EXPERIENCES OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AMONG ASIAN INDIAN YOUTH: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Asian Indians were the first South Asians to immigrate to the United States in the late 1800s and are currently the largest ethnic group of South Asians living in the United States. Despite this the literature on perceived discrimination experiences among this group is relatively understudied. It is speculated that the under-examination of discriminatory acts against Asian Indians may be due to the 'model-minority myth' which is often attributed to East Asian Americans. The documented experiences of Asian Indians who either recently immigrated from India or were born and raised in America pose an important question: how factors such as age, generational status, acculturation, ethnic/racial identity, and acculturation impact perceived experiences of discrimination among Asian Indians. The current study utilized a mixed-methods design to explore Asian Indian American youth's discrimination experiences and how these experiences may impact their mental health. Through interviews and surveys, it is suggested that Asian Indian youth experience discrimination at a young age, and may be experiencing negative mental health outcomes as a result. At the same time, a stronger sense of ethnic identity may act as a protective buffer against these negative outcomes. The results of this study can inform future areas of research and best practices for working with Asian Indian youth.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my Achan, Amma, Deepa, Latha, Ollie, and Koda. *Nyan innu ivide nikannathu ningalude ishwasavum pinnthunayum kondu maathram aanu.* I am here today because of your endless support and belief in me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. Census, there are currently over 3.5 million South Asians living within the United States, occupying the fastest growing population among all major ethnic groups in the country (South Asian Americans Leading Together, SAALT, 2015). The community of South Asians are ethnically diverse and include individuals from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (SAALT, 2015). The growth of the South Asian population is partially due to the increasing number that are migrating to the U.S. for various educational and employment opportunities (Inman, Tummala-Narra, Kaduvettoor-Davidson, Alvarez, & Yeh, 2015).

Despite recent increases in immigration, South Asians have experienced significant institutional hurdles in their historical movement to the United States (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandu, 1997; SAALT, 2015). The Barred Zone Act of 1917 and Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 significantly impacted immigration of South Asians to the United States, and although they were eventually allowed entry by quota in 1946, South Asians were still viewed as outsiders, in contrast to the experiences of other ethnic minorities (Ibrahim et al., 1997). This was fueled by Americans' general fear of individuals from foreign countries, or xenophobia (Bajaj, Ghaffar-Kucher, & Desai, 2013). Widely publicized articles discussing the threat of Indians "inundating" the earth, allowing for the spread of diseases and "backwards culture and superstitions" induced anxiety and concern for Americans (Hess, 1969). Even years after the 1946 immigration quotas, South Asians were still considered "foreign" and not "real" Americans (Bajaj et

al., 2013). The increased presence of South Asians ultimately led to tension amidst White communities in areas of high immigration, resulting in ethnic discrimination, which is the act of treating other individuals differently based on cultural values, beliefs, and practices as opposed to just their race alone (Inman et al., 2015; Jackson, 2011). The influx of South Asian immigration resulted in discrimination and the formation of groups such as the "Dot Busters," a hate group named after the *bindi*, or small dot worn on the forehead of Hindu Indian women for cultural purposes (Inman et al., 2015; Tewary, 2005). The Dot Busters were responsible for several (sometimes fatal) physical and verbal assaults against Asian Indians in New Jersey after the group distributed a letter detailing their intent to remove Asian Indians living in Jersey City (Inman et al., 2015; Tewary, 2005).

These tensions increased over the years, especially in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001. South Asians were suddenly viewed as synonymous with terrorists based on their appearance and countries of origin. Racial and religious markers (e.g., skin color and headscarves, respectively) became physical indicators of "terrorists", resulting in racial discrimination directed at South Asians, based on their race (Inman et al., 2015; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). South Asians were subjected to stereotypes and hate crimes characterized by anti-Muslim/anti-immigrant language and behavior in schools, communities, and places of employment (Inman et al., 2015). According to the FBI, trends in anti-Muslim hate crimes have risen by 67% from 2014-2015 and are currently at the highest level since 9/11 (SAALT, 2017). It is estimated that these trends will continue to rise in the current political

climate, where "xenophobic political rhetoric," defined as "comments motivated by a fear or hatred of those perceived to be different, other, or 'foreign'," become the norm (SAALT, 2017, p. 5). Given the alarmingly high rates of hate crimes directed at individuals perceived as foreign, it is essential to understand how South Asians are currently experiencing and coping with discrimination.

Study Purpose

The purpose of the current study is to expand on the current literature on the perceived racial and ethnic discrimination Asian Indian American youth experience. It is clear that the experiences of adolescents are largely understudied, since most of the studies included have focused on adult populations. It is significant to understand the younger generations' experiences of discrimination considering how age has appeared to change outcomes of discrimination. As an example, Yip, Gee, and Takeuchi (2008) found that ethnic identity protected Asian American adults between the ages of 41-50 years against the effects of discrimination; however, these effects were *worsened* among those 31-40 and 51-75 years of age. Further, since adolescence marks a significant developmental period of identity formation, we need to understand the development and impact of ethnic and racial identity at this point as well (Ghuman, 1998; Phinney, 1989).

Clarification of the conceptualization and role of racial and ethnic identity for Asian Americans is warranted, given the mixed results among the discrimination literature. The definition of ethnic discrimination is often used interchangeably with racial discrimination, which prevents researchers from fully understanding Asian Indians' experiences. Further, while many studies examine first-generation Asian

Indians, the contextual factors that differentiate experiences of first- versus second-generation Asian Indians also necessitates an exploration of the role of ethnic and racial identity among second-generation individuals.

Research Design

I identify as a second-generation Asian Indian woman, and acknowledge my own negative experiences of discrimination based on my race and ethnicity. I am, however, interested in how these experiences are unique to younger individuals as they are beginning to form their identities in adolescence. I want to explore the lived experiences of second-generation Asian Indian adolescents and how discrimination may impact these individuals' sense of mental well-being. Given the aforementioned gaps in the literature and my positionality, the current study will utilize a mixed methods approach. Mixed methods designs utilize both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study, and place differential emphasis and use specific sequencing of data collection and integration to serve the purpose of the study. Mixed methods research designs provide the researcher with the ability to triangulate data on a given subject area using different methods, to enhance understanding of a given research area, and even to obtain new information for survey development (Hesse-Biber, 2017).

The current mixed methods study is exploratory sequential in nature, indicating that one dataset builds off on the results from another dataset (National Institutes of Health, 2011). In this study, the emphasis will be placed on the qualitative phase, and qualitative data will be collected and analyzed first. The qualitative phase will employ phenomenological methodology, with an interpretivist approach. Phenomenological

methodology allows the researcher to understand a given phenomenon, in this case, discrimination, as lived experiences that are unique to each individual (Hesse-Biber, 2017). Information obtained from the data in the qualitative phase will be used to inform the secondary quantitative data collection phase, by providing an understanding of the different types of discrimination that cause second-generation Asian Indian adolescents to experience stress and poor mental well-being. This quantitative phase will provide even more information on the effects of discrimination experiences on mental well-being, and whether factors including ethnic and racial identity moderate this relationship. Thus, the priority in the study is given to the qualitative approach. The visual model for the current mixed methods study is portrayed in Figure 1.

Research Questions

The qualitative phase allows the researcher to ask three main questions. RQ1: "What are second-generation Asian Indian youth's experiences with racial and ethnic discrimination;" RQ2: "How are these unique discrimination experiences impacting these individuals;" and RQ3: "What are second-generation Asian Indian youth's experiences with forming their racial and ethnic identities?" These questions are exploratory in nature, and will provide the researcher with information on the nature of discrimination and how identity formation is experienced by each individual.

