Ethnic Group Membership, Phenotype, and Perceptions of
Racial Discrimination for Filipino and Chinese Americans:
Implications for Mental Health

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ABSTRACT

ETHNIC GROUP MEMBERSHIP, PHENOTYPE, AND PERCEPTIONS OF

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION FOR FILIPINO AND CHINESE AMERICANS:

IMPLICATIONS FOR MENTAL HEALTH

Kevin L. Nadal

Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial/ethnic minority group in
the United States. However, previous literature tends to focus on Asian
Americans as a homogenous group, concentrating mainly on East Asian
Americans (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans) and failing to
understand potential differences with other marginalized Asian ethnic groups
(e.g., Filipino Americans, Southeast Asians, and/or Pacific Islanders).
Furthermore, previous literature has revealed that because of the Model Minority
Myth, Asian Americans are prone to specific types of racial discrimination and
racial microaggressions (i.e., being treated as a perpetual foreigner or being
exocitized) which may be markedly different from Black/African Americans and
Hispanic/Latinos.

The current investigation examines differences in the perceptions of racial
microaggressions and race-related stress between one East Asian American group
(Chinese Americans) and one marginalized Asian American group (Filipino
Americans). Utilizing an online survey, the sample included a total of 448
Filipino and Chinese Americans of different ages, generation statuses, and
geographic locations. Through MANOVA analyses, findings reveal that Filipino
Americans would be more likely to experience similar types of racial

microaggressions as Black/African Americans and Hispanic/Latinos (i.e., being assumed to be criminal or intellectually inferior) and that phenotype (i.e., skin color, facial features, hair texture, and perception as "Asian") may also contribute to specific forms of racial microaggressions and race-related stress for both groups. Finally, findings reveal that specific types of microaggressions may influence race-related stress for both Filipino and Chinese Americans in unique ways.

The findings of the study yield several implications for theory, research, and counseling practice. These include the need to disaggregate research data on Asian American populations, the call to further examine the impact of racial microaggressions on mental health, and the importance of recognizing ethnic group differences in therapeutic contexts in order to be multiculturally competent counselors.

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Yabut, Goldie Vasquez, Michelle Balancio, the entire Yabut clan in California, and the entire Tamayo clan in New York, for teaching me to laugh, love, and live. I will always be grateful to all of my aunties and uncles, especially Evelyn Tamayo, Elna Prado, and Evan Prado, who have become second parents to me; they have opened their homes and hearts to me and taught me the importance of generosity and selflessness. I will always remember those have come before me, especially my uncle, Rodolfo Yabut II, and my grandmother, Maria L. Nadal, who I know are watching over me from heaven.

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Maraming salamat/many thanks from the bottom of my heart.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the new generation of Filipino Americans in my

life, especially to Jamielyn, Jessiemae, Faith, Emmaline, Danielle, Jordan, Christopher,

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understand that they are the future, and that they always fight for their voices to be heard.

Chapter I:

INTRODUCTION

When race is discussed in the United States, it is often viewed as a "Black and White" issue that negates or minimizes the existence of other racial groups (Yoo and Lee, 2005). Prior to 1860 when the U.S. Census began to collect data based on race, people were divided into three categories: "Black," "White," and "Other"; the "Other" group (which included Asians and Native Americans) was not measured in the U.S Census collection until 1860, since their numbers were insignificant, in comparison to Blacks and Whites (Gibson & Kung, 2002). This dissertation will focus Asian Americans, one of the "Other" groups, specifically focusing on the experiences of Filipino and Chinese Americans.

When slavery was abolished in 1865, the number of Black/African Americans significantly outnumbered the population of both Asian Americans and Native Americans (Gibson & Kung, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 1989). In 1860, there were approximately 35,000 Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (0.10% of the U.S. population), compared to the 4.4 million Black/African Americans (14.1% of the U.S. population). In 1890, there were approximately 100,000 Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States (0.20% of the U.S. population), in comparison to the 7.5 million Black/African Americans (or 11.1% of the U.S. population) (Gibson & Kung, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 1989). While the number of Asian Americans doubled, so did the number of Black/African Americans; consequently, Black/African Americans continued to stay as the most populated racial minority group in the U.S.

Because of this large Black/African American population, institutional racial discrimination (e.g., voting rights, segregation from public schools) was more specific towards Blacks than any other racial group (Fireside, 2004). For instance, the most well-known racial segregation laws (e.g., Jim Crow laws) were written specifically against Black/African Americans and not any other racial group (Fireside, 2004). While there were several laws that discriminated against Asian Americans (e.g., The Chinese Immigration Act of 1882, Japanese internment during WWII, anti-miscegenation laws against Filipinos in 1934), many of these laws remained (and still remain) invisible to the general American population (Takaki, 1998). Because of the significantly larger population of Black/African Americans, in addition to targeted institutional racial discrimination toward Black/African Americans, the Civil Rights Movement was led primarily by Black/African Americans advocating for human rights and equality, which consequently furthered the notion of race to be seen as a Black/White paradigm. Consequently, when discussing race, generations of Americans have become accustomed to thinking of Black versus White, and tend to forget about the "Other" groups.

In spite of this, the "Other" groups have slowly grown and diversified over the years. According to the U.S. Census, Latinos/Hispanics have surpassed African Americans and have become the largest minority group in the United States. Although Hispanics are considered an ethnic group and not a racial group, they are currently 14% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2004), while non-Hispanic Black/African Americans are 12.5% (U.S. Census, 2006a).

Concurrently, while Asian Americans are only 4.1% percent of the population (U.S. Census, 2006b) they are the fastest-growing minority group in the United States with a 72% growth between 1990 and 2000 (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). Asian Americans contribute greatly to immigration, accounting for one-third of all arrivals since the 1970s and are projected to reach 11% of the U.S. population by the year 2050 (Ghosh, 2003). Because of this, it becomes increasingly necessary for mental health practitioners to include Asian Americans in the racial dialogue, in order to understand their experiences and provide the most culturally competent services for them.

Psychologists and other practitioners must examine the mental health experiences of Asian Americans and the impact that race and racial discrimination has on their everyday lives. While the general American population believes that Asian Americans do not encounter racial discrimination in the U.S. (Asamen & Berry, 1987; Goto, Gee, and Takeuchi, 2002; Lee, 2003; Wu, 2001), Asian Americans deal with discrimination on a daily basis, ranging from racially-motivated intimidation to physical abuse (National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 2003; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1992). Several studies have supported that racial discrimination may cause both physical and psychological stress in Asian Americans (Asamen & Berry, 1987; Barry & Grilo, 2003; Lee, 2003; Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998). However, because Asian Americans are assumed to experience minimal racial discrimination, their mental health is often neglected and/or ignored.

Mental Health Experiences of Asian Americans

Previous authors recognize that most research in mental health focuses on White, middle-class Americans values, and that people of Color are often misunderstood and ineffectively treated in psychology (see Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992; Sue & Sue, 2003). Relative to other racial groups, there is little overall research on Asian Americans in the fields of psychology, education, and health (David & Okazaki, 2006; Uba, 1994; Wolf, 1997). Previous researchers have revealed that Asian Americans utilize mental health services less than Whites and other people of Color and that when Asian Americans do attend mental health services that they prematurely terminate (Leong, 1986, S. Sue, 1977; Snowden & Cheung, 1990). Some authors cite a variety of barriers for the underutilization of mental services, including cultural inhibitions and stigmas, patient suspiciousness, and a different understanding of the manifestation of psychological problems (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003; Uba, 1994). Earlier researchers suggested that the low rates of mental health utilization indicated low rates of psychopathology for Asian Americans in general (K.M. Lin & Cheung, 1999). Despite this, low rates of mental health utilization for Asian Americans cannot be attributed to low need but rather a reluctance to seek out services (Uba, 1994). Simply stated, Asian Americans are not seeking mental health services yet are assumed to be doing well mentally. As a result, little research is being conducted on Asian Americans and little is known about their mental health experiences.

The model minority myth also contributes to the lack of research of Asian American mental health. This myth contends that Asian Americans are well-

educated, successful, and law-abiding citizens in the United States, as opposed to other groups of Color (i.e., Black/African Americans, Latino/Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans) who are stereotyped to be the opposite of the model (e.g., non-educated, unintelligent, or prone to crime) (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003). To view Asian Americans as the "model minority" is based on demographic and census data that indicate Asian Americans attain higher levels of education and household incomes than both Whites and other groups of Color. While this data may be accurate for many Asian Americans, there are several factors that are not taken into account when understanding this group's experience (J. Lee & Zhou, 2004). For instance, Asian Americans may have higher household incomes because they have more contributors of the household income than Whites.

Because of this model minority myth, practitioners, educators, and researchers may not be aware of the disparaging experiences of Asian Americans that do not fit this model. As a result, Asian Americans may be ignored because they are assumed to be doing well (Ong & Hee, 1993), believed to possess less mental health problems than other people of Color (Uba, 1994), and are presumed to have less significant experiences with racial discrimination (Asamen & Berry, 1987; Delucci & Do, 1996; Goto, Gee, and Takeuchi, 2002). Moreover, when discussing Asian Americans, research tends to focus on East Asian Americans, namely Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans (Agbayani-Siewert, 2004; David & Okazaki, 2006; Nadal, 2004; Root, 1997b). East Asian Americans are more likely to fit the traits of the model minority than other Asian ethnic groups (Espiritu, 1992; Okamura, 1998), while other Asian American subgroups, namely

Southeast Asians, Filipino Americans, and Pacific Islanders, may not fit the traits

of this myth, given that they achieve lower levels of education (Okamura, 1998;

U.S. Census, 2000), encounter disproportionate incidents of teenage and/or out-

of-wedlock pregnancies, (National Vital Statistics Report, 2000; Tiongson, 1997),

and have higher contractions of HIV/AIDS than other East Asian American

groups (Filipino Task Force on AIDS, 2001). These Asian American ethnic

groups are often invisible, leaving them to be completely ignored in the literature.

Consequently, it is important to recognize that by not acknowledging the diversity

within the Asian American group, the mental health of these Asian American

subgroups continues to be misunderstood or unknown.

Asian American subgroups that fail to fit into the "model minority" have

been even more invisible in the research. Some authors note that many of these

groups are considered "marginalized" Asian American groups because they are

not only ignored by the general population, but are also disregarded by East Asian

American groups (Espiritu, 1992; Okamura, 1998). Southeast Asians, Filipinos,

and Pacific Islanders are often viewed by East Asians and East Asian Americans

as "not Asian enough" and/or at the bottom of the Asian hierarchy (Okamura,

1998). This might be attributed to the darker skin complexion or differing

physical characteristics of these marginalized groups, their comparably lower

educational attainment, and the lack of industrial and technological advancement

in their home countries.

The history of Asian American immigration may also contribute to the

marginalization of certain Asian American ethnic groups. While Filipinos began

arriving in very small settlements since 1587 (Posadas, 1999), Chinese and

Japanese Americans began immigrating in the mid 1800s, creating large

settlements who worked on railroads, canneries, and mining (Sue & Sue, 2003;

Takaki, 1998). Later waves of Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese Americans, as well

as other new Asian immigrant groups (Asian Indians and Koreans) began

migrating to the U.S. in large numbers after the Immigration Act of 1965 forbade

the limitation of immigrants based on race. These post-1965 immigrants tend to

be professionals with higher levels of education (Sue & Sue, 2003; Takaki, 1998).

Finally, Southeast Asian Americans (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hmongs, and

Laotians) have been arriving in the United States as refugees since 1975, with

very little educational or financial preparation to be successful in the U.S. (Chung,

Bernak, & Okazaki, 1997). Table 1 reveals the current population of the largest

Asian American ethnic groups.

Table 1

Largest Asian American Ethnic Group Populations in the United States

Asian Ethnic Group	Population	Percentage of Asian Population
Chinese	2,314,537	23.1%
Filipino	1,850,314	18.47%
Asian Indian	1,678,765	16.76%
Vietnamese	1,112,528	11.1%
Korean	1,076,872	10.75%
Japanese	796,700	7.95%

Source: Barnes & Bennett (2002).

Given the varying immigration patterns of these different Asian ethnic

groups, it is important to recognize that mental health experiences (e.g.,

acculturative stress, ethnic identity, understanding of mental health problems), may vary among ethnic groups. However, most of the literature that focuses on Asian Americans tends to categorize Asians as a homogenous group, mainly focusing on Chinese Americans because they are the largest Asian ethnic group (see David & Okazaki, 2006; Leong, Kao, & Lee, 2005). Consequently, Asian Americans of varying generations and immigration histories are often ignored and expected to fit into one homogenous model. For example, a third generation Chinese American (one with Chinese immigrant grandparents) may have a different experience than a second generation Korean American (one with educated immigrated parents) versus a Vietnamese refugee (one who moved to the US with little preparation). Because of this variance, it is important to examine the differences between Asian American ethnic groups, as well as by generation and immigration status.

Census reports reveal that members of marginalized Asian American ethnic groups have attained lower levels of education (U.S. Census, 2000). Southeast Asian Americans, who are mostly refugees, often experience acculturative stress that leads them to high proportions of high school drop out rates and little admissions into colleges and universities (Uba, 1994). Pacific Islanders, who are one of the smallest ethnic populations in the U.S., have among the lowest rates of college admissions and graduation out of all racial/ethnic groups (U.S. Census, 2000). Second-generation Filipino Americans have achieved lower educational levels than East Asian Americans, with a high rate of high school dropouts and a low rate of college admissions and retention; in 1996 at the

University of California Los Angeles and UC Berkeley, Filipino American applicants had the lowest admission percentage for all racial/ethnic groups (including Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans) (Okamura, 1998).

There have been few studies that examine variables concerning the educational attainment of these marginalized Asian American ethnic groups. Previous studies with Southeast Asians have shown that because of media stereotypes, Southeast Asian refugees are expected to perform well academically, despite language difficulties, an absence of schooling while in Southeast Asia, and a lack of familiarity of American culture (Williams & Westermeyer, 1983). Other authors cite that institutional racism, stereotyping, and lack of social support may contribute to the lack of educational attainment for Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders (Benham & Heck, 1998). Little is known about the educational experience of Filipino Americans. Some authors suggest that ethnic identity confusion, acculturative stress, and racial discrimination may contribute to the limited educational attainment of Filipino Americans (Okamura & Agbayani, 1997). Yet, because second-generation Filipino Americans have similar immigration histories as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Indian Americans (children of educated, professional immigrants), there is little research to examine why Filipino Americans are not achieving higher levels of education as their East Asian and Indian American counterparts are.

Perhaps this lack of educational attainment can be attributed to differences in physical appearances. Southeast Asian, Filipino Americans, and Pacific Islanders are more likely to have a darker skin tone than East Asian Americans,

leading to different stereotypes and potential forms of racial discrimination. For example, because Filipino Americans are often mistaken for Hispanic/Latinos (Rumbaut, 1995; Uba, 1994), they may receive similar stereotypes as Hispanic/Latinos would. As a result, their experiences of racial discrimination may be different than an East Asian American who is more than likely always recognized to be Asian. It can be assumed that because of different physical appearances that disparate Asian Americans may face different stereotypes and discrimination that may potentially lead to varying mental health experiences. Yet, there has been little research about the different experiences of racial discrimination between these specific Asian American ethnic groups, particularly comparing East Asian Americans with these darker-skinned Asian American groups. Therefore, it becomes necessary to further explore racial discrimination and other reasons that may contribute to the disparaging experiences of marginalized Asian American ethnic groups. Thus, this dissertation will compare the experiences of one marginalized Asian American group with a non-marginalized Asian American group, in order to further understand the varying experiences between the two.

Overview of Dissertation

The study will focus specifically on the differences between one marginalized Asian American group (Filipino Americans) and one East Asian American group (Chinese Americans). These two groups are chosen for two reasons: 1) Filipino and Chinese Americans are the two largest Asian American populations, with specific histories and sociocultural experiences in the U.S. that

are similar and different in many ways. 2) Chinese Americans are chosen instead of another East Asian American group because previous research shows that most Asian American studies in psychology focus on Chinese Americans over Japanese or Korean Americans (David & Okazaki, 2006; Wolf, 1997). Thus, the psychology of Asian Americans is often unintentionally based on the findings of the Chinese in America.

The purpose of this dissertation is to a) explore the differences between two Asian ethnic groups, testing the universality of mental health studies that focus only on Chinese Americans, b) study how perceptions of racial discrimination affect an Asian American's racial identification and experiences, c) investigate how phenotypic appearance influences how different Asian Americans experience and perceive racial microaggressions, and d) gain further knowledge about Filipino Americans which can be helpful in understanding the diversity within the Asian American group.

The first chapter of this dissertation examines the potential reasons for the dearth of psychological research on Asian Americans, which may include their comparably smaller population and more recent history in the U.S., as well as the assumptions that Asian Americans are model minorities and have limited mental health problems. Given this lack of research, specific ethnic groups within the Asian American group are assumed to have similar values, histories, and experiences with one another. Yet, because there has been little research examining within-group differences of the Asian American group, little is known about the intra-ethnic differences between Asian subgroups.

The second chapter will provide an in-depth review of the literature, focusing specifically on the historical and sociocultural experience of both Filipino and Chinese Americans. It will review previous literature that focuses on both Filipino American and Chinese American mental health experiences. This chapter will also examine previous literature on Asian American racial identity development, Asian Americans and racial discrimination, as well as previous mental health studies that compare Filipino Americans to Chinese Americans. The chapter concludes with an overview of the dissertation and the hypotheses for the study.

The third chapter will present the methodology of the study, which includes quantitative instruments that study the variables of the study: a) ethnic group membership, b) perceptions of racial microaggressions, c) race-related stress, and d) phenotype. This chapter will also describe the data analysis that was utilized in this study.

The fourth chapter will restate all of the hypotheses and respective results. A list of references and an appendix of diagrams and tables will be included at the conclusion of the document.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Before examining the differences between Filipino and Chinese

Americans, it is important to better understand these two groups. The review will

first explore three topical areas for each group: a) their ethnic-specific histories of

immigration, b) their sociocultural and educational experiences, and c) their

experiences of racial discrimination. Second, a review of studies in psychology,

social sciences, and education will be undertaken to better understand the mental

health experiences of these two ethnic groups related to racial and ethnic identity

development and perceptions of discrimination. Next, a review of literature

involving racial identity and racial microaggressions will highlight experiences

specific to Asian Americans. Finally, a review of empirical literature comparing

these two groups on numerous variables will incorporate major differences

between these groups that have been previously studied in psychology.

Who are the Filipino Americans?

Filipino Americans are the second largest Asian American/ Pacific

Islander population in the United States (Barnes & Bennett, 2002), and are

projected to become the largest Asian American population by 2010 (Posadas,

1999). With 1.37 million Filipino-born immigrants living in the U.S. (U.S.

Census, 2000b), Filipino Americans are the second largest immigrant population

in the country (behind Mexican Americans), with thousands of Filipinos from the

Philippines entering the United States on a daily basis (War, immigrants, and the

economy, 2003). With over 2 million documented Filipino Americans in the U.S.

and a possible one million undocumented individuals in the U.S. (War, Immigrants, and the Economy, 2003), Filipino Americans constitute one of the fastest-growing populations in the country. The term "Filipino" will be used throughout the document, as it is the most common spelling of the word; other authors have cited that some Filipinos and Filipino Americans will use the term "Pilipino" as a political identifier, signifying the lack of the letter F in native Pilipino languages (Revilla, 1997).

Filipino Americans are descendants of the Philippine Islands, which are located southeast of mainland China and west of the Pacific Islands. A country made up of over 700 islands and 170 languages, the current population of the Philippines is 76 million (Philippine Census of Population and Housing, 2002). The Philippines has been influenced by several different countries and cultures, due to Spanish and American colonization, Japanese occupation, and trade from China, the Pacific Islands, Portugal, and Australia. In fact, the Philippines was colonized by Spain for almost four hundred years, which is the same amount of time that countries like Puerto Rico and Mexico were colonized by Spain. As a result, most Tagalog words (mainly nouns) would be similar to Spanish words (i.e., "leche" means "milk" in both languages). Additionally, the United States colonized the Philippines for almost 50 years, which is a similar amount of time as they colonized Puerto Rico or Cuba (Strain, 2003). As a result of having both Spanish and US colonization, Filipino Americans may have a more similar historical and cultural experience to other Latino ethnic groups with the same colonial history (Agbayani-Siewert, 2004; Mendoza, 1986; Root, 1997b). The

Philippines is the only Asian country to have English as one of its national languages (Posadas, 1999). Filipinos are the only Asian ethnic group to be predominantly Roman Catholic (more than 80 percent), with an additional 10 percent being Christian (Agbayani-Siewart & Revilla, 1995) and the remaining ten percent of the population including Filipinos in the southern part of the Philippines whom are Muslim (Posadas, 1999).

Finally, as a result of both Spanish and American colonization, Filipinos and Filipino Americans may develop a "colonial mentality" that other Asian Americans may not experience (David & Okazaki, 2006). Colonial mentality is defined as a form of internalized oppression, in which the colonizer's values and beliefs are accepted by the colonized as a belief and truth of his own; that the mores of the colonizer are superior to those of the colonized (David & Okazaki, 2006; Nadal, in press). Filipinos with colonial mentality may glorify both Spanish and Americans values, such as lighter skin tone, Spanish cultural traditions, or American education, over their darker brown skin or indigenous Filipino traditions and education (Nadal, in press).

There are four major waves of Filipino immigration into the United States (Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Posadas, 1999). The first wave of Filipinos landed in the United States in Morro Bay, California in 1587, via Spanish galleon ships en route to Mexico and Spain. The first documented Filipino settlement was in 1763 in the bayous of Louisiana and consisted mostly of "Manilamen" who escaped the brutality of Spanish galleon ships. The next known wave of Filipino immigrants consisted of *pensionados*- students who were sponsored by the U.S. government

to study in American colleges and universities in the early 1900s. The third wave

of Filipino immigrants included Filipino laborers and non-sponsored students

from the 1910s- 1940s. Most of these laborers moved to either Hawai'i to work in

the sugar cane plantations, California as farmworkers, or Alaska as fish cannery

workers. In accordance with the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 (in which Asian

laborers were banned from immigrating to the United States), Filipino

immigration was limited until 1952 when the Walter-McCarran Immigration and

Naturalization Act repealed the exclusionary act and allowed a small token of

Asians to immigrate to the U.S. with right of citizenship. The final wave of

Filipino immigrants included the post-1965 professionals (e.g., nurses, doctors,

engineers) who migrated to the U.S. after the Immigration Act of 1965. Currently,

all sorts of Filipinos immigrate into the US, ranging from professionals to

students to undocumented workers and laborers (War, immigrants, and the

economy, 2003).

Filipinos and Filipino Americans are one of the only ethnic groups that

have been placed into several racial and ethnic categories (Nadal, 2004).

According to the U.S. Census 2000, Filipino Americans are currently classified as

"Asian American" (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). However, according to the U.S.

Department of Education, Filipino Americans are categorized as "Pacific

Islanders" (Horn, 1995). Furthermore, many have classified Filipino Americans as

"Hispanic" due to the Spanish colonization of the Philippines for 350 years

(Trevino, 1987). Moreover, the California Senate Bill 1813, which was passed in

1988, now requires all California state personnel surveys or statistical tabulations

to classify persons of Filipino ancestry as "Filipino" rather than as Asian, Pacific Islander, or Hispanic (Espiritu, 1992). Because of this disaggregating from the general Asian American population in California, data and statistical analyses are available for Filipino Americans in the state, but not in any other state; concurrently, other Asian American ethnic groups will not be disaggregated from the data.

Who are the Chinese Americans?

Chinese Americans are the largest Asian American/ Pacific Islander population in the United States (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). With over 2.7 million Chinese Americans in the US, the Chinese American population has been present in the U.S. since the middle of the 19th century (Uba, 1994). With 1.19 million immigrants from China living in the United States (U.S. Census, 2000a), Chinese Americans have the third largest immigrant population in the country (behind Mexicans and Filipinos).

Chinese Americans are descendants of China, the largest country in Eastern Asia (CIA, 2006). As one of the only Asian countries that was not directly colonized by European or Western nations (Ty, 2005), China stood as a leading civilization in Asia, outpacing the rest of the world in the arts and sciences (CIA, 2006). The history of China can be divided into four major parts: 1) the origins of Chinese Civilization (2200-221 BC), 2) the early empire (221BC- AD 589, 3) the second empire (AD 589-1644), and 4) Modern China (1644 to present) (Ebney, 1993). Currently, there are 23 provinces in China (which includes Taiwan), 5

autonomous regions (which includes Tibet), and 4 municipalities (which includes Shanghai and Beijing) (CIA, 2006).

Chinese Americans were the first Asians to arrive in large numbers in the US (Uba, 1994). They settled mainly on the West Coast in the middle of the 1840s (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003; Takaki, 1998). To limit the number of Chinese (and other Asian) immigrants into the United States, the U.S. government enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the 1924 Immigration Act, which limited the number of Chinese immigrants and later forbade the number of Chinese immigrants altogether (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003; Takaki, 1998; Uba, 1994). It was not until the 1965 Immigration Act, in which quotas were no longer based on race that Chinese immigration began to increase again.

There are several waves of Chinese immigration in the US. The first wave includes Chinese immigrants (mostly males) who arrived in the US in the middle of the 19th century until the 1924 Immigration Act. These Chinese Americans are credited with building the transcontinental railroads in the United States, while undergoing very poor living conditions and facing blatant racial discrimination from Whites (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003; Takaki, 1998). The second wave of Chinese immigrants includes a few thousand Chinese immigrants who came to the US after World War II, after the U.S. Government repealed the Exclusion Act in 1965 (Uba, 1994). The third wave of Chinese immigration consists of those who came after the 1965 Immigration Act, as either professionals with special skills (e.g., doctors or engineers) or family members of those Chinese Americans already living in the United Sates (Uba, 1994).

