM (Phinney, 1992) with Asian American samples has found that it was associated with higher psychological functioning and well-being (Chae & Larres, 2010). For this study's sample, the reliability estimate

for the exploration factor was .58 and the reliability estimate for the commitment factor was .50.

Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO; Pratto et al., 2013). The SSDO is a shortened version of the SDO scale that was developed to assess social dominance orientation, or the degree to which people approve of group-based hierarchies (Pratto et al., 1994). The SSDO comprises four items, including, "We should not push for group equality" and "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups." In adult samples from various countries, including the U.S., a high score in SSDO was associated with less support for more women in leadership positions, opposition to providing aid to the poor, and opposition to protecting minorities (Pratto et al., 2013). The reliability estimate of the scale was .75 for this study's sample.

Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR-2000; Henry & Sears, 2002). The SR-2000 is an 8-item scale used to assess contemporary negative attitudes toward Blacks. It was developed to update and address weaknesses of the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), which has been a widely used measure of prejudice against Blacks (Biernat & Crandall, 1999). The items of the SR-2000 assess the extent to which respondents attribute the control of Blacks' outcomes within Blacks themselves and the effects of structural conditions. The SR-2000 had a correlation of .58 with the Old-Fashion Racism Scale (McConahey, 1986) and .74 with the Modern Racism Scale (McConahey, 1986) in a sample of White American college students (Holmes, 2009). Items include, "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites," and, "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower

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class." Some items were measured using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly agree*, 4 = *strongly disagree*), while others used 3-point or 4-point non-Likert scale (e.g., 1 = *a lot*, 4 = *none at all*). The items that used the non-Likert scales were scored using guideline specified by the authors of the scale (Henry & Sears, 2002). High scores on SR-2000 in several U.S. college student samples were associated with endorsement of Black stereotypes and negative affect toward Blacks (Henry & Sears, 2002). The reliability estimate of the scale for this study's sample was .86.

Impression Management subscale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (IM-BIDR; Paulhus, 1988). The IM-BIDR is a 20-item instrument that assesses respondents' deliberate attempts to over-report desirable behaviors and under-report undesirable behaviors. Items in the scale include, "I never swear," and, "I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit." Each item was rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not true*; 7 = *very true*). The 20 items were grouped together in the online survey, i.e., not mixed with other items. The IM-BIDR correlates highly with a number of Lie scales (Paulhus, 1991). The reliability estimate for this study's sample was .72.

Missing Data

The rate of missing data for the 389 participants was 0.25%. The rate of missing data was relatively low because only participants who answered correctly all three validity questions were included in the study (see Participants section above). Missing data ranged from a low of 0% for 80 items across the questionnaires to a high of 1.8% for one item the IRSAA. Expectation maximization was used to impute values for the missing data (Schlomer, Bauman, & Card, 2010) prior to the conducting further data analysis. For data samples that have a low rate of missing information (5% or less), the

efficiency of estimates using expectation maximization has been found to be comparable to more rigorous but complex procedures such as multiple imputation (Rubin, 1987).

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using SPSS Amos version 23. Other analyses in this study were conducted using SPSS version 23.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). To examine the adequacy of the five-factor structure that was developed through exploratory factor analysis, I conducted a CFA of the 52 items. I conducted CFA using item parcels (groups of items) rather than individual items. The advantages of using item parcels for this study included increased reliability of a parcel of items compared to a single item, closer approximation to continuous measurement of the latent construct, and reduced risk of spurious correlations (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002; Rushton, Brainerd, & Pressley, 1983). Furthermore, the objective of this study was not the performance of specific items, but the relations among subscales (Little et al., 2002). As recommended, I created three parcels for each factor, assigned items to the parcels randomly, and used the averaged item scores for each parcel (Little et al., 2002). For example, each of the 18 items in the Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes factor was assigned randomly to one of three parcels, so each parcel had six items. The average item scores for each parcel were calculated, and these averages were used for the CFA.

Our hypothesized model comprised five first-order latent variables representing the five subscales, which were Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes (ENS, 18 items), Denial or Minimization of Racism (DMR, 11 items), Sense of Inferiority (SI, 10 items), Emasculation of Asian American Men (EAAM, 8 items), and With-in Group

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Discrimination (WGD, 5 items). Additionally, our model included one second-order

latent variable representing the total IRSAA score. This hypothesis was based on

research (see literature review above) that suggests the endorsement of IRSAA items

stems from the internalization of negative racial stereotypes, values, and ideologies

perpetuated by the racial dominant society about Asian Americans.

We assessed goodness of fit with a variety of indices, including comparative fix

index (CFI), nonnorm fit index (NNFI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR),

and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) (Quintana & Maxwell, 1999).

The generally accepted guidelines for CFI and NNFI are close to or greater than .90, and

guidelines for SRMR and RMSEA are close to or less than .08 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993;

Hu & Bentler, 1999; Quintana & Maxwell, 1999). Results of the CFA for the

hypothesized model (Hierarchical) were compared with two competing models to explore

if other structures have a better fit (see Table 6). One competing model (Uncorrelated)

was identical to the hypothesized model except that there was no second-order latent

variable, and the first-order latent variables were set to be uncorrelated. The other

competing model (Correlated) also did not have a second-order latent variable, though

the first-order latent variables were set to be correlated.

Table 6

Summary of Fit Indices from Confirmatory Factor Analyses of the IRSAA in Study 2

Model	χ^2	*df*	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Hierarchical	426.22***	85	.90	.87	.11	.10 (.09, .11)	496.22
Uncorrelated	636.51***	90	.83	.80	.21	.13 (.12, .13)	696.51
Correlated	359.26***	80	.91	.89	.08	.10 (.09, .11)	439.21

Note: *** $p < .001$. IRSAA = Internalized Racism Scale of Asian Americans; CFI =
comparative fit index; NNFI = nonnormed fit index; SRMR = standardized root mean

square residual; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CI = confidence interval; AIC = Akaike information criterion.

The results indicated that the correlated model had similar, though slightly superior, fit values compared to the hierarchical model, and both of these models had superior fit values compared to the uncorrelated model, particularly in terms of the Akaike information criterion (AIC). AIC is useful when comparing models to determine which model fit the data best, with a smaller value indicating a better model fit (Maruyama, 1998).