The quantitative phase allows the researcher to then build on this information and ask RQ4: "How do discrimination experiences affect mental well-being?" It is hypothesized that discrimination experiences will negatively impact indicators of mental well-being, such that participants will endorse lower self-esteem, and increased

symptoms of depression and anxiety. A follow-up research question (RQ5a) that will be evaluated is whether ethnic identity will moderate the effects of discrimination on mental well-being. It is hypothesized that ethnic identity will moderate the effects of discrimination on mental well-being, such that the negative impact of discrimination will weaken with stronger ethnic identity. In other words, stronger ethnic identity will result in overall better mental well-being with increased self-esteem, and decreased symptoms of depression and anxiety. A similar research question (RQ5b) will evaluate whether racial identity moderates the effects of discrimination on mental well-being. Similar to the hypothesis on ethnic identity, it is hypothesized that racial identity will moderate the effects of discrimination on mental well-being, such that the negative impact of discrimination will weaken with stronger racial identity. In other words, stronger racial identity will result in increased self-esteem and decreased symptoms of depression and anxiety. A final research question (RQ6) will assess whether the internalization of the model minority myth moderates the effects of discrimination on mental well-being. It is hypothesized that internalization of this stereotype will moderate the effects of discrimination on mental well-being, such that the negative impact of discrimination will strengthen with stronger identification with the model minority myth. In other words, a stronger sense of model minority identity will result in endorsement of lower self-esteem and increased symptoms of depression and anxiety.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Perceived Discrimination Experiences Among Asian Indians

Although discrimination studies focus on South Asians' existence, the South Asian label is pan-ethnic, and includes various ethnicities, cultures, and religions. Asian Indians were the first South Asians to immigrate to the United States in the late 1800s, and are currently the largest ethnic group of South Asians living in the United States ("An Introduction…", 2017; SAALT, 2015). Thus, it is important to understand Asian Indians' unique experiences with discrimination in the broader context of South Asian experiences.

Model-Minority Myth

Even with Asian Indians making up the largest South Asian community in the United states, the literature on perceived discrimination experiences among this group is relatively understudied (Gee & Ponce, 2010; Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013). It is speculated that the under-examination of discriminatory acts against Asian Indians may be due to the 'model-minority myth' which is often attributed to East Asian Americans (Lee, 2003; Lee et al., 2009). The model-minority myth dates back to the 1960s and is based on stereotypes of Asian Americans as successful, high achieving, and well-off in society (Osajima, 1988, as cited in Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). This stereotype was driven by articles suggesting that Asian Americans "could overcome racial adversity in order to achieve academic and economic success by adhering to values of hard work and family connectivity" (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009, as cited by

Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011). In the 1980s several magazines highlighted Asian Americans' academic achievement in terms of superior grade-point-averages (GPA) of 3.25 and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of 525 (Sue & Okazaki, 2009). The high academic achievement observed among Asian Americans appeared to continue into higher education; 86% of Asian Americans pursued higher education after high school compared to 64% of White Americans (Sue & Okazaki, 2009). Further, the data suggests Asian Americans' family incomes were higher than those of all other ethnic groups, including White Americans (Hurh & Kim, 1989). The proportion of Asian Americans with less than a high school education, who are living in poverty, working overtime, have multiple jobs, or who experience income inequality, are overlooked in these cases of success, however (Gupta et al., 2011; Hurh & Kim, 1989). In 2016, 10.1% of Asian Americans lived below the poverty level, compared to 8.8% of non-Hispanic White Americans (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015). A significant number of Asian Americans have less than a ninth-grade education; even those who are at the same educational level as White Americans are paid comparably less (Gupta et al., 2011). Additionally, relatively recent studies have provided contrasting data that suggest Asian Americans do not differ significantly from other ethnic groups in terms of GPA, SAT scores, and selection of science and engineering majors (Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). Yet, Asian Americans and members of other ethnic groups still internalize this stereotype considering the continued stereotypical portrayal of Asian Americans in mass media (Wong et al., 1998). This is problematic for Asian American students and students of other ethnic groups alike. Asian Americans may feel the need to meet the

standards dictated by the model minority stereotype, and when they fail to do so may experience poor self-esteem and other negative mental health outcomes (Wong et al., 1998).

The stereotype of Asian Americans occupying the same or higher socioeconomic and educational level compared to White individuals leads to the misperception of Asian Americans as mostly immune to the racial discrimination other ethnic minority groups face (Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Lee et al., 2009; Mahmud, 2001). In contrast to the model minority myth, data suggest that between 32-35% of Asian American adults face individual racial discrimination (offensive comments about their race and racial slurs), comparable to 33-37% of Latino/as and 35-39% of Native Americans (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; National Public Radio, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, & Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017a; National Public Radio, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, & Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017b; National Public Radio, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, & Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017c). It is crucial to understand and acknowledge how the model minority myth undermines discrimination research focused specifically on Asian Indians.

Nature of Discrimination Against Asian Indians

Asian Indians frequently experience discrimination in various forms (Inman et al., 2015; Nadimpalli, Kanaya, McDade, & Kandula, 2016; Poolokasingham, Spanierman, Kleiman, & Houshmand, 2014; Yoshihama, Bybee, & Blazevski, 2012). For example, Asian Indian adults reported feeling “singled out” during security searches

at the airport or when they are asked where they are from (Inman et al., 2015; Tummala-Narra, Inman, & Ettigi, 2011). Other instances of perceived racial and ethnic discrimination include when individuals were told to "go back to your country" or told to speak to a non-English speaking individual under the assumption that they "sounded Indian" on the phone (Inman et al., 2015). Some participants expressed being viewed as "terrorists" due to the associations between the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and South Asians; a perception that has been more broadly reflected with the anti-immigrant policies and heightened racial sensitivity post-9/11 (Tummala-Narra, Deshpande, & Kaur, 2016). These experiences reflect that Asian Indians are experiencing both racial and ethnic discrimination, which are terms that many researchers and participants across studies have used interchangeably when referring to discrimination based on race versus discrimination based on ethnicity (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). This indicates the very nature of discrimination among Asian Indians may not be clear at this time and needs clarification.

Poolokasingham et al. (2014) documented the individual discrimination experiences of South Asian Canadian undergraduate students via focus groups. They reported that most of the discrimination these students faced was in the form of racial microaggressions, or subtle derogatory and negative racial slights. Racial microaggressions can be intentional or unintentional behaviors or communications that convey hostile and negative insults to a racial minority member (Sue et al., 2007, as cited by Poolokasingham et al., 2014). Racial microaggressions are also subtle and can be communicated with facial expressions, speech tones, or even gestures (Sue et al.,

2007). Microaggressions are further categorized as microinvalidations, microinsults, and microassaults. Microinvalidations are subtle comments that negate the experience or reality of a person of color (e.g., an Asian American born in the United States is told they speak English well). Microinsults are when an individual may communicate verbally or nonverbally in a way that is rude and insensitive to the target person of color's background (e.g., not acknowledging students of color in the class; asking a person of color how they were accepted into a program). Microassaults are much more explicit verbal/nonverbal attacks using slurs or other discriminatory actions (e.g., displaying swastikas). The participants in this study shared examples of their perceived microaggressions; one participant noted that academic advisors would speak slowly to the student, assuming they did not know English. Other incidents cited ethnic discrimination, with peers asking questions such as "you're allowed to drink [alcohol]?" This line of questioning was reflective of non-South Asians assuming cultural expertise and generalizing certain cultural practices while also dismissing and invalidating interethnic differences between South Asians (e.g., not all South Asians are Muslims). Although this study examined South Asian Canadians versus Asian Indian Americans, these narratives highlight experiences that have been mentioned within studies of Asian Indian Americans as well (Poolokasingham et al., 2014; Sue et al., 2007). Overall, these experiences are much more overt than the ethnic and racial discrimination often assumed to be experienced by Asian Americans.