Chinese Americans, like other Asian Americans, experience several sociocultural issues including struggles with racial/ethnic identity, acculturation, and dealing with the positive and negative aspects of the model minority myth. More specifically, second-generation Chinese American youth must balance the expectations of doing well in school while dealing with the family pressures from their home. Additionally, because of the model minority myth, Chinese Americans may often be expected to perform better in school by their teachers and their peers. Yet, different generation statuses and social classes may lead to different experiences for Chinese Americans. For example, there has been a rise in Chinese immigrant youth who have arrived in the United States by virtue of family reunification, coming to the US with little English and little education preparation (Guest, 2003). These Chinese immigrant youth have difficulty adjusting to school and come from working or working-poor social class backgrounds, which might differ from second-generation Chinese American youth who come from middle or upper-middle class backgrounds. Given this, it is important to look at how individuals may be members of the same ethnic group, but that they will have different experiences based on immigration status, generation, and social class.

Previous Research on Filipino Americans' Mental Health Experiences

When discussing mental health of Filipinos, many studies tend to focus on the mental health experiences of Filipino immigrants or Filipinos in the Philippines (i.e., Church and Katigbak, 2002), and fail to fully account for the experiences of second-generation Filipino Americans (Nadal, 2004).

Concurrently, studies that focus on second generation Asian Americans tend to concentrate mostly on East Asian Americans, namely Chinese and Japanese Americans (Agbayani-Siewert, 2002; David & Okazaki, 2006; Nadal, 2004; Root, 1997b). In addition, given the aforementioned sociocultural experience of Filipino Americans, one is able to learn that Filipino Americans might conceptualize race and ethnicity differently than other Asian Americans. As a result, it is important to examine the various empirical studies focusing on Filipino Americans, as it might help in understanding how a Filipino American perceives discrimination.

There have been several theoretical papers that have analyzed the ethnic identity development of second-generation Filipino Americans. One author suggests that Filipino Americans born and raised in the U.S. experienced a "largely symbolic" sense of ethnicity, simply because they do not attain Filipino cultural values directly from the Philippines, as their parents have (Espiritu, 1994). Another author argues that second-generation Filipino American youth sustain "hybrid identities," which mesh images of Philippine culture and language, close connections with parents and family members, and Filipino family values, with messages from Westernized, American society and media (McCoy, 1993). A third author supports that internal conflicts of Filipino Americans is not simply a dichotomous push and pull between two homogenous sides (e.g., Filipino and American), but rather by the multiple and heterogeneous understandings of what it means to be Filipino, American, and Filipino American (Wolf, 1997). While all of these hypotheses seem viable, none of these articles are

empirically-based; therefore, it becomes important to examine scientific research that explores Filipino American ethnic identity.

One quantitative study discovered that in a Filipino American college student sample (n=818) scored highly on English competence and educational achievement, which are argued to be typical indicators of self-esteem and psychological health (Rumbaut, 1995). However, it was also found that these Filipino American students had statistically lower self-esteem and higher depression scores than other ethnic groups in the sample. In the same study, it was discovered that almost two-thirds of the sample had experienced some sort of discrimination in their lives, which may have contributed to higher depression scores in those students. Finally, it was reported that Filipino Americans are the recipients of a specific type of racial-ethnic discrimination, in that they can be perceived and/or mistaken as both Asian and Latino (Rumbaut, 1995). There are many explanations that can be made from this study. First, this study would support the notion that educational achievement and English competence are not necessarily predictors of resilience or self-efficacy. Although most Filipino immigrants speak English fluently and have high educational backgrounds, their experience in the United States may lead to lower mental health statuses (e.g., high depression, low self-esteem). Secondly, this study may support that Filipino Americans who are mistaken as both Asian and Latino may be the recipients of several types of racial discrimination, leading to higher levels of depression or lower self-esteem.

Other empirical studies have attempted to discover the predictors of ethnic identity for Filipino Americans. One study investigated the images, roles, and expectations of Filipino Americans by other Filipino Americans (Bergano & Bergano-Kinney, 1997). Using a survey of high school and college Filipino American students (n=150), the investigators sought to discover differences between ethnic identity based on gender, age, and geographic region (those residing in the West Coast versus East Coast). First, it was discovered that majority of the East Coast Filipino American women were not expected to marry another Filipino, whereas East Coast men and both West Coast men and women did learn this expectation. This could be hypothesized to be a result of a higher assimilation rate of East Coast Filipino women, or rather because of a smaller Filipino American population on the East Coast versus the West Coast, as majority of Filipino Americans reside in the West Coast (U.S. Census, 2000). Second, it was determined that the percentage of males experiencing racism and discrimination was significantly higher than females, particularly those females from the East Coast. This may suggest that racism and discrimination may be more covert and subtle towards women, or it may imply that women may more easily deny or recognize racial and discriminatory acts and behaviors. Finally, in the statement "I am expected to be a community leader," the West Coast females and the East Coast males scored significantly higher than the East Coast females and West Coast males. This may have several implications. First, perhaps Filipino American males on the West Coast (in which lower high school dropout rates and lower socioeconomic statuses are more prevalent for Filipinos) may experience

similar educational disparities as African American or Latino males might. Men of Color from these groups are often thought of being inferior troublemakers in the classroom, sometimes leading to a self-fulfilling prophecy in their grades and achievements (Sue and Sue, 2003). As a result, these West Coast males may not be encouraged to be leaders of their community, as their female counterparts might be. Secondly, this finding may suggest the notion that Filipino Americans on the East Coast may accept stringent gender roles, in which males are expected to achieve as leaders and professionals, while women are not expected to be leaders.

The study concluded that the differences in identities between West Coast and East Coast Filipino Americans are due to the historical differences in how these two groups have been treated by Whites and the extent to which their integration into Anglo American society has been tolerated (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney, 1997). For instance, West Coast Filipino Americans are products of several generations of Filipino immigration patterns as early as the 1900s, and also constitute fifty percent of the Filipino Americans in the United States (U.S. Census, 2000). On the other hand, East Coast Filipino Americans are predominantly products of the post-1965 immigration, which include mostly professionals, such as doctors, nurses, and engineers. Because of these different regional histories, Whites and other groups may hold different stereotypes and knowledge about Filipino Americans. In the West Coast, where Filipino Americans have been blatantly discriminated against as a specific ethnic group, where there are several generations of Filipino Americans, and where the numbers

of Filipino Americans are immense, non-Filipino individuals may hold both

positive and/or negative perceptions of this Filipino Americans as a group.

Conversely on the East Coast, where Filipinos may be seen as new immigrants or

professionals and where Filipino Americans are fewer in numbers, Whites may

not have much knowledge about Filipino Americans as a group. Table 2 reports

differences between Filipino Americans based on geographic location.

Table 2

Differences between Filipino Americans based on geography

	Filipino Americans from West Coast & Hawai'i	Filipino Americans from East Coast & Midwest
Population	48% of Fil-Am population in CA; 9% of Fil-Am population in Hawai'i, 5.4% in Oregon, 3% in Washington	4% of Fil-Am population in New York; 4.5% of Fil-Am population in New Jersey, 4.5% in Illinois, 2% in Virginia
Immigration	First Filipinos landed in CA in 1781. Largest settlements began in early 1900s, as farmworkers (CA), cannery workers (AL), and plantation workers (HI). Professionals immigrated post-1965 Immigration Act.	Largest settlements began post-1965 Immigration Act with mostly professionals.
Historical Racism	Specific segregation towards Filipinos in hotels/ restaurants. Anti-miscegenation laws specifically prohibit Filipinos from marrying Whites.	No known ethnic-specific discrimination or laws against Filipinos.

Education	Nationwide: 22% of American-born Filipinos attain a bachelor's degree. (Consider that 57% of Filipino Americans are in CA and Hawai'i)	New York: 65% of American-born Filipinos attain a bachelor's degree.
Census	Filipino Americans in CA are defined as "Filipino," not "Asian" or "Pacific Islander" in all state census forms.	Filipino Americans are classified as "Asian."

Given this, it can be hypothesized that Filipino Americans who reside in areas with a large Filipino American population and a prominent community history will have a different identity development than those with smaller Filipino American populations and with a less prominent community history. Because Filipino Americans in these areas are a highly visible ethnic group and others may be knowledgeable of their sociocultural experiences (e.g. high school dropouts, teen pregnancies, etc.), these Filipino Americans may be the recipients of blatant racial discrimination. At the same time, Filipino Americans who reside in highly populated Filipino American communities will have an easier time maintaining cultural values and preserving Filipino American community. Filipino Americans in these highly condensed Filipino American areas have more opportunities to be exposed to Filipino American culture and history, which may lead to stronger community organizing and ethnic pride. Conversely, Filipino Americans who reside in areas without a prominent Filipino and/or Filipino American community history may have difficulty in discovering their individual ethnic identity. Because they do not have the support of other Filipino American people, these

individuals may be more susceptible to assimilating into the dominant American culture (or accepting a pan-Asian racial identity).

Finally, a study of Filipino American participants (n=2,109) reports that ethnic identity is linked to mental health and reduces the stress of discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003). It is found that self-reports of racial/ethnic discrimination over a lifetime is associated with increased levels of depressive symptoms. Conversely, it is also found that ethnic identity buffers the stress of racial/ethnic discrimination, suggesting that ethnic identity is a coping resource for Filipino Americans. In other words, Filipino Americans with higher levels of ethnic identity will have the ability to manage their stress and/or overcome depressive symptoms.

Considering that there are several factors that contribute to a Filipino American's racial and ethnic identity and that there are different ways that Filipino Americans are perceived, Nadal (2004) proposed an ethnic identity development model that examines the unique experience of Filipino Americans from other Asian American groups. This progressive six-stage model is both non-sequential and non-linear, citing that some stages may be independent from each other and that individuals may fluctuate between the stages. The model is modified from Atkinson et al.'s (1998) Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model, S. Sue & D.W. Sue's (1971) Asian American Identity Model, and Kim's (1981) Asian American Identity Model, with newly developed stages that can be applied specifically to Filipino Americans.

The stages of the Filipino American Identity Development Model include: 1) Ethnic Awareness, 2) Assimilation to Dominant Culture, 3) Social Political Awakening, 4) Panethnic Asian American Consciousness, 5) Ethnocentric Realization, and 6) Introspection. Ethnic Awareness usually is hypothesized to occur between birth and six years old, in which the individual understands that she/he is Filipino, based upon the people that she/he is exposed to, the languages and accents that she/he hears that surround him/her, as well as other factors such as food, music, art, and other environmental factors. Assimilation to Dominant Culture might take form when a Filipino American individual realizes that she/he is different from dominant norms. This may result from attending school, watching television, meeting school and neighborhood friends of different ethnic backgrounds, etc. In this stage, the individual may attempt to assimilate into the dominant culture, by rejecting a Pilipino accent, her/his cultural foods, cultural values, and traditions. Social Political Awakening is when the individual becomes actively aware of racial and cultural differences from the dominant group. This is usually triggered by something negative, such as a racial discriminatory experience, or even something positive, such as learning about one's history or culture. Panethnic Asian American Consciousness is a stage in which the Filipino American adopts an Asian American identity. The individual may turn to other Asian Americans for social support and a greater voice, leading to a pan-Asian racial identity. Ethnocentric Realization is a stage in which the Filipino American may realize of her/his marginalized role in the Asian American community, and is oftentimes triggered by a discriminatory experience by an Asian American, or by

learning of the historically marginalized experience of Filipino Americans in the Asian American population. Finally, Introspection is a stage in which the Filipino American has learned to accept her/his role as an Asian American, while still maintaining a strong sense of ethnic identity. The individual in this stage realizes how wearisome it is to remain angry, and instead utilizes her/his energy towards proactive positivism.

Nadal's (2004) stages in the F/Pilipino American Identity Development Model (FPIDM) can be categorized based upon the ways that Filipino American individuals view themselves in relation to others (i.e., other Filipino Americans, persons of Color, Asians, and Whites). In the Ethnic Awareness stage, the Filipino American will view both him/herself and other Filipino Americans positively, because Filipino Americans are their only reference group. Both Asian Americans and other people of Color are viewed as neutral, simply because she/he has conceptualized very little prejudice about racial differences. Individuals in this stage may also view Whites positively, as a result of their exposure to Whites on television and other forms of media. In the Assimilation to Dominant Culture stage, the Filipino American will view him/herself and other Filipino Americans negatively, while viewing Whites very positively. The Filipino American in this stage may view Asian Americans and other People of Color in a negative/ discriminatory fashion, as a way of feeling superior to them. In the Social Political Awakening stage, Filipino Americans may view him/herself and all people of Color very positively while viewing White people negatively. In the Panethnic Asian American Consciousness Stage, the Filipino American individual

may continue to view all the groups of Color as positive, but may lean towards a

higher degree of appreciation for Asian Americans as a greater racial group. In the

Ethnocentric Realization stage, the Filipino American individual will view

him/herself and the Filipino American community as empowering, while feeling

connections to other marginalized communities of Color, particularly African

Americans, Latinos, and Pacific Islanders. Depending on the shift into the

Ethnocentric Realization stage, the Filipino American in this stage may have

neutral or negative feelings towards Asian Americans, and may have an equal

sense of anger towards Whites. On the other hand, this anger towards Whites may

be lessened, as the individual's main goal in this stage is for others to understand

her/his desire for Filipino Americans to be recognized as a distinct racial/ethnic

group. Finally, in the Introspection stage, the Filipino American will continue to

feel empowered as an individual as well as a Filipino American and person of

Color, and will be accepting of her/his role as an Asian American. She/he may

gain a selective appreciation of White Americans, but will not exert as much

anger towards anyone, as it can be seen as time-consuming and unproductive.

Because the FPIDM is theoretical in nature, it became imperative to

provide empirical support in order to better understand Filipino Americans'

perceptions of race and ethnicity. Nadal (2005) qualitatively explores the ethnic

identity of second-generation Filipino American participants (n=65). Participants

were asked to complete a four-item qualitative questionnaire, which inquired

about participants' racial/ethnic identity development as people of Color, Asian/

Asian Americans, and Filipino/ Filipino Americans. Results included that while

54% of participants identified as "Asian American" that 27% rejected an Asian American identity and rather identified as "Pacific Islander" or only as "Filipino." Through qualitative questionnaires, participants shared several factors that contributed to this rejection of Asian American identity, which included knowledge of their skin tone differences, feelings of similar cultural values and affinity towards Latinos/ Hispanics instead of Asians, and feelings of rejection or discrimination within the Asian American community. This study supports the notion that Filipino Americans may not identify with "Asian" and may also have a different racial experience from their East Asian American counterparts. As a result, Filipino Americans may perceive racial discrimination in a way that other Asian Americans might not.

Previous Studies on Chinese Americans' Mental Health Experiences

Since the 1970s, there have been several studies involving the ethnic identity of Chinese Americans. S. Sue & D.W. Sue (1971) discussed the personality development of Chinese Americans, citing that Chinese Americans may either accept or reject their parents' values, consequently adopting values that are Chinese, American, or Asian American. One study reported that Chinese Americans were more likely to be less socially extroverted, more conforming, preferred concrete-tangible approaches to life, and experienced greater emotional distress than other students (D.W. Sue & Kirk, 1972). Another study involving first and second-generation Chinese Americans found that over time that Chinese American individuals may change their ethnic identification and behaviors and

knowledge, but that over time there would be no significant changes with individualism versus collectivism (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

In a study exploring the daily manifestation of ethnic identity of Chinese American youth, researchers discovered that the daily association between engagement in ethnic behaviors and ethnic salience was positive regardless of overall ethnic identity (Yip & Fulgni, 2002). Using daily diaries collected over a fourteen day period, it was also found that Chinese American youth with weaker ethnic identities were also low in ethnic identity salience and well-being. In a similar study, using the same methodology, it was found that both Chinese and bicultural (Chinese-American) youth were involved in Chinese culture, while those that identified as American were significantly less involved (Yip & Cross, 2004). Finally, in a study of Chinese American college students (n=62), sampling reports were collected randomly six times a day for 1 week, exploring the association between situational context, ethnic salience, psychological well-being, and stable ethnic centrality (Yip, 2005). It was discovered that ethnic salience was associated with fewer depressive symptoms and increased positive mood. Furthermore, higher private ethnic regard was related to fewer depressive symptoms and higher levels of positive mood when ethnicity was salient.

Several mental health and personality studies on Chinese Americans found that there are several generational differences between international-born Chinese Americans versus U.S.-born Chinese Americans. One study reported that Chinese immigrants were more anxious, more isolated, lonelier, less happy, less autonomous, less socially extroverted, and more burdened with socioemotional

problems than U.S-born Chinese Americans were (S. Sue & Zane, 1985). Another study reported that international-born Chinese Americans were found to be less extroverted than U.S.-born Chinese Americans, who were themselves found to be less extroverted than White Americans (Abe & Zane, 1990). Another study discovered that the more acculturated Chinese Americans were, the more they valued self-realization and growth (Leong & Tata, 1990). All three of these studies address the notion that acculturation has an impact on the mental health functioning and personalities of Chinese Americans. Those Chinese Americans that are least acculturated (particularly recent immigrants) are more likely to have lower levels of mental health functioning (i.e., higher levels of anxiety, higher levels of depression) than those that are more acculturated and have more Western personality types (i.e., more extroverted, more individualistic). Through these studies, it can be hypothesized that less acculturated Chinese Americans may possess lower level of mental health functioning for a variety of reasons, which include (but are not limited to) the inability to adjust to American cultures and/or the American workplace, inability to cope with racism, and higher prevalence of racism due to language barriers or cultural differences.

In a large epidemiological study using standardized interview techniques with Chinese Americans (n=1,747) researchers revealed that approximately 7 out of every 100 Chinese Americans have experienced a major depressive episode in their lifetime (Hwang, et al., 2005). While this figure is lower than the American national average, which is 17 out of every 100, (Blazer, Kessler, McGonagle, & Swartz, 1994), the statistic is six to seven times higher than their Chinese

counterparts in Taiwan and Hong Kong (Chen et al., 1993; Yeh, Hwu, & Lin, 1995). As a result, it is important to understand why Chinese Americans are experiencing depression more in the United States than in their home countries. It can be hypothesized that Chinese Americans face stressors, including racial discrimination, which they might not experience in their home countries. Conversely, it might be hypothesized that because there is less of a stigma of depression in the United States, Chinese Americans may feel more able to manifest symptoms of depression, which might be viewed as unacceptable in their home countries. This can be supported by the notion that the data was collected using interviews in both Chinese and English, by other Chinese Americans interviewers. Due to a less stigmatized view of depression in the United States, it may have been easier for Chinese Americans to discuss depression than in China.

In the same epidemiological study of Chinese Americans (n=1,747), researchers aimed to discover the differences in gender, age, and immigration status and its impact on depression (Hwang, et al., 2005). While previous studies (i.e., Takeuchi, et al., 1998) discovered that Chinese Americans may have a later onset of depression than other ethnic groups (i.e., Whites and Mexican Americans whose first onset of depression is during adolescence), this study revealed that there were generational differences that accounted for age of onset of depression-Chinese immigrants reported a later onset of depression, while Chinese Americans were similar to Whites and Mexican Americans. Furthermore, contrary to popular belief which states women would evidence higher risk of depression than men (see Blazer, et al., 1994), this study discovered that there

were no significant differences between the Chinese American women and men in the study. Finally, the researchers reported Chinese immigrants have lesser prevalence of depression the longer they were in the U.S.

There have been several studies that explore the racial experience of Chinese Americans. One study investigates the perceptions of discrimination with a Chinese American community (n=1500) using interviewing methods (Goto, Gee, and Takeuchi, 2002). Approximately 21 percent of the sample reported being unfairly treated in their lifetime. Specific predictors of this discrimination varied due to race and ethnicity, language, and accent. Furthermore, it was reported that the retention of cultural practices, age of immigration, and contact opportunity were all associated with racial discrimination. While the numbers may support perceived discrimination against Chinese Americans, it is important to mention that 89.7 percent of Blacks and 21.1 percent of non-Hispanic Whites reported discrimination in their lifetimes (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Two different conclusions can be entertained with respect to Chinese Americans: (a) This group perceives or has difficulty admitting to racial discrimination, or (b) a large number of Chinese Americans are not experiencing racial discrimination at all.

Asian Americans: Racial Discrimination and Racism-Related Stress

Several authors (e.g., Harrell, 2000; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) explain that people of Color will experience racial discrimination which may lead to racism-related stress. Racism-related stress can be defined as a psychological response specifically resulting from direct or indirect racism (Harrell, 2000;

Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Moreover, they reveal that this racism-related stress will be multidimensional, in that it can include individual, collective, institution, or cultural forms. Harrell (2000) cites six types of racism-related stress, which includes a) racism-related life events, b) vicarious experiences of racism, c) daily racism microstressors, d) chronic-contextual stress, e) collective experiences, and f) transgenerational transmission. Racism-related life events include direct, blatant forms of discrimination (i.e., an Asian person being called a "chink"), which are often infrequent in contemporary "politically correct" society. Vicarious experiences of racism may take place through family members or high-profile race-related cases in the media (i.e., an Asian person hearing about a family member being called a "chink" or hearing about a hate crime against an Asian American). Daily racism microstressors include invalidating racial statements or behaviors (i.e., telling an Asian American that he "speaks good English.") Chronic-contextual stress includes inequities in education or business institutions (e.g., Asian American history not included in American textbooks). Collective experiences include racial experiences that affect a collective group (i.e., a negative stereotype of an Asian American in the media affects the entire group). Finally, transgenerational transmission includes historical contexts of a group that are passed from generation to generation (i.e., Spanish colonization affecting present-day Filipino Americans, Japanese internment during World War II affecting present-day Japanese Americans).

Some authors (i.e., Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002) argue that as a result of the changing demographics and the increase in "political

correctness" in the United States, the face of racism has changed and has become more subtle. As exemplified in the aforementioned daily racial microstressor type of racism, racial discrimination in the U.S. is no longer as overt, conscious, and/or publicly displayed; it has now taken the form of "aversive racism," in which racially discriminatory acts are now ambiguous and indistinguishable (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Jones, 1997). This type of aversive, covert racism has been commonly referred to as "racial microaggressions" (Sue, 2003). While previous researchers have defined microaggressions as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs'" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978, p.66), racial microaggressions are "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of Color because they belong to a racial minority group" (D.W. Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, et al., 2007). These types of verbal and behavioral communications, whether intentional or unintentional, potentially have a harmful or negative psychological impact on people of Color (D.W. Sue, 2003). Moreover, other authors have supported that people of Color believe that they experience racial microaggressions on a daily basis, with their interpersonal interactions with Whites (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Because most studies on race-related stress or racial microaggressions either tend to focus primarily on Black/African Americans (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001) or generalize to people of Color as a universal group (Harrell, 2000), researchers fail to recognize the impact that different cultural values of Black/African Americans, Hispanic/Latinos, and Asian

Americans will have on perceptions of racial discrimination (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). For example, studies focusing on Black/African Americans demonstrate a significant relationship between self-reports of everyday discrimination and physical and mental health problems (see Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Despite this, it is unclear whether these same types of studies would hold true for Asian Americans, given the limited amount and non-theoretical nature of previous studies on Asian American racism (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). As a result, a dearth of research for Asian Americans and other racial/ethnic minorities other than Black/African Americans leads to a failure of understanding the impacts of daily discrimination on mental health of all people of Color (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; Mossakowski, 2003).

Furthermore, studies comparing the experiences of Black/African Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans, and Asian Americans report varying outcomes. One study supports that both Black/African Americans and Hispanic/Latinos may self-report higher amounts of experiences of racial discrimination, but Asian American individuals may not report an increase (McCormick, 1995). This may speak to different racial identity statuses between the three different groups, but it may also speak to the difference in cultural values. Generally, Asian Americans are taught to be harmonious and avoid conflict (Sue & Sue, 2003). Perhaps these Asian Americans are experiencing similar amounts of racial discrimination, but are failing to report these

experiences, in order to avoid conflict. In another study that examines race-related stress of Black/African Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans, and Asian Americans, researchers found that Black/African Americans scored higher on individual and cultural racism than both Hispanic/Latinos and Asian Americans, and that Asian Americans scored higher on perceptions of institutional racism than Hispanic/Latinos (Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002). These findings support previous research that states that Black/African Americans will report race-related stress at higher rates than other racial/ethnic groups (Harrell, 1997; Utsey, 1999). Nonetheless, a limitation to this study is that the majority of the sample was Black/African American, and the Asian American participants were not separated by ethnicity or immigration status. Without this information, these findings may not be generalizable to the entire Asian American population.

Perhaps using the same types of instruments to measure perceptions of racial discrimination may be different across groups, due to different cultural experiences and different definitions of what may be considered racially-related. For example, an item on the Daily Life Experiences scale (DLE; Harrell, 1997) reads "Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated." While this item may be a common experience for Black/African Americans, it may not be a common occurrence for all Asian Americans. In a similar manner, a hypothetical scale item that read "Someone telling you 'You speak good English,'" might have a greater impact on an Asian American or Hispanic/Latino American than on a Black/African American. Therefore, it is important to measure perceptions of racial discrimination differently for different people of Color.

As a result, a group of scholars recently created the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI), a 29-item scale measuring racism-related stress specifically with Asian Americans (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). However, one limitation to this inventory is that given the notion that many Asian Americans may not identify as "Asian" it is difficult to know if results accurately measure their feelings about racial discrimination. For example, an item on the AARRSI reads "Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty." If a Filipino individual does not identify as "Asian," she/he may not be impacted or offended by the statement, thereby not feeling any stress by the comment. However, if the statement read "Someone tells you that the kitchens of Filipino families smell and are dirty," she/he may experience some degree of racism-related stress.

Few previous studies have examined the impact of racial discrimination specifically on Asian Americans. In a study comparing Asian American and Hispanic American students, results indicated that perceived prejudice significantly contributed to depression and stress in Asian Americans and to anger in Hispanic Americans (J.G. Kim, 2002). This study may support the notion that there will be differences in the experiences of racial discrimination between the two racial groups, which may likely be a due to a difference in cultural orientations. Simply stated, because Filipino Americans share cultural values with both groups, it might be important to explore if Filipino Americans will also experience depression and stress like other Asian Americans and/or anger like Hispanic Americans.