Although the indices of the hierarchical model were similar to those of the correlated model, the values of correlated model were closer to the generally accepted guidelines. Specifically, the CFI values for both the hierarchical and correlated models were at or above .90. The correlated model's NNFI value of .89 was closer to the guideline of .90 than the hierarchical model's value of .87. The correlated model's SRMR value was .08, which was at the level of the accepted guideline, while the hierarchical mode's value of .11 was above the accepted guideline (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Quintana & Maxwell, 1999). The RMSEA values of both models were .10, which indicated mediocre fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Results of the CFA suggested that both of these models were consistent with the five first-order factor structure reported in Study 1. The coefficients describing the loadings of the five factors for the correlated model and hierarchical model of IRSAA are shown in Figure 1 and 2, respectively.

Figure 1

The Correlated Model of IRSAA in Study 2
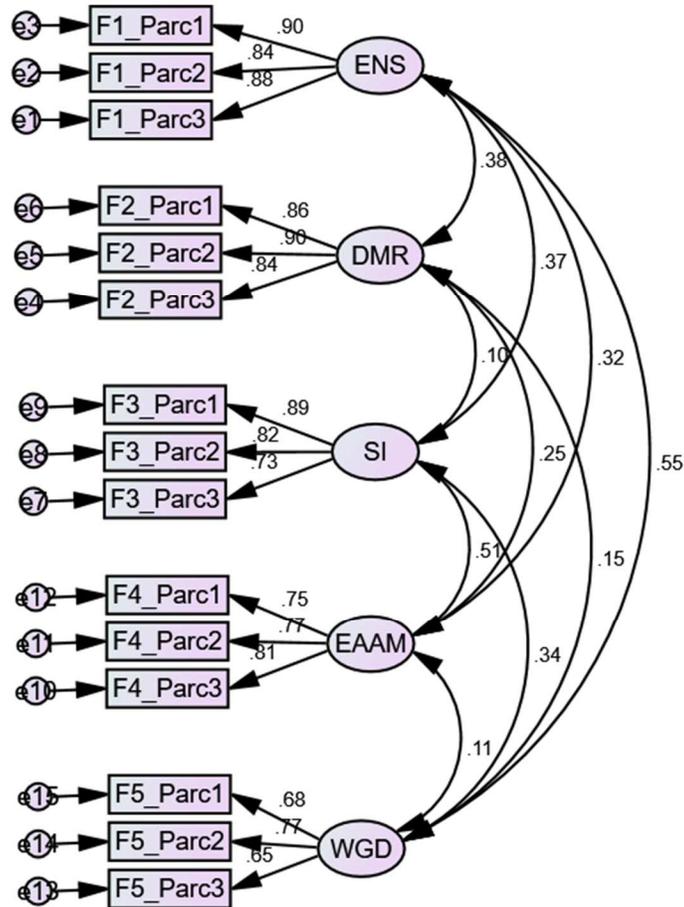
Note: The coefficients describing the correlations of the five IRAA factors were maximum likelihood estimates. ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes, -DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism, -SI = Sense of Inferiority, -EEAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men, -WGD = Within-group Discrimination. Each of the five factors was represented by three parcels of items as indicators (F1_Parc1 = Parcel 1 for Factor 1, etc.). Maximum likelihood estimates of parcel loading on the factors are also provided. E1 to e15 represents error terms for the parcels.

Figure 2

The Hierarchical Model of IRSAA in Study 2
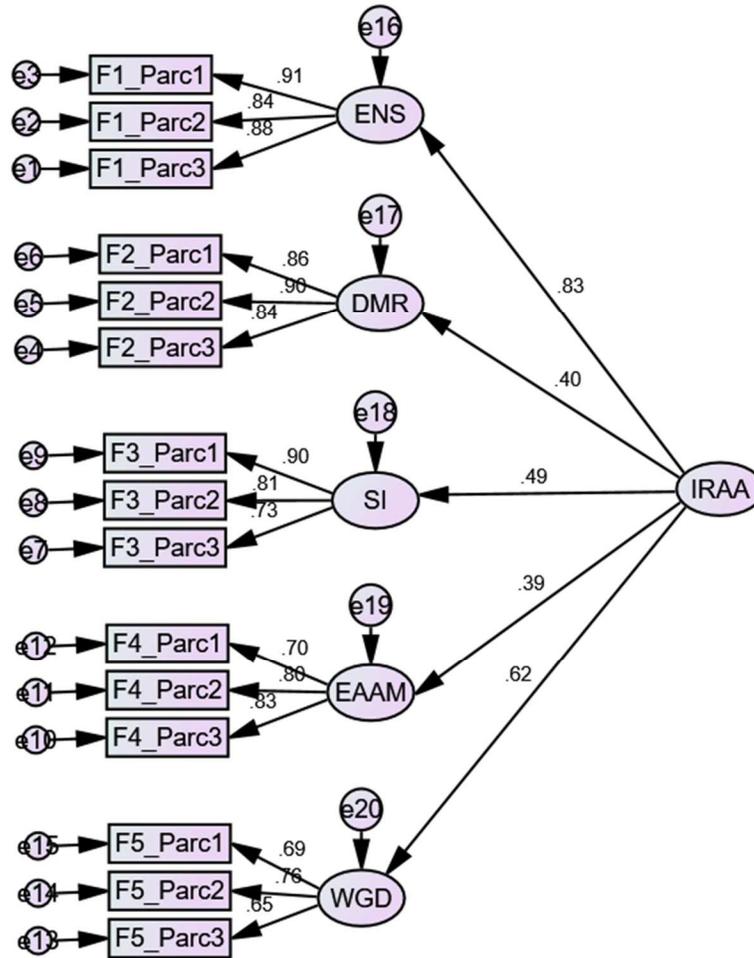
Note: The coefficients describing the loadings of the five factors on the broad IRAA construct were maximum likelihood estimates. IRAA = Internalized Racism of Asian Americans, ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes, -DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism, -SI = Sense of Inferiority, -EEAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men, -WGD = Within-group Discrimination. Each of the five factors was represented by three parcels of items as indicators (F1_Parc1 = Parcel 1 for Factor 1, etc.). Maximum likelihood estimates of parcel loading on the factors are also provided. E1 to e20 represents error terms for the parcels and the five factors.