While microaggressions are mostly experienced at the individual level, Inman and colleagues (2015) identified patterns of discrimination that are institutional and

systemic in nature. Participants described experiencing racial profiling, health care service disparities, employment hurdles (including the perception of Indians "stealing jobs"), and housing discrimination. Additional examples of discrimination included facing quotas implemented within the United States for immigration of Asian Indians. However, most participants realized these systemic forms of discrimination were difficult to discern, causing them to question whether their experiences were true discrimination. Respondents often stated they did not experience discrimination, possibly due to the subtle nature of these incidents. They added that most perceived discriminatory actions were indirect, such as choosing a different person as a partner, or commenting on accents (Inman et al., 2015). This observation by participants suggests Asian Indians' accounts of discrimination may be largely underreported, further warranting an exploration of their experiences (Inman et al., 2015).

Generational Status

The documented experiences of Asian Indians who either recently immigrated from India or were born and raised in America pose an important question: whether generational status impacts perceived experiences of discrimination among Asian Indians (Inman et al., 2015; Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). Kaduvettoor-Davidson and Inman (2013) define first-generation South Asians as "those who immigrated to the United States as adults, whereas second-generation South Asians are those who are either born in the United States or immigrated prior to age 18" (p. 157). The historical significance of Asian Indians' immigration to the United States begins in understanding the experiences of Indians still

living in India. India was colonized and under British imperial rule for 400 years, and this resulted in the internalization of cultural norms and values of the British, including primary use of the English language and the perception of lighter skin being associated with higher social class. This was already in addition to the caste system that dictated social classes based on family lineage; individuals were born into classes and assumed the characteristics of that whole class. Restrictions on the lower caste denied access to education and employment for several individuals, thus reinforcing the status of the lower caste (Inman et al., 2015). Although immigrating to the U.S. meant validating many of these same practices, it is not clear whether this made it easier or more difficult for Asian Indians to assimilate into American culture. Even with assimilation, Asian Indians were still being rejected by American culture due to racial and ethnic discrimination (i.e., the history of discriminatory immigration policies since the 1800s). Additionally, differences in basic cultural practices (i.e. language) may make it more difficult for Asian Indians to assimilate. For instance, first-generation immigrants often have to rely on their second-generation children to be cultural brokers, who help to "translate" language and cultural barriers faced in public domains such as school, the doctor's office, or stores (Padilla, 2006). These behaviors, in addition to other cultural markers such as clothing may inadvertently provide observers with evidence to support the stereotype of Asian Americans being "perpetual foreigners." The historical context of Asian Indians' experiences with colonization, as well as the experienced rejection of Asian Indian cultural practices, suggests that first-generation immigrants are potentially

experiencing both racial and ethnic discrimination. Thus, the true nature and extent of assimilation of Asian Indians is worthy of an explanation.

While first-generation immigrants may experience discrimination due to observable cultural and ethnic factors such as clothing or accents, as well as race, it is possible that second-generation immigrants are mostly subjected to race-based discrimination (Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2002, as cited by Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013). Second-generation immigrants within the United States are raised within a society that emphasizes race, a factor that has social, cultural, and political implications and expectations such as institutional racism, educational achievement, and employment disparities. This results in the implicit racial socialization of second-generation immigrants based on their skin color, rather than ethnic identification (Inman, 2006). This also may be due to the fact that second-generation immigrants do not express the more observable ethnic and cultural practices associated with ethnic discrimination (i.e., accents). While most of the literature has discussed the discrimination experiences of first- and second-generation Asian Indians in a comparative sense, additional research is needed to fully understand how second-generation Asian Indians' discrimination experiences may be unique in nature.

Age

Most of the studies conducted on Asian Indians and their perceived experiences of discrimination have focused on young adult and adult populations, neglecting investigation into adolescents' discrimination experiences. Tummala-Narra, Deshpande, and Kaur (2016) examined South Asian adolescents' narratives to understand

acculturative stress and coping and found that several participants reported experiences of discrimination towards their family and themselves across multiple situations and contexts. Participants also reported facing stereotypes focused on terrorism and being model minorities, as well as feeling a general lack of belonging and acceptance among peers and outside the home. Similarly, South Asian adolescents in another study reported peers, teachers, and adults held higher academic expectations of them compared to other adolescents their age, and they cited this as a form of ethnic discrimination (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). The adolescents in this study also reported significantly higher peer-related distress, compared to their African American, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic White peers. While these studies begin to explore the nature of discrimination among youth, there is still a need for additional exploration of adolescent experiences.

Racial Positioning

While factors such as generational status and age can impact experiences of discrimination among Asian Indians, it is possible that societal stereotypes related to Asian Americans and other minority groups may shape perceived discrimination experiences (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). The Racial Position Model seeks to understand how various racial and ethnic minority groups are perceived in American society, and how this impacts experiences of both minority and majority individuals beyond stereotypes normally attributed to Asian Americans such as the Model Minority Myth. This model accounts for four major ethnic groups including Latinos, African Americans, White Americans, and Asian Americans in the context of two major dimensions:

inferiority and cultural foreignness. Both of these themes are considered relative to the characteristics of the majority group, or White Americans. The prototypical American is one that reflects "democracy, equality, and industriousness; respect for and engagement in social and political service; and shared Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, which includes speaking English and practicing Christianity" (Zou & Cheryan, 2017, p. 697). The extent to which a group "strays" from the prototype on each of these traits implicates the group's perceived foreignness. Inferiority, on the other hand, is a dimension that ranks groups based on "perceived intellectual, economic, and occupational prestige" (Zou & Cheryan, 2017, p. 697). Both of these dimensions provide a deeper understanding of how racial and ethnic groups may be perceived in society.

The model is advantageous in conceptualizing race relations within the United States because it is inclusive of groups that have been historically marginalized based on both perceived inferiority and foreignness. Further, it can separate the experiences of different ethnic and racial groups and bring light to theories of how these groups may even view each other in prejudiced and stereotyped ways. Based on these two dimensions and historical evidence of how major ethnic groups have been perceived, the model postulates that Latinos and Asian Americans are perceived as more culturally foreign than White and African Americans. White and Asian Americans, however, are perceived as more superior than Latinos and African Americans regarding intellectual, economic, and occupational standing. The positioning of these groups has implications in the types of discrimination experiences members may have; Latino and Asian Americans may experience similar discrimination framed with xenophobia, for example.

The Racial Position Model has empirical support among four separate studies with African American, Latino, Asian American, and White participants (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). It also provides evidence of extending to other racial and ethnic groups, including Arab Americans and Native Americans, and is also inclusive of genders. The model may help predict how minority groups interact and relate with each other (e.g., if historical tensions between Asian Americans and Africans may be explained by their perceived relative standing on the inferiority and foreignness dimensions) and how each group may develop their own sense of identity within their racial/ethnic group (e.g., Asian Americans may feel superior with their overall standing but may feel inferior due to their perceived foreignness). In relation to Asian Indians, this model has significant implications in experiences of perceived discrimination. It may provide insight into the nature of discrimination, where perhaps experiences are more characteristic of the foreignness dimension. On the other hand, Asian Indians may not even experience discrimination as the monolithic Asian American group used in this model suggests. The novelty of this model and information it may provide about Asian Americans' experiences is important in understanding Asian Indians' experiences of discrimination.