In a study utilizing Chinese and Japanese American participants, researchers examined the appraisal and coping of race related events that were blatant versus subtle and positive versus negative (Motoike, 1995). Using participants' responses to vignettes that exemplify these different types of race-related events, it was discovered that depression and shame were higher in the subtle condition as compared to the blatant condition. In other words, when subtle racial discrimination occurred towards Asian Americans, these participants tended to discount them as not being racially-motivated and internalized both depression and shame. As aforementioned, subtle microaggressions are likely to exist more these days than blatant racism; therefore, these Asian Americans may become depressed and shameful when these incidents occur and perhaps may not even realize that it may be because of race. Nonetheless, because these studies focus on two East Asian American groups, they might not be generalizable to include Filipino Americans and other marginalized Asian American groups.

In a study of Asian American college students (n=508) and their perceptions of discrimination on campus, self-report responses to a campus climate survey found that Asian Americans are more likely than all other students combined to experience feelings of depression as well as to perceive negative campus climates (Cress & Ikeda, 2003). Moreover, multiple regression analyses support the hypothesis that Asian American students' perceptions of the climate are congruent with those of their classmates. While Asian American students in this sample perceiving discrimination on campus, their non-Asian counterparts perceive this discrimination too; however, Asian Americans in this sample are

significantly more depressed than their non-Asian counterparts. One limitation to this study is that it does not separate potential differences between Asian ethnic groups, despite the large sample size.

Another study with a sample of Asian American college students (n=254) on the West Coast measured the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). Utilizing multiple and hierarchical regression models, a major finding was that racial socialization, particularly the amount of discussions that an individual received about race, positively impacted the ways that an individual perceives racism. That is, the more that an Asian American individual engages in discussions about race with family members or friends, the more likely she/he will be able perceive racial discrimination in her/his life. The study also found that racial identity schemas (an internal filter which guides how an individual perceives and deals with racism) partially predicts perceptions of racism, specifically for individuals with predominant Dissonance or Immersion/Emersion statuses. Overall, the study supports that discussions about race will directly influence perceptions of racial discrimination, while racial identity schemas will indirectly influence these perceptions. However, one limitation to the study is that it included a college-aged sample from the West Coast, who may not be representative of all Asian Americans.

While there have been several studies that focus on Asian Americans and discrimination, there have been few studies have examined Asian American experiences specifically with racial microaggressions. In a qualitative study

utilizing with Asian American focus groups, it was found that Asian Americans experience several similar racial microaggressions (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Some of these themes included "alien in own land," in which the Asian American is constantly questioned about her/his American status and/or assumed to be foreign-born, or "second class citizen," in which a White individual receives preferential treatment over an Asian American individual. One limitation to this study is that it does not focus on the heterogeneity of experiences between different Asian American ethnic groups. Because marginalized Asian Americans (e.g., Southeast Asian, Filipino) are different in physical appearance, they are more than likely to be perceived and treated differently than other East Asian Americans by Whites and other people of Color (Nadal, 2004). Similarly, because of different cultural values, it is possible that different Asian American ethnic groups and/or individuals might perceive these microaggressions differently.

Asian Americans and Racial Identity

Racial identity theory examines the extent to which a person of Color perceives himself or herself to share a common racial heritage with his or her respective socioracial group (Helms, 1990). Previous authors have asserted that for Asian Americans, racial identity has been referred to as the quality of a person's identification with Asians and Asian Americans as a larger collective inclusive of the various ethnic groups (Ancheta, 1998; Espiritu, 1992). In spite of this, oftentimes when referring to Asian Americans, racial identity, ethnic identity, and acculturation have become interchangeable constructs (Kohatsu, 1993). In this sense, previous literature and studies have not focused on the

experiences of Asian Americans as a racial group, but rather as an ethnic group (Alvarez & Yeh, 1999; Lee, 2002). Simply stated, Asian Americans are usually described in terms of their cultural values (see B.S.W. Kim, et al., 2001; S. Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004), or acculturation and/or bicultural identities as both Asian and American (see Suinn et al., 1992; Uba, 1994), and not described in terms of their racial identity. Likewise, previous Asian identity development models (e.g., J. Kim, 1981; S. Sue & D.W. Sue, 1971) do not focus on within-group differences and/or ways that Asian Americans may or may not identify with the greater Asian racial group.

Some authors (e.g., Alvarez, 1996; Alvarez & Kimura, 2001; Helms & Cook, 1999; Sodowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995) have argued that Asian identity development models do not emphasize racial identity development, but rather ethnic identity development. These Asian identity development models tend to emphasize the degree to which individuals retain and identify with the values, norms, languages, and beliefs of their ethnic group, without understanding how Asian individuals respond to and internalize their reactions to oppression. In addition, while Asian identity models include how an Asian American individual feels in reaction to one's self, one's ethnic group, other people of Color, and Whites, they fail to recognize how Asian Americans self-identify with other Asian racial group members (of different Asian ethnic groups). Moreover, these identity models also fail to understand how Asian Americans are involved in racial practices (which would include practices across the pan-Asian racial category and not just ethnic practices), whether Asian Americans proudly view their Asian

racial group, or have a cultural commitment to one's Asian racial group. (Espiritu, 1992). Perhaps one explanation for the lack of this type of Asian-specific racial identity model is because many/most Asian ethnic group members do not view themselves as apart of the larger racial Asian group, and therefore will not involve in pan-Asian practices or have a cultural commitment to one's pan-Asian racial group. This might even be due to the confusion by individuals (both Asian and non-Asian) that do not know who is apart of the Asian racial group. Many South Asian/ Indian Americans, Southeast Asians, Filipino Americans, and Pacific Islanders do not identify themselves as Asian (Espiritu, 1992; Nadal, 2004; Nadal, in review), and many non-Asians (Whites and other people of Color) may not identify these groups as "Asian" either. Because these models fail to account for an individual's attitudes towards other Asian ethnic groups, Asian American racial identity models are not complete.

Similarly, some authors (e.g., Alvarez, 1996; Espiritu, 1992; Kohatsu, 1993; Kohatsu, Dulay, Lam, et al., 2000; Nadal, 2004) argue that when discussing Asian Americans and racial identity that a specific framework has not been used to systematically study racial identity and other related sociocultural issues that are specific to Asian Americans. Simply stated, when discussing racial identity with Asian Americans, there is little discussion about the complexity of Asian Americans as a racial group. Because the Asian group includes people with different skin tones, hair texture, eye shape, many Asians and Asian Americans will not identify themselves as "Asian" (Espiritu, 1992; Nadal, 2004). As a result, there may be a conflict in racial identity and ethnic identity, where Asian

Americans may identify strongly with one group but not with another group. An Asian American may have a strong sense of ethnic identity (strong identification with one's ethnic group) and a weak sense of racial identity (weak identification with the pan-Asian racial group), and vice versa. Concurrently, this Asian American individual may still understand himself as a person of Color, while still rejecting either her/his racial or ethnic group.

Alvarez et al., (1996) posit that Asian Americans are "struggling with the processes of acculturation, racial identity, and ethnic identity simultaneously" (Liu, et al., 1999, p. 319). It was argued that the experience of racism may lead to (a) the development of a racial consciousness apart from ethnic identity, (b) the development of an ethnic identity apart from a pan-racial identity, or (c) the development of both identities concomitantly. Nonetheless, because of the dearth of research examining the relationship between racial and ethnic identity in Asian Americans, little is known empirically about this process.

This is a similar phenomenon that may occur with other racial groups, such as Blacks or Hispanics, in which certain subgroups may be more likely to identify with their nation of origin and not with their racial group. For instance, Black Caribbeans are more than likely to identity with their country of origin (e.g., Haiti, Jamaica) instead of their Black racial group (Waters, 1996; 2001). However, with this group, it has been found that for second-generation Caribbean Americans that there was a significant positive relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity (Hall & Carter, 2006), and that second-generation Caribbean Americans perceived higher levels of discrimination than their first-

generation counterparts (Hall & Carter, 2006). Given this, perhaps with the increase of second-generation Asian Americans that there will also be a greater ability to identify with both a racial identity and an ethnic identity, and perhaps that there are generational differences between first and second-generation Asian Americans. Nonetheless, because this has not been supported empirically with Asian Americans, it is difficult to be certain.

Furthermore, there have been no known studies that have focused on how Asian Americans self-identify with other Asian racial group members (of different Asian ethnic groups), how Asian Americans are involved in racial practices (which would include practices across the pan-Asian racial category), proudly viewing one's Asian racial group, or have a cultural commitment to one's Asian racial group. Perhaps one explanation for the lack of this type of Asian-specific racial identity model is because as aforementioned, many Asians of various ethnic groups do not view themselves as apart of the larger racial Asian group, and therefore will not involve in pan-Asian practices or have a cultural commitment to one's pan-Asian racial group.

Additionally, when discussing racial identity, Asian Americans (and Native Americans and Hispanic/Latino Americans) often do not possess their own scales or measurements. For example, while there is a specific Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), Asian Americans are often measured using the Visible Racial/Ethnic Identity Attitude Scale (VREIAS; Helms & Carter, 1991) or the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (POCRIAS; Helms, 1995). VREIAS was adapted from the Parham and Helms

(1981) Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale and has been shown to have strong validity and reliability among both Black and Asian student populations (Pope, 2000). Several studies have utilized both the VREIAS and the POCRIAS to measure racial identity of Asian Americans (See Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Lee, 2002; Liu, 2002; Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004). All of these studies have demonstrated significant findings in relating racial identity to other variables, such as racial adjustment (Alvarez & Helms, 2001), cultural value orientation (Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004), and help-seeking behaviors (Lee, 2002).

However, it has been found that when Asian Americans complete instruments that ask about race, they may confusedly answer questions thinking about their race and ethnicity interchangeably (Liu, et al., 1999). This may be a problem in the instrument but also a shortcoming in the individual taking the measure. For example, a Filipino American individual may read an item on the POCRIAS that asks about views of one's own racial group (Asian), yet the Asian individual answers thinking specifically of their ethnic group (Filipino) because they think of their ethnicity as their race. Nevertheless, the confusion between race and ethnicity may also be a limitation of the instrument, as exemplified by the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Khoo, & Ahuna, 1995), in which items confound both race and ethnicity, potentially lead to inaccurate results (Liu, et al., 1999).

Previous studies using the POCRIAS or the VREIAS with Asian American samples (see Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004) cite that they do not examine differences between ethnic groups because of small

sample sizes. Although in a study of Asian American men (n=323), it was

reported that there were no significant differences in racial identity between

Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, South Asian, and Southeast Asian, and

biracial/bi-ethnic Asian American men (Liu, 2002). However, because two-thirds

of the population size was East Asian American (Chinese, Korean, or Japanese),

and only one-third represented marginalized Asian American groups (Filipino,

Southeast Asian, and South Asian), it is questionable whether this statistic is

actually representative of the entire population. In spite of this, because this

sample only included men, it may not necessarily be generalizable to women.

Similarly, in a study of Korean Americans, Indian Americans, and

Chinese Americans (n=188), the researcher indicated that racial identity statuses,

identity styles, and reflected racial and self-appraisals were significantly related to

one another (Alvarez, 1996). In addition, it was found that racial identity statuses

were found to be predictive of Asian Americans' awareness of racism, in that the

more mature that an Asian American's racial identity was the greater she/he

would be able to recognize racism. This researcher indicated that there were no

significant differences between ethnic groups. On the other hand, because Filipino

Americans are not included in this study, it is difficult to know whether this

would be generalizable to them.

In summary, there is a dearth in research involving Asian Americans and

racial identity. Because most studies that focus on Asian American identity

interchange racial identity, ethnic identity, and acculturation, little is known about

how Asian Americans perceive themselves as Asian people or practice in pan-

Asian specific activities. While the focus of the study at hand is not primarily focusing on racial identity development models with Asian Americans, it is important to recognize the need for further research in this area.

Asian Americans and Phenotype

Racial identity theory asserts that race can be classified by an individual's skin color, facial features, and hair texture (Helms & Carter, 1995). While individuals are categorized into racial groups using these criteria, there is minimal research to explore about the variation of these three physical attributes within a group. Asian Americans are the one racial group with the most variation of these characteristics, in which all members of the group will have different skin colors, facial features, and hair textures (Nadal, 2004). It is hypothesized that because of the variation within the group that Asian Americans will be perceived and treated differently based on phenotypic appearance.

Phenotype can be defined as physical appearance and features which impact how others perceive an individual racially (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001). For example, a biracial person (of Black/White parentage) who has more physical features of a Black person would be more than likely perceived by others to have a Black phenotype, regardless of how a person self-identifies or feels internally. Previous authors (e.g., Root, 1990) cite that skin color and physical appearance are both personal and social characteristics. Simply stated, a person has the ability to perceive one's skin color and appearance, but also has the ability to perceive how others treat him/her based on her/his appearance.

There have been no known studies in psychology which focus on the effects of phenotype within the Asian American group. Most studies on phenotype tend to focus on skin color (see Breland, 1998; Harvey, 1995; Porter & Washington, 1993) or concentrate specifically on Black/African Americans or Biracial persons (see Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Maddox, 2004). In terms of skin color, previous studies mention that there is a "color consciousness" in the Black/African American community in which group members "differentially attend and respond to shades of Black skin" (Neal & Wilson, 1989). As a result, many members in the Black/African American community may be able to recognize and treat others according to their skin color, often referring to each other with such labels as "light-skinned," "dark-skinned," "chocolate," etc. (Breland, 1998). While there may be very no empirical studies on skin color in the Asian and Latino communities, theoretical literature has revealed that in these communities, that light-skin may often be seen as "good" and dark-skin may be viewed as "bad," most likely a result of the colonization of these countries and the spectrum of skin colors that may occur across groups (Nadal, in press; Okamura, 1998; Root 1997b).

One study that focuses on Asian American eating disorders (i.e., Hall, 1995) show how Asian body types and physical appearances affect self-esteem; however, the study failed to decipher the differences between Asian Americans of varying phenotypes. Another study found that the interaction of skin color, gender and ethnic identity was significantly, positively correlated to GPA for Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans, but that it was not a significant predictor for

Asian Americans (Santana, 1995). While this might suggest that skin color is not a significant predictor of GPA for Asian Americans, it fails to look at specific differences between ethnic groups, as well as other phenotypic traits (i.e., facial features or hair texture). Finally, one study of Latino youth found that there was not a significant impact of phenotype on ethnic identity or acculturation, but did find that Latinos who were more Black in their phenotype would predict for stress (Bautista, 2003). This supports the notion that phenotype may not elicit differences in how individuals identify ethnically, but may lead to varying levels of stress. This can be applied to previous studies (e.g., Nadal, in review) with Filipino Americans that assert that physical appearances may lead to several forms of discrimination and race-related stress.

Previous Studies on differences between Filipino and Chinese Americans

There are few studies in psychology, education, or health that examine the differences between Asian ethnic groups, particularly Filipino Americans and East Asian Americans (Agbayani-Siewert, 2004; Nadal, 2004; Root, 1997b). By not separating Asian American ethnic groups in these types of studies, most practitioners and educators assume that the experiences of all Asian Americans are similar and that there is little heterogeneity between groups. At other times, many studies often use nonrandom sampling techniques and had sample sizes too small to differentiate between Asian groups (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Mossakowski, 2003; Yeh, Carter, & Pieterse, 2004). While there is little research to understand the different experiences between Asian American ethnic groups, this next section will review the few psychological studies that do exist, in order

to understand some of the ways that Filipino Americans and East Asian Americans might differ or be both similar to one another.

In terms of studies of physiological health that may stem from mental health, some studies have discovered that Filipino American men and women have a higher prevalence of hypertension in comparison to other Asian subgroups (Bethseda, 2000; Klatsky, Tekawa, & Armstrong, 1996). Earlier studies have discovered that overall prevalence of hypertension was second highest for Filipino Americans, next to African Americans (Stavig, Igra, and Leonard, 1988). In the same study, it was found that Filipino American men ages 18-49 years had the highest rates of hypertension over all racial/ethnic groups, and that Filipino Americans over age 50 years had higher rates of hypertension over other racial/ethnic groups (Stavig, Igra, and Leonard, 1988). These studies support that there are physiological differences between Filipino Americans and East Asian Americans, and that Filipino Americans may be experiencing more stress, which is a major cause of hypertension.

Some studies have focused on the differences with substance use between Filipino Americans and other East Asian Americans (Berganio, et. al, 1997; Nadal, 2000). In one quantitative self-report study (n= 3,712) that examined Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and native Hawaiians, it was found that Filipino Americans were the largest "abstainers" from alcohol in comparison to the other groups (Johnson, Schwitters, Wilson, Nagoshi, & McClearn, 1985). On the other hand, it was found that out of those individuals that did drink, that Filipinos drank for pathological reasons

significantly more than any other group in the sample. This might support the notion that perhaps Filipino Americans have different stressors than other Asian Americans that may lead them to drink alcohol for pathological reasons. In a later analysis of the same study (Johnson, Nagoshi, Ahern, Wilson, & Yuen, 1987), it was found that use of alcohol was lower among international-born Filipinos (41.1%), than those born in the United States (64.8% for Hawai'i and 50% for the mainlanders). At the same time, a greater proportion of Filipino abstainers were among the international-born group (39.6%), in comparison to those born in the U.S. mainland (20%) or in Hawai'i (15.1%). These findings attributed to the effect of acculturation levels on alcohol abuse. One might assume that Filipinos who are more "Americanized" may have higher drinking patterns than those who are more connected to their Filipino identity. At the same time, one might also attribute drinking patterns to a larger amount of stress factors. Filipino Americans born in the mainland United States (where they potentially experience racial discrimination) in or Hawai'i (where they are more likely from lower-socioeconomic backgrounds) may experience more stressful situations than international-born Filipinos and hence feel a greater need to turn to alcohol.

A study which examined the cultural value similarities and differences among Asian American ethnic groups examined the differences between Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Korean Americans (n=570), utilizing the Asian Values Scale, which measures six dimensions of Asian cultural values (B.S.K. Kim, et al., 2001). Their findings support that Filipino Americans significantly differed from their East Asian American

counterparts in regard to their level of adherence to five of the six Asian value dimensions. Filipino Americans indicated less adherence to "emotional self-control" than all three Asian American groups, less adherence to "family recognition through achievement" and "familial piety" than both Japanese and Korean Americans, less adherence to "conformity to norms" than Chinese and Japanese Americans, and less adherence to "collectivism" than Japanese Americans. These differences support the notion that Filipino Americans may have different cultural values than East Asian Americans, due to the unique colonial history of the Philippines. In addition, the finding that Filipino Americans significantly adhere less to "emotional self-control" than all three East Asian subgroups further supports studies (i.e., Okamura & Agbayani, 1991) that Filipino Americans may desire more emotionally expressive counseling more than other Asian Americans who would prefer directive, less emotional counseling.

A study which explored the differences between Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, Whites, and Hispanic American college students' perceptions of dating violence (n=713) examined participants' perceptions and attitudes towards spousal abuse, definition of dating violence, and attitude toward women (Agbayani-Siewert, 2004). The results of the study revealed that Filipino Americans have similar attitudes on these scales (negative attitudes about spousal abuse and positive attitudes towards women) to Whites and Hispanics, and that Chinese Americans were significantly different than the three other groups. This supports the notion that Filipino Americans and Chinese Americans may have a

different view of gender, due to their different cultural values. This may be due to the egalitarian view of women in the Philippines, in which that Filipinos give recognition, deference, and opportunities to any family member, regardless of sex, who shows potential to increase the family's status and position (Pido, 1986). This means that both Filipino men and women are encouraged to be political leaders, professionals, and entrepreneurs; the Philippines is the only Asian country which has had two female presidents.

Depression may be a common concern for Filipino Americans of all ages, but because there is not much research on the subject, particularly in comparison to other Asian ethnic groups, it becomes difficult to make any generalizations about the topic of Filipino American mental health (Mossakowski, 2003). There are perhaps two major studies that examine differences between Asian ethnic groups. In a sample of Asian Americans from Seattle, it was discovered that Koreans have the highest levels of depressive symptoms, followed by Filipinos, Japanese, and Chinese Americans (Kuo, 1984). Another study finds that Filipino Americans have the second highest levels of depression compared to other Asian Americans (Rumbaut, 1995). Yet, because these were more descriptive studies, it is difficult to understand variables that affect depression between Asian American ethnic groups.

In terms of other psychological illnesses, one study found that Filipino Americans were diagnosed with schizophrenia at higher rates than other Asian American groups, but because there have not been any other studies on the subject it is difficult to generalize (Dela Cruz, et al., 2002). Other psychological disorders

which may be common and noticed in the Filipino American community become hidden, misunderstood, or unknown, due to cultural shame, lack of knowledge, and lack of research on specific mental health issues for Filipino Americans.

Previous authors have suggested that Filipino Americans may be less comfortable in seeking mental health services, when compared with other Asian American populations (Ying & Hu, 1994). In one study comparing cultural values and mental health attitudes in Filipino American and Japanese Americans, regression analyses found that after controlling for generation, second-generation Filipino Americans had significantly more traditional Asian values, more interdependent and independent self-views, and less favorable attitudes toward mental illness and mental health services than second-generation Japanese Americans (Tanaka-Koyanagi, 2001). The concurrent interdependent and independent self-views may speak to the mix of cultural values of both collectivism and individualism in Filipino culture. Despite this, it is important for future research to examine what sustains second-generation Filipino Americans to hold Asian values, as well as what precludes these Filipino Americans from having favorable attitudes towards mental health illnesses and services than their Japanese American counterparts.

One study focused on the notion of teacher bias and its effect on both Filipino and Chinese American high school students (Teranishi, 2002). This qualitative study comprised of interviews with 80 Filipino American and 80 Chinese American students (who were matched on grade level, course completion, and overall GPA) at predominant Asian American schools in

California. The major findings included that while Chinese Americans felt

positive feelings about their teachers and counselors (i.e., they felt supported and

encouraged to attend college), Filipino Americans felt negative feelings about

their teachers (i.e., they felt unsupported and discouraged to attend college). The

Filipino American students revealed that they experienced many negative

stereotypes from their teachers and counselors, often being perceived and treated

as "gang members" or "academically unqualified." Consequently, these Filipino

American students perceived that their counselors and teachers encouraged them

to attend vocational school or community college, because assumptions were

made about their family obligations or financial situations. The major finding in

this study was that Filipino and Chinese American high school students may have

differing experiences, due to racial perceptions. One limitation to the study is that

it is based in California, where the Filipino Americans may have historically

experienced more discrimination than they may have in other parts of the country.

However, because about half of the Filipino American (and Asian American)

population resides in California, it is important to recognize the effects that this

type of bias would have on Filipino American (and other Asian American)

experiences.

Finally, in an aforementioned study about the influences of racial

socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang,

2006), the sample size was large enough to test differences between Chinese and

Filipino American groups. In the sample of 254 college students on the West

Coast, it was found that Filipino Americans experience higher frequencies of

vicarious racism (or racism that is hearing or learning about racism that is experienced by family or friends) than Chinese Americans. It was also revealed that Filipino Americans experienced a significant higher score of racial microaggressions (as operationalized by the Daily Life Experiences scale) than Chinese Americans. With this particular sample, there are significant differences between the two groups. However, because other variables were not measured, it becomes difficult to understand the relationship that ethnicity may have on perceptions of racial discrimination.

Summary of Literature Review

The literature review aimed to explore the major differences between Filipino Americans and Chinese Americans. Through examining differences in history, sociocultural experience, identity development, and perception of discrimination, one can notice how Filipino Americans may have difficulty identifying with the Asian racial group. For instance, a Filipino American individual might not feel quite "Asian" enough, but does not feel "Pacific Islander" or "Hispanic" either. Conversely, because Chinese Americans are the predominant Asian group and are perceived this way within the Asian American group and by non-Asian Americans, Chinese American individuals may not have difficulty in identifying as Asian.

Additionally, Filipino Americans may experience differential treatment by other racial groups (e.g., racial discrimination, racial preference), based on others' perceptions of the Filipino American individual (e.g., whether the Filipino appears to look more Asian, Latino, or ethnically ambiguous) (Agbayani-Siewert,

2002; Nadal, 2004; Nadal, in review; Rumbaut, 1995). Depending on the individual, it is hypothesized that these experiences (positive or negative) may lead Filipino Americans to identify their race and ethnicity differently. On the other hand, because Chinese Americans are likely to be always perceived as Asian, perhaps they may always identify with the Asian racial group.

Because Filipinos phenotypically can look like many different racial/ethnic groups, the ways that a Filipino American individual is perceived are important factors to how they experience race and how they are treated. For instance, if a Filipino American appears to be more "Asian" (which tends to mean "East Asian") in physical features, she/he might be treated as a "model minority," while a Filipino American with more "Latino" physical features may elicit stereotypes associated with Latinos. The geographic location in which the Filipino American resides may also play a role in the ways that the Filipino American is perceived. For instance, in California and Hawai'i- states where Filipino Americans have historically been discriminated against (Okamura, 1998), Filipino Americans may be a recognizable ethnic group and may be treated accordingly. Conversely, in places where Asian American groups are indistinguishable, it is possible that Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, and other Asian American groups might be treated similarly.

Hypotheses

Because of all of these experiences, there are several hypotheses that are proposed, as diagramed in Appendix J. The main variables that are being examined include ethnic group membership, phenotype, perceptions of racial

discrimination, and race-related stress. While it is understood that there may be several mediating variables (such as racial identity, ethnic identity, self-esteem, or collective self-esteem) these variables will not be included in the analysis. These variables were not collected for both practical reasons (i.e., not wanting to increase variables and sample sizes of the study), but also because of the exploratory nature of the study. The purpose of this study was to first understand relationship between ethnic group membership, phenotype, and racial discrimination. Depending on the results of the study, further research can investigate other variables more extensively.

The following includes the hypotheses for the current study:

Hypothesis 1a: Filipino Americans will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than their Chinese American counterparts. Racial microaggressions will be operationalized using the Daily Life Experiences-Frequency (DLE-F) and Race (DLE-R) scales (Harrell, 1997).

Hypothesis 1b: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of race-related stress than their Chinese American counterparts. Race-related stress will be operationalized using the Racism and Life Experiences Scales- Brief Version (RALES-B; Harrell, 1997).

Hypothesis 1c: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of Asian American racism-related stress than their Chinese American counterparts. Race-related stress will be operationalized using the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004)

Hypothesis 2a: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype traits will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than persons with more typical Asian phenotype traits. Racial microaggressions will be operationalized using the Daily Life Experiences- FR scale (Harrell, 1997) and phenotype will be operationalized using the Asian Phenotype Scale (Nadal, 2007).