I wondered if the model fit of the data would improve by removing certain subsets of the participants. In other words, if the study sample included participants whose score profiles did not fit the factor structure of IRSAA, the model fit would improve by removing these participants from CFA analysis. To test this possibility, I identified three groups of participants for exclusion. They were participants who identified as bi-racial/multi-racial, South Asian, and Filipino. I identified these groups for removal because bi-racial/multi-racial individuals likely have different racial experience than mono-racial participants. Similarly, South Asians and Pacific Islanders may also experience racism differently than East Asians due to differences in phenotypic features and histories of immigration. I took a multi-step approach for these subsample analyses. In step 1, I performed the CFA after removing 18 self-identified Asian American participants who were bi-racial/multi-racial (selected "Two or more races" for the demographic question "Race"). In step 2, I removed an additional 47 participants who were South Asians (selected "Bangladeshi," "Pakistani," and "Indian" for the question "Ethnicity"). I also repeated step 2 by removing 33 participants who were Filipino/a. In step 3, I removed all of these three Asian American subgroups. The results of these CFA are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of Fit Indices from CFA with Subsets of Participants

Step 1	χ^2	*df*	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Hierarchical	403.58***	85	.90	.87	.11	.10 (.09, .11)	473.58
Uncorrelated	617.13***	90	.83	.80	.22	.13 (.12, .14)	677.13
Correlated	333.03***	80	.92	.89	.08	.09 (.09, .11)	413.02

Note: Removed 18 bi-racial/multi-racial participants (371 total participants)

Step 2a	χ^2	*df*	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Hierarchical	354.84***	85	.90	.88	.11	.10 (.09, .11)	424.84
Uncorrelated	539.21***	90	.84	.81	.22	.12 (.11, .14)	599.20
Correlated	292.68***	80	.92	.90	.08	.09 (.08, .10)	372.68

Note: Removed 47 South Asian participants (324 total participants)

Step 2b	χ^2	*df*	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Hierarchical	386.76***	85	.90	.87	.11	.10 (.09, .11)	456.76
Uncorrelated	595.91***	90	.83	.80	.23	.13 (.12, .14)	655.91
Correlated	327.25***	80	.91	.89	.08	.10 (.09, .11)	407.25

Note: Removed 33 Filipino/a participants (338 total participants)

Step 3	χ^2	*df*	CFI	NNFI	SRMR	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Hierarchical	341.21***	85	.90	.88	.11	.10 (.09, .11)	411.21
Uncorrelated	520.77***	90	.83	.80	.23	.13 (.12, .14)	580.77
Correlated	290.73***	80	.92	.89	.08	.10 (.08, .11)	370.73

Note: Step 3 = remove all three Asian American subgroups (291 total participants)
*** $p < .001$

Results indicated that for the three models, when bi-racial/multiracial participants and ethnic South Asian participants were removed from the sample population, improvement of the CFI, NNFI, and RMSEA values were very small (a difference of 0.01), or there was no improvement. The values of these model fit indices also did not improve by removing Filipino/a participants or removing all three of these Asian American subgroups.

Convergent validity. To examine its convergent validity, the IRSAA was compared with measures of psychological well-being, ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007), social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and symbolic racism (Henry and Sears, 2002). Specifically, each factor of the IRSAA, except DMR, was expected to be associated with decreased psychological well-being, as indexed by a higher score on the Hopkins Symptom Checklist-21 (Green, Walkey, McCormick, & Taylor, 1988) and a lower score in the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985). DMR was expected to be associated with increased psychological well-being because DMR was associated with higher self-esteem in Study 1. Additionally, higher levels of ethnic identity, as measured by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised (Phinney & Ong, 2007), were expected to be negatively correlated with each of the IRSAA subscales. This relationship was hypothesized because higher levels of ethnic identity development, which includes exploration of one's ethnic culture and commitment to one's ethnic group, should protect one from internalizing negative stereotypes and beliefs about one's ethnic group.

Given that the IRSAA attempts to assess the extent to which individuals internalize racist messages that perpetuate the superiority of the White dominant group, some factors of the IRSAA were expected to correlate with social dominance orientation (SDO), which is "one's degree of preference for inequality among social groups" (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 741). SDO has been found to be associated with cultural elitism, equal opportunity ideologies, and ethnic prejudice (Pratto et al., 1994). Three factors of the IRSAA were expected to have a low to moderate statistically significant positive correlation (below .30, Pett et al., 2003) with SDO, as measured by the Short Social

Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto, Cidam, Steward, Zeineddine, Aranda, et al., 2013).

They are Sense of Inferiority, Within-group Discrimination, and Denial or Minimization

of Racism.

Similarly, these three factors were expected to have a low to moderate positive

correlation with anti-Black attitudes, as measured by the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale

(Henry & Sears, 2002). Symbolic racism embodies prejudiced beliefs and negative

feelings toward Blacks that contribute to racial inequality (Henry & Sears, 2002;

McConahay & Hough, 1976). Asian American with internalized racism would likely

exhibit negative attitudes towards other racial groups because the mental schema that

places the White dominant culture as superior, and those of other racial/ethnic groups as

inferior (David & Derthick, 2014; Pyke, 2010). Symbolic racism therefore was expected

to be correlated with the Sense of Inferiority and Within-group Discrimination IRAA

factors. Additionally, a component of symbolic racism is the denial or minimization of

the racial barriers that Blacks encounter. Symbolic racism therefore should also correlate

with the Denial or Minimization of Racism factor. This link was also evidenced by the

positive correlation between the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), which is

closely related to the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002) and the

CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000).

The correlations between IRSAA subscales and these scales are shown in Table 8.

In partial support of convergent validity, with regards to measures of psychological well-

being, higher ENS score was statically significantly correlated with higher score in the

Performance Difficulty subscale of the Hopkins Symptom checklist-21 (Green et al.,

1988). Additionally, consistent with hypothesis, higher scores in DMR were associated

with lower scores in General Distress and Somatic Distress. Furthermore, higher scores

in SI were associated with higher scores in General Distress and Performance Difficulty,

and lower score in the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985).

With regards to ethnic identity, contrary to hypotheses, there was no statically

significant correlation between the any of the IRSAA subscales and the Multigroup

Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007) subscales, except

between the Emasculation of Asian American Men subscale and the MEIM-R

Exploration subscale. With regards to social dominance orientation, in partial support of

hypotheses, all the IRSAA subscales, except the Denial or Minimization of Racism, were

statically significantly correlated with the SSDO (Pratto et al., 2003). In support of

hypotheses, all the IRSAA subscales were statically significantly correlated with the

Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sear, 2002).

Discriminant validity. To examine its discriminant validity, the IRSAA was

compared with measures of Asian American values (Kim et al., 2005) and impression

management (Paulhus, 1988). Each factor of the IRSAA was expected to be uncorrelated

with each of the Asian American Values Scale – Multidimensional subscales (Kim et al.,

2005). The five subscales are Collectivism, Conformity to Norms, Emotional Self-

Control, Family Recognition through Achievement, and Humility. It is important to

distinguish between IRAA and Asian American values because previous research on the

internalization of Asian American stereotypes (Shen et al., 2011) conflated with Asian

American values, such as pursuit of a prestigious career and emotional self-control, with

stereotypes. This analysis would provide evidence that internalized racism, as

represented by the IRSAA, is not a result of endorsement of Asian American values.