Acculturation

The discussion about Asian Indians' experiences of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and generational status requires the exploration of acculturation models. Asian Indians have a significant history of immigration to the United States, with several generations continuing to be born and raised as Americans thereafter, resulting in various experiences of acculturation. Acculturation is defined as a process that an

individual may experience as they accommodate to a foreign host culture, which can include changes in values, language, and lifestyle (Londhe, 2015). One of the most commonly discussed acculturation models in the literature is Berry's (1997) framework for acculturation and acculturation strategies. At the group level, it is a matter of adjusting between the political, demographic, economic, and social contexts of two separate cultures (the host and the origin). At the individual level, factors such as age, gender, education, experiences, and personality can moderate the relationship between acculturation and acculturative stress. Acculturative stress itself is the response (psychological and somatic) to the change in individual, environmental, and societal demands after relocating to a host culture. During the process of acculturation, however, the length of stay in the host country, social support, experiences of discrimination, coping, and acculturation strategies are identified as moderating factors (Berry, 1997).

The four acculturation strategies Berry identified include Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. Different strategies are utilized depending on the desire for the individual to maintain their cultural identity and characteristics of it, as well as the extent to which the individual interacts with other groups. Assimilation is when an individual does not place value in maintaining their cultural values and seeks to interact with members of the host society. Separation is when an individual maintains their cultural values but does not seek to interact with host members. Marginalization occurs when an individual does not place value in their cultural values and also does not seek interaction with members of the host society. Integration on the other hand, occurs when an individual maintains their cultural identity while simultaneously seeking

contact and interaction with members of the host society (Berry, 1997). Integration acculturation strategies are dependent on the extent to which the society is accepting of the individual, as well as the absence of prejudice, discrimination, and positive attitudes towards the group to which the individual belongs. Over long periods of time, individuals will eventually adapt to the host cultural context, resulting in either a better fit between cultural values, or continued acculturative stress. Modes of acculturation are not always chosen at will; cultural groups may be forced into separationist methods of acculturation and avoid assimilating into the host society as a result of experiences of discrimination or prejudice. Similarly, individuals can be forced into assimilating and leaving their home cultural values behind. Integration seems to be the most successful acculturative strategy, as it allows for flexibility of accepting cultural values and mutual positive attitudes between origin and host societies (Berry, 1997).

In an effort to expand on Berry's (1997) framework, a multidimensional model of acculturation was proposed by Safdar, Lay, and Struthers (2003) based on Iranian immigrants in Canada. The model hypothesizes that individual psychological resilience and family connectedness influence assimilation and separation acculturation strategies. Connectedness to family and culture was related to participants' engagement in in-group behaviors such as consuming Iranian media, having Iranian friends, or attending Iranian cultural events. These individuals who were more connected to family also favored the separation mode of acculturation, but in turn reported higher levels of cultural-hassles and psychophysical distress (a score that included both depression and health symptoms). At the same time, the assimilation acculturation mode was associated with

less connectedness to family and culture. In other words, individuals who were in separationist mode seemed to receive more support from their family and community, but as a result experienced conflict when faced with the stress associated with acculturation (i.e., opposing value systems). The evidence supports Berry's framework of acculturation, while providing specific cultural factors that influence acculturation strategies. While this study examined Iranian culture, Asian Indians may demonstrate similar patterns of acculturation.

Acculturative stress is especially relevant for Asian Indians' experiences in the United States. As Berry (1997) states, over time it is likely that the individual adapts to the host culture either for the best or the worst. Although acculturative stress can be discussed for both first- and second-generation immigrants, the notion of bicultural stress is something that may better conceptualize the stress resulting from being a second-generation immigrant (Roysircar & Maestas, 2002). Second-generation immigrants must navigate between their family's culture and the culture they are exposed to within the host's social systems. The value systems are inherently in conflict with issues related to coping, relationships, and other cultural values (i.e., valuing family versus self, or emphasis on cultural practices). Often the stress from conflicting value systems results in ethnic identity conflict. Ethnic identity conflict can manifest as cultural alienation, which occurs when a person denies their individuality and has a sense of discontinuity within themselves. In this sense, an Asian Indian may deny their own individuality after being confronted with racial and ethnic stereotypes about themselves. This differs from the concept of cultural confusion, which occurs when the

individual is continuously confronted with two differing value systems. Thus, an Asian Indian individual may be unable to identify with either Western or Asian Indian cultural norms. If an individual is forced to live with these opposing value systems, they experience cultural conflict. This is when the person believes both their family's and the Western norms are incompatible, resulting in anger and guilt towards or marginalization from both cultural groups. The anger, guilt, and marginalization are manifestations of interpersonal and intrapersonal concerns (Kiefer, 1974, as cited by Roysircar & Maestas, 2002). Each of these forms of ethnic identity conflict are even more likely to arise for Asian Indians as a result of navigating opposing cultural values between generations (i.e., between a child's and parent's value systems).

Critics of Berry's (1997) framework suggest the model left out crucial sociocultural factors that impact acculturation (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Berry's model is criticized for only including two dimensions, with a "high" and "low" standing on each dimension, without room for individual differences in acculturative strategies. The concept of the marginalization strategy was also not well-received. It was deemed almost impossible for an individual to stand isolated without the influence of either cultural value system, since culture shapes all thoughts, feelings and behaviors, at least to a degree (Schwartz et al., 2010). A crucial criticism of Berry's framework is that it is rigid, which does not allow for diversity in the context of the individual's background, origin and host society cultures, and cultural values (i.e., the experiences of refugees, sojourners, and asylum seekers are all different, particularly based on varying degrees of choice in the relocation).

Given these concerns with Berry's (1997) model, Schwartz et al., (2010) developed an alternative framework to describe acculturation. In this model, acculturation is a process that is complex and multidimensional, allowing for consideration of factors such as identity, cultural practices, values, and behaviors. Essentially, this model suggests there are six components of acculturation across the heritage and receiving countries' cultures, including language, foods, collectivism/individualism, interdependence/independence, familism (needs of the family are priority), and identification with the country of origin/receiving country. Thus, individuals may be more or less 'acculturated' in some of these dimensions (and not others) at the same time (Schwartz et al., 2010). This model is helpful in conceptualizing both first- and second-generation Asian Indian youths' experiences and provides more flexibility in understanding acculturation due to individual differences in the context of their relocation and upbringing in the receiving society.

Adolescents' Experiences of Acculturation

Understanding second generation youth's experience with acculturation can provide insight on how they navigate conflicting value systems. The empirical evidence for Asian Indian adolescents and acculturation suggests that second-generation adolescents are more likely to engage in assimilation acculturative strategies, while their first-generation parents adopt separation strategies (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). In other words, American-born Asian Indian adolescents were more likely to reject their parents' culture and seek contact with American culture, while their parents were more likely to embrace Indian culture and reject American cultural values. This resulted in

more frequent and intense family conflict when compared to families with a smaller acculturation gap between parents and children. The larger acculturation gaps not only led to family conflict, but also lower reported self-esteem among the adolescents (Farver et al., 2002).