Hypothesis 2b: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype will report higher scores of racism-related stress than persons with a more typical Asian phenotype. Race-related stress will be operationalized using the Racism and Life Experiences Scales- Brief Version (RALES-B; Harrell, 1997), and phenotype will be operationalized using the Asian Phenotype Scale (Nadal, 2007).

Hypothesis 2c: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype traits will report higher scores of Asian American race-related stress than persons with more typical Asian phenotype traits. Race-related stress will be operationalized using the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004), and phenotype will be operationalized using the Asian Phenotype Scale (Nadal, 2007).

Hypothesis 3a: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.

Hypothesis 3b: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of racism-related stress.

Hypothesis 4a: Higher scores of racism and life experience stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.

Hypothesis 4b: Higher scores of racism and life experiences will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.

Hypothesis 5a: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.

Hypothesis 5b: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence higher scores of racism-related stress.

Chapter III:

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The sample included 448 Asian American participants who completed all or more than half of the survey packet. Participants were either Filipino American (47.6 percent) or Chinese American (41.5 percent), with the remaining either "Multiracial with at least one Asian ethnic group" (8.8 percent) or "Other" (2.1 percent). There were a total of 346 females and 167 males, and the mean age was 27.6 years (SD=8.02). Majority of the participants (60.8%) were second-generation American (born in the U.S., parents immigrated). Seventeen percent were 1.5 generation (born outside of the U.S., immigrated before adolescence), 12.3% were first generation (born outside of the U.S., immigrated to U.S. as adult), 4.7% were third generation (born in the U.S., grandparents immigrated), and 4.9% were other. The participants were mostly college-educated, with the mean education being 5.05 years beyond high school (SD=2.65). In terms of geographic location, most participants were from the West Coast (47.6%), while the remainder were from the Northeast (33.5%), Midwest (5.7%), Southeast (4.5%), Southwest (3.1%), and 1.9% (Hawai'i); 19 participants reported other geographic locations. Participants were asked about the racial/ethnic compositions of their friends, in which some reported having friends "mixed with all racial groups" (39.4%), "mixed with different Asian groups" (22%), mostly Filipino or Pilipino American (21.1%), mostly White (7.8%), mostly Chinese or Chinese American (6.8%), or other (2.9%). Finally, participants were asked how they

identified themselves on the census, in which majority identified as "Asian/ Asian American" (70.0%), with the remaining as "Pacific Islander" (20.3%), Filipino only (5.7%), multiracial (2.3%), or other (1.8%). Participant characteristic frequencies are shown on Table 3.

Table 3
Demographic Characteristics for the Total Sample (N = 513)

Characteristic	N	%
Ethnicity		
Filipino	244	47.6
Chinese	213	41.5
Multiracial with 1 Asian group	45	8.8
Other Asian group	11	2.1
Gender		
Male	167	32.6
Female	346	67.4
Generation		
First generation	63	12.3
1.5 generation	89	17.3
Second generation	312	60.8
Third generation	24	4.7
Other	25	4.9
Geographic Location		
Northeast	172	33.5
West Coast	244	47.6
Midwest	29	5.7
Southeast	23	4.5
Southwest	16	3.1
Hawai'i	10	1.9
Other	19	3.7
Friends' Race/ Ethnicity		
Racially Mixed	202	39.4
Mostly Filipino	108	21.1
Mostly Chinese	35	6.8
Mixed with different Asian groups	113	22.0
Mostly White	40	7.8
Others	15	2.9
Census Identifier		
Asian/ Asian American	359	70.0
Pacific Islander	104	20.3
Filipino only	29	5.7
Multiracial	12	2.3
Other	9	1.8

Sixty-three participants did not complete the entire packet. Majority of these participants completed the demographic sheet and the first Daily Life Experiences (DLE) section before terminating. Their responses were included in analyzing the DLE scores but not for the remaining variables. In analyzing the removed subjects, it was discovered that their demographics were similar to the participants that did complete the packet. Their mean age was 28 (SD=7.11) and mean of years of education after high school was 5.25 (SD=2.5). They were majority second-generation American (58%) or 1.5 generation American (20%), majority were female (65%), and majority was either from the West Coast (67%) or East Coast (24%). The only noticeable discrepancy was that majority of the removed subjects were Filipino (63% compared to 48% of the remainder of the sample). This discrepancy will be discussed in the discussion section.

Measures

Demographic data sheet

Participants were asked to identify their ethnic group membership: a) Filipino, b) Chinese, c) Multiracial with at least 1 Asian group, or d) Other Asian group. Other sociocultural variables included 1) gender, 2) age, 3) place of residence, 4) education (years of education past high school), and 5) friendship networks (whether friends are mostly pan-Asian, mostly Filipino, mostly Chinese, mostly White, mostly Black, mostly Hispanic, or mixed with all racial groups). Finally one item asked if the individual identifies as Asian American, Pacific Islander, or Other.

Daily Life Experiences- Frequency and Race Scales

One dependent variable is the Daily Life Experiences- Frequency & Race Scales (DLE-FR; Harrell, 1997), a subscale of the Racism and Life Experiences-Self- Administration Version (RaLES-S; Utsey, 1998) (See Appendix C). The scale is a self-report measure of perceptions of racism by a person of Color and the impact that racism has an individual's personal life (Utsey, 1998). Part 1 of the scale (which consists of 20 items) assesses racial microaggressions or daily experiences that may occur in an individual's life, while Part 2 (which consists of the same 20 items) measures how much an individual perceives the event to have occurred because of race (Harrell, 1997). Two scores are obtained- overall frequency and frequency that race/racism was a factor or cause in the incident. The DLE has been tested on all major racial groups, including Asian/Pacific Islander. The reliability coefficients on all the DLE-F is .89 and the DLE-R is .94 (Harrell, 1997). While the reliability for Asian groups was high, the differences between different Asian American ethnic groups were not measured. Accordingly, it is important to utilize this measure to assess if phenotype differences might lead to varying perceptions of discrimination for different Asian American ethnic groups. The DLE has also demonstrated high construct validity and was found to be significantly related to racial identity salience (r=.22, p<.01) and collective self-esteem (r=.26, p<.01).

In order to discover whether subscales existed (and further explore the hypotheses), all 20 items were run through a principal axis exploratory factor analysis with promax rotation and an eigenvalue greater than 1. This procedure

yielded 3 factors with the following eigenvalues: 9.577, 1.424, and 1.134. All 20 of the items were grouped into Factor 1 with a loading of at least .534. The other 2 factors yielded less consistent results and could not be extracted into common factors based on their content.

However, because previous theoretical literature (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007) and qualitative studies (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; Sue, Nadal, et al., in press) indicated that there were different types or categories of microaggressions, the principal investigator and three doctoral students (one Asian American and two non-Asian Americans) categorized the DLE items into potential subscales, based on previous literature measuring racial discrimination and racial microaggressions. The group worked independently and reconvened to agree upon five subscales, which matched the categories of microaggressions from previous literature. These subscales included 1) Second-class citizen, 2) Assumption of criminality, 3) Intellectual inferiority, and 4) Exoticization; one last category included General Insults. Appendix G reveals DLE items associated with each DLE subscale.

A confirmatory factor analysis was performed in order to endorse these subscales for the DLE. The overall model fit is not great, with a χ^2 statistic of 869.237 (df=160), which is large enough to reject the null of a good fit. In addition, the RMSEA is .093, which is higher than the cut-off value of .05 chosen to indicate a good fit. However, despite these shortcomings, the subscales were still used in order to test the hypotheses of understanding how different types of

racial microaggressions may vary for the sample. This inadequacy will be further discussed in the limitations section.

For this study, internal consistency reliabilities was found to be DLE-F (a = .941) and DLE-R (a = .974). Internal consistency reliabilities for these subscales included the following: Second-class citizen (a = .908), Assumption of Criminality (a = .920), Intellectual inferiority (a = .870), Exoticization (a = .840), and Insults (a = .845).

Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory

The Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) is a 29-item Likert scale, which consists of three different subscales: 14 items in the Socio-Historical Racism subscale, 8 items on the General Racism subscale, and 7 items on Perpetual Foreigner subscale (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; See Appendix D). The reliability coefficients on all the entire 29-item scale is r=.87; the reliability coefficients on the subscales are as follows: Socio-Historical Racism r=.82, General Racism r= .73, and Perpetual Foreigner=.84. Results across three studies suggest that AARRSI and its subscales are reliable and valid measures of Asian Americans' experiences with race-related stress. A three-factor structure of racism-related stress emerged from both exploratory and confirmatory analyses. The AARRSI also demonstrates high construct validity, as exhibited through positive correlations with the existing measures of student stressors, self-esteem, and cultural mistrust (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004).

Internal consistency reliabilities for the scale and subscales for this study were found to be the following: Total AARRSI (a = .952), Socio-Historical

Racism (a = .924), General Stereotypes (a = .879), and Perpetual Foreigner (a = .881).

Racism and Life Experiences Scale- Brief Version

The Racism and Life Experiences Scale- Brief Version (RALES-B) was also used to measure race-related stress. The RaLES-B is a short version (and more widely used version) of the Racism and Life Experiences- Self-Administration Version (RaLES-S; Utsey, 1998). The nine-item instrument is a self-report measure of perceptions of racism by a person of Color and the impact and stress that racism has an individual's personal life (Utsey, 1998). The scale measures the degree to which an individual believes that racism affects one's self and one's racial group. Four items comprise the Racism-Group score (measuring the stress that race may cause people of one's same racial/ethnic group), while five items form the Racism-Self score; a total score measures the racism and life experiences score. Utsey & Ponterotto (1996) reported that the RaLES-B Racism-Self score and RaLES-B Racism-Group score had a Cronbach's alpha of .90 and .83 respectively (n=55). A later study by Wells (in Utsey, 1998) reported that Racism-Self was significantly correlated with the immersion dimension of racial identity (r=.26, p<.01) and with adaptive functioning (r=.18, p<.01). Additionally, Racism-Group was significantly correlated with both the encounter (r=.23, p<.01) and internalization (r=.29, p<.01) dimensions of racial identity. Finally, researchers established high validity in that the RaLES-B had a significant and positive correlation (rs=.24 to .46, p<.01) with the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS), another measure of racism (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Internal consistency reliabilities for the scale and subscales for this study were found to be the following: Total RALES-B (a = .903), RALES-Individual (a = .910), and RALES-Group (a = .721).

Asian Phenotype Measure

The Asian Phenotype Measure or APM is a ten item scale that measures an Asian American's phenotype or physical appearance (Nadal, 2007). Participants are asked to respond on a 5-point Likert scale on items of physical characteristics and self-perception of phenotype (See Appendix F). Six self-reported "physical characteristics" questions measure participants' self-reported skin color, eye shape/facial features, and hair texture. These three features are assessed because racial identity theory asserts that race is based on skin tone, facial features, and hair texture (Helms & Carter, 1995). Four "self-perception of phenotype" questions were asked in order to test how an individual may perceive one's phenotype, as well as how others may perceive her/him as Asian. Perception scores are important because previous authors have asserted that phenotype can be both physical and perceived (Root, 1990). These questions will be ranked on a 5-point Likert scale and include: "I believe that I look 'Asian'" and "Other people perceive me as Asian."

A team of five counseling psychology doctoral students (two Asian Americans and three non-Asian Americans) was assembled to review the measure. The team consensually agreed that the items were valid, in that they were measuring skin color, facial features, and hair texture accurately. The team also agreed that the items matched on each of the phenotype subscales.

A pilot test was conducted for test/retest reliability, through an online

survey was made available on www.surveymonkey.com. Email announcements

were publicized through Asian American, Pacific Islander, Filipino American,

and Chinese American listserves and organizations (i.e., student organizations,

community centers), as well as through online communities (e.g., myspace.com,

friendster.com). The survey was available for three days and was closed after the

desired n was reached. An internet study was utilized in order to survey a diverse

representation of Asian Americans of different geographic locations. A snowball

sampling method was encouraged, so that participants could share the survey with

their family and friends with different educational levels and community

involvement.

Procedure

Approval to begin the study was first sought from the Teachers College,

Columbia University Institutional Review Board (IRB). After IRB approval was

received and the pilot study was completed, participants were recruited through

online sampling. An online sample was utilized because Asian Americans and

Pacific Islanders have the highest percentage of home computers and internet

access out of all racial/ethnic groups (Newberger, 2001); therefore it would be the

most efficient and non-intrusive way to collect data from this population. The

instruments were available online at http://www.surveymonkey.com, and online

surveys on this website are confidential and secure. Participants were able to

remain anonymous and had an unlimited amount of time to complete the

instrument. Recruitment to the online survey was made by sending mass emails to

Asian American, Filipino American, and Chinese American community organizations and student organizations. Additionally, advertisements and bulletins were posted through online communities (e.g., craigslist.com, myspace.com, and friendster.com).

The second form of recruitment was through the snowball sampling methodology (in which participants were asked to advertise the study to their respective family and friends). The snowball sampling methodology has been proven to be effective in recruiting participants from hidden or not-easily-accessible populations (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). Upon completing the online version of the instrument, individuals were encouraged to advertise the study to their family and friends; online participants received a computer-version flyer that they had an opportunity to advertise to their family and friends. The snowball method is used to recruit participants without access to education and/or who may not be involved in cultural organizations. By recruiting through Asian American, Filipino American, Chinese American, and non-cultural organizations and venues, and by encouraging those participants to tell their family and friends, it is expected that the sample size would be reflective of participants with various racial identity, ethnic identity, social classes, and educational experiences. Additionally, by having all both of these types of recruitment, the sample size would increase and be diverse.

Upon agreeing to the informed consent form, the participants were asked to participate in an anonymous and confidential study examining their perceptions of racial discrimination. They completed an online survey packet consisting of the

Daily Life Experiences- Frequency and Race Scales (DLE-FR) (Harrell, 1997), Asian American Race Related Stress Scale (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004), Racism and Life Experiences Scale- Brief (RALES-B) (Utsey, 1998), Asian Phenotype Measure (Nadal, 2007), and a brief demographic questionnaire. Surveys were completed in approximately 20-30 minutes, and participants were able withdraw at any time.

Research Design and Data Analysis

The current study is a correlational design that explores both between group and within group differences through survey instruments that assess the study variables. First, frequencies and descriptive statistics were used to obtain information about the sample participants. Descriptive statistics were obtained for scores on the instruments for the overall sample, as well differences between Filipino and Chinese Americans. A MANOVA was conducted as a preliminary analysis to investigate whether demographic variables account for significant variance in the three criterion variables (Daily Life Experiences, Asian American Race-Related Stress, and Racism and Life Experiences). Independent samples t-tests were used to compare the mean differences between the Filipino and Chinese American participants. MANOVAS and simultaneous multiple regression analyses were used to answer subsequent research questions.

Chapter IV:

RESULTS

Overview

The results of the study are described in this chapter. First, pilot study results are presented, followed by descriptive statistics, an intercorrelation matrix, the preliminary analyses, and regression analyses for the main analyses. Descriptive statistics (Table 6) provide a summary of participants' mean responses on each of the study variables. Means, ranges, and standard deviations are provided for the overall sample. A correlation matrix (Table 7) describes the strength of the relationship and direction of association among the study variables. Preliminary analyses follow.

Independent samples t-tests are presented comparing the means between Filipino and Chinese Americans (Hypothesis 1). Multiple regression analyses demonstrate the influence of the predictor variable (phenotype) on the outcome variables (perceptions of racial microaggressions, Asian American race-related stress, and racism-related stress) (Hypothesis 2). Additional multiple regression analyses were used to determine the influence of the outcome variables on other outcome variables (Hypotheses 3, 4, 5). A Bonferonni adjustment was not made for the number of regression analyses because of the exploratory nature of the study. A more liberal p value ($p<.05$) was used to uncover all relevant associations.

Pilot Study Results

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to examine the overall

model for phenotype as well as potential subscores for facial features, skin color,

and hair texture. The 10 items were run through a principal-axis factor analysis

with varimax rotation and an eigenvalue greater than 1. This procedure yielded 4

factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, ranging from .915 to 3.669. Three factors

were grouped into items that had a factor loading greater than .40, as

recommended by previous authors (i.e., Guadagnoli and Velicer, 1988; Kahn,

2006); the fourth factor had factor loadings of .538 and .303 respectively. The

four factors accounted for 36.695%, 18.206%, 14.917%, and 9.152 of the total

variance, respectively. The four factors were labeled (a) Perception as Asian (4

items), (b) Hair Texture (2 items), (c) Skin Color (2 items), and d) Facial Features

(2 items). For the pilot study, the 10 item Asian Phenotype Measure yielded a

coefficient alpha of .787 (M =2.206, SD=.285; range=1.630-3.111). Examination

of each factor yielded a coefficient alpha of .862 for Component 1: Perception as

Asian (M =2.005, SD=.224; range=1.657-3.110), .902 for Component 2: Hair

Texture (M =1.682, SD=.006; range=1.630-1.735), .807 for Component 3: Skin

Color (M =2.515, SD=.045; range=2.366-2.665), and .616 for Component 4:

Facial Features (M =2.543, SD=.161; range=2.543-3.110).

Table 4

Pilot Study: Principal Axis Exploratory Common Factor Loadings for Asian Phenotype Scale (N = 173)

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Skin Color (Statement)	.410	-.138	**.769**	-.021
Skin Color (Picture)	.343	-.228	**.661**	.081
Facial Features (Statement)	.551	-.014	-.196	**.538**
Facial Features (Picture)	.490	-.131	-.100	**.303**
Hair (Statement)	.230	**.816**	.054	-.017
Hair (Picture)	.273	**.925**	.155	.016
I believe that I look Asian.	**.685**	.032	-.046	-.004
I believe that others perceive me as an Asian.	**.820**	-.093	-.143	-.195
I believe that my physical appearance matches what society typically views as Asian	**.678**	-.095	-.175	-.060
When others look at me, they see an Asian	**.881**	-.130	-.196	-.297

For the current study, an exploratory principle-axis factor analysis was conducted for both Filipino and Chinese American samples. For the both Filipino American sample (n=203) and Chinese American sample (n=197), four factors emerged (See Table 5). The factors were grouped based on factor loadings, and match the same factors from the pilot study: (a) Perception as Asian (4 items), (b) Hair Texture (2 items), (c) Skin Color (2 items), and d) Facial Features.

Table 5

Principal-Axis Exploratory Common Factor Loadings for Asian Phenotype Scale

Filipino Sample (n=203)	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Skin Color (Statement)	.267	-.170	**.840**	-.076
Skin Color (Picture)	.138	-.118	**.767**	-.086
Facial Features (Statement)	.552	-.312	.042	**.684**
Facial Features (Picture)	.338	-.083	-.024	**.231**
Hair (Statement)	.235	**.748**	.121	.093
Hair (Picture)	.284	**.941**	.136	.116
I believe that I look Asian.	**.768**	.034	-.125	-.135
I believe that others perceive me as an Asian.	**.822**	-.021	-.153	-.217
I believe that my physical appearance matches what society typically views as	**.767**	-.100	-.108	-.009

Asian When others look at me, they see an Asian				
	.856	-.132	-.126	-.222

Chinese Sample (n=197)	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Skin Color (Statement)	.327	.056	.862	-.141
Skin Color (Picture)	.252	.071	.463	.088
Facial Features (Statement)	.491	.049	.064	.506
Facial Features (Picture)	.327	-.053	-.080	.637
Hair (Statement)	.185	.922	-.077	-.049
Hair (Picture)	.161	.807	-.113	-.041
I believe that I look Asian.	.686	-.109	-.097	-.180
I believe that others perceive me as an Asian.	.663	-.090	-.222	-.210
I believe that my physical appearance matches what society typically views as Asian	.423	-.101	-.105	.190
When others look at me, they see an Asian	.755	-.221	-.150	-.311

Internal consistency reliabilities for the scale and subscales for this study were found to be the following: Overall scale (a = .829), Skin Color (a = .797), Facial Features (a = .658), Hair Texture (a = .912), and Asian Self-Perceptions (a =.896).

For this study, the phenotype scores were different for Filipino and Chinese Americans. Filipino Americans scored significantly higher than Chinese Americans on skin color, facial features, hair texture, and perceptions as Asian ($p<.05$). Table 6 reveals the means for phenotype based on ethnic group.

Table 6

Mean Differences in Phenotype Scores between Filipino and Chinese Americans

Phenotype Variable	Ethnicity	N	Mean	SD
Skin Color	Filipino	148	2.85	.76
	Chinese	173	2.09	.63
Facial Features	Filipino	148	3.16	.80
	Chinese	173	2.47	.85
Hair Texture	Filipino	148	1.66	.90
	Chinese	173	1.31	.52
Perceptions as Asian	Filipino	148	2.20	.99
	Chinese	173	1.31	.43

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix

An overview of the descriptive statistics, including means, ranges, and standard deviations, are presented for the total sample in Table 7.

Table 7

Mean Responses for Each Variable/Measure for the Total Sample (N = 513)

Variable/Measures	Mean	Range	Standard Deviation
Racism & Life Experiences			
RALES- Total	25.46	34	7.08
RALES- Individual	13.28	20	4.70
RALES- Group	12.17	20	2.92
Daily Life Experiences (Frequency)			
DLE-F Total	28.54	97	17.11
DLE-F Exotic	7.77	20	4.44
DLE-F Inferior	3.22	15	2.87
DLE-F Second-Class	6.55	20	4.18
DLE-F Criminality	4.94	24	4.29
DLE-F Insults	6.07	20	3.85
Daily Life Experiences (Race)			
DLE-R Total	25.46	34	7.09
DLE-R Exotic	11.73	20	5.56
DLE-R Inferior	4.94	15	3.93
DLE-R Second-Class	7.14	20	4.85
DLE-R Criminality	7.80	25	6.52
DLE-R Insults	8.16	20	5.20

Asian American Race Related Stress Inventory

AARRSI- Total	3.06	3.97	.91
AARRSI- Socio-Historical Racism	3.41	3.93	.96
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	2.53	4.00	1.00
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	2.95	4.00	1.12
Phenotype			
Skin Color	2.42	4.00	.77
Facial Features	2.81	4.00	.89
Hair Texture	1.52	4.00	.81
Asian Self-Perceptions	1.79	4.00	.91

Note: The means correspond to the Likert-type scale for each measure. Higher scores correspond to greater levels of the given variable. For Phenotype, higher scores equate darker skin color, larger eyes/ facial features, curlier hair, and self-perceptions as looking "non-Asian," while lower scores equate lighter skin color, smaller eyes/ facial features, straighter hair, and self-perceptions as looking "Asian."

The correlation matrix is presented next in Table 8. Due to the high number of correlations, the p value was set to $p < .01$ to account for all the correlations. An examination of the correlation matrix indicates that all of the variables share high correlations. See Appendix K for details regarding significant correlations.

Table 8

Intercorrelations Among Predictor and Criterion Variables (N = 447)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	---																		
2	.96	---																	
3	.89	.71	---																
4	.72	.72	.59	---															
5	.70	.70	.58	.91	---														
6	.58	.56	.49	.87	.63	---													
7	.63	.65	.49	.90	.69	.81	---												
8	.76	.75	.63	.61	.52	.56	.58	---											
9	.63	.62	.54	.58	.48	.53	.57	.82	---										
10	.64	.61	.59	.51	.44	.49	.46	.87	.60	---									
11	.70	.69	.57	.52	.47	.43	.49	.88	.59	.77	---								
12	.63	.62	.52	.50	.39	.51	.47	.88	.63	.76	.72	---							
13	.69	.71	.53	.55	.49	.49	.52	.91	.71	.73	.79	.73	---						
14	.76	.78	.61	.72	.68	.63	.65	.78	.71	.74	.68	.70	.66	---					
15	.57	.56	.47	.53	.51	.40	.48	.54	.65	.38	.41	.37	.47	.88	---				
16	.67	.67	.56	.60	.55	.52	.54	.70	.56	.73	.63	.62	.58	.93	.69	---			
17	.70	.71	.56	.56	.56	.42	.49	.67	.49	.62	.70	.57	.56	.95	.66	.86	---		
18	.63	.62	.52	.56	.50	.54	.48	.71	.56	.67	.61	.74	.57	.93	.68	.88	.85	---	
19	.71	.73	.53	.61	.57	.47	.58	.68	.59	.56	.60	.53	.67	.93	.76	.81	.80	.78	---

All correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
NOTE: 1. RALES-Total, 2. RALES-Individual, 3. RALES-Group, 4. AARRSI-Total, 5. AARRSI-Social, 6. AARRSI-Gen Racism, 7. AARRSI-Foreigner, 8. DLE-F Total, 9. DLE-F Exotic, 10.DLE-F Inferior, 11. DLE-F Second Class, 12. DLE-F Criminal, 13. DLE-F Insult, 14. DLE-R Total, 15. DLE-R Exotic, 16. DLE-R Inferior, 17. DLE-R Second Class, 18. DLE-R Criminal, 19. DLE-F Insult

Preliminary Data Analyses

A MANOVA analysis was conducted to assess whether the demographic variables (gender, age, education, generation, geographic location, and Asian self-designation) account for variance in the outcome variables (race-related stress, Asian American race-related stress, and daily life experiences). The Pillai's Trace omnibus multivariate test indicated that there was a main effect for education (Pillai's Trace $V = .104$, $p < .05$). Follow-up ANOVAS indicated that there were differences in means across education in AARRSI-Total $F(1, 352) = 9.802$, $p < .01$, AARRSI-SocioHistorical Racism $F(1, 352) = 22.526$, $p < .01$, AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner $F(1, 352) = 3.815$, $p \leq .05$, RALES-B $F(1, 344) = 8.286$, $p < .01$, RALES-Individual $F(1, 344) = 9.288$, $p < .01$, RALES-Group $F(1, 344) = 4.291$, $p < .05$, DLE-R Exotic $F(1,344)= 4.176$, $p < .05$, and DLE-R Second Class Citizen $F(1,344)= 7.622$, $p < .01$.

Main Analyses

Hypothesis 1a: Filipino Americans will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than their Chinese American counterparts.