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Table 8

Scale Means, Standard Deviations, Internal Reliability, and Intercorrelations in Study 2- Convergent Validity

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. IRSAA Total[†]	-													
2. IRSAA – ENS	.73**	-												
3. IRSAA – DMR	.57**	.34**	-											
4. IRSAA – SI	.66**	.33**	.11*	-										
5. IRSAA – EAAM	.62**	.30**	.22**	.46**										
6. IRSAA – WGD	.63**	.44**	.14**	.27**	.09	-								
7. Life Satisfaction	-.08	-.05	.10	-.29**	-.01	-.03	-							
8. General Distress	.05	.05	-.18**	.23**	.06	.04	-.50**	-						
9. Somatic Distress	-.01	.01	-.10*	.07	.05	-.05	-.18**	.39**	-					
10. Perf. Difficulty	.06	.11*	-.03	.11*	.02	-.01	-.35**	.62**	.48**	-				
11. MEIM – Explore	-.05	-.02	-.01	-.05	-.10*	.00	-.07	-.05	-.06	-.07	-			
12. MEIM – Commit	-.04	.02	.03	-.02	-.08	-.08	-.03	-.10*	-.05	-.07	.32**	-		
13. Social Dom.	.31**	.24**	.33	.20**	.13*	.11*	-.13*	-.13*	-.09	-.05	.16**	.11*	-	
14.Symbolic Racism	.50**	.45**	.54**	.17**	.13*	.31**	-.07	-.13*	-.13*	.01	.06	.13**	.44**	-
Mean	2.91	2.69	2.39	2.29	3.11	4.11	4.40	2.02	1.45	1.90	3.59	3.64	2.77	1.75
SD	0.56	0.77	0.92	0.85	0.83	1.00	1.50	0.76	0.48	0.63	0.92	0.95	1.54	0.57
Alpha	.92	.90	.90	.86	.82	.72	.89	.89	.79	.83	.58	.50	.75	.86

Note: IRSAA-ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes; -DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism; -SI = Sense of Inferiority; -EEAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men; -WGD = Within-group Discrimination; Life Satisfaction = Satisfaction with Life Scale; General Distress = HSCL-21, General Distress; Somatic Distress = HSCL-21, General Distress; Perf. Difficult = HSCL-21, Performance Difficulty; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnicity Identity Measure-Revised; Social Dom. = Short Social Dominance Orientation; Symbolic Racism = SR-2000

p < .05, **p* < .01, † The total score of the IRSAA is included here for reference only. See Summary and General Discussion section for discussion about the use of the total score.

The items for the IRSAA subscales have been written to minimize respondents' tendency to create a favorable impression to others. Therefore the subscales were expected to have no correlation with the Impression Management subscale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 1988).

The correlations between IRSAA subscales and these scales are shown in Table 9. Contrary to hypotheses, all five IRSAA subscales were statistically significantly correlated with the Conformity and Emotional Self-Control subscales of the Asian American Values Scale. Additionally, the Collectivism subscale was correlated with the IRSAA Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes subscale, the Family Recognition through Achievement subscale were correlated with IRSAA Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes, Denial or Minimization of Racism, and Within-group Discrimination subscales, and the Humility subscale was correlated with the IRSAA Emasculation of Asian American Men subscale.

In partial support of discriminant validity with regards to impression management, the IRSAA subscales, except Sense of Inferiority, were not correlated or were only weakly correlated (r's $\leq .10$) with the Impression Management subscale of the BIDR (Paulhus, 1988).

Table 9

Scale Means, Standard Deviations, Internal Reliability, and Intercorrelations in Study 2- Discriminant Validity

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. IRSAA – ENS	-										
2. IRSAA – DMR	.34**	-									
3. IRSAA – SI	.34**	.11*	-								
4. IRSAA – EAAM	.30**	.23**	.46**	-							
5. IRSAA – WGD	.44**	.14**	.27**	.09	-						
6. Collectivism	.15**	.05	-.09	-.02	.07	-					
7. Conformity	.42**	.28**	.15**	.12*	.31**	.28**	-				
8. Emotional Self-Ctrl.	.28**	.18**	.17**	.14**	.16**	.32**	.47**	-			
9. Achievement	.41**	.14**	.02	.01	.33**	.37**	.48**	.35**	-		
10. Humility	.05	.04	.08	.14**	.03	.27**	.15**	.34**	-.03	-	
11. Impression Mgmt.	-.10*	-.03	-.16**	-.02	-.10*	.10	-.06	.04	.03	.12*	-
Mean	2.69	2.39	2.29	3.11	4.11	4.06	3.62	3.17	4.36	3.78	5.7
SD	0.77	0.92	0.85	0.83	1.00	0.99	1.03	1.05	1.15	1.12	3.1
Alpha	.90	.90	.86	.82	.72	.83	.79	.85	.93	.87	.72

Note: IRSAA-ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes; -DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism; -SI = Sense of Inferiority; -EEAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men; -WGD = Within-group Discrimination; Collectivism = Asian American values, Collectivism; Conformity = Asian American values, Conformity to Norms; Emotional Self-Ctrl. = Asian American values, Emotional Self-Control; Achievement = Asian American values, Family Recognition through Achievement; Humility = Asian American values, Humility; Impression Mgmt = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding, Impression Management
*p < .05, **p < .01

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Incremental Validity. To assess for incremental validity, I performed a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to examine correlations between IRSAA subscales and SWLS (Diener et al., 1985), after controlling for Asian American values (Kim et al., 2005), social dominance (Pratto et al., 2013), and symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). I also repeated the same analysis using as outcome variables the General Distress, Somatic Distress, and Performance Difficulty subscales of the HSCL-21 (Green et al., 1988). Asian American values, social dominance, and symbolic racism were chosen as the control variables because of the statistically significant correlation between some of these scales and the psychology well-being measures (i.e., SWLS and the subscales of HSCL-21) and the IRSAA subscales. In Step 1, I entered all Asian American values, social dominance, and symbolic racism components as covariates. In Step 2, I entered IRSAA subscales to examine its unique contribution to psychological well-being above and beyond effects from the control variables (see Table 10).