In another study, South Asian adolescents (both second- and first-generation immigrants) between the ages of 14-18 years have cited language and communication barriers, family structure, and experiences of discrimination as stressors related to acculturation (Tummala-Narra et al., 2016). The difficulty with negotiating both their family and American cultural contexts results in conflict with parents, and even expectations for gender roles (e.g., some South Asian cultures strongly emphasizes patriarchal values). Participants reported having a "dual" sense of identity, as they had to behave in accordance with their heritage culture at home around parents, and in accordance with American culture at school and outside the home. Thus, both home and school environments were stressors for these individuals. Most of the adolescents also reported, however, a general understanding and appreciation of their parents' difficulties with immigrating to the United States to provide their children with educational and employment opportunities. Adolescents in this study reported social support and seeking guidance from the school counselor were methods of coping with the stress. While these accounts of acculturation provide insight into the acculturative stress endured by Asian Indian youth in the United States, additional investigation into the unique experiences and coping with these stressors is warranted.

Outcomes of Discrimination

Perceived experiences of discrimination can impact an individual in significant ways. It can influence behaviors, sense of self, and mental and physical well-being. Poor mental and physical well-being can have larger societal implications in terms of cost of healthcare, belonging, and performance in the context of school and employment. These are crucial factors to consider in the context of discrimination.

Mental Well-Being

Mental health is commonly studied as an outcome of discrimination among South Asians who live outside of the United States (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). Some of the mental health symptomatology reported by South Asians include heightened anxiety related to the environment, awareness of their physical appearance, alienation, emotional stress, issues with self-esteem, and depression (Frey & Roysircar, 2006; Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Nadimpalli et al., 2016; Tummala-Narra et al., 2011; Yoshihama et al., 2012). The effects of these symptoms have been examined based on factors such as generational status and gender. In terms of generational status, Tummala-Narra and colleagues (2011) found no effect of generation on the relationship between discrimination and mental health. Although first-generation South Asians may face more discrimination based on noticeable factors such as their level of acculturation (e.g., accents), second-generation South Asians may still face comparable levels of race-based discrimination, as there is a societal emphasis placed on race relations (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011).

Additionally, one of the studies focusing on racial discrimination and mental health indicates further empirical exploration is warranted to include effects of gender. Yoshihama et al. (2012) found that Asian Indian men were more likely than women to report instances of discrimination, which the authors hypothesized may be due to the fact that Asian American men and women may be exposed to different groups of people within their social and professional circles. Asian Indian men were more likely to hold graduate degrees than women, positioning them in academic and professional environments in which individuals from various backgrounds interact. In turn, these interactions may pose more opportunities for Asian Indian men to experience discrimination (i.e., related to employment) than women. Additionally, it was found that men and women may be differentially affected by discrimination experiences in general. Daily discrimination was associated with *both* worsened health status and emotional well-being for men, but this association was only observed for emotional well-being in women. This may be due to gender differences in processing and coping with discrimination, although findings on this issues are mixed (Liang, Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2007; Yoshihama et al., 2012). Some studies cite Asian American women's use of active coping techniques may be related to higher levels of stress, resulting in poorer emotional well-being, even though most studies found active coping strategies as more effective in alleviating stress (Liang et al., 2007). The inconsistency in findings may be worth exploring for future studies of Asian Indians or South Asians to determine if gender has a significant role in the experience of discrimination (Yoshihama et al., 2012).

Physical Well-Being

In addition to mental health outcomes, researchers have found an association between perceived experiences of discrimination and physical health among Asian Americans (Gee & Ponce, 2010; Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009, Yoshihama et al., 2012). Asian Americans who experience discrimination are more likely to engage in substance abuse (e.g., alcohol consumption) when compared to non-Asian Americans; however, due to the insufficient information regarding sample composition, caution is encouraged in the interpretation of these findings. Cardiovascular problems and obesity were also linked to discrimination, which was hypothesized as probable stress-related physical outcomes among Asian Americans. Based on the review of the literature, the authors suggested higher mortality rates and morbidity from hate crimes were also directly linked to Asian Americans' discrimination experiences (Gee et al., 2009).

On the other hand, Gee and Ponce (2010) found that while Asian Americans who reported more racial discrimination were more likely to have a poorer quality of life, South Asian Americans reported the highest quality of life in terms of health, despite reporting experiences of discrimination (and controlling for socioeconomic resources such as income). Health-related quality of life was self-reported, however, which may be impacted by cultural factors such as social desirability (e.g., desire to avoid shame for the respondent in the family), which is more prevalent among Asian Americans (Gee et al., 2009). Overall, this suggests the current findings are mixed, and researchers may be missing how discrimination impacts Asian Indians' physical health.

Ethnic and Racial Identities as Protective Factors

With the exploration of discrimination experiences, it is often possible to identify specific factors that may serve to "protect" individuals from the negative outcomes associated with discrimination. It is unclear whether ethnic and racial identity are protective against the negative outcomes of discrimination; however, as the findings are mixed (Lee, 2003; Mossakowski, 2003; Phinney, 1989; Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003; Tummala-Narra et al., 2011; Yoo & Lee, 2005). The hypothesis that ethnic and racial identity are protective in nature against the negative consequences of discrimination mostly stem from the work on social identity theory (Lee, 2003). Social identity theory suggests that a stronger sense of identity develops when an individual experiences discrimination, possibly to protect their sense of self or self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, as cited by Lee, 2003). This concept is also evident in some of the resiliency literature, which identifies specific factors that may help an individual remain resilient during stress and crisis (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). In a study that examined Latino adolescents' mental health and the role of ethnic identity, it was found that higher levels of ethnic identity resolution and exploration predicted higher self-esteem, despite experiences of discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Among Asian Americans, Mossawkowski (2009) examined a large sample of Filipino Americans' ethnic identity and racial/ethnic discrimination to determine if stronger ethnic identity acted as a protective factor for mental health. They found that ethnic identity, defined as ethnic pride, involvement in ethnic practices, and cultural commitment, acted as a buffer against negative mental health symptoms associated with racism-related stress.

Similarly, Phinney (1989) found that the adolescents who had achieved ethnic identity experienced significantly higher scores on items related to self-esteem, self-concept, and psychological adjustment overall. These findings are supportive of the notion that engaging in activities that support developing a stronger sense of ethnic identity may be protective against the negative effects of discrimination.

On the other hand, other studies did not find ethnic identity to be a moderator or mediator of the effects of discrimination among Asian Americans (Lee, 2003, Yoo & Lee, 2005). Lee (2003) examined whether ethnic identity would act as a buffer against the effects of discrimination among Asian Americans but found that ethnic identity had no significant impact on discrimination-related psychological distress. Although Yoo and Lee (2005) attempted to address the limitations of this study and examine the relationship between coping strategies and ethnic identity, the authors still failed to find a protective effect of ethnic identity. These findings were in contrast to much of the research, warranting additional investigation to clarify this relationship.

It may be possible that subtle differences in how studies define ethnic and racial identity plays a role in the mixed findings. Some studies have defined ethnic identity as interchangeable and synonymous with racial identity (Mossakowski, 2003; Phinney, 1989). This is problematic considering that both participants and researchers may have conceptualized the two terms differently. In Phinney's (1989) study, Black females discussed discrimination related to "white standards of beauty," implying an emphasis on race-related discrimination versus discrimination specific to ethnic identity. Further, studies that found higher acculturation to be protective may be measuring constructs that

do not assess racism-related discrimination and stress experienced by ethnic minorities (Rhee et al., 2003; Meghani & Harvey, 2016). Tummala-Narra et al. (2011) allude to this issue with the results of their study differentiating between racial and ethnic identity. A stronger sense of ethnic identity, both in terms of belonging and involvement, would "facilitate higher self-esteem" even after dealing with discriminatory experiences (p. 206). The potential role of racial identity in the relationship between discrimination and self-esteem was also examined. Overall, the findings suggested that racial identity plays a role in the development and preservation of self-esteem, while ethnic identity did not. It was suggested that racial identity may be related more to minority status, while ethnic identity relates to issues of acculturation. This supports that ethnic and racial identity are two separate identities, even though they are sometimes paired together as a single conceptualization of ethnic identity by participants and potentially researchers alike (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Tummala-Narra et al., 2011).