Perceptions of racial microaggressions are operationalized through the DLE-F, DLE-R and the DLE-F and DLE-R subscales. Means are revealed in Table 9. An independent samples t-test was conducted to determine whether ethnicity would influence perceptions of racial microaggressions (See Table 10). There were no significant differences between groups on the DLE-F Total or the DLE-R Total. However, there were significant differences between groups on the DLE-F-Inferior $F(1, 450) =6.982$, $p<.01$, DLE-F-Criminality $F(1, 450) =4.726$,

p<.05, and DLE-R-Insults $F(1,450)=.022$, p<.05. In this sample, there were no significant differences in the total frequency of experiences of racial microaggressions between Filipino and Chinese Americans, and there were no differences in participants recognizing race as involved in the microaggression incident. However, in analyzing the subscales for this sample, Filipino Americans are more likely than Chinese Americans to experience racial microaggressions involving 1) intellectual inferiority and 2) assumption of criminality. Additionally, Chinese American participants are more likely to identify race as being involved in microaggressions concerning insults and invalidations than Filipino Americans.

Table 9

Means of Filipino and Chinese Americans on the Daily Life Experiences- Frequency and Race Scales

Variable	Ethnicity	N	Mean	SD
DLE-Frequency-Total	Filipino	244	27.94	17.02
	Chinese	208	30.71	15.89
DLE-F-Exoticization	Filipino	244	7.53	4.41
	Chinese	208	7.48	4.22
DLE-F-Intellectual Inferiority	Filipino	244	3.45	2.97
	Chinese	208	2.63	2.40
DLE-F-Second-Class Citizen	Filipino	244	6.23	4.08
	Chinese	208	6.40	4.12
DLE-F-Criminality	Filipino	244	5.01	4.37
	Chinese	208	4.25	3.67
DLE-F-Insults	Filipino	244	5.72	3.62
	Chinese	208	6.02	3.89
DLE-Race-Total	Filipino	163	27.22	22.39
	Chinese	112	37.79	20.61
DLE-R-Exoticization	Filipino	163	9.13	5.60
	Chinese	112	10.60	5.89
DLE-R-Intellectual Inferiority	Filipino	163	3.40	3.81
	Chinese	112	3.13	3.46
DLE-R-Second-Class Citizen	Filipino	163	5.09	4.93
	Chinese	112	5.92	4.78
DLE-R-Criminality	Filipino	163	4.53	5.90
	Chinese	112	4.11	4.72

DLE-R-Insults   Filipino   163   5.07   4.85
                                 Chinese   112   6.96   5.14

Table 10

Independent Samples T-Test for Daily Life Experiences Total and Subscales for Filipino and Chinese Americans (N=452)

Variable	F	df	Significance (2-tailed)
DLE-Frequency-Total	.714	450	.45
DLE-F-Exoticization	.066	450	.90
DLE-F-Intellectual Inferiority	6.982	450	.00**
DLE-F-Second-Class Citizen	.106	450	.68
DLE-F-Criminality	4.726	450	.05*
DLE-F-Insults	.647	450	.40
DLE-Race-Total	.379	273	.19
DLE-R-Exoticization	.807	273	.04*
DLE-R-Intellectual Inferiority	1.162	273	.54
DLE-R-Second-Class Citizen	.121	273	.17
DLE-R-Criminality	4.439	273	.52
DLE-R-Insults	.344	273	.00**

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 1b: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of racism and life experience stress than their Chinese American counterparts.

Racism and life experiences are operationalized through the RALES-B and two RALES subscales. Means are revealed in Table 11. A t-test was conducted to determine whether ethnicity would affect racism and life experiences (See Table 12). There were no significant differences between groups on the RALES-B $(1, 305) = 1.852, p > .05$. However, there were significant differences between groups on the RALES-Individual $F(1,305) = .082, p < .05$. In this sample, there were no significant differences in the total racism-related stress between Filipino and Chinese Americans. However, in this sample, Chinese Americans are more likely than Filipino Americans to experience racism-related stress as individuals.

Table 11

Means of Filipino and Chinese Americans on the Racism and Life Experiences Scale-Brief

Variable	Ethnicity	N	Mean	SD
RALES-Brief	Filipino	148	24.59	7.53
	Chinese	160	25.50	6.66
RALES-Individual	Filipino	148	12.54	4.82
	Chinese	160	13.60	4.59
RALES-Group	Filipino	148	12.05	3.18
	Chinese	160	11.90	2.55

Table 12

Independent Samples T-Test for RALES-B and Subscales for Filipino and Chinese Americans (N=308)

Variable	F	df	Significance (2-tailed)
RALES-Brief	2.44	306	.26
RALES-Individual	.13	306	.05*
RALES-Group	6.18	306	.64

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 1c: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of Asian American race-related stress than their Chinese American counterparts.

Asian American race-related stress is operationalized through the AARRSI and three AARRSI subscales. Means are revealed in Table 13. A t-test was conducted to determine whether ethnic group membership would influence Asian American race-related stress (See Table 14). There were no significant differences between groups on the AARRSI, $F(1, 311) = 1.478, p>.05$. There were significant differences between groups on the AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism $F(1,311) =1.84, p<.05$ and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner $F(1,311) =.072$, $p<.05$. In this sample, there were no significant differences in the total Asian

American race-related stress between Filipino and Chinese Americans. However, in this sample, Chinese Americans are more likely than Filipino Americans to experience both Asian American socio-historical racism stress and perpetual foreign stress.

Table 13

Means of Filipino and Chinese Americans on the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory

Variable	Ethnicity	N	Mean	SD
AARRSI-Total	Filipino	151	2.98	.93
	Chinese	162	3.14	.86
AARRSI-Socio-Hist Racism	Filipino	151	3.31	.96
	Chinese	162	3.52	.93
AARRSI-General Racism	Filipino	151	2.54	1.03
	Chinese	162	2.51	.97
AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner	Filipino	151	2.81	1.13
	Chinese	162	3.09	1.10

Table 14

Independent Samples T-Test for AARRSI Total and Subscales for Filipino and Chinese Americans (N=313)

Variable	F	df	Significance (2-tailed)
AARRSI-Total	1.73	312	.12
AARRSI-Socio-Hist Racism	.24	312	.05*
AARRSI-General Stereotypes	.83	312	.80
AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner	.12	312	.03*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 2a: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype traits will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than persons with more typical Asian phenotype traits.

A MANOVA analysis was conducted for the entire sample to assess whether overall phenotype (skin color, facial features, hair texture, and Asian self-perceptions) account for variance in the total perceptions of racial microaggressions (DLE-F subscales). The omnibus multivariate test indicated that there were no main effects on the outcome variables. However, there were tests of between-subjects effects of facial features on DLE-F Criminality $F(1,357)=$ 4.261, $p < .05$, and perceptions as Asian on DLE-F Criminality $F(1,357)=5.530$, $p<.05$.

MANOVAs were conducted for DLE-F, DLE-R, and subsequent DLE subscales for both Filipino and Chinese American samples (See Tables 15a-b). For Filipino Americans, overall phenotype did not significantly impact frequencies of racial microaggressions (DLE-F Total) or perceptions that microaggressions were race-related (DLE-R Total). In analyzing subscales, for Filipino American participants, overall phenotype significantly affected frequencies of criminality microaggressions (DLE-F Criminality), $F(4, 143) =$ 2.467, $p<.05$, with skin color $\beta = 2.390$, $p < .05$, facial features $\beta = -2.478$, $p < .05$ and perceptions as Asian $\beta = 1.987$, $p < .05$ as the most significant contributors. Overall phenotype did not significantly impact any other DLE-F subscales, nor did overall phenotype significant influence the DLE-R or DLE-R subscales. In this sample, overall phenotype influenced Filipino Americans being treated as criminals; however, overall phenotype did not influence Filipino Americans' perceptions of race involvement in microaggressions.

For Chinese American participants, overall phenotype did not significantly impact frequencies of racial microaggressions (DLE-F) or perceptions of race involvement in microaggressions (DLE-R). In analyzing subscales, for Chinese American participants, facial features β = -.740, p < .05 significantly contributed to DLE-F Insults, and perceptions as Asian β = 1.489, p < .05 significantly contributed to DLE-F Criminality. In terms of perceptions of race involvement, hair texture significantly affected DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority, β = .685, p < .05. None of the other subscales of DLE-R were influenced. In this sample, Chinese Americans who were not perceived as Asian were likely to experience more criminality microaggressions, while Chinese Americans with smaller facial features were likely to experience insult microaggressions. Additionally, Chinese Americans with curlier hair would perceive race involvement in intellectual inferiority microaggressions more than those with straighter hair.

Table 15a

*Influence of Phenotype on Daily Life Experiences-Frequency & Subscales for **Filipino Americans** ($N = 147$)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE-F Total			
Skin Color	1.874	1.972	.078
Facial Features	-3.727	2.045	-.165
Hair Texture	-1.852	1.669	-.092
Asian Self-Perceptions	3.073	1.667	.169
DLE-F Exoticization			
Skin Color	.286	.360	.066
Facial Features	-.443	.373	-.108
Hair Texture	-.486	.304	-.134
Asian Self-Perceptions	.295	.304	.089
DLE-F Inferiority			
Skin Color	.599	.354	.141
Facial Features	-.380	.367	-.094

Hair Texture	.224	.299	.063
Asian Self-Perceptions	.277	.299	.086
DLE-F Second-Class Citizen			
Skin Color	.130	.479	.023
Facial Features	-.629	.496	-.116
Hair Texture	-.171	.405	.036
Asian Self-Perceptions	.630	.404	.144
DLE-F Criminality			
Skin Color	.760	.492	.126
Facial Features	-1.053*	.510	-.185
Hair Texture	-.482	.416	-.095
Asian Self-Perceptions	.978*	.416	.213
DLE-F Insults			
Skin Color	-.092	.416	.018
Facial Features	-.694	.431	-.147
Hair Texture	-.284	.352	-.068
Asian Self-Perceptions	.427	.352	.112
DLE-R Total			
Skin Color	.632	1.264	.042
Facial Features	-1.223	1.303	-.086
Hair Texture	-1.986	1.063	-.157
Asian Self-Perceptions	.537	.538	-.092
DLE-R Exoticization			
Skin Color	-.206	.308	-.055
Facial Features	-.246	.317	-.070
Hair Texture	-.684**	.259	-.219
Asian Self-Perceptions	.100	.131	.069
DLE-R Inferiority			
Skin Color	.148	.216	.057
Facial Features	-.138	.223	-.057
Hair Texture	-.278	.182	-.129
Asian Self-Perceptions	.072	.092	.072
DLE-R Second-Class Citizen			
Skin Color	.068	.280	.020
Facial Features	-.172	.288	-.055
Hair Texture	-.344	.235	-.124
Asian Self-Perceptions	.078	.119	.060
DLE-R Criminality			
Skin Color	.565	.332	.141
Facial Features	-.387	.342	-.102
Hair Texture	-.431	.279	.129
Asian Self-Perceptions	.192	.141	.124
DLE-R Insults			
Skin Color	.056	.274	.017
Facial Features	-.281	.283	-.091
Hair Texture	-.249	.231	-.091
Asian Self-Perceptions	.096	.117	.076

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

DLE-F   adj. R^2 =.042, ΔR^2 =.015, sig. = .19

Exoticization	adj. R^2 =.029, ΔR^2 =.002, sig. = .37
Inferiority	adj. R^2 =.030, ΔR^2 =.003, sig. = .35
Second-Class	adj. R^2 =.021, ΔR^2 =-.007, sig. = .56
Criminality	adj. R^2 =.065, ΔR^2 =.038, sig. = .05*
Insults	adj. R^2 =.023, ΔR^2 =-.005, sig. =.51
DLE-R	adj. R^2 =.031, ΔR^2 =.003, sig. = .35
Exoticization	adj. R^2 =.053, ΔR^2 =.026, sig. = .10
Inferiority	adj. R^2 =.022, ΔR^2 =-.006, sig. = .53
Second-Class	adj. R^2 =.017, ΔR^2 =-.011, sig. = .65
Criminality	adj. R^2 =.046, ΔR^2 =.019, sig. = .15
Insults	adj. R^2 =.015, ΔR^2 =-.013, sig. = .72

Table 15b

*Influence of Phenotype on Daily Life Experiences-Frequency & Subscales for **Chinese Americans** (N = 143)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE-F Total			
Skin Color	-.387	1.920	-.016
Facial Features	-2.792	1.480	-.154
Hair Texture	-.295	2.326	-.010
Asian Self-Perceptions	4.792	2.981	.131
DLE-F Exoticization			
Skin Color	-.492	.511	-.075
Facial Features	-.603	.394	-.124
Hair Texture	-.401	.620	-.050
Asian Self-Perceptions	1.443	.794	.148
DLE-F Inferiority			
Skin Color	.161	.297	.042
Facial Features	-.433	.229	-.153
Hair Texture	.202	.360	.043
Asian Self-Perceptions	.616	.461	.109
DLE-F Second-Class Citizen			
Skin Color	.154	.504	.024
Facial Features	-.611	.388	-.129
Hair Texture	.360	.611	.046
Asian Self-Perceptions	.062	.782	.007
DLE-F Criminality			
Skin Color	-.217	.449	-.038
Facial Features	-.404	.346	-.095
Hair Texture	.025	.544	.004
Asian Self-Perceptions	1.489*	.698	.174
DLE-F Insults			
Skin Color	.007	.466	.001
Facial Features	-.740*	.359	-.167
Hair Texture	-.482	.565	-.066
Asian Self-Perceptions	1.182	.724	.133

DLE-R Total

Skin Color	-.473	1.700	-.028
Facial Features	-2.005	1.416	-.150
Hair Texture	1.259	1.968	.064
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.901	1.263	-.076

DLE-R Exoticization

Skin Color	-.093	.487	-.019
Facial Features	-.315	.405	-.083
Hair Texture	-.033	.563	-.006
Asian Self-Perceptions	.297	.361	-.088

DLE-R Inferiority

Skin Color	-.131	.286	-.045
Facial Features	.372	.238	-.163
Hair Texture	.685*	.331	.204
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.127	.212	-.063

DLE-R Second-Class Citizen

Skin Color	-.036	.394	-.009
Facial Features	-.555	.328	-.178
Hair Texture	.540	.456	.118
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.150	.293	-.054

DLE-R Criminality

Skin Color	-.235	.398	-.059
Facial Features	-.303	.332	-.097
Hair Texture	.320	.461	.070
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.252	.296	-.091

DLE-R Insults

Skin Color	.022	.428	-.005
Facial Features	-.460	.356	-.138
Hair Texture	-.253	.495	-.052
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.075	.318	.025

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

DLE-F	adj. R^2 =.028, ΔR^2 =.005, sig. = .31
Exoticization	adj. R^2 =.034, ΔR^2 =.010, sig. = .22
Inferiority	adj. R^2 =.028, ΔR^2 =.004, sig. = .32
Second-Class	adj. R^2 =.018, ΔR^2 =-.006, sig. = .56
Criminality	adj. R^2 =.029, ΔR^2 =.006, sig. = .29
Insults	adj. R^2 =.036, ΔR^2 =.013, sig. = .19

DLE-R	adj. R^2 =.039, ΔR^2 =-.001, sig. = .42
Exoticization	adj. R^2 =.021, ΔR^2 =-.019, sig. = .72
Inferiority	adj. R^2 =.072, ΔR^2 =.034, sig. = .19
Second-Class	adj. R^2 =.050, ΔR^2 =.012, sig. = .28
Criminality	adj. R^2 =.030, ΔR^2 =-.010, sig. = .56
Insults	adj. R^2 =.026, ΔR^2 =-.013, sig. = .62

Hypothesis 2b: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype traits will report higher scores of race-related stress than persons with more typical Asian phenotype traits.

A MANOVA analysis was conducted for the entire population to assess whether overall phenotype (skin color, facial features, hair texture, and Asian self-perceptions) accounted for variance in the total of perceptions of racial microaggressions (RALES subscales). The omnibus multivariate test indicated that facial features had a main effect on the outcome variables (Pillai's Trace $V =$ .023, $p < .05$), and that Asian self-perceptions had a main effect on the outcome variables (Pillai's Trace $V = .018, p < .05$). There were between-subjects effects for facial features on RALES-Individual $F(1,344) = 7.881, p < .01$, and for Asian self-perceptions on RALES-Group $F(1,344) = 4.811, p < .05$.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for RALES-Brief, RALES-Individual, and RALES-Group for both Filipino and Chinese American samples (See Tables 16a-b). For Filipino Americans, phenotype did not significantly influence racism-related stress. For Chinese Americans, overall phenotype did not significantly impact racism-related stress; however, facial features did significantly contribute to total racism-related stress, $\beta = -1.420, p < .05$ and individual racism-related stress, $\beta = -1.010, p < .01$. In this sample, Chinese Americans with smaller facial features experienced more racism-related stress than Chinese Americans with larger facial features.

Table 16a

*Influence of Phenotype on RALES-Brief and Subscales for **Filipino Americans** (N = 147)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Brief			
Skin Color	.373	.831	.037
Facial Features	-.565	.862	-.060
Hair Texture	-.820	.703	-.098
Asian Self-Perceptions	.804	.703	.106
RALES-Individual			
Skin Color	-.040	.533	-.006
Facial Features	-.252	.553	-.042
Hair Texture	-.610	.451	-.114
Asian Self-Perceptions	.332	.450	.068
RALES-Group			
Skin Color	.413	.349	.098
Facial Features	-.313	.362	-.079
Hair Texture	-.210	.295	-.059
Asian Self-Perceptions	.473	.295	.147

Note: RALES-Brief   adj. R^2 =.017, ΔR^2 =-.010, sig. = .64, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.
RALES-Individual   adj. R^2 =.015, ΔR^2 =-.013, sig. = .71, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.
RALES-Group   adj. R^2 =.030, ΔR^2 =.002, sig. = .37, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 16b

*Influence of Phenotype on RALES-Brief and Subscales for **Chinese Americans** (N = 159)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Brief			
Skin Color	.164	.846	.015
Facial Features	-1.420	.651	-.184
Hair Texture	.718	1.010	.056
Asian Self-Perceptions	.313	1.310	.020
RALES-Individual			
Skin Color	.222	.582	.030
Facial Features	-1.010*	.448	-.190
Hair Texture	.464	.695	.053
Asian Self-Perceptions	.081	.901	.008
RALES-Group			
Skin Color	-.058	.326	-.014
Facial Features	-.410	.251	-.139
Hair Texture	.254	.389	-.052
Asian Self-Perceptions	.232	.504	.039

Note: RALES-Brief   adj. R^2 =.034, ΔR^2 =.009, sig. = .24, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.
RALES-Individual   adj. R^2 =.038, ΔR^2 =.013, sig. = .20, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.
RALES-Group   adj. R^2 =.020, ΔR^2 =-.005, sig. = .53, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Hypothesis 2c: Persons with less typical Asian phenotype traits will report higher

scores of Asian American race-related stress than persons with more typical

Asian phenotype traits.

A MANOVA analysis was conducted for the total sample to assess

whether overall phenotype (skin color, facial features, hair texture, and Asian self-

perceptions) account for variance in the total of perceptions of racial

microaggressions (AARRSI subscales). The omnibus multivariate test indicated

that skin color had a main effect on the outcome variables (Pillai's Trace $V =$

.029, $p < .05$), and that facial features had a main effect on the outcome variables

(Pillai's Trace $V = .043$, $p < .01$). There were between-subjects effects for facial

features on AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism $F(1,343)= 3.771, p < .05$,

AARRSI-General Stereotypes $F(1,343)=8.612, p<.01$, and AARRSI-Perpetual

Foreigner $F(1,343)=14.219, p<.01$.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for AARRSI, AARRSI-Socio-

Historical Racism, AARRSI-General Stereotypes, AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner

for both Filipino and Chinese American samples (See Table 17a-b). For Filipino

Americans, overall phenotype did not significantly influence Asian American

race-related stress or AARRSI subscales. For Chinese Americans, overall

phenotype did not influence Asian American race-related stress; however, facial

features, significantly contributed to AARRSI Total, $\beta = -.171, p < .05$, and

AARRSI Perpetual Foreigner, $\beta = -.300, p < .01$. Additionally, both facial

features, $\beta = -.235, p < .01$, and perception as Asian $\beta = .392, p < .01$ significantly

contributed to AARRSI General Racism. In this sample, Chinese Americans with

smaller facial features experienced more perpetual foreigner stress than Chinese Americans with larger facial features. Additionally, Chinese Americans who were not perceived as Asian experienced and who had smaller facial features experienced more stress from general stereotypes than those who were perceived as Asian.

Phenotype significantly influenced perpetual foreigner stress $F(4, 343) =$ 4.506, $p<.01$, with facial features $\beta = .-.230$, $p < .01$ as the most significant contributor. Overall phenotype affects the stress relating to being perceived as a perpetual foreigner, particularly for those with smaller facial features.

Table 17a

*Influence of Phenotype on AARRSI and Subscales for **Filipino Americans** (N = 147)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI-Total			
Skin Color	.057	.103	.046
Facial Features	-.171	.107	-.147
Hair Texture	-.009	.087	.009
Asian Self-Perceptions	.081	.087	.086
AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism			
Skin Color	.078	.106	.061
Facial Features	-.164	.110	-.136
Hair Texture	-.010	.090	-.009
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.068	.090	.070
AARRSI-General Stereotypes			
Skin Color	.098	.114	.072
Facial Features	-.155	.118	-.121
Hair Texture	-.018	.096	-.016
Asian Self-Perceptions	.075	.096	.073
AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner			
Skin Color	-.032	.125	-.022
Facial Features	-.203	.129	-.144
Hair Texture	.001	.105	.001
Asian Self-Perceptions	.113	.105	.099

Note:
AARRSI-Total   adj. $R^2 =.020$, $\Delta R^2 =-.008$, sig. $= .59$, $* p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-SocioHist   adj. $R^2 =.018$, $\Delta R^2 =-.009$, sig. $= .62$, $* p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-Stereotypes adj. $R^2 =.017$, $\Delta R^2 =-.011$, sig. $= .66$, $* p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-Foreigner   adj. $R^2 =.019$, $\Delta R^2 =-.008$, sig. $= .59$, $* p < .05$, $**p < .01$.

Table 17b

Influence of Phenotype on AARRSI and Subscales for **Chinese Americans** *(N = 159)*

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β
AARRSI-Total			
Skin Color	.029	.111	.021
Facial Features	-.171	.085	-.170
Hair Texture	.031	.132	.019
Asian Self-Perceptions	.173	.171	.086
AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism			
Skin Color	-.001	.121	.000
Facial Features	-.070	.093	-.064
Hair Texture	.044	.144	.025
Asian Self-Perceptions	-.034	.187	-.016
AARRSI-General Stereotypes			
Skin Color	.093	.074	.067
Facial Features	-.235**	.094	-.208
Hair Texture	.042	.146	.022
Asian Self-Perceptions	.392	.190	.173
AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner			
Skin Color	-.018	.140	.010
Facial Features	-.300**	.108	-.233
Hair Texture	-.007	.167	-.003
Asian Self-Perceptions	.199	.216	.077

Note: AARRSI-Total   adj. R^2 =.027, ΔR^2 =-.002, sig. = .38, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-SocioHist   adj. R^2 =.004, ΔR^2 =-.021, sig. = .96, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-Stereotypes adj. R^2 =.053, ΔR^2 =-.028, sig. = .08, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$.
AARRSI-Foreigner   adj. R^2 =.048, ΔR^2 =-.023, sig. = .11, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$.

Hypothesis 3a: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for the two DLE scales and AARRSI for both the Filipino and Chinese American samples. For Filipino Americans, DLE-F significantly impacted Asian American race-related stress $F(1, 147) = 138.875, p<.01$, but DLE-R did not significantly impact Asian American race-related stress. For Chinese Americans, DLE-F significantly impacted Asian American race-related stress $F(1, 161) = 87.282, p<.01$, but DLE-R did not

significantly impact Asian American race-related stress. In this sample, both

Filipino and Chinese Americans who experience microaggressions will

experience higher levels of Asian American race-related stress; however, there no

effect for those who perceive these microaggressions as race-related.

Results for subscales are presented in Tables 18a-b. For Filipino

Americans, subscales of the DLE-F significantly affected Asian American race-

related stress $F(5, 143) = 42.460, p<.01$, with DLE Exoticization $\beta = .029, p < .05$

as the most significant contributor (See Table 18a). Subscales of the DLE-R did

not influence Asian American race-related stress; however, DLE-R Insults $\beta = -$

$2.925, p < .05$ was a significant contributor. For Chinese Americans, subscales of

the DLE-F significantly influenced Asian American race-related stress $F(5, 157)$

$= 20.180, p<.01$, with DLE Exoticization $\beta = .090, p < .05$ as the most significant

contributor. Subscales of the DLE-R did not significantly influence Asian

American race-related stress. In this sample, both Filipino and Chinese Americans

who experience more microaggressions will experience Asian American race-

related stress. However, there is no significant relationship between those who

perceive microaggressions as race-related and Asian American race-related stress.

Table 18a

*Influence of Daily Life Experiences on Asian American Race-Related Stress for **Filipino Americans** ($N = 148$)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE- F Exoticization	.056*	.025	.196
DLE- F Intellectual Inferiority	.051	.038	.175
DLE- F Second-Class Citizen	.021	.028	.097
DLE- F Criminality	.035	.022	.169
DLE- F Insults	.034	.031	.138
DLE- R Exoticization	.349	.756	.059

DLE- R Intellectual Inferiority	.184	1.865	.021
DLE- R Second-Class Citizen	1.260	1.500	.181
DLE- R Criminality	2.001	1.046	.352
DLE- R Insults	-2.925*	1.439	-.431

DLE-F adj. R^2 =.471, ΔR^2 =.452, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$
DLE-R adj. R^2 =.082, ΔR^2 =.044, sig. = .06, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Table 18b

*Influence of Daily Life Experiences on Asian American Race-Related Stress for **Chinese Americans** (N = 162)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE-F Exoticization	.090*	.019	.432
DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority	-.002	.039	-.004
DLE-F Second-Class Citizen	.028	.022	.133
DLE-F Criminality	.018	.024	.077
DLE-F Insults	.016	.028	.068
DLE-R Exoticization	.138	.873	.024
DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority	3.294	1.879	-.324
DLE-R Second-Class Citizen	-.554	1.456	-.077
DLE-R Criminality	.574	1.193	.077
DLE-R Insults	1.228	1.294	.188

DLE-F adj. R^2 =.393, ΔR^2 =.373, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$
DLE-R adj. R^2 =.061, ΔR^2 =.003, sig. = .40, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Hypothesis 3b: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of racism-related stress.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for the DLE scales and RALES-B for both the Filipino and Chinese American samples. For Filipino Americans, scores on the DLE-Frequency significantly affected racism-related stress $F(1, 202) = 52.379, p<.01$ and DLE-Race significantly affected racism-related stress $F(1, 145) = 266.85, p<.01$. For Chinese Americans, DLE-Frequency significantly affected RALES-B scores $F(1, 158) = 151.576, p<.01$ and DLE-Race significantly affected RALES-B scores $F(1, 101) = 94.92, p<.01$. In this sample, individuals with higher frequencies of racial microaggressions and perceive

microaggressions as race-related will experience higher levels of racism-related stress.