Table 10

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Testing Incremental Validity of IRSAA Subscales on Psychological Well-being in Study 2

Subscale	Life Satisfaction		General Distress		Somatic Distress		Performance Difficulty	
	β	sr^2	β	sr^2	β	sr^2	β	sr^2
Collectivism	.10	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.07	.00
Conformity	.05	.00	-.16*	.01	-.09	.00	-.16*	.02
Emo. Self-Control	-.17**	.02	.14*	.01	.12	.01	.09	.01
Achievement	.04	.00	.13*	.01	.14*	.01	.08	.00
Humility	-.12*	.01	.11*	.01	.03	.00	.05	.00
Social Dominance	-.07	.00	-.09	.01	-.04	.00	-.04	.00
Symbolic Racism	-.14*	.01	-.04	.00	-.11	.01	.02	.00
IRSAA – ENS	.00	.00	.05	.00	.04	.00	.13*	.01
IRSAA – DMR	.19**	.02	-.17**	.02	-.07	.00	-.06	.00
IRSAA – SI	-.33**	.07	.26**	.05	.08	.00	.14*	.01
IRSAA – EAAM	.15**	.02	-.03	.00	.04	.00	-.06	.00
IRSAA – WGD	.07	.00	-.02	.00	-.09	.01	-.09	.01

Note: IRSAA-ENS = Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes; -DMR = Denial or Minimization of Racism; -SI = Sense of Inferiority; -EEAM = Emasculation of Asian American Men; -WGD = Within-group Discrimination; Collectivism = Asian American values, Collectivism; Conformity = Asian American values, Conformity to Norms; Emotional Self-Ctrl. = Asian American values, Emotional Self-Control; Achievement = Asian American values, Family Recognition through Achievement; Humility = Asian American values, Humility; Social Dominance = Short Social Dominance Orientation; Symbolic Racism = SR-2000
*p < .05, **p < .01

Three out of four hierarchical multiple regression analyses were statistically significant, partially supporting the incremental validity of IRSAA subscales. The incremental effect of IRSAA subscales was statistically significant for SWLS (adjusted R^2 = .16; ΔR^2 = .11), $\Delta F(5, 375)$ = 10.21, $p < .01$, General Distress (adjusted R^2 = .14; ΔR^2 = .08), $\Delta F(5, 375)$ = 7.34, $p < .01$, and Performance Difficulty (adjusted R^2 = .04; ΔR^2 = .03), $\Delta F(5, 375)$ = 2.39, $p < .05$. Specifically, the DMR, SI, and EAAM subscales accounted for additional variance in SWLS, DMR and SI subscales accounted for additional variance in General Distress, and the ENS and SI subscales accounted for

additional variance in Performance Difficulty. On the other hand, the incremental effect of the IRSAA subscales was not statistically significant for Somatic Distress (adjusted R^2 = .04; ΔR^2 = .02), $\Delta F(5, 375)$ = 1.27, p = .28.

Summary and General Discussion

The purpose of the present investigation was to develop a new measure of internalized racism that can be used for Asian Americans. Previous work in this area was limited to Filipino Americans (David & Okazaki, 2006b) and the model minority myth (Yoo et al., 2010). The stereotypes that were included in IRSAA are also significantly different than those in the Internalization of Asian American Stereotypes Scales (Shen et al., 2011) because the stereotypes described in the latter scale are not clearly distinguished from Asian American cultural values (Kim et al., 2005). In two studies, I provided evidence for the validation of the 52-item IRSAA with five subscales, which were Endorsement of Negative Stereotypes (ENS), Denial or Minimization of Racism (DMR), Sense of Inferiority (SI), Emasculation of Asian American Men (EAAM), and Within-group Discrimination (WGD).

The five-factor structure of the IRSAA was supported by a combination of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. Although I expected each of the various Asian American stereotypes, such as low sociability and hypersexualization/ hyperfeminization of Asian American women, to correspond to its unique factor, I was not surprised that stereotypes items generally grouped into one subscale (ENS), suggesting that those who endorse one stereotype will likely endorse the others. The exception was the items for the EAAM, which grouped into its own factor. This finding was consistent when exploratory factor analyses were conducted separately with female

participants only and male participants only. While it is difficult to make sense of this result, it can be speculated that perhaps stereotypes about Asian American men are perceived and processed differently by Asian Americans compared to the other stereotypes. It is also possible that the result was due to the wording of the items, or method effect, as most of the EAAM items described the opposite of the stereotype, e.g., "Asian American men are sexually exciting," while all ENS items described the stereotype, e.g., "The majority of Asian Americans tend to be shy and quiet."

Results of the confirmatory factor analysis were consistent with the five-factor structure model of the IRSAA. The CFA results also suggested that the model fit did not improve by removing self-identified Asian Americans who were also bi-racial/multiracial participants, ethnic South Asian participants, and/or Filipino/a participants. Due to the relatively small number of participants in each of these ethnic groups, however, the results of this analysis cannot be used as evidence about the model fit of IRSAA for these populations. In other words, the analysis would provide information about the model fit of IRSAA for these groups if the analysis yielded significant change in the model fit index values, but lack of change provided no additional information. Further studies should be carried out to validate the applicability of the IRSAA for these Asian American subgroups.

Although the CFA results suggested that a correlated five-factor structure without a higher second-order factor was better than one with the second-order factor, the values of the model fit indices were similar (see Table 6). When models have nearly identical data fit, some researchers (e.g., Cheung & Rensvold, 2001; MacCallum, Wegener, Uchino, & Fabrigar, 1993) suggested that model comparison should be based on

substantive (theoretical) rationale. Additionally, the hierarchical model is more parsimonious with five more degrees of freedom compared to the correlated model. For these reasons, the validity of hierarchical model, which suggests that internalized racism is linked to each of the five factors, should be considered and further evaluated. At this time, however, use of the IRSAA subscale scores is recommended over the use of the IRSAA total score because of the correlated model's superior model fit compared to the hierarchical model.

Correlations between IRSAA subscales and psychological well-being measures confirmed that SI was associated with decreased life satisfaction and increased general distress and performance difficulty. Similarly, ENS was associated with increased performance difficulty. This relationship may be linked to stereotype threat (Aronson, Quinn, & Spencer, 1998; Steele & Aronson, 1995). In contrast, I found that participants who scored higher on the DMR subscale also reported less general and somatic distress compared to other participants. This was consistent with previous studies that showed Asian Americans with higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes were more likely to report lower level of stress in response to perceived racist events (Chen et al., 2006) and to report fewer symptoms of depression (Tran, 2010). A possible explanation for these findings is that lack of awareness about racial discrimination could buffer the negative effects of covert and subtle form of interpersonal racial discrimination (Neville et al., 2000).