Overall, with the inconsistent conceptualization of racial and ethnic identity, the general lack of research on Asian Indians, and mixed findings within the literature, it is evident that there is a need for additional research in this area. Redefining ethnic and racial identity in the context of the discrimination Asian Indians face is necessary to better understand the protective role identity may play. This understanding may also help inform the literature on generational differences in the protective role of identity, since second-generation Asian Indians may face more racially-based versus ethnically-based discrimination (Inman, 2006).

Identity Development

In order to better understand the role of identity (racial or ethnic) in attenuating the effects of discrimination among Asian Indians, it is imperative to understand the available models of identity development. Identity can be characterized as sense of self with individual beliefs, attitudes, interests, and worldview (Marcia, 1980). Erikson's Psychosocial Theory, Marcia's Theory of Identity in Adolescence, and Social Identity Theory are among the most commonly discussed frameworks for identity development.

Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Erikson (1968) proposed that an individual moves through various stages of development, characterized by a crisis or life event that the individual must overcome to continue to the next stage. The stages include infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adult, adulthood, and maturity. The first stage in childhood, between approximately ages 6-11 years, is when a child first assumes interests, likes and dislikes, and forms the roots of an identity separate from their parents. The conflict at this stage is based on competency, often shows up within the school environment, and can impact self-esteem (Sokol, 2009). To conceptualize Asian Indian identity development using Erikson's theory, it may be necessary to consider unique conflicts such as opposing value systems and cultural norms.

Erikson emphasized the transitional phase of adolescence in development; although he did not specify an age range for adolescence, most developmental theorists hypothesized a period between ages 12 and 18 years (Sokol, 2009). Identity development is the hallmark of adolescence according to Erikson's theory. The conflict

at this stage is based on identity and role confusion; adolescents often experience uncertainty about their place in society and experiment with different lifestyles. This of course can also lead to difficulties with adjustment as the adolescent feels they do not belong anywhere. This stage is crucial in Erikson's model for the individual's continued development (Erikson, 1968, as cited by Sokol, 2009).

The stages beyond adolescence include young adulthood, adulthood, and maturity. The conflicts at these stages are also based on the cultural context; individuals experience significant life events during these stages, including marriage and starting a family. Young adulthood allows for continued identity formation based on career and family values and goals. These characteristics are reconsidered later in life, which is often when individuals face identity crises (Sokol, 2009).

Marcia's Theory of Identity in Adolescence

Similar to Erikson's (1968) model of development, Marcia's (1980) identity model also assumes adolescence as a significant period of time during which individuals change due to experiences and age. Identity continues to develop through adolescence; it does not end once individuals enter adulthood. This model outlines four 'identity statuses,' or methods of addressing the crisis that is central to identity formation in adolescence noted by Erikson: Identity Achievement, Foreclosure, Identity Diffusion, and Moratorium. During Identity Achievement, individuals have chosen to pursue an occupational and ideological path that they decided on themselves. Foreclosure is marked by individuals who pursue occupational and ideological paths based on their parents' choices. Identity diffusion is when an individual does not have a set path for

their occupational or ideological values. Finally, individuals in Moratorium are currently in an 'identity crisis' and are faced with the decision between ideological and occupational paths (Marcia, 1980).

With assessment of late adolescent males in each stage, the results suggested that individuals experience heightened anxiety in Moratorium, and the opposite during Foreclosure (Marcia, 1980). Self-esteem is affected by different stages as well; individuals in Foreclosure and Identity Diffusion stages were more susceptible to fluctuations in self-esteem than those in Achievement and Moratorium stages. The fluctuation in self-esteem is understandable, given that the Foreclosure and Identity Diffusion stages are marked by lack of autonomy and overall ambiguity, respectively. Additionally, individuals in the Foreclosure stage, who pursue paths chosen by their parents, endorsed the most authoritarian values compared to other identity statuses (Marcia, 1980). This may be due to the internalization of deference and respect for authority. Marcia's model provides the framework for the stages that Asian Indian adolescents move through as they develop their identities, as each stage seems to be susceptible to the influence of factors such as cultural values.

Social Identity Theory

Another approach to understanding identity development is Social Identity Theory, which considers the social context in which the individual resides. This theory was first proposed by Henri Tajfel based on experiments on social behaviors among participants in different groups. Social identity is defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or

groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Ellmers & Haslam, 2012, p. 380-381). The theory identifies the psychological processes that explain how and why social identities are developed, the different ways an individual can obtain a positive social identity, and the specific societal factors that influence how an individual obtains a social identity (Ellmers & Haslam, 2012).

Psychological processes, such as social comparison, social identification, social creativity, and social competition help us understand how social identities are different from personal identities. Social identity is an individual's conceptualization of self, tied to their membership within specific social groups. Personal identity is the conceptualization of self based on qualities that make the person unique from other individuals. Considering social identity, social comparison is a psychological process that involves interpreting and valuing characteristics of a group, which influences the social status of both groups. Social identification, on the other hand, is the process of assessing characteristics of a particular group in context of the self, which can lead to identification with the group or strong distinction from that group. Of course, when considering the self against features of a group, this may ultimately lead to the desire to identify with higher-status/positive groups. This can be achieved with individual mobility, which is an identity management strategy that involves the person escaping, avoiding, or denying belonging to a low-status group in attempt to identify as a group of higher status. This may result in the person emphasizing how different they are from other members in their own group. Social creativity is the process of attempting to reframe the group one belongs to in a positive light, by focusing on other features to

compare groups, including other groups to compare, and by changing how a low-status group is perceived. When group members attempt to modify the existing state of affairs to change the meaning of their group identification, this is known as social competition (Ellmers & Haslam, 2012). It is possible that these processes underlie the acculturative strategies described in Berry's (1997) model of acculturation. In other words, an individual may engage in various cognitive strategies in attempt to explain the acculturation strategy they are utilizing. The overlaps between Berry's acculturation framework and social identity theory that may be worth exploring further, especially in the context of Asian Indian youth.

Ethnic and Racial Identity Development

Examining specific developmental models for ethnic and racial identity is beneficial in understanding whether Asian Indians' identity is protective against negative outcomes of discrimination. In order to better understand the application of Erickson's (1968) adolescent identity formation theory along with Marcia's (1980) ego identity theory, Phinney (1989) conducted a study on an ethnically-diverse sample of high schoolers and assessed identity and psychological adjustment. These participants were identified as Asian American, Hispanic, Black, and White, and were interviewed about identity status and administered scales for ego identity and psychological adjustment. Phinney (1989) found that American-born ethnic minority adolescents moved through three stages of identity development, including *Diffusion* (little to no exploration of ethnicity)/*Foreclosed* (little to no exploration of ethnicity, but clear positive or negative feelings about one's ethnicity), *Moratorium* (exploration with confusion about ethnicity),

and *Achieved* (exploration with clear, secure understanding and acceptance of ethnicity). The results indicated that ethnic minority adolescents within the *Achieved* status of ethnic identity demonstrated higher psychological adjustment, suggesting that ethnic identity development may differentially impact how individuals perceive and interact with their social environment. Phinney's model is significant, as it was an adaptation of existing identity development models for ethnic minority populations. This model can serve to provide the foundation for an understanding of identity development in Asian Indian youth.