Results for subscales are presented in Tables 19a-b. For Filipino Americans, subscales of the DLE-F significantly influenced racism-related stress $F(5, 198) = 9, p<.01$, with DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority $\beta = .729$ $p < .01$ and DLE-F Second-class Citizen $\beta = .484, p < .01$ as the most significant contributors. Subscales of the DLE-R also significantly influenced racism-related stress $F(5, 141) = 57.886, p<.01$, with DLE-R Second-Class Citizen $\beta = .512, p < .01$ and DLE-R Insults $\beta = .492, p < .01$ as two significant contributor.

For Chinese Americans, subscales of the DLE-F significantly impacted racism-related stress $F(5, 154) = 35.398, p<.01$, with DLE-F Exoticization $\beta = .565$ $p < .01$ and DLE-F Second-class Citizen $\beta = .584, p < .01$ as the most significant contributors. Subscales of the DLE-R also significantly impacted racism-related stress $F(5, 95) = 25.917, p<.01$, with DLE-R Second-class Citizen $\beta = .825, p < .01$, and DLE-R Insults $\beta = .297 < .05$ as the most significant contributors.

In this sample, both Filipino and Chinese Americans who encounter racial microaggressions and perceive them as race-related will also experience racism-related stress. This is particular for Filipino Americans who experience microaggressions where they are treated as intellectual inferiors or second-class citizens and for Chinese Americans for are exoticized and treated as second-class citizens. This is also specific for both Filipino and Chinese Americans who perceive race involvement in second-class citizen and insult microaggressions.

Table 19a

*Influence of Daily Life Experiences on Race-Related Stress for **Filipino Americans** (N = 147)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE-F Exoticization	.202	.169	.088
DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority	.734**	.254	.314
DLE-F Second-Class Citizen	.471**	.187	.272
DLE-F Criminality	.217	.150	.132
DLE-F Insults	.155	.209	.078
DLE-R Exoticization	.108	.091	.083
DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority	.213	.207	.112
DLE-R Second-Class Citizen	.512**	.160	.349
DLE-R Criminality	.015	.113	.012
DLE-R Insults	.492**	.154	.328

DLE-F: adj. R^2 =.645, ΔR^2 =.633, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$
DLE-R adj. R^2 =.672, ΔR^2 =.661, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Table 19b

*Influence of Daily Life Experiences on Race-Related Stress for **Chinese Americans** (N = 159)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
DLE-F Exoticization	.565**	.130	.355
DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority	-.307	.265	-.111
DLE-F Second-Class Citizen	.584**	.150	.356
DLE-F Criminality	.097	.161	.053
DLE-F Insults	.289	.191	.164
DLE-R Exoticization	.164	.111	.141
DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority	-.165	.239	-.086
DLE-R Second-Class Citizen	.825**	.182	.582
DLE-R Criminality	-.240	.155	-.170
DLE-R Insults	.397*	.167	.300

DLE-F adj. R^2 =.535, ΔR^2 =.520, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$
DLE-R adj. R^2 =.572, ΔR^2 =.550, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Hypothesis 4a: Higher scores of racism-related stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.

MANOVAs were conducted for RALES-B and the two DLE scales for both Filipino and Chinese American participants. For Filipino Americans, RALES-B significantly affected DLE-Frequency scores $F(1, 146) = 248.66$, $p<.01$ and DLE-Race scores $F(1, 145) = 266.85$ $p<.01$. For Chinese Americans, RALES-B significantly affected DLE-Frequency scores $F(1, 158) = 151.576$, $p<.01$ and DLE-Race scores $F(1, 101) = 94.92$, $p<.01$. In this sample, both Filipino and Chinese Americans who experience high levels of racism-related stress will experience microaggression incidents and recognize them as race-related.

For Filipino Americans, subscales of the RALES significantly influenced DLE-Frequency scores $F(2, 145) = 125.601$, $p<.01$, with both RALES-Individual $\beta = 2.237$ $p < .01$ and RALES-Group $\beta = 1.378$, $p < .01$ as both significant contributors (See Table 20a). For Filipino Americans, subscales of the RALES significantly influenced DLE-Race scores $F(2, 144) = 138.245$, $p<.01$, with both RALES-Individual $\beta = 1.377$ $p < .05$ and RALES-Group $\beta = 3.156$, $p < .01$ as both significant contributors (See Table 20b).

For Chinese Americans (n=159), subscales of the RALES significantly influenced DLE-Frequency scores $F(2, 157) = 81.617$, $p<.01$, with RALES-Individual $\beta = 2.231$ $p < .01$ as the only significant contributor (See Table 20c). For Chinese Americans, subscales of the RALES significantly influenced DLE-Race scores $F(2, 100) = 56.31$, $p<.01$, with RALES-Individual $\beta = 3.324$, $p < .01$ as the only significant contributor (See Table 20d)

In this sample, both Filipino and Chinese Americans with higher perceptions of racial microaggressions will experience racism-related stress. However, for Chinese Americans, perceptions of racial microaggressions may only be significant for individual racism-related stress.

Table 20a

Influence of RALES on DLE-F for **Filipino Americans** *(N=147)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	2.237**	.290	.516
RALES- Group	1.378**	.440	.242

Note: adj. R^2 =.634, ΔR^2 =.629, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Table 20b

Influence of RALES on DLE-R for **Filipino Americans** *(N = 144)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	3.156**	.363	.662
RALES- Group	1.377*	.575	.182

Note: adj. R^2 =.658, ΔR^2 =.653, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Table 20c

Influence of RALES on DLE-F for **Chinese Americans** *(N=159)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	2.231**	.271	.661
RALES- Group	.431	.489	.071

Note: adj. R^2 =.510, ΔR^2 =.503, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01.$

Table 20d

Influence of RALES on DLE-R for **Chinese Americans** *(N = 159)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	3.324**	.444	.765
RALES- Group	-.424	.843	-.051

Note: adj. R^2 =.658, ΔR^2 =.653, sig. = .00, $* p < .05, ** p < .01$.

Hypothesis 4b: Higher scores of racism-related stress will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for RALES-B and AARRSI for both Filipino and Chinese American participants. For Filipino Americans, RALES-B scores significantly impacted Asian American racism-related stress $F(1, 146) = 194.884, p<.01$. For Chinese Americans, RALES-B scores significantly impacted Asian American racism-related stress $F(1, 158) = 186.535, p<.01$. In this sample, individuals who experience high levels of racism-related stress will also experience higher levels of Asian American race-related stress.

For Filipino Americans, subscales of the RALES significantly affected Asian American race-related stress $F(2, 145) = 104.173, p<.01$, with RALES-Individual $\beta = .130 \, p < .01$ as the most significant contributor (See Table 21a). For Chinese Americans, subscales of the RALES significantly affected Asian American race-related stress $F(2, 157) = 94.642, p<.01$, with RALES-Individual $\beta = .113 \, p < .01$ and RALES-Group $\beta = .062 \, p < .05$ both as significant contributors (See Table 21b). In this sample, individuals with more experiences of racism-related stress will experience Asian American race-related stress, on both individual and group levels.

Table 21a

*Influence of RALES on AARRSI for **Filipino Americans** (N = 147)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	.130**	.016	.672
RALES- Group	.036	.024	.121

Note: adj. R^2 =.590, ΔR^2 =.584, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01$.

Table 21b

Influence of RALES on AARRSI for **Chinese Americans** *(N = 158)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
RALES-Individual	.113**	.015	.598
RALES- Group	.062*	.026	.181

Note: adj. R^2 =.547, ΔR^2 =.541, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01$.

Hypothesis 5a: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.

MANOVA analyses were conducted for AARRSI and DLE scales for both Filipino and Chinese American samples. For Filipino Americans, AARRSI scores significantly influenced DLE-Frequency scores $F(1, 150) = 138.875, p<.01$, while AARRSI did not significantly influence DLE-Race scores. For Chinese Americans, AARRSI scores significantly influenced DLE-Frequency scores $F(1, 160) = 87.282, p<.01$ but did not significantly predict DLE-Race scores. In this sample, both Filipino and Chinese Americans who experience high levels of Asian American race-related stress will encounter more racial microaggressions, but may not perceive them as race-related.

For Filipino American participants, subscales of the Asian American race-related stress inventory significantly affected Daily Life Experiences-Frequency scores $F(3, 147) = 45.055, p<.01$, with Socio-Historical Racism β = 3.934 $p < .05$ and Perpetual Foreigner β = 5.541 $p < .01$ as the most significant contributors (See Table 22a). Subscales of the AARRSI did not significantly affect Daily Life

Experiences-Race scores; however, Socio-Historical Racism β = .434 p < .05 was

a significant contributors (See Table 22b).

For Chinese American participants, subscales of the Asian American race-

related stress inventory significantly affected Daily Life Experiences-Frequency

scores $F(3, 158)$ = 29.215, p<.01, with Socio-Historical Racism β = 3.983 p < .01

and Perpetual Foreigner β = 3.542 p < .05, as the most significant contributors

(See Table 22c). Subscales of the AARRSI did not significantly affect Daily Life

Experiences-Race scores (See Table 22d).

In this sample, Filipino and Chinese Americans with more awareness of

socio-historical racism and stress from general stereotypes will perceive more

microaggressions.

Table 22a

Influence of AARRSI on DLE-F for **Filipino Americans** *(N = 151)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	3.934*	1.705	.210
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	3.492	1.844	.201
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	5.541**	1.869	.348

Note: adj. R^2 =.490, ΔR^2 =.480, sig. = .00,   * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Table 22b

Influence of AARRSI on DLE-R for **Filipino Americans** *(N = 105)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	.434*	.187	.311
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	-.648	.444	-.234
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	.294	.374	.097

Note: adj. R^2 =.050, ΔR^2 =.022, sig. = .00,   * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Table 22c

Influence of AARRSI on DLE-F for **Chinese Americans** *(N = 161)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	3.983*	1.355	.241
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	2.947	1.708	.185
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	3.542**	1.540	.253

Note: adj. R^2 =.357, ΔR^2 =.345, sig. = .00,   * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 22d

Influence of AARRSI on DLE-R for **Chinese Americans** *(N = 161)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	-.025	.197	-.023
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	-.193	.437	-.087
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	-.038	.360	-.015

Note: adj. R^2 =.012, ΔR^2 =-.033, sig. = .847,   * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Hypothesis 5b: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence

higher scores of racism-related stress.

Regression analyses were conducted for AARRSI and RALES-B for

Filipino and Chinese American participants. For Filipino American participants,

AARRSI scores significantly influenced racism-related stress $F(1, 146) =$

194.884, $p<.01$. For Chinese American participants, AARRSI scores significantly

influenced racism-related stress $F(1, 158) = 186.535, p<.01$. In this sample, both

Filipino and Chinese Americans who experience high levels of Asian American

race-related stress will experience higher levels of racism-related stress.

For Filipino Americans, subscales of the Asian American race-related

stress inventory significantly impacted racism-related stress $F(3, 144) = 65.707$,

$p<.01$, with Socio-Historical Racism β = 3.578 $p < .01$ and Perpetual Foreigner β

= 1.697, $p < .05$ as the most significant contributors to the overall model (See

Table 23a). For Chinese Americans, subscales of the Asian American race-related

stress inventory significantly impacted racism-related stress $F(3, 156) = 73.156$,

$p<.01$, with Socio-Historical Racism $\beta = 4.110\,p < .01$ and Perpetual Foreigner β

$= 1.834, p < .01$ as the most significant contributors (See Table 23b). In this

sample, individuals with higher levels of Asian American race-related stress will

also experience racism-related stress, particularly when experiencing socio-

historical racism and perpetual foreigner racism.

Table 23a

*Influence of AARRSI on RALES-B for **Filipino Americans** (N = 144)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	3.578**	.659	.457
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	.804	.715	.110
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	1.697*	.715	.255

Note: adj. R^2 =.532, ΔR^2 =.528, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01$.

Table 23b

*Influence of AARRSI on RALES-B for **Chinese Americans** (N = 158)*

Variable	B	SE B	β
AARRSI- Socio-Hist Racism	4.110**	.473	.579
AARRSI- General Stereotypes	-.373	.593	-.054
AARRSI- Perpetual Foreigner	1.834**	.535	.305

Note: adj. R^2 =.585, ΔR^2 =.577, sig. = .00, $*p < .05, **p < .01$.

Summary of Results

A summary of the hypotheses and findings are presented in Table 24. This study proposed that there would be significant differences in perceptions of racial discrimination, based on one's ethnic group membership and phenotype. For H1a-c, the following results emerged. First, the study supports that Filipino Americans reported significantly higher frequencies of racial microaggressions that are based on assumption of criminal statuses (*M*=5.01, *SD*=4.25) and intellectual inferiority (*M*=3.45, *SD*=2.97) than Chinese Americans (criminality *M*=4.25, *SD*=3.67; inferiority *M*=2.63, *SD*=2.40). However, Chinese Americans reported significantly higher scores in perceiving insult microaggressions as race-related (*M*=8.64, *SD*=5.09) than Filipino Americans did (*M*=7.05, *SD*=5.06), and Chinese Americans also reported significantly higher scores in perceiving exoticization microaggressions as race-related (*M*=10.60, *SD*=5.89) than Filipino Americans did (*M*=9.13, *SD*=5.60). Chinese Americans also reported significantly higher scores of individual race-related stress (*M*=13.60, *SD*=4.59) than Filipino Americans (*M*=12.54, *SD*=4.82). Finally, Chinese Americans also reported significantly higher scores of Asian American race-related stress, concerning socio-historical racism (*M*=3.52, *SD*=.93) and being treated as a perpetual foreigner (*M*=3.09, *SD*=1.10) than Filipino Americans (socio-historical *M*=3.31, *SD*=.96; foreigner *M*=2.81, *SD*=1.13).

For H2a-c, there were several results that emerged. First, for Filipino Americans, overall phenotype significantly affected microaggressions in which one is treated like a criminal, particularly for those with dark skin, smaller facial

features, and who are not perceived as Asian. Filipino Americans with straighter

hair perceived more race involvement in exoticization microaggressions. Chinese

Americans who were not perceived as Asian were likely to experience more

criminality microaggressions, while Chinese Americans with smaller facial

features were likely to experience insult microaggressions. Chinese Americans

with smaller facial features experienced more Asian American race-related stress

and perpetual foreigner stress than Chinese Americans with larger facial features.

Finally, Chinese Americans with smaller facial features and who were not

perceived as Asian experienced more general racism.

For H4-6, most of the findings resulted as expected; with the exception of

the DLE-R, many of the scales influenced scores on subsequent scales.

Additionally, the influences of subscales were both similar and different for

Filipino and Chinese Americans. For both groups, DLE F-Exoticization

influenced AARRSI for both Filipino and Chinese Americans. Being treated as an

intellectual inferior and a second-class citizen significantly impacted Filipino

Americans' overall race-related stress, while being exoticized and treated as a

second-class citizen significantly impacted Chinese Americans' overall race-

related stress. For Filipino Americans, both individual and group race-related

stress had an impact on one's perceptions of microaggressions (DLE-F and DLE-

R), whereas for Chinese Americans only individual race-related stress had an

impact on one's perceptions of racial microaggressions (DLE-F and DLE-R). For

Filipino Americans, individual race-related stress was the only influence on Asian

American race-related stress, whereas for Chinese Americans both individual and

group race-related stress impacted Asian American race-related stress scores. For Filipino and Chinese Americans, socio-historical stress and being treated like a perpetual foreigner influenced perceptions of racial microaggressions (DLE-F) and race-related stress (RALES-B).

Table 24: Summary Table of Hypothesis and Findings

Hypothesis 1a: Filipino Americans will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than their Chinese American counterparts.
OVERALL: Fail to reject null

SUBSCALES: Reject null for: DLE-F Assumption of Criminality (Filipinos)
         DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority (Filipinos)
         DLE-R Exoticization (Chinese)
         DLE-R Insults (Chinese)

Hypothesis 1b: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of race-related stress than their Chinese American counterparts.
OVERALL: Fail to reject the null   SUBSCALES: Reject the null for all RALES Individual (opposite direction)

Hypothesis 1c: Filipino Americans will report higher scores of Asian American racism related stress than their Chinese American counterparts.
OVERALL: Fail to reject the null   SUBSCALES: Reject the null for Socio-Historical Racism (opposite direction), Reject null for   Perpetual Foreigner (opposite direction)

Hypothesis 2a: Persons with a less typical Asian phenotype will report higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions than persons with a more typical Asian phenotype.	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Fail to reject the null for DLE-F and DLE-R	OVERALL: Fail to reject the null for DLE-F and DLE-R
SUBSCALES: Reject the null for DLE-F Criminality	SUBSCALES: Facial Features→ DLE-F Insults, Perceptions as Asian→ DLE-F Criminality, Hair Texture→ DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority

Hypothesis 2b: Persons with a less typical Asian phenotype will report higher scores of racism-related stress than persons with a more typical Asian phenotype	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Fail to reject the null	OVERALL: Facial Features→ Race Related Stress
SUBSCALES: Fail to reject the null	SUBSCALES: Facial Features→ Individual

Hypothesis 2c: Persons with a less typical Asian phenotype will report higher scores of Asian American race-related stress than persons with a more typical Asian phenotype.	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Fail to reject null	OVERALL: Fail to reject null; facial features→ AARRSI
SUBCALES: Fail to reject null	SUBSCALES: Fail to reject null; facial features→ AARRSI Perpetual Foreigner; facial features & perception as Asian→ AARRSI General Stereotypes
Hypothesis 3a: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: DLE-F→ Reject the null; DLE-R→ Fail to reject the null	OVERALL: DLE-F→ Reject the null; DLE-R→ Fail to reject the null
SUBSCALES: DLE-F: Reject the null (Exoticization); DLE-R: Fail to reject the null (Insults)	SUBSCALES: DLE-F→ Reject the null (Exoticization); DLE-R→ Fail to reject the null
Hypothesis 3b: Higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions will influence higher scores of racism related stress.	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Reject the null for DLE-F & DLE-R	OVERALL: Reject the null for DLE-F & DLE-R
SUBSCALES: Reject the null for DLE-F (Intellectual Inferior & Second-Class Citizen); Reject the null for DLE-R (Second- Class & Insults)	SUBSCALES: Reject the null for DLE-F (Exoticization & Second-Class Citizen); Reject the null for DLE-R (Second- Class Citizen & Insults)
Hypothesis 4a: Higher scores of racism and life experience stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.	
Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Reject the null	OVERALL: Reject the null
SUBSCALES:	SUBSCALES:

Reject the null for both RALES-Individual & RALES- Group	Reject the null for RALES-Individual

Hypothesis 4b: Higher scores of racism and life experiences will influence higher scores of Asian American race-related stress.

Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Reject the null	OVERALL: Reject the null
SUBSCALES: Reject the null for RALES-Individual	SUBSCALES: Reject the null for RALES-Individual and RALES-Group

Hypothesis 5a: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence higher frequencies of perceptions of racial microaggressions.

Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Reject the null for DLE-F, not DLE-R	OVERALL: Reject the null for DLE-F, not DLE-R
SUBSCALES: Reject the null for DLE-F (Socio-historical Racism, Perpetual Foreigner); Fail to reject null for DLE-R	SUBSCALES: Reject the null for DLE-F (Socio-historical Racism, Perpetual Foreigner); Fail to reject null for DLE-R

Hypothesis 5b: Higher scores of Asian American race-related stress will influence higher scores of racism-related stress.

Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
OVERALL: Reject the null	OVERALL: Reject the null
SUBSCALES: Reject the null (Socio-historical Racism, Perpetual Foreigner)	SUBSCALES: Reject the null (Socio-historical Racism, Perpetual Foreigner)

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

Overview

The implications of the research results are discussed in this chapter. First, a general summary of the research study will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of each major finding and a general overview of the overall findings. Next, limitations of the study will be discussed, along with a discussion of the implications for theory, research, and practice. The chapter will conclude with the summary and conclusive remarks.

Summary of Research Study

The current investigation examined the different experiences between two Asian American ethnic groups. Most research tends to lump Asian Americans as one homogenous group, failing to take into account the potential differences that may occur as a result of ethnic group membership and phenotype (David & Okazaki, 2006; Nadal, 2004). Because previous Asian American research in psychology and education has focused primarily on East Asian Americans (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans), the findings of these studies are assumed to apply to Asian Americans of all ethnic groups. Accordingly, the experiences of many marginalized Asian American groups (e.g., Filipino Americans, Southeast Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders) continue to be ignored or unknown, despite a myriad of disparate socioeconomic, educational, and immigration experiences that vary from East Asian American groups.

Secondly, because of the model minority myth, Asian Americans are assumed to be law-abiding, model citizens that can succeed academically and economically (Sue & Sue, 2003; Uba, 1994). The myth purports that Asian Americans are able to achieve "the American Dream," while other groups of Color (namely Black/African Americans and Latinos) are viewed as intellectually inferior and prone to crime. This myth can be detrimental for several reasons: 1) it stereotypes Asian Americans as quiet, submissive individuals who will not speak out or protest against group norms, and 2) it causes tension with other people of Color that are taught by Whites to be like Asian Americans (Nadal & Sue, in press). In perpetuating the myth, Asian Americans are often assumed, by Whites and other people of Color, to experience little to no racism in their daily lives. However, as demonstrated in previous research (as well as the present study), Asian Americans experience vast amounts of racial discrimination on individual, group, and societal levels.

Additionally, while the model minority myth is a myth for all Asian Americans, there are several Asian American subgroups whose experience may reflect the complete opposite of the myth, in that they attain low educational attainment rates and live in poverty. These groups (which may include Filipino Americans, Southeast Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders) are often assumed to be doing well, because the myth contends that all Asian Americans are. However, these groups may have sociocultural experiences (e.g., educational attainment, socioeconomic statuses, and experiences with racism) that are more similar to Black/African Americans and Latinos. Yet, because of the model

minority myth, all Asian Americans regardless of their economic or educational backgrounds are overlooked in psychology (e.g., mental health outreach, research) and education (e.g., support/mentorship programs, scholarship programs).

Finally, because most research tends to lump Asian Americans as a homogenous group, there is little known about how phenotypic differences (skin color, facial features, and hair texture) affects one's experiences with race. First, Asian Americans are often assumed by general American society to have the phenotype of East Asian Americans (small eyes, light skin, straight hair), when other groups such as Filipino Americans, South Asian Americans (e.g., Indians, Pakastanis), Southeast Asians (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodians), and Pacific Islanders (e.g., Hawaiians, Samoans) may vary considerably from these assumed phenotypic norms. This notion can be supported in the present study in which the Filipino American participated identified with significantly darker skin, larger facial features, and curlier hair than their Chinese American counterparts. Oftentimes, these phenotypic differences often cause a hierarchy in the Asian and Asian American Diaspora, in which individuals with darker skin are viewed as intellectually inferior (Okamura, 1998) or physically unappealing (Root 1997b). Additionally, these phenotypic differences may lead to disparate experiences with other Asian Americans who are perceived as members of non-Asian racial groups (Rumbaut, 1995; Uba, 1994). Because research fails to account for phenotypic differences, experiences of Asian Americans who do not match the "typical" Asian phenotype are unknown or made invisible.

The current investigation attempted to explore some of these variables that have been overlooked in previous Asian American research in psychology and education. It is unique in that it disaggregates Asian Americans as a homogenous group, by looking at within-group differences of Asian Americans with two different ethnicities and a spectrum of phenotypes. The investigation was guided by several hypotheses, with the two main hypotheses including: 1) ethnic group membership would influence perceptions of racial discrimination and race-related stress and 2) phenotype would influence perceptions of racial discrimination and race-related stress.

Overview of the Major Findings

Ethnic Group Membership and Racial Discrimination

Results from the present investigation suggest that there are differences in experiences of racial discrimination between Filipino and Chinese Americans. Specific to racial microaggressions, this study does not provide support that Filipino Americans experience higher frequencies of racial microaggressions than Chinese Americans (in contrast to findings from Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). Perhaps the difference from the previous findings may be due to the notion that the Alvarez et al. (2006) study was conducted in California, where Filipino Americans have a more substantial history of racial discrimination. Despite this, the results from the current study suggest that both groups may experience similar amount of overall racial microaggressions. However, in analyzing subscales, it appears that Filipino Americans may experience discrimination that involves 1) assumption of criminality and 2) assumption of intellectual inferiority, more than

Chinese Americans. This finding supports previous literature that reveal that Filipino Americans may experience more teacher bias than Chinese Americans (Teranishi, 2002), or that Filipino Americans be the recipients of similar types of racial discrimination as Hispanics/Latinos (Nadal, 2004; Rumbaut, 1995). Given that there no differences in the other DLE-subscales (e.g., Exoticization, Insults, Second-Class Citizen), this study supports that Filipino Americans have similar racial experiences as Chinese Americans (e.g., they are both exoticized or treated like second-class citizens), but also experience additional types of microaggressions that Chinese Americans may not face at all (e.g., only Filipinos report being followed around in stores).

Because of the model minority myth, criminality and intellectual inferiority microaggressions are not typically assumed of Asian Americans. So while both groups may experience similar frequencies of racial microaggressions, it appears that Filipino Americans are experiencing other types of racial microaggressions that are above and beyond the typical "model minority" microaggressions that other Asian Americans may experience. Consequently, this result can support that Filipino Americans may experience types of racism or racial microaggressions that are similar to Black/African Americans and Hispanic/Latino Americans, more than Chinese Americans (and potentially other East Asian Americans). This may be a reason why Filipino Americans often align themselves with Black/African American and Latino communities (in both historical and current contexts), since they may share similar racial experiences with them.