The lack of correlation between the IRSAA subscales and ethnic identity, as indexed by participants' report of their activities exploring their ethnic culture and sense of belonging to their ethnic group, was surprising and potentially alarming. It suggests

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that understanding of and attachment to one's ethnic culture may not be a protective factor for internalized racism. This finding implied that to reduce internalized racism, committing to and learning about one's culture may not be enough. Educators and clinicians may need to directly discuss racism and its psychological effect to counter people's tendency to internalize negative stereotypes and beliefs about their racial groups.

The correlation results between the IRSAA subscales and Asian American values were similar to those found in the study of internalization of model minority myth and Asian American values (Yoo et al., 2010). Specifically, both of the IM-4 subscales and all five IRSAA subscales were statistically significantly correlated with the Asian American value of conforming to norms, which is characterized by adhering to social expectations, values, and beliefs that one's society considers normal and acceptable (Kim et al., 2005). This association suggests that some participants were more susceptible to internalizing mainstream messages about their ethnic group, whether they are stereotypes and beliefs about Asian Americans or Asian American cultural values.

Furthermore, participants who endorsed negative stereotypes and beliefs about Asian Americans were also more likely to endorse contemporary negative attitudes toward Blacks, as indexed by the Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sear, 2002). These participants were also more likely to indicate preference for inequality among social groups, as measured by Short Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 2013). Together these results suggest that participants who were susceptible to internalizing messages about their ethnic group were also more likely to internalize messages about other groups (e.g., symbolic racism) and the belief that some groups are better than others (e.g., social dominance).

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Tests of discriminant validity indicated that some of the IRSAA subscales had weak correlation with people's tendency to under-report undesirable behaviors or traits. Not surprisingly, participants who attempted to manage their impression while completing the survey were less likely to endorse items that indicate a sense of inferiority. The weak correlations between impression management and the ENS and WGD subscales suggest that some participants may have also under-reported their beliefs in negative Asian American stereotypes and negative attitudes towards other Asian Americans or Asians.

Generalization of the findings of this research has limitations. First, our participants comprised mostly East Asian Americans and college students, so the results may not generalize to other populations. Second, many of the correlations observed in both studies were in the small to moderate range, and thus may not have clinical significance. A correlation coefficient of 0.1 is generally considered small in behavioral sciences; a correlation coefficient of 0.3 is considered a moderate correlation (Cohen, 1988). Third, the ENS subscale was developed based on common stereotypes about Asian Americans, however, they do not include all the stereotypes that have been discussed in Asian American literature, such as Asian American women as the "dragon lady" (Gee, 1998; Shimizu, 2007). Some of these stereotypes were not included in this research because they were dated or not widely represented at the time of this study. Stereotypes change over time, so the ENS items may need to be updated in the future.

Another limitation of the IRSAA is that it does not include positive stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as the stereotype that Asian Americans are more hard-working than other racial minorities (Yoo et al., 2010). Positives stereotypes are often used by the

dominant racial group to justify racial color-blind attitudes and maintain the racial status quo (e.g., "Many Asian Americans have achieved financial success through hard-work, *therefore* everyone can succeed if he or she works hard") (Kim, 1999; Neville et al., 2013). In such instances, positive stereotypes are paired with denial or minimization of racism. Thus, a measure of positive stereotypes, such as the Achievement Orientation subscale of the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (Yoo et al., 2010), could complement the IRSAA, e.g., the DMR subscale, when studying racial color-blind attitudes of Asian Americans.

Future research may also improve the validity and psychometric properties of the IRSAA. The wording of the items can be modified to reduce method effects, such as possible spurious results due to positively or negatively wording of ENS and EAAM items and some participants' tendency to under-report undesirable behaviors. Additionally, it would be helpful to investigate the validity of the IRSAA's factor structure for various Asian American subgroups, such as South Asians and Pacific Islanders. For instance, the stereotypes and their associated factors may be different for Pacific Islanders. Moreover, additional convergent and discriminant validity studies can be conducted, particularly with regards to the IRSAA's ability to predict mental health. Furthermore, reliability studies should be carried out to test the stability of the measure over time.

Despite its limitations, the IRSAA can be used by researchers to assess the extent to which Asian Americans internalize racial oppression as measured by the five subscales. The ENS and EAAM subscales assess the extent to which Asian Americans endorse negative stereotypes about themselves. The SI subscale measures Asian Americans'

sense of inferiority and unease about their racial identity. The WGD subscales measures their tendency to label within-group members as "FOB" or "whitewash." And the DMR subscale can be used as an alternative to CoBRAS for Asian Americans. Together these five subscales capture the major themes of internalized racism as described in current Asian American literature.

Internalized racism is receiving growing attention in the research community because it is an important mediator between racism and mental health (Bailey et al, 2011; David & Derthick, 2014; Pyke, 2010a). The development of an instrument to assess internalized racism for Asian American is a contribution to this important research area. In addition to capturing some of the common stereotypes about Asian Americans, the IRSAA includes subscales for sense of inferiority, within-group discrimination, and denial or minimization of racism. The IRSAA can be used in future research to study possible effects of internalized racism on a variety of outcome, such as academics, interpersonal relationship, and mental health. The measure can also be used in educational and clinical settings to combat and increase awareness about one of the most insidious and destructive effects of racism.

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APPENDIX A

INTERNALIZED RACISM SCALE FOR ASIAN AMERICANS – INITIAL ITEMS

Instruction to research participants:

Please indicate your level of agreement to each statement below by using the following 7-point scale. Please respond to each item as openly and honestly as you can.

> 1 - strongly disagree
> 2 - moderately disagree
> 3 - mildly disagree
> 4 - mildly agree
> 5 - moderately agree
> 6 - strongly agree

1. Asian American women are generally more willing to perform household chores than women of other racial backgrounds.
2. The majority of Asian Americans tend to be shy and quiet.
3. I eat Asian ethnic food only when I am at home.
4. I think some Asians are "FOB" (Fresh of the Boat).
5. Asian Americans in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
6. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S. R
7. Most people of Asian descent living in the U.S. are not American enough.
8. Asian American women are more likely to dress in a way that is sexually suggestive than women of other racial backgrounds.
9. Racism against Asian Americans is a major problem in the U.S. R
10. Asian Americans hesitate in revealing their inner experiences.
11. Asian Americans are motivated to obtain too much power in our society.
12. In general I do not associate with newly arrived Asians immigrants ("FOBs").
13. Asian American women are more likely to arouse sexual desire in men than women of other racial backgrounds.
14. Asian American women are more willing to please men sexually than women of other racial groups.
15. Asian Americans are not likely to experience racism in the United States.
16. I feel comfortable being an Asian/Asian American. R
17. Asian Americans as a group are not obsessed with competition. R
18. Asian Americans can sometimes be regarded as acting too smart.
19. Asian Americans function well in social situations. R
20. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality. R
21. Asian American men are very sensual. R
22. Asian Americans will always be foreigners in some way.
23. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems. R
24. Social situations with newly arrived Asian immigrants make me feel uncomfortable.