The Smith Ethnic Identity Development Model (1991) proposes that ethnic identity formation is continuous across the lifespan. It also suggests that ethnic identification has waves of awareness and unawareness, from identification to non-identification, and partial to identity formations. The model suggests contact and situations that test the line between one's own ethnic group and non-ethnic group, both affect the process of ethnic identity development. These events or situations cause an individual to solidify those boundaries or broaden/narrow depending on the nature of the interaction with the out-group. Majority and minority status significantly impact the development of identity as well, considering that there is power associated with ethnicity in America's current society (Smith, 1991). This model postulates that the extent to which Asian Indians have contact with other Asian Indians and non-Asian Indians may influence the development of ethnic identity. Asian Indians living in the United States have different levels of in-group contact based on geography and access to other Asian Indians, which may differentially impact their identity development.

Racial Identity Models

There are a handful of racial identity models that can help parse out differences between ethnic and racial influences on identity development among Asian Indians. Cross's racial identity theory (1971, 1991, as cited in Vandiver, Cross, Jr., Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) was formulated based on Black individuals' worldviews and experiences. The revised model describes four stages including Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. In the Pre-Encounter stage, individuals are said to assume two identities; Assimilation and Anti-Black. Assimilation identities do not find race to be salient, and they are pro-American. Anti-Black identities experience hatred directed towards being Black. The Encounter stage is when an individual experiences an event that leads them to question their reference group orientation, especially based on race. This stage often causes cognitive dissonance, and motivate the individual to move to the Immersion-Emersion stage. This is divided into two identities including Intense Black Involvement (e.g., immersion in the Black experience) and Anti-White (e.g., rejecting and demonizing anything from white culture). The final stage, Internalization, marks the acceptance of and activism for the Black identity (Vandiver et al., 2002). While this model is focused on Black individuals' identity development, it is worth exploring if and how these stages are applicable to the development of identity in Asian Indians based on issues of skin color acceptance and experiences of racial discrimination.

South Asian Identity Development Model

While these models are significant in understanding identity experiences of ethnic minorities, there was a need to develop a model specific to South Asians, given their significant history of colonization and immigration to the U.S. Ibrahim et al. (1997) developed a model to understand South Asian American identity in context of specific cultural factors. The model has stages that are very similar to other models for ethnic minority identity development, such as Cross's racial identity theory for Black individuals. Ibrahim et al. (1997) asserted that South Asians develop their identities within a larger social-cultural context that considers ethnic group of origin, community, religion, neighborhood, social class, educational level, gender, and sexual orientation. Importantly, when considering the ethnic group of origin, one must understand the complexities of the makeup of South Asia; this includes understanding the diversity in language, religion, cultural practices, nationalities, and history of colonialism. This factor of ethnic group of origin is what mainly distinguishes the South Asian Identity Development Model from other ethnic minority models currently available. This naturally lends itself to understanding the history of South Asian immigration to the U.S., including the exclusionary policies that regarded South Asians as "other" ethnic minorities outside of Latino, African Americans, and Native Americans. These policies may have directly impacted the experiences of first- and second-generation South Asian Americans, and thus the ideals that they have internalized within their self-concept; how they are perceived by society as "other" may influence how they perceive themselves, for example. In sum, these factors result in a model of South Asian (immigrant or

American) identity development that entails acceptance of cultural differences. This includes Dissonance (realizing acceptance of self into mainstream America is not possible based on these differences), Resistance and Immersion (rejecting mainstream American values and recommitting to identify with South Asian culture), Introspection (secure identity and identifying positive values in both South Asian and American cultures), and Synergistic Articulation and Awareness (rejecting or accepting South Asian/American values on objective basis, to develop individuality). These stages take into consideration each of the contextual factors Ibrahim et al. (1997) initially outline, including generational differences. Importantly, Ibrahim et al.'s (1997) framework acknowledges the historical significance of the colonization, immigration, and discrimination experiences of South Asians as context for how individuals develop their sense of identity.

Considering interethnic differences among South Asians, it may be difficult to generalize identity development among Asian Indians. Iwamoto, Negi, Partiali, and Creswell (2013) assessed the application of Ibrahim et al.'s (1997) framework among second-generation Asian Indians to understand the contextual factors that influence their identity. With semi-structured interviews, the researchers were able to identify larger themes across the lifespan when ethnic and racial identity began to form for these participants. It was apparent that within childhood, the dominant or majority racial group was the group that children used as a reference for guiding expectations for social behaviors; individuals stated acceptance from peers took precedence over parental values and culture. This pattern continued to shift in early adolescence, as peers were

predominantly White, and there was considerable resistance to parental cultural values and markers. Notably, girls began to recognize awareness of racial differences between themselves and others. Adolescence and emerging adulthood marked periods when participants began to seek and develop friendships with ethnically diverse peers (especially other Asian Indians) and become involved in cultural community organizations and events. By adulthood, participants felt comfortable among Asian Indians and other ethnic groups, and continued to model parent behaviors and internalize core cultural values. Overall, the results supported Ibrahim et al.'s (1997) framework for identity development, and supported the idea of identity development being a continuous process across the lifespan, subject to individual contextual factors (i.e., racism, etc.).

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Sample and Recruitment

Qualitative Phase

For phenomenological qualitative methodology, at least six to 25 participants are recommended for attaining saturation (Creswell, 1998; Morse, 1994, as cited in Mason, 2010). Saturation is reached when the data no longer benefits from additional perspectives or information or there is enough data available (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Fusch & Ness, 2015). The most common issue that arises within the literature on qualitative research methodology is that there is no particular method of choosing the sample size, or how to determine the sample size to achieve saturation (Guest et al., 2006). It is usually the resources, timeline, and feasibility that ends up determining the sample size, so based on this and the findings in the literature, the present study recruited adolescents (ages 12 to 17 years, based on the estimated period of adolescence) to interview. These participants were selected based on their identification as second-generation Asian Indians. For the purpose of this study, second generation Asian Indians are defined as individuals who were born in the United States, to parents who immigrated from India after the age of 18. Snowball recruiting methods were used to locate participants, as well as recruitment online and through local leaders at churches, temples, mosques, and cultural centers within the community in the greater Houston and Dallas areas. Houston and Dallas were chosen as recruitment sites due to the fact that Texas is one of the five states with the largest South Asian populations (SAALT, 2015).

Parental consent and child assent was obtained prior to the interviews, consistent with Texas A&M University's Internal Review Board (IRB) approval.

Quantitative Phase

The purpose of the second study is to better understand the role of ethnic and racial identity in determining how experiences of discrimination may impact mental well-being. In order to examine this relationship, participants completed survey questionnaires specific to ethnic and racial identity, experiences of discrimination, internalization of the model minority myth, and measures of mental well-being (including self-esteem, depression, and anxiety). This study is a replication and expansion of the study conducted by Tummala-Narra et al. (2011). The authors employed a mixed-methods approach to understand the experiences of discrimination and the role of ethnic identity in mental well-being and discrimination. The same recruitment methods used in the qualitative phase were employed during the quantitative phase, and participants from the qualitative phase were asked to participate in quantitative phase again if they chose to participate. Recruitment was expanded to include data collection in Chicago as well, given Illinois is one of the five states with the largest South Asian populations (SAALT, 2015). For this phase of the study, both first- and second-generation Asian Indian youth were recruited. A total of 735 responses were recorded for the survey; however, after removing duplicate responses and "spammers," the resulting sample was 86 participants aged 12-17 years (M = 14.34 years). A post hoc power analysis at alpha .05 with an effect size of 0.05 (from the data) suggested that

power was 0.27. Consent and IRB approval followed the same procedures as the qualitative phase.