Secondly, in terms of perceiving microaggressions as race-related, the findings suggest that Chinese Americans perceive race involvement more with exoticization microaggressions and insults microaggressions. There are a few reasons that may explain this occurrence. In terms of perceiving race in exoticization microaggressions, it is important to recall that most Filipino immigrants are more proficient at English than other Asian American groups (Posadas, 1999) and that many Filipino Americans may experience a colonial mentality that other Asian Americans may not (David & Okazaki, 2006). Accordingly, Filipino may not perceive race as being involved in microaggressions because they may feel more acculturated into American culture or may view being exoticized as a positive attribute. For example, a Filipino American who is told that they speak good English might view the microaggression as a compliment, because they also view it as a sign of education. Concurrently, colonial mentality may have an influence on a Filipino American who feels beautiful when someone calls him/her "exotic." Because an individual with colonial mentality may enjoy being more like the colonizer, he/she may deny the negative impact of race. So while both groups might encounter similar amounts of incidents where they are exoticized, Filipino Americans might reject the negative impact or racial implications in these occurrences.

. In terms of perceiving race in insult microaggressions, it is possible that Chinese Americans may be more able to perceive race involvement in insults more than Filipino Americans because of the notion that in contemporary

American society there may be greater numbers of ethnic-specific slurs towards Chinese persons than there would be for Filipinos. For example, if a Chinese American hears the word "chink" or "chinky" he/she may be more able to recognize the racial connotation involved. However, for Filipino Americans, the insult microaggressions that they receive may be more subtle and may not revolve around any ethnic-specific slurs. Ethnic-specific slurs for Filipinos (e.g., "dogeater" or "brown monkey") are outdated and were used primarily in the early 1900s (Posadas, 1999), while ethnic-specific slurs assumed for Chinese Americans or other East Asian Americans (e.g., "chink" or "ching chong") are still phrases that are used today, even in mainstream media (Astudillo, 2007). Accordingly, both groups may experience similar frequencies of insult microaggressions, but Chinese Americans may more capable to identify when these are race-related because of the use of ethnic-specific slurs that are targeted to their group.

Specific to Asian American race-related stress, the results suggest that there are no significant differences between the amount of overall stress received by both Filipino and Chinese Americans. However, in analyzing the subscales, it appears that Chinese Americans may experience stress from Asian American socio-historical racism and from being treated as a perpetual foreigner at higher rates than Filipino Americans. There are two potential suggestions for these findings. First, the notion that Chinese Americans experience more stress in being treated as a perpetual foreigner suggests that Chinese Americans may experience discrimination that is more typical of what is assumed of Asian Americans. For

example, previous literature described that Asian Americans may often be treated as an "alien in one's own land," which occurs when an Asian American is continually questioned about her/his American status and/or assumed to be foreign-born (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007). The current study suggests that this experience may be more typical for Chinese Americans than for Filipino Americans, further supporting that Filipino Americans may not experience types of discrimination that are related to being the "Model Minority."

Second, the notion that Chinese Americans may experience more stress from socio-historical racism than Filipino Americans may reveal that Chinese Americans may experience more stress regarding racially-related incidents regarding the Asian American community (either historically or contemporarily). However it is important to remember previous literature that suggests that many Filipino Americans may not identify as Asian American (Nadal, 2004; Nadal, 2005) and accordingly may not experience allegiance or stress in regards to social or historical racism of the general Asian American community. This may not necessarily mean that Filipino Americans do not experience stress in regards to socially and historically race-related incidents, but rather that may experience this stress more for their ethnic group. So while an item may read "You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions," a Filipino American who does not identify as "Asian" may experience some, little, or no stress from such a situation, but may have reported more stress if the item read "You learn that Filipino Americans historically were targets of racist actions."

In regard to racism-related stress, the study suggests that there no significant differences between groups on the amount of racism-related stress. However, in analyzing the subscales, it is revealed that Chinese Americans reported higher scores of individual racism-related stress than Filipino Americans. It is important to recognize that there are no significant differences in the amount of racism that one perceives one's own group undergoing. This supports that members of both groups recognize that members of their families and racial/ethnic groups may continue to experience racism present-day. However, the Chinese Americans report higher levels of individual stress than their Filipino American counterparts, suggesting that either Chinese Americans do experience higher levels of individual stress, or that Filipino Americans are underreporting the amount of individual stress that they experience. Again as aforementioned, certain variables like colonial mentality or English proficiency may influence a Filipino American's incapacity to admit to or recognize racism or race-related stress.

Phenotype and Racial Discrimination

Results from the investigation suggest that phenotype has an influence on racial discrimination. Specific to microaggressions, findings indicate that overall phenotype may affect Filipino Americans' experiences of being treated as a criminal. This finding coincides with literature that Filipino Americans may experience similar types of discrimination as Hispanics/Latinos (Nadal, 2005; Rumbaut, 1995). Filipino Americans with darker skin, smaller eyes, and who are not perceived as Asian, will be treated as a criminal more than those who have

lighter skin, larger eyes, or who are perceived as Asian. Again, while Asian Americans are often viewed as submissive, Filipino Americans with a "less Asian" phenotype may be viewed as criminal or dangerous. Similarly, findings support that Chinese Americans who were not perceived as Asian were likely to experience criminality microaggressions. This finding illustrates that when one does not appear to be Asian, that they are more likely to be feared and assumed to be dangerous. This speaks to the influence of the model minority myth, in which Asians are viewed to be weak, submissive, and non-threatening.

Facial features had a significant influence on Chinese Americans' experiences with insult microaggressions and perpetual foreigner stress. Chinese Americans who had smaller eyes, lips, and noses would experience types of racial discrimination that may be more typical for East Asian Americans. For example, perhaps the smaller one's facial features were, the more they would be likely to hear racial slurs about Asian Americans (i.e., being called a "chink" or "Oriental"), and the more they would experience stress from Asians being seen as foreigners (i.e., noticing that Asian characters in American TV shows either speak bad or heavily accented English.). Additionally, for Chinese Americans, individuals who had smaller facial features and who were not perceived as Asian may have experienced more stress from general stereotypes (i.e., being asked for help in math). So although the individual may not be perceived as Asian, the fact that they have smaller facial features, may lead them to be treated in stereotypical ways.

Hair texture had an influence on perceiving racial discrimination for both ethnic groups. For Filipino Americans, hair texture had an influence on perceiving race involvement in exoticization microaggressions; individuals with a straighter hair texture reported perceiving more race involvement in exoticization microaggressions. For Chinese Americans, hair texture would have an influence on one perceiving race involvement when being treated as an intellectual inferior. Perhaps Filipino Americans are exoticized for their "silky hair," which is similar to what one Asian American woman described in a study about microaggressions (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007). Perhaps Chinese Americans with curlier hair are being perceived as mixed with other racial groups and are therefore viewed are intellectually inferior. However, because there is no known literature on the impact of hair texture in the Asian American community, it is unclear reasons the impact of hair texture on being viewed as either exotic or intellectually inferior. The significance of hair texture is one that may be of interest in future research.

For both groups, findings do not support that skin tone has an impact in one's perceptions of race involvement in microaggressions. This may counter previous literature on Black/African Americans and Latinos (e.g., Bautista, 2003; Neal & Wilson, 1989) which purport that darker-skinned persons may have more racial awareness and/or stress than lighter-skinned persons. For these Asian Americans, one's ability to perceive racial involvement in microaggressions was not dependent on skin color alone, but rather on other phenotypic traits, like hair texture or facial features.

Racial Microaggressions and Race-Related Stress

Results from the investigation convey for the most part that different types of race-related stressors will influence other types of race-related stressors. In agreement with previous literature (see Utsey, 1998 for a review), results from this study suggest a significant relationship between racial microaggressions and race-related stress. The relationships between these variables, particularly the subscales, provide insight for the experiences of Filipino and Chinese Americans, with implications for other Asian American groups.

For Filipino and Chinese Americans, socio-historical stress and perpetual foreigner stress influenced perceptions of racial microaggressions and race-related stress. In other words, the more stress that one experiences as a result of social and historical racism towards Asian Americans the more he/she will be able to perceive racial microaggressions and feel race-related stress. Concurrently, the more that one is treated as a perpetual foreigner, the more one will perceive racial microaggressions and feel race-related stress. This finding supports that both Filipino and Chinese Americans may become distressed upon learning about discrimination of Asian Americans, as well as feeling like an alien in one's own land, which may increase his/her awareness of how he/she is treated racially. For both groups, the influence of general stereotypes did not significantly impact one's ability to experience microaggressions or feel racial stress. Perhaps this speaks to participants' ability to cope with general stereotypes, while having more difficulty in coping with general socio-historical stress against Asians or with messages that one is a foreigner in his/her own country.

Another finding for both groups included that experiences of feeling exoticized would influence Asian American race-related stress. This supports previous literature on Asian Americans and racial microaggressions (see Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007) which assert that racial microaggressions are harmful and damaging to one's mental health. Additionally, because Asian Americans are often assumed to be foreign-born and/or are often exoticized by others (by Whites and other people of Color), individuals experience microaggressions that may lead to race-related stress that is specific to Asian Americans. For example, the impact of being mistaken for another Asian person (who may not look like the person at all) or being stared at by strangers may impact a person's stress as an Asian person (i.e., becoming distressed when someone says that Asians aren't assertive or when someone says that all Asians are alike). The impact of being exoticized may be an experience that is potentially different from other racial groups (i.e., Black/African Americans) who may experience other microaggressions other than exoticization or being treated as a perpetual foreigner.

There were a few differences between the two ethnic groups on the influence of racial microaggressions on general race-related stress (as operationalized by the Racism and Life Experiences Scale). For Filipino Americans, it was the combination of being treated as an intellectual inferior and a second-class citizen that influenced one's race-related stress, while for Chinese Americans, it was the experience of being exoticized and treated like a second-class citizen that influenced one's race-related stress. This finding suggests that

for the two groups that there are different incidents that may have an effect on one's race-related stress. While being treated as a second-class citizen impacted both groups' stress levels, Filipino Americans experienced microaggressions in which others assumed that they were intellectually inferior. This supports previous literature (i.e., Nadal, 2004) which asserts that race-related experiences of Filipino Americans may be unique and will lead them to experience types of stress that other racial groups may not experience. While they may undergo similar types of racism or discrimination as other Asian Americans (i.e., being treated like a second class citizen), being viewed as an intellectual inferior impacts stress that is different from other Asian Americans.

The influence of individual and group race-related stress was different for both groups. In terms of frequencies of racial microaggressions, both individual and group race-related stress had an impact for Filipino Americans, whereas for Chinese Americans only individual race-related stress had an impact. And in terms of Asian American race-related stress, both individual and group race-related stress impacted Asian American race-related stress scores for Chinese Americans, while only individual race-related stress was the only influence on Asian American race-related stress for Filipino Americans. There are many potential reasons for these occurrences. Perhaps, the notion of "vicarious racism," in which some individuals experience racism and race-related stress through other racial/ethnic group members (Harrell, 2000), may influence one's ability to perceive racism. For example, perhaps when Filipino Americans experience race-related stress on both individual and group levels, they become more aware of

race and can perceive racial microaggressions better. Contrarily, perhaps when Chinese Americans experience race-related stress that occurs specifically to them as individuals, they are able to better to recognize microaggressions. Similarly, perhaps when Chinese Americans experience Asian-specific race-related stress on both group and individual levels, they feel more general race-related stress, whereas for Filipino Americans, it is only when they experience Asian-specific race-related stress on an individual level that they will feel general race-related stress.

Annotations

There are a few annotations that are important to notice about the study. First, sixty-three participants did not complete the packet, and specifically terminated their responses after completing the Daily Life Experiences-Frequency scale. As stated in the methodology section, a higher proportion of these participants were Filipino Americans. Concurrently, several participants contacted the principal investigator and informed that they felt "re-traumatized" by having to think about the types of microaggressions that they had experienced. Perhaps the other participants who did not complete the packet also felt a sense of "re-traumatizing" and therefore did not want to continue. Perhaps there were a high number of Filipino American participants who felt stress after thinking about past microaggressions because these racial microaggressions were more explicit for people of their ethnic group. However, because there were no exit interviews, it is difficult to understand how come many people did not finish and how come many of them were Filipino American.

Secondly, there were a few participants who contacted the principal investigator to share that they were bothered or disturbed by the phenotype questions. After taking the pilot study instrument, a South Asian woman emailed that she thought that the survey was biased, stating "I believe the survey should either be renamed to accurately state that its questions are geared only towards East Asians, or should be revamped to encompass more 'Asian' cultures." A Chinese American man emailed that he was offended by the use of "very Asian" versus "very non-Asian," stating:

> "What's up with the question about Very Asian (small eyes, lips nose) to Non-Asian (large eyes lips nose) facial features question? To me, that's all Asian. I found it disappointing given the nature of your survey that you would use a stereotype like that."

Both examples demonstrate that the notions of race or phenotype are very sensitive issues for Asian Americans.

One final notation about the study is the speed and promptness of collecting data. Announcements were posted on Asian American listserves and websites, and enough participants were recruited in approximately 3 weeks. This further supports the notion that Asian Americans have computer access (Newberger, 2001) and demonstrates that internet surveys are an effective way of collecting data from the Asian American community.

Limitations

The findings of the current investigation must be considered in the context of potential limitations. First and foremost, the varying forms of instrumentation

that was used in the study may not all be the most reliable or valid. While the Daily Life Experiences (DLE), Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI), and Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RALES) have all been used in the previous literature, there are some considerations for each measure. The DLE and AARRSI measure frequencies of stress or incidents, that may not accurately reflect actual amounts of stress because they are too content-specific. For example, simply because one experiences certain incidents that are listed on the DLE, it does not mean that he/she faces more discrimination than someone who may experience incidents that are not listed on the DLE. Secondly, because the investigator wanted to examine differences with various types of microaggressions, subscales were developed from the DLE that had not been used before. While each subscale had high reliabilities, it had not been tested on a previous sample. Despite a good model fit through the confirmatory factor analysis, it was decided to continue with the use of these subscales because of the lack of other instruments that measured different categories of microaggressions. Perhaps a new inventory on racial microaggressions should be created and analyzed using a factor analysis, in order subscales to be utilized and experiences with varying types of microaggressions to be more fully understood. Finally, the Asian Phenotype Measure (APM) is a new scale that was used to measure phenotype, using pictures and statements. One critique to this measure is that it is all self-report, which means that an individual's true phenotype is never known. Another critique is that there are only 2 items that measure skin color, facial features, and hair texture, suggesting that further developments of the measure

should include additional items. Lastly, the questions of perceptions as Asian are subjective, leading to potential problems with the validity. For example, to state "I believe that I look Asian" may have different meanings for various individuals and therefore may lead to a wide spectrum of responses.

A second potential limitation regards the sample population. Because the study focuses specifically on two ethnic groups, findings may not be generalizable to the entire Asian American population. Secondly, while many demographic variables were considered, there were not enough participants to measure between-group differences on all of the variables (i.e., generation, gender). How might the generational status or gender of participants impact their perceptions of race or experiences with specific types of racial microaggressions? Future studies or analyses of the data could be performed to understand these potential differences.

Additionally, the participants were all recruited from the internet. While this may be viewed as a potentially non-biased sample because Asian Americans of all geographical backgrounds would have access to the instrument, there may be some educational bias (i.e., those who are not computer-savvy would not be able to participate) or socioeconomic bias (i.e., those without access to computers would not be able to participate). As a result of all of these restrictions, the study may not be generalizable to the entire Filipino and Chinese American populations.

A final limitation of the investigation pertains to the choice of methodology. The current research design was a correlation study, utilizing mostly univariate and multivariate regressions and t-tests to examine the

hypotheses. Accordingly, one is able to deduce the relationships among the study variables, instead of being able to confidently assert relationships between variables. Furthermore, the predictor variables did not account for very high variance overall in the outcome variables. Because of this remaining variance, additional predictor variables may need to be included to obtain a more complex understanding of the perceptions of racial discrimination for Filipino and Chinese Americans.

Implications for Theory, Research, and Counseling

Theoretical Implications

The findings of the current investigation significantly contribute to the field of counseling psychology. First, the results provide new insight to multicultural psychology, particularly with the conceptualization of race. In the field, psychologists tend to group individuals into five basic racial/ethnic groups, based on skin color, physical features, and hair texture; these groups include Black, White, Native American, Asian, and Hispanic (even though "Hispanic" is considered an ethnic designation in the U.S. Census). However, for Asian Americans there is a vast spectrum among all of these variables, and Asian Americans of different ethnic groups (e.g., Filipino, Chinese, Indian, or Vietnamese) may have varying phenotypic appearances. As exemplified in this study, this extensive range of physical appearances may influence many aspects of an individual's experiences, including perceptions of racial discrimination or race-related stress. Perhaps phenotype may also impact one's racial identity, and thus the results from this study would be helpful to further examine Racial

Identity Theory. However, as demonstrated through this sample, individuals may not necessarily be treated like other members of their racial group, and individuals may not self-identify as members of their racial group. Therefore, the constraints of race and racial categorizations, particularly in conceptualizing Asian Americans, must be transformed to take into account experiences that may conflict with current models.

The study also indicates several implications for racial microaggressions. While racism may no longer be direct and intentional, subtle messages through verbal and behavioral communications may lead to different types of race-related stress for individuals. Additionally, although previous studies have demonstrated that different racial groups may experience a myriad of racial microaggressions or general racial discrimination, the current study recognizes that two different ethnic groups within the Asian racial group may experience both similar and different types of racial microaggressions and discrimination. This signifies that microaggressions and experiences with discrimination will be contingent among many factors including race and ethnicity, but may also include the intersections of other identities such as gender, social class, sexual orientation, religion, ability, etc. Further models may need to be developed to understand how the intersections of these identities may influence the frequencies and types of microaggressions.

Research Implications

There are a myriad of research implications that can be inferred from this investigation. First as demonstrated by this study, it is important to disaggregate the Asian American population when conducting research studies, in order to

discover prominent results that might otherwise go unnoticed. Most of the time, Asian Americans (and other racial groups) are lumped into one category, and researchers fail to recruit enough subjects to account for ethnic group differences. As a result, Asian Americans are viewed as one group with universal experiences. By utilizing a large sample of two ethnic groups, one can examine between-group differences in statistically significant ways. Accordingly, results are not declared as universal findings for the general Asian American population; instead the experiences of specific Asian American ethnic groups are made visible.

The results speak to the importance of measuring phenotype, particularly when investigating racial discrimination. Because racial discrimination is typically based on one's physical appearance, it seems impractical to remove or ignore phenotype as a variable from research involving discrimination or other race-related topics. Perhaps the Asian Phenotype Measure can be further developed and/or future studies of phenotype can be utilized when measuring other race- or culture-related variables, like racial identity, acculturation levels, collective self-esteem, etc. Because the Asian American population is so diverse by ethnic group membership and phenotype, it is important for future researchers to acknowledge and understand how one's physical appearance may influence one's life experiences.

Accordingly, it may be important to conduct further research measuring the relationships between phenotype and racial discrimination with other variables. For example, as previously noted, the academic performance of second-generation Filipino Americans is significantly lower than East Asian Americans,

whom they share the same immigration patterns, socioeconomic statuses, and parents' educational levels. Perhaps the experiences of race and racial microaggressions may influence Filipino Americans' educational achievement negatively. For example, if one receives messages that he/she is intellectually inferior or assumed to be a criminal, it is possible that the individual may carry out a "self-fulfilling prophecy" and perform poorly in their academics or become involved in crime, because they believe that is what is expected of them.

Findings connote that additional research on racial microaggressions should continue. Perhaps future researchers can study the varying types of microaggressions that might be more common for other racial or ethnic groups. Researchers can also study the impact of these microaggressions on other general mental health variables, like self-esteem, life satisfaction, self-efficacy, etc. Perhaps a more inclusive measure of racial microaggressions might be created, for general racial/ethnic groups, but also specifically for Asian Americans. Additionally, perhaps an inventory of microaggressions with other marginalized groups might be created (i.e., LGBT persons, women, disabled) in order to understand impacts of microaggressions on other groups. For example, one qualitative study illustrates that the influence of sexual orientation and race may lead to many stressors for gay/lesbian Filipino Americans (Nadal & Corpus, in press). Perhaps further research can investigate the influence of both racial microaggressions and sexual orientation microaggressions on this population.

Finally, results from the study suggest that ethnic group differences do exist between groups and therefore studies like these should be retested with other

groups (i.e., other Asian groups or ethnic groups within the Hispanic/Latino and/or Black/African American population). Not only must research disaggregate data on Asian Americans, it would be important to understand the differences that occur within other racial groups. For example, one might wonder if Puerto Ricans will experience the same types of microaggressions as Mexican Americans, or if phenotype impacts the types of race-related stress within the Latino American population. Additionally, one might wonder if there are other marginalized Asian American ethnic groups (e.g., Vietnamese, Hmongs, or Pacific Islanders) who might experience similar types of microaggressions as Filipino or Chinese Americans, or if phenotype impacts race-related stress the same ways for groups like Indian Americans or Pacific Islanders who have notably different phenotypic traits than East Asian Americans.

Counseling Implications

The findings of the current study have implications for mental health counselors and practitioners. One must recognize that in order to be the most effective counselors, that they should become multiculturally competent, by increasing their knowledge, awareness, and skills (D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003). First, they must gain the *knowledge* of the vast differences that may occur within the Asian American community, understanding that there is not a universal Asian American experience, and that experiences may vary by ethnicity, generation, intersections of other identities, and even physical appearances. They should become knowledgeable about unique histories of different ethnic groups, different contributors to racial and ethnic identity development, and how other factors like

ethnicity or phenotype may impact their experiences with racial discrimination. Secondly, practitioners must attain the *awareness* of their own biases and limitations. This may occur by examining their own racial and ethnic identities and learning how their biases about Asian Americans and specific Asian American groups may affect the ways they work with their clients. This awareness also includes being able to recognize when one might be the perpetrator of a racial microaggression (as either a counselor or in one's everyday life) and to be able to recognize and process the impact of the microaggression in the therapeutic context.

Thirdly, mental health counselors and practitioners must learn the *skills* that are necessary to treat this population culturally appropriately. As evidenced in this study, there are major differences within the Asian American population, based on ethnic group membership and phenotype. Accordingly, a counselor must recognize that they may need to utilize various skills for different types of Asian Americans. Not only does a counselor have to take into account one's racial identity or acculturation levels (as evidenced in previous studies), but one may also need to develop skills that are more ethnic-specific. For example, while previous studies have supported that Asian Americans prefer and benefit from a highly-structured and directive approach, rather than an insight/feeling-oriented one (Atkinson, Maruyama, & Matsui, 1978; D.W. Sue & Sue, 2003), it is important to recognize that these types of studies were based on East Asian Americans and assumed to apply to all Asian American ethnic groups. However, because Filipino culture emphasizes the importance of emotional closeness and

personal connection, some authors have emphasized the importance of counselors being personable and sharing when working with Filipino American clients who tend to be emotionally-expressive (Okamura & Agbayani, 1991). This study emphasizes the necessity to look at ethnic-group differences, not just between Filipino and Chinese Americans, but between all Asian American ethnic groups.

Finally, practitioners in different types of settings can utilize the results of this study to help create more comprehensive intervention and/or prevention programs for Asian American groups. This study supports that Asian Americans may face many types of discrimination which may inevitably lead to high levels of race-related stress. As a result, there are many potential ways that psychologists can assist in promoting mental health for this population. First, perhaps schools and college counseling centers can implement support groups for students to have opportunities to discuss how racial discrimination may impact their lives. Second, educational workshops and discussions on how to prevent or cope with racial discrimination can be integrated into classroom learning. Finally, ethnic-specific programming may be necessary for individuals to be able to understand the unique differences between Asian American ethnic groups and to validate experiences that may occur between groups.

Summary and Conclusion

While Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group in the US, there has been little research that has been conducted on them, in comparison to other racial groups. The research that has concentrated on this group has been

sparse and tends to focus on a universal Asian American experience. The current study attempted to illustrate within-group differences that may occur with the Asian American population, citing the impact of ethnic group membership and phenotype on one's daily life. Opposing the model minority myth, findings demonstrated that Filipino Americans may be treated differently than Chinese Americans, in that they are often the recipients of racial discrimination that is more similar to Black/African Americans and Latinos (i.e., Filipino Americans may be assumed to be a criminal or intellectually inferior more often than Chinese Americans would). Concurrently, Filipino Americans may also share similar amounts of other types of discrimination as Chinese Americans (i.e. they may be exoticized or treated like a perpetual foreigner), inferring that Filipino Americans will face racial discrimination that is typical for the general Asian American population, but will also be subjected to additional discrimination that other racial groups encounter as well.

Additionally, Chinese Americans may have experiences that are similar to previous research that has been conducted on Asian Americans. This further supports previous studies that suggest that the universal "Asian American experience" may be based on Chinese Americans. Accordingly, it is necessary for psychologists and mental health practitioners to recognize that by not accounting for within-group differences of the Asian American population, they are ignoring the experiences of many other subgroups, including Filipino Americans, Southeast Asians, South Asians, and Pacific Islanders. These marginalized groups are already invisible in general society for many reasons (i.e. population sizes,

historical contexts, short presence in the U.S., lack of education about these groups). By continuing to overlook these groups, a hierarchy is created within the Asian American community, in which some groups continue to be recognized and accepted more than others. Additionally, in neglecting these groups, counselors and other practitioners fail to address these groups' specific therapeutic needs and fail to provide culturally appropriate mental health services.