25. In general, I prefer not to associate with people who are "FOB."
26. Asian Americans are not successful in careers that require a lot of social skills.
27. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.
28. Asian Americans know how to have fun. R
29. In general, I am ashamed of newly arrived Asian immigrants because of their heavily accented English.
30. Most Asian American men are not very sexual.
31. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.
32. I feel comfortable being seen in public with an obviously newly arrived Asian immigrant. R
33. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
34. Asian Americans are not very vocal.
35. Asian American women are more demure than women of other racial backgrounds.
36. I prefer to socialize with Whites than with other Asians/Asian Americans.
37. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not. R
38. I do not want my children to have Asian (flat) noses.
39. Asian Americans usually do not like to be the center of attention at social gatherings.
40. Asian Americans are not as sociable as other groups of people.
41. I often do not like being Asian/Asian American.
42. An Asian American could never become the president of the U.S.
43. Asian Americans are treated as equals to Whites.
44. I would not mind if my child has dark skin. R
45. I feel I do not have much to be proud of as an Asian/Asian American.
46. I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.
47. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than Asian Americans. R
48. Asian Americans do not interact with others smoothly in social situations.
49. Asian American women are generally more loyal to their romantic partners or husbands than women of other racial backgrounds.
50. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of Asian Americans. R
51. Most Asian American men are not very masculine.
52. When it comes to education, Asian Americans aim to achieve too much.
53. Asian American women are more likely to be subservient to men than women of other racial backgrounds.
54. Asian American women make better romantic partners.
55. In general, I am ashamed of newly arrived Asian immigrants because of the way they dress and act.
56. I would consider surgical procedures to make my features less Asian.
57. Asian American women are generally more devoted to their romantic partners or husbands than women of other racial groups.
58. I would like to have a nose that is more bridged (like Whites) than the nose I have.
59. I wish I could have more respect for being an Asian/Asian American.

60. Asian Americans have a mentality that stresses the importance of gaining economic power.
61. Most Asian American men are not good sex partners compare to men of other racial groups.
62. I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.
63. I distance myself from Asians who speak English with a heavy accent.
64. It is important for me that I can speak English without an accent.
65. Asian American men are sexually potent. R
66. Asian Americans are not likely to face racial barriers at work.
67. I sometimes loathe being viewed as Asian.
68. Asian Americans not born in the U.S. are unlikely to be "true Americans."
69. Asian Americans are overly competitive.
70. Asian Americans as a group are not constantly in pursuit of more power. R
71. Racism against Asian Americans may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.
72. In general, I make fun of or tease Asian immigrants who are not very Americanized in their behaviors.
73. Asian Americans commit less time to socializing than others do.
74. Asian American men are sexually exciting. R
75. On the whole, I am satisfied with being an Asian/Asian American. R
76. I would not want my children to speak English with any accent.
77. Most people of Asian descent living in the U.S. are not American citizens.
78. Asian American men are less sexually desirable than men of other racial groups.
79. Asian American women pay more attention to their appearances than women of other racial backgrounds.
80. I feel comfortable wearing clothing that is associated with people from my ethnic culture. R
81. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Asian American or Italian American.
82. Asian Americans have "poker faces" (i.e., an expression that does not reveal thoughts or feelings).
83. Asian American women are more likely to be sexually masochistic or sadistic than women of other racial backgrounds.
84. Asian Americans can never be "true Americans" because of their physical features.
85. Asian American women are more feminine than women of other racial backgrounds.
86. Asian Americans are more likely to be loyal to the U.S. than countries of their origin. R
87. Asian American men are physically affectionate. R
88. In general, Asian American women are not "pushy."
89. I don't like thinking about my "Asian-ness".
90. I think some Asian/Asian Americans are "whitewashed."
91. Asian American men are less sexually appealing than men of other racial groups.
92. The socioeconomic and geopolitical conflicts between U.S. and some Asian countries do not affect the allegiance of Asian Americans to the U.S. R

93. Most Asian Americans do not speak good English.
94. I would like to have children with light skin-tones.
95. I distance myself from Asians who dress like they have just immigrated to the U.S.
96. I distance myself from Asians who are not acculturated to the culture and customs of the U.S.
97. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.
98. Asian American women are more likely to uphold traditional gender roles than women of other racial backgrounds.
99. In general, I feel that being a person of my racial background is not as good as being White.
100. I take a positive attitude towards being an Asian/Asian American. R
101. I feel embarrassed when Asian immigrants speak poor English around me.
102. Asian Americans tend to have less fun compared to other social groups.
103. I try not to engage in activities that have only Asians.
104. Asian Americans are not very "street smart."
105. I think newly arrived Asian immigrants should become as Americanized as quickly as possible.
106. I would use skin care products that would make my skin-tone lighter if they work well and are affordable.
107. Racial problems for Asian Americans in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
108. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. R
109. Asian sexual workers are commonplace and readily available.
110. Asian American women are more maternal than women of other racial backgrounds.
111. Asian Americans enjoy a disproportionate amount of economic success.
112. Asian Americans rarely initiate social events or gatherings.
113. I feel I am on equal footing with White Americans. R
114. Asian Americans do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S. R
115. I think newly arrived Asian immigrants ("FOBs") are backwards, have accents, and act weird.
116. It is difficult for Asian Americans to climb the corporate ladder. R
117. Asian Americans tend to work all of the time.
118. Most Asian American women are assertive. R
119. I feel comfortable eating ethnic food from my culture with people from other racial/ethnic groups. R
120. Asian American women are mysterious and alluring.
121. Asian Americans can be overly competitive when trying to get ahead of others.
122. I tend to divide Asian Americans into two types: the FOBs (Fresh off the boat) and the Asian Americans.
123. Asian American men often like to compensate for their lower sex appeal.
124. Asian American men are not as sensual as men of other racial groups.
125. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
126. I prefer to have a dark-skin partner. R

127. I would only date White Americans.
128. Asian American women generally have an "exotic" look about them.
129. Asian Americans are not likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.
130. Asian American women in general have a look that is sexually arousing for men.
131. I like to wear clothing that is popular with my White American peers.
132. Asian Americans put high priority on their social lives. R
133. There are situations where I feel inferior because of my racial background.
134. There are times when I feel ashamed to be an Asian/Asian American.
135. I can always pick out the "FOBs" around me.
136. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. R
137. Asian American women are more interested in shopping than women of other racial backgrounds.
138. Asian American women on average are more traditional and family-oriented than women of other racial backgrounds.
139. Asian Americans always seem to compare their own achievements to other people's.
140. Asian American men are attractive. R
141. Asian Americans are better in math and science careers than careers that require communication and social skills.
142. Asian American women are not as forceful and aggressive as women of other racial groups.
143. I wish I looked more White.
144. I prefer White romantic partners.
145. I would prefer to be more White.
146. I like to style my hair the way Europeans/European-Americans do.
147. Asian American men are ruggedly handsome. R
148. Asian Americans are more loyal to their countries of ancestry.
149. Asian American women are more likely to be sexually deviant than women of other racial backgrounds.
150. Asian American women are more sexually accommodating than women of other racial backgrounds.
151. Even if I could change my race I wouldn't. R
152. Asian Americans who talk about racial issues cause unnecessary tension.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Age:

Gender: __Male   __Female__Other

Race:
        __White, not Hispanic or Latino   __Black or African American
        __Asian   __Native Hawaiian
        __Pacific Islander   __American Indian/Alaskan Native
        __Hispanic/Latino   __Two or more races
        Other (please specify): _____

Ethnicity:
        __Bangladeshi   __Cambodian __Chinese   __Indian
        __Filipino   __Hmong   __Indonesian __Japanese
        __Korean   __Laotian   __Malaysian __Mongolian
        __Nepalese   __Pakistani   __Singaporean
        __Thai   __Vietnamese
        Other (please specify):_____

Generational Status:
        __First generation (You were born outside of U.S.)
            If you are first generation , please specify years spent in the U.S.:____
                  and, please specify age when you came to the U.S.: ____
        __Second generation (You were born in U.S.; both parents were both outside of U.S.)
        __Third generation (You were born in U.S.; at least one parent born in U.S.)
        __Fourth generation (You were born in U.S.; at least one grandparent born in U.S.)
        __Fifth generation or above (You were born in U.S.; at least one great-grandparent born in U.S.)
        __Unknown

Your annual income, or the annual income of your family/guardian(s)/parent(s) if you are not yet financially independent:
        __Up to $10,000 __Up to $20,000 __Up to $30,000   __Up to $40,000
        __Up to $50,000 __Up to $60,000 __Up to $70,000   __Up to $80,000
        __Up to $90,000 __Up to $100,000 __Up to $110,000   __Up to $120,000
        __Up to $130,000 __Up to $140,000 __Up to $150,000 __Up to $160,000
        __Up to $170,000 __Up to $180,000 __Up to $190,000 __Up to $200,000
        __More than $200,000

What is the highest level of education **you** have completed?
        __ No schooling completed __Primary school   __ Middle school
        __ High school or equivalent __Some college   __ Associate degree
        __ Bachelor's degree __ Master's   __ Professional degree __ Doctoral degree

What is the highest level of education **your father** has completed?

__ No schooling completed   __Primary school   __ Middle school
__ High school or equivalent __Some college   __ Associate degree
__ Bachelor's degree __ Master's   __ Professional degree __ Doctoral degree

What is the highest level of education **your mother** has completed?
__ No schooling completed   __Primary school   __ Middle school
__ High school or equivalent __Some college   __ Associate degree
__ Bachelor's degree __ Master's   __ Professional degree __ Doctoral degree

What is your present level of English **speaking** proficiency?
__Poor   __Fair   __Good   __Excellent

What is your present level of English **reading** proficiency?
__Poor   __Fair   __Good   __Excellent

What is your present level of English **writing** proficiency?
__Poor   __Fair   __Good   __Excellent

How dark or light is your skin color?
__9 (Dark brown) __8   __7 __6   __5 __4   __3   __2 __1 (White)

APPENDIX C

IRSAA-PRELIMINARY ITEMS THAT ARE PENDING PERMISSION TO USE

Permissions to use the following four items in the 152-item IRSAA-Preliminary are still pending at the time of dissertation publication. These items were modified from the Internalized Homophobia Scale (IHS, Ross & Ross, 1996)

- I feel comfortable being an Asian/Asian American. (Original item from IHS was "I feel comfortable about being homosexual.")
- I don't like thinking about my "Asian-ness". (Original item was "I don't like thinking about my homosexuality.")
- Even if I could change my race I wouldn't. (Original item was "Even if I could change my sexual orientation, I wouldn't.")
- I would prefer to be more White. (Original item was "I would prefer to be more heterosexual.")

APPENDIX D

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY IRB APPROVAL

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Giac-Thao Tran
CLS - Counseling and Counseling Psychology
480/727-4067
alisia@asu.edu

Dear Giac-Thao Tran:

On 9/25/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Internalized Racism of Asian Americans: Theory and Scale Development
Investigator:	Giac-Thao Tran
IRB ID:	STUDY00001618
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• IRB - IRSAA - Consent Form v2.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • HRP-503a - IRAA v2.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • IRB - IRSAA - Questionnaire.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • IRB - IRSAA - Flyer.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 9/25/2014.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Liang Liao
        Liang Liao

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Guangzhou, China, Liang Liao immigrated to the United States with his family at the age of 11. He grew up in Anaheim, CA, and graduated from University of California, Berkeley with a degree in Electrical Engineering and Computer Science. After a few years of tinkering with circuit boards and writing software, Liang obtained his Master's degree in Computer Science from UCLA. He continued to work as an engineer for another two years, started to ask questions about "the meaning of life," then quit his job and joined the United States Peace Corps. As a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines, he taught teachers how to use computers, coached a soccer team, and started a pig-raising livelihood project. While he was having a wonderful time enjoying the people and the natural beauty of the islands, he continued to discover himself and search for his career path, which is definitely off-road.

After completing his service, Liang was drawn by the glamour of a business life and completed a Master's degree in Business Administration at the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College. He survived the cold weather and moved back to sunshine California after graduation, and worked as a management consultant for the high-tech companies of Silicon Valley.

He felt disillusioned by the life of attending meetings and managing impersonal pieces of large-scale projects, and his quest for meaningful work continued. During this time, he visited the Insight Meditation Center in Redwood City regularly, volunteered as a grief counselor, completed a year-long Buddhist chaplaincy training, and attended a number of American Psychological Association conferences. His search culminated in his application and matriculation in the doctoral program in Counseling Psychology at Arizona State University.

As a doctoral student Liang happily engaged in learning and research activities, provided individual and group psychotherapy, and taught many college success and career exploration classes. He thinks he has finally found the meaning of life.