The study also suggests that race is still a salient part of individuals' everyday interactions. While race may be more subtle and indirect, the Asian American participants in this study demonstrated that they still experience race-related stress from the subtle racism that occurs. As a result, members of all racial groups must understand the impact that race has on all of their lives, and the ways that they may perpetuate racial microaggressions and race-related stress. Within the Asian American population, individuals must recognize how individuals of other ethnic groups may treat each other in oppressive or privileged ways. Finally, it is necessary for psychologists, educators, and parents to acknowledge race, discontinue being "color blind," and teach future generations of Asian Americans that race still affects their lives. Psychologists and educators must be willing to become multiculturally competent and to encourage their therapy clients and students to be able to express themselves in healthy ways as racial/cultural beings. Families must be able to teach their children about how both their race as Asian Americans and ethnicity as Filipino American, Chinese American, etc. influence their values and behaviors, but also how others will perceive and treat them. Parents must teach their Asian American children to be equipped for the racial

discrimination that their children will experience and to provide them with coping mechanisms to alleviate race-related stress. In doing so, Asian American children will be better able to achieve higher levels of mental health, learn to love themselves and their cultural groups, and succeed in their adult lives.

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Appendix A: Table 1- Largest Asian American Ethnic Group Populations

Asian Ethnic Group	*Population*	*Percentage of Asian Population*
Chinese	2,314,537	23.1%
Filipino	1,850,314	18.47%
Asian Indian	1,678,765	16.76%
Vietnamese	1,112,528	11.1%
Korean	1,076,872	10.75%
Japanese	796,700	7.95%

Source: Barnes & Bennett (2002).

Appendix B: Table 1- Differences between Filipino Americans based on

geography

	Filipino Americans from West Coast & Hawai'i	Filipino Americans from East Coast & Midwest
Population	48% of Fil-Am population resides in CA; 9% of Fil-Am population in Hawai'i, 5.4% in Oregon, 3% in Washington	4% of Fil-Am population resides in New York; 4.5% of Fil-Am population in New Jersey, 4.5% in Illinois, 2% in Virginia
Immigration	First Filipinos landed in CA in 1781. Largest settlements began in early 1900s, as farmworkers (CA), cannery workers (AL), and plantation workers (HI). Professionals immigrated post-1965 Immigration Act.	Largest settlements began post-1965 Immigration Act with mostly professionals.
Historical Racism	Specific segregation towards Filipinos in hotels/ restaurants. Anti-miscegenation laws specifically prohibit Filipinos from marrying Whites.	No known ethnic-specific discrimination or laws against Filipinos.
Education	Nationwide: 22% of American-born Filipinos attain a bachelor's degree. (Consider that 57% of Filipino Americans are in CA and Hawai'i)	New York: 65% of American-born Filipinos attain a bachelor's degree.
Census	Filipino Americans in CA are defined as "Filipino," not "Asian" or "Pacific Islander" in all state census forms.	Filipino Americans are classified as "Asian."

Appendix C: Daily Life Experience- Frequency & Race Scales (DLE-FR; Harrell, 1997)

DAILY LIFE EXPERIENCE (FREQUENCY & RACE SCALES; DLE-FR). These questions ask you to think about experiences that some people have as they go about their daily lives. Please first determine how often the experience happens to you generally. Use the scale in the first column and write the appropriate number on the first blank line. Next, think about the times when the experience has happened to you, if ever, and determine how often you believe it has happened because of your race. Use the scale in the second column and write the appropriate number on the blank line. Use "N" only if the experience has never happened to you (i.e., if you put "0" in the first column).

race	How often?	Your race involved?
	0=never 1=less than once a year 2=a few times a year 3=about once a month 4=a few times a month 5=once a week or more	N=never happened to me 0=never due to my race 1=rarely due to my race 2=a little due to my race 3=sometimes due to my 4=often due to my race 5=always due to my race
1) Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)	_____	_____
2) Being treated rudely or disrespectfully	_____	_____
3) Being accused of something or treated suspiciously	_____	_____
4) Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated	_____	_____
5) Being observed or followed while in public places	_____	_____
6) Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"	_____	_____
7) Your ideas or opinions being minimized, ignored, or devalued	_____	_____
8) Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment	_____	_____
9) Being insulted, called a name, or harrassed	_____	_____
10) Others expecting your work to be inferior	_____	_____
11) Not being taken seriously	_____	_____
12) Being left out of conversations or activities	_____	_____
13) Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way	_____	_____
14) Being avoided, others moving away from you physically	_____	_____
15) Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor, bellboy, maid)	_____	_____
16) Being stared at by strangers	_____	_____
17) Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted	_____	_____
18) Being mistaken for someone else of your same race (who may not look like you at all)	_____	_____
19) Being asked to speak for or represent your entire racial/ethnic group (e.g., "What do _____ people think"?)	_____	_____
20) Being considered fascinating or exotic by others	_____	_____

Appendix D: Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang, Li, & Kim,

2004)

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI)
Christopher T. H. Liang, Lisa C. Li, and Bryan S. K. Kim

Instructions: Please read each item and choose a response that best represents your reaction.
1 = This has never happened to me or someone I know, 2 = This event happened but did not
bother me, 3= This event happened and I was slightly bothered, 4= This event happened and I was
upset, 5 = This event happened and I was extremely upset.

1)   You hear about a racially motivated murder of an Asian American
       man.

2)   You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented
       in management positions.

3)   You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems.

4)   You notice that Asian characters in American TV shows either speak
       bad or heavily accented English.

5)   You notice that in American movies, male Asian leading characters
       never engage in physical contact (kissing, etc.) with leading female
       characters even when the plot would seem to call for it.

6)   Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.

7)   You notice that U.S. history books offer no information of the contributions
       of Asian Americans.

8)   You see a TV commercial in which an Asian character speaks bad English
       and acts subservient to non-Asian characters.

9)   You hear about an Asian American government scientist held in solitary
       confinement for mishandling government documents when his non-Asian
       coworkers were not punished for the same offence.

10)   You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions

11)   You learn that most non-Asian Americans are ignorant of the oppression
       and racial prejudice Asian Americans have endured in the U.S.

12)   At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you
       is served before you.

13)   You learn that, while immigration quotas on Asian peoples were severely
       restricted until the latter half of the 1900s, quotas for European immigrants
       were not.

14)   Someone tells you that it's the Blacks that are the problem, not the Asians.

15) A student you do not know asks you for help in math.

16) Someone tells you that they heard that there is a gene that makes Asians smart.

17) Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.

18) Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.

19) Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung.

20) Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.

21) Someone asks you if all your friends are Asian Americans.

22) Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate.

23) Someone tells you that "you people are all the same."

24) Someone tells you that all Asian people look alike.

25) Someone tells you that Asian Americans are not targets of racism.

26) Someone you do not know asks you to help him/her fix her/his computer.

27) You are told that "you speak English so well."

28) Someone asks you what your real name is.

29) You are asked where you are really from.

Appendix E: Racism and Life Experiences Scale- Brief Version (RaLES-B)

Racism and Life Experience Scale- Brief Version (RaLES-B)
(Harrell, 1996)

1. Overall, DURING YOUR LIFETIME, how much have you personally experienced racism, racial discrimination, or racial prejudice? (Circle one)

   not at all   a little   some   a lot   extremely

2. DURING THE PAST YEAR, how much have you personally experienced racism, racial discrimination, or racial prejudice? (Circle one)

   not at all   a little   some   a lot   extremely

3. Overall, how much do you think racism affects the lives of people of your same racial/ethnic group? (Circle one)

   not at all   a little   some   a lot   extremely

4. Think about the people close to you, your family and friends. In general, how much has racism impacted their life experiences?

   not at all   a little   some   a lot   extremely

5. In general, how do you think people from your racial/ethnic group are regarded in the United States? (Circle one)

   very negatively   negatively   neutrally   positively   very positively

6. In general, how frequently do you hear about incidents of racial prejudice, discrimination, or racism from family, friends, co-workers, neighbors, etc.? (Circle one)

   everyday   at least   about once or   a few times   once a year
                       once a week   twice a month   a year   or less

7. In general, how much do you think about racism?

   rarely or never   a little   sometimes   often   very often

8. In general, how much stress has racism caused you <u>during your lifetime</u>?

   none   a little   some   a lot   extreme

9. In general, how much stress has racism caused you <u>during the past year</u>?

   none   a little   some   a lot   extreme

Appendix F: Asian Phenotype Measure (APM)

Asian Phenotype Measure

Instructions: Please read each item and choose a response that best represents you.

1) Which of the following phrases best describes your usual skin color?

Lighter Skin (White/Peach)   *Skin (Olive/Light Brown)*   *Darker Skin (Dark Brown/ Black)*

1	2	3	4	5

2) Which of the following phrases best describes your facial features?

Very Asian	*Neutral*	*Very non-Asian*
(small-shaped eyes,	*(medium-shaped eyes,*	*(large-shaped eyes, large*
small lips, small nose)	*medium lips, medium nose)*	*lips, wide nose)*

1	2	3	4	5

3) Which of the following phrases best describes your natural hair texture?

Straight	*Wavy*	*Curly*

1	2	3	4	5

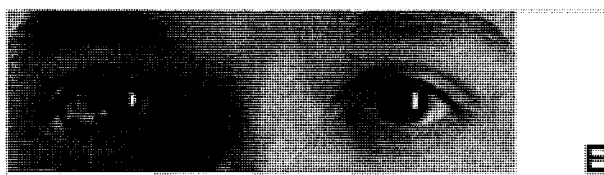|	Strongly Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree

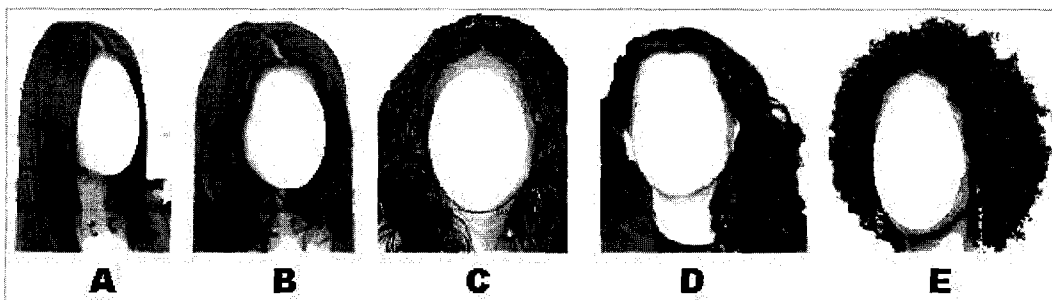|					
4) I believe that I look Asian.	5	4	3	2	1
5) I believe that others perceive me as an Asian.	5	4	3	2	1
6) I believe that my physical appearance matches what society typically views as Asian	5	4	3	2	1
7) When others look at me, they see an Asian	5	4	3	2	1

8) Which skin color best matches yours?

____(a) ____(b) ____(c) ____(d) ____(e)

9) Which eye shape best matches yours?
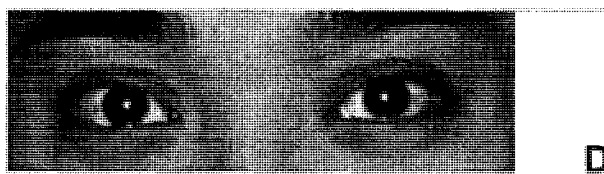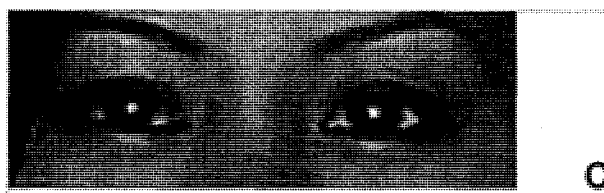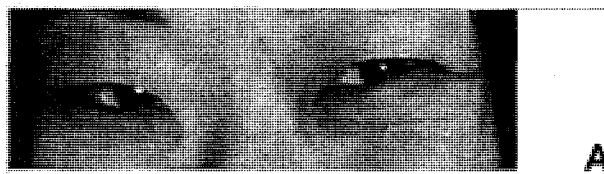
___(a)　　___(b)　　___(c)　　___(d)　　___(e)

10) Which hair texture best matches yours?

___(a)　　___(b)　　___(c)　　___(d)　　___(e)

Appendix G : Daily Life Experiences Subscales

Subscale 1: Exoticization

20) Being considered fascinating or exotic by others

18) Being mistaken for someone of your same race (who may not look like you at all)

16) Being stared at by strangers

19) Being asked to speak for or represent your entire racial/ethnic group (e.g., 'What do _____ people think?')

Subscale 2: Intellectual inferiority

10) Others expecting your work to be inferior

15) Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor, bellboy, maid)

6) Being treated as if you were 'stupid' or being 'talked down to'

Subscale 3: Second-class citizen

2) Being treated rudely or disrespectfully

1) Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)

11) Not being taken seriously

12) Being left out of conversations or activities

Subscale 4: Assumption of criminality

5) Being observed or followed in public places

4) Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated

3) Being accused of something or being treated suspiciously

14) Being avoided, others moving away from you physically

13) Being treated in an 'overfriendly' or superficial way

Subscale 5: Insults and snubs

7) Your ideas or opinions, being minimized, ignored, or devalued

8) Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment

9) Being insulted, called a name, or harassed

17) Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted

Appendix H: Demographic Information

<u>DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION</u>

1) What ethnic group best describes you?
_____ a) Filipino/ Pilipino American
_____ b) Chinese American
_____ c) Other Asian American (Please specify
:_____)
_____ c) Multi-ethnic/ Two Asian American groups (e.g., Filipino/Chinese or
Filipino/Indian)
_____ d) Multi-racial (e.g., Asian/White or Asian/Black)
_____ e) Black
_____ f) Hispanic/Latino
_____ g) Pacific Islander
_____ h) White
_____ i) Other (Please specify
:_____)

2) Gender: _____Female _____ Male

3) Age _____

4) Years of Education after high school: _____

5) Place of Residence
_____ a) West Coast (e.g., California, Washington)
_____ b) Midwest (e.g., Michigan, Illinois)
_____ c) Northeast (e.g., New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts)
_____ d) Southwest (e.g., Texas, Arizona, New Mexico)
_____ e) Southeast (e.g., Georgia, Florida, Virginia)
_____ e) Hawai'i
_____ f) Alaska
_____ g) Other (Please specify :_____)

6) My closest friends are either
_____ a) mostly Filipino/ Pilipino American
_____ b) mostly Chinese American
_____ c) mostly Asian, of different Asian ethnic group(s)
_____ d) mostly White
_____ e) mostly Black
_____ f) mostly Hispanic
_____ g) mixed with all racial groups
_____ h) other (Please specify :_____)

7) When given a census, I usually check the following category
_____ Asian American _____Pacific Islander _____Other

Appendix I: Instructions to Participants

Dear Participants:

My name is Kevin Nadal, and I am currently recruiting Filipino American and Chinese American participants for a study on your experiences with racial discrimination.

If you are interested in participating, please fill out the following survey. You must be 18 years old and must belong to one of the ethnic groups I just mentioned.

The survey should take about 30 minutes or less. Your participation is completely voluntary. Your answers will be completely anonymous and confidential. There are no risks or benefits to completing this survey.

Your answers will be used to assist us in understanding the experiences of Filipino and Chinese Americans.

If you have any questions about the survey, you can talk to me directly before, during, or after completion of the survey, or you can contact me through email at kln2005@columbia.edu.

Thank you!

Appendix J: Figure 1
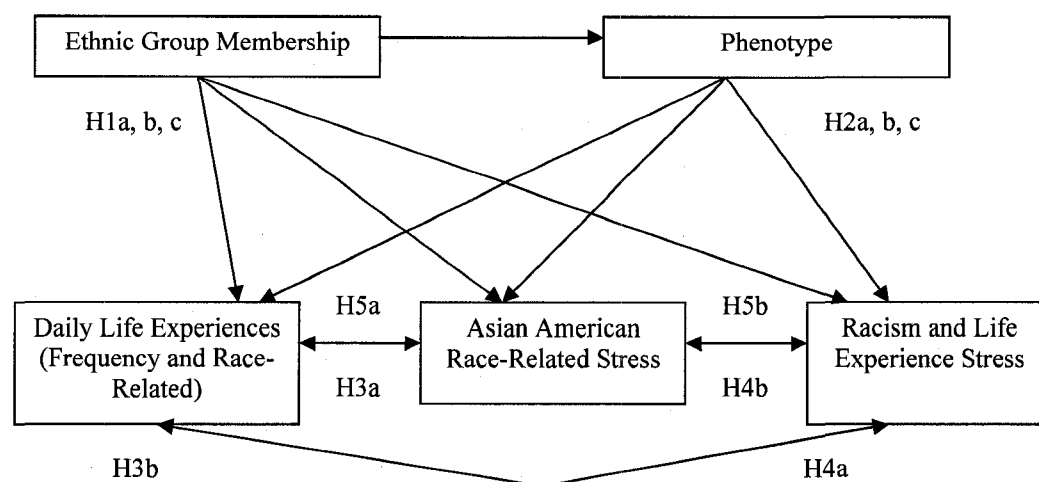
Appendix K: Detailed explanation of Correlation Matrix (see Table 8):

All of the outcome variables were significantly related to each other.

Perceptions of racial microaggressions were measured by the Daily Life Experiences- Frequency and Daily Life Experiences- Race Scale. All of the scales of the DLE-F were correlated to each other, specifically DLE-F Exoticization and DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority ($r = .596$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Exoticization and DLE-F Second Class Citizen ($r = .585$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Exoticization and DLE-F Criminality ($r = .634$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Exoticization and DLE-F Insults ($r = .711$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority and DLE-F Second Class Citizen ($r = .768$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority and DLE-F Criminality ($r = .763$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Intellectual Inferiority and Insults ($r = .728$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and DLE-F Criminality ($r = .722$, $p < .01$), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and DLE-F Insults ($r = .789$, $p < .01$), and DLE-F Criminality and DLE-F Insults ($r = .726$, $p < .01$).

All of the scales of the DLE-R were correlated to each other, specifically DLE-R Exoticization and DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority ($r = .684$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Exoticization and DLE-R Second Class Citizen ($r = .664$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Exoticization and DLE-R Criminality ($r = .682$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Exoticization and DLE-R Insults ($r = .763$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority and DLE-R Second Class Citizen ($r = .857$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority and DLE-R Criminality ($r = .883$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Intellectual Inferiority and Insults ($r = .808$, $p < .01$), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and DLE-R Criminality ($r = .854$, p

< .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and DLE-R Insults (r = .801, p < .01), and DLE-R Criminality and DLE-R Insults (r = .777, p < .01).

Asian-American race-related stress was measured by the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory. All of the subscales of the AARRSI were significantly correlated to one another, specifically AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism and General Stereotypes (r = .631, p < .01), AARRSI- Socio-Historical Racism and Perpetual Foreigner (r = .689, p < .01), and AARRSI- General Stereotypes and Perpetual Foreigner (r = .812, p < .01).

Racism-related stress was measured by the Racism and Life Experiences Scales- Brief Version. Both of the subscales of the RALES-B were significantly correlated to one another, RALES- Individual and Group (r = .712, p < .01).

DLE-F was significantly correlated to AARRSI-Total (r = .612, p < .01). All of the subscales of the DLE-F are correlated to AARRSI-Total, specifically DLE-F Exoticization (r = .575, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority (r = .513, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen (r = .518, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality (r = .496, p < .01), and DLE-F Insults (r = .554, p < .01). All of the subscales of the AARRSI are correlated to DLE-F, specifically AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .521, p < .01), AARRSI-General Racism (r = .564, p < .01), and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .581, p < .01).

DLE-R was significantly correlated to AARRSI-Total (r = .715, p < .01). All of the subscales of the DLE-R are correlated to AARRSI-Total, specifically DLE-R Exoticization (r = .534, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority (r = .597, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen (r = .558, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality (r = .556, p

< .01), and DLE-R Insults (r = .609, p < .01). All of the subscales of the AARRSI are correlated to DLE-R, specifically AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .675, p < .01), AARRSI-General Racism (r = .630, p < .01), and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .646, p < .01).

All of the subscales of the DLE-F and AARRSI were also significantly correlated, specifically DLE-Exoticization and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .476, p < .01), DLE-F Exoticization and AARRSI General Stereotypes (r = .527, p < .01), DLE-F Exoticization and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .565, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .438, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .493, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .459, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .471, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .426, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .492, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .390, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .512, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .469, p < .01), DLE-F Insults and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .485, p < .01), DLE-F Insults and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .490, p < .01), DLE-F Insults and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .523, p < .01).

All of the subscales of the DLE-R and AARRSI were also significantly correlated, specifically DLE-Exoticization and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .511, p < .01), DLE-R Exoticization and AARRSI General Stereotypes (r =

.404, p < .01), DLE-R Exoticization and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .484, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .554, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .521, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .539, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .555, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .423, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .488, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .499, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .540, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .479, p < .01), DLE-Insults and AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism (r = .566, p < .01), DLE-R Insults and AARRSI-General Stereotypes (r = .472, p < .01), DLE-R Insults and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner (r = .582, p < .01).

DLE-F was significantly correlated to the RALES-Brief (r = .756, p < .01). All of the subscales of the DLE-F are significantly correlated to the RALES-Brief, specifically DLE-F Exoticization (r = .634, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority (r = .642, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen (r = .695, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality (r = .626, p < .01), and DLE-F Insults (r = .689, p < .01). All of the subscales of the RALES-B are significantly correlated to the DLE-F, specifically RALES-Individual (r = .748, p < .01) and RALES-Group (r = .630, p < .01).

DLE-R was significantly correlated to the RALES-Brief (r = .767, p < .01). All of the subscales of the DLE-R are significantly correlated to the RALES-Brief, specifically DLE-R Exoticization (r = .565, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority (r =

.670, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen (r = .703, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality (r = .625, p < .01), and DLE-R Insults (r = .705, p < .01). All of the subscales of the RALES-B are significantly correlated to the DLE-R, specifically RALES-Individual (r = .766, p < .01) and RALES-Group (r = .632, p < .01).

All of the subscales of the DLE-F and RALES-B are significantly correlated, specifically DLE-Exoticization and RALES-Individual (r = .622, p < .01), DLE-F Exoticization and RALES-Group (r = .537, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority and RALES-Individual (r = .607, p < .01), DLE-F Inferiority and RALES-Group (r = .582, p < .01), DLE-F Second-Class Citizen and RALES-Individual (r = .691, p < .01), DLE-Second-Class Citizen and RALES-Group (r = .574, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality and RALES-Individual (r = .619, p < .01), DLE-F Criminality and RALES-Group (r = .522, p < .01), DLE-Insults and RALES-Individual (r = .707, p < .01), and DLE-F Insults and RALES-Group (r = .534, p < .01).

All of the subscales of the DLE-R and RALES-B are significantly correlated, specifically DLE-Exoticization and RALES-Individual (r = .560, p < .01), DLE-R Exoticization and RALES-Group (r = .465, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority and RALES-Individual (r = .657, p < .01), DLE-R Inferiority and RALES-Group (r = .562, p < .01), DLE-R Second-Class Citizen and RALES-Individual (r = .707, p < .01), DLE-Second-Class Citizen and RALES-Group (r = .556, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality and RALES-Individual (r = .621, p < .01), DLE-R Criminality and RALES-Group (r = .516, p < .01), DLE-Insults and

RALES-Individual ($r = .724$, p < .01), and DLE-R Insults and RALES-Group ($r = .530$, p < .01).

The AARRSI and RALES-B are significantly correlated to each other ($r = .720$, p < .01). The subscales of the AARRSI are all correlated with the RALES-B, specifically AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism ($r = .699$, p < .01), AARRSI-General Stereotypes ($r = .573$, p < .01), and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner ($r = .633$, p < .01). The subscales of the RALES-B are all correlated with the AARRSI, specifically RALES-Individual ($r = .718$, p < .01) and RALES-Brief ($r = .589$, p < .01).

All of the subscales of the AARRSI and RALES-B are significantly correlated to each other, specifically AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism and RALES-Individual ($r = .695$, p < .01), AARRSI-Socio-Historical Racism and RALES-Group ($r = .577$, p < .01), AARRSI-General Stereotypes and RALES-Individual ($r = .559$, p < .01), AARRSI-General Stereotypes and RALES-Group ($r = .577$, p < .01), AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner and RALES-Individual ($r = .648$, p < .01), and AARRSI-Perpetual Foreigner and RALES-Group ($r = .492$, p < .01).

Appendix L: Key terms and definitions

"Filipino" versus "Pilipino": "Filipino" with an "F" is the most common spelling of the word; this spelling is used in all government documentation in both the Philippines and the United States. However, some authors have cited that some Filipinos and Filipino Americans will use the term "Pilipino" as a political identifier, signifying the lack of the letter F in native Pilipino languages (Revilla, 1997). Supporters of the "P" spelling recognize that utilizing the "F" was a forced identity by Spanish colonizers, naming the Philippines after King Philip. However, utilizing Pilipino with a "P" still pays homage to King Philip, so the issue is not fully resolved.

Racial Microaggressions: Racial microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of Color because they belong to a racial minority group (D.W. Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, et al., 2007). These types of verbal and behavioral communications, whether intentional or unintentional, potentially have a harmful or negative psychological impact on people of Color. There are several types of microaggressions, including microassaults (direct, intentional statements or behaviors against persons of Color), microinsults (indirect, unintentional statements or behaviors that offend, upset, or hurt persons of Color), and microinvalidations (indirect, unintentional statements or behaviors that disregard, discount, or ignore a person of Color's experiences).

Race-related stress: Racism-related (or race-related) stress can be defined as a psychological response specifically resulting from direct or indirect racism (Harrell, 2000; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Moreover, they reveal that this racism-related stress will be multidimensional, in that it can include individual, collective, institution, or cultural racism. Harrell (2000) cites six types of racism-related stress, which includes a) racism-related life events, b) vicarious experiences of racism, c) daily racism microstressors, d) chronic-contextual stress, e) collective experiences, and f) transgenerational transmission.

Phenotype: Phenotype is defined as physical appearance and features which impact how others perceive an individual racially. Physical characteristics which may contribute to an individual's phenotype may include one's skin color, eye shape, facial features, and hair texture. Phenotype may lead to individuals' feeling of inclusion and exclusion of one's racial or ethnic group. Phenotype may be perceived differently by various racial groups. For example, previous studies have found that African Americans may value dark skin tone in males and light skin tone in females. Other studies have found that Latino and Asian countries with colonial histories may value light skin over dark skin, which may contribute to varying standards of beauty within the group. As a result, phenotype may then lead to a hierarchy within racial/ethnic groups.