Qualitative Measures

Interviews

The qualitative phase involved an individual 30 minute to 1-hour semi-structured interview with participants. The interview included questions that inquire about participants' self-defined sense of ethnic and racial identity, their cultural background and history of acculturation in the context of their families, the extent of their interactions with same- and other-race peers, and their experiences with various forms of discrimination. The evaluator provided five hypothetical scenarios related to discrimination to understand how each participant uniquely defines and frames discrimination from their own perspectives. The researcher also asked plenty of follow-up questions and prompts as necessary. This allowed the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the participants' perceived experiences of discrimination in the context of their upbringing, identity, and exposure to other races and ethnicities. Interviews were conducted in person, or if preferred by participant, via Doxy.me, a HIPPA-compliant videoconferencing service. With parental permission and IRB approval, interviews were audio recorded and transcribed through a third-party service (Rev.com) to support later coding and analysis.

Quantitative Measures

Demographic Information

Participants completed demographic questionnaires to provide information on their age, gender, religious affiliation, and self-identification of ethnic background.

Racial and Ethnic Discrimination Experiences

Participants were asked to complete a modified version of the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). This measure is a 29-item self-report measure with three subscales related to Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, and Perpetual Foreigner Racism, and has high internal consistency (α=.90-.95) across subscales (Liang et al., 2004). The current study modified items to be relevant specifically to Asian Indian Americans, and distinguish racial versus ethnic discrimination. These items were modified based on the responses gathered from the interviews in the qualitative phase. Specifically, six items that reflected East Asian discrimination (e.g., "Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants") were removed, "Asian Indian" replaced "Asian," and three items were added ("Someone asks you if you pray to lots of different gods," "Someone asks you if you will have an arranged marriage," and "Someone jokes about you being a terrorist."). This scale provided information on the frequency of incidents and resulting stress experienced by Asian Indian adolescents due to stereotype-, race-, and historical/institutional-based racism and discrimination experiences (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). Higher total scores reflect increased racism-related stress and endorsement of more frequent experiences of

race-related discrimination. For the current study, the total score of the modified AARSI was used (29 items, α=.90).

Internalization of the Model Minority Myth

Participants completed the Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4), a 15-item measure developed for Asian Americans (Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). The measure contains two subscales that assess Achievement Orientation and Unrestricted mobility, to tap into the myths of Asian Americans being more successful than other racial groups based on success and lack of perceived barriers in society, respectively. Higher total scores reflect increased internalization of the beliefs associated with the given subscale. For the current study, the subscales have moderate to good internal consistency (achievement orientation α=.89; unrestricted mobility α=.68).

Ethnic Identity

Participants completed the Internal and External Ethnic Identity Scale, a 35-item measure that was normed on Asian Indians (Tummala et al., 2011). This scale contains two subscales, assessing internal ethnic identity, or "pride and attachment with one's ethnic group," as well as external ethnic identity, or "ethnic behaviors and practices" (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011, p. 208). Higher scores reflect increased identification with the given construct of identity (pride and attachment or ethnic behaviors/practices associated with one's ethnic group, respectively). For the current study, the subscales had good reliability (internal ethnic identity α=.89; external ethnic identity α=.90).

Racial Identity

The People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PCRIAS) was administered to assess participants' status within different stages of race identity, based on Helms's (1990, 1995) People of Color racial identity model. The PCRIAS has four different scales for each of the four racial schemas, Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, with 50 items based on a 5-point Likert scale. Studies assessing the PCRIAS among South Asian populations reported reliability coefficients across subscales ranging from α=.73-.85 (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). In the current study, the Internalization sub-scale of the PCRIAS measure is used for understanding of the participants' racial identification. The internalization scale assess "integration of positive own-group racial identification with capacity to realistically appreciate the positive aspects of Whites," which will inform the extent to which Asian Indian participants feel integrated in their identity (Helms, 1990, 1995). Higher scores on the Internalization scale reflect increased levels of internalized racial identity. The current study's internalization scale had good internal consistency (α=.84).

Mental Well-Being

In order to assess mental well-being, participants completed measures related to self-esteem, anxiety, and depression. These measures how discrimination experiences may negatively impact mental health.

Self-esteem. Participants will complete the Rosenburg Self-Esteem Scale to assess the extent of self-esteem and self-acceptance, which may relate to an individual's level of acceptance of their ethnic and racial identity (Tummala-Narra, 2011). The

Rosenburg Self-Esteem Scale is a self-report measure initially validated on high school students, and is widely used to assess self-esteem as it has strong internal consistency (α=.86). There are 10 items, which are rated on a 4-point Likert scale and self-esteem is based on a total score (Beidas et al., 2015; Rosenburg, 1965). Higher scores on this measure reflect higher levels of self-esteem, and the current study had good internal consistency (α=.79).

Depression. Given that many individuals endure symptoms of depression related to experiences of discrimination, the Patient Health Questionnaire-Modified for Teens (PHQ-9 Modified) was administered to assess outcomes related to depression (Frey & Roysircar, 2006; Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Nadimpalli et al., 2016; Tummala-Narra et al., 2011; Yoshihama et al., 2012). The PHQ-9 Modified is a brief measure used in various clinical settings by providers to screen for depressive symptoms among 12-18-year-olds (Spitzer, Kroenke, Williams, 1999). The PHQ-9 Modified consists of 9 core questions related to depressive symptomatology, with 4 additional questions related suicidality and severe depression symptoms. For the purposes of this study, the suicidality questions were removed; thus, the questionnaire included only eight items in total. Scoring of this measure is based on a total score, with higher scores reflecting more severe symptoms of depression; the current study had good internal consistency (α=.80).

Anxiety. The Screen for Child Anxiety Related Disorders (SCARED), was administered to focus on outcomes of discrimination related to anxiety. The SCARED is a 41-item self-report measure with moderate to strong internal consistency (α=.74-.90)

and measures symptoms of anxiety commonly observed in children ages 6-18 (Beidas et al., 2015). Items are rated on a 3-point Likert scale, and a total score of 25 or higher indicates the presence of an anxiety disorder (Beidas et al., 2015). Psychometric analyses demonstrated that a 5-item SCARED measure can be a promising instrument that reflects the five factors included in the full 41-item measure (Birmaher et al., 1999). For the purpose of this study, the SCARED-5 measure was used. Higher scores reflect higher levels of anxiety, and the current study had an internal consistency of .54, likely due to the small number of items.

Study Procedures

The evaluator obtained approval from the university's IRB and the community leaders at the local cultural centers, churches, mosques, and temples for recruitment. Recruitment materials included the evaluator's study email address and phone number for interested parents to contact for inquiries related to study participation and questions.

Qualitative Phase

The evaluator contacted parents to set up an initial meeting to complete consent forms, and review study materials in a packet that includes consent forms and information documents. The evaluator made herself available to answer any questions or concerns during this first meeting. Once consent and assent were obtained, the evaluator coordinated with the parents to schedule times to complete interviews in person or via Doxy.me. Interviews on average lasted approximately one hour in duration (ranged from 30 minutes to 1.5 hours) in participants' homes or via webcam, allowing for privacy and comfort. With parental and participant permission, interviews

were audio recorded to ensure all information could be accurately coded and analyzed at a later time. Each participant was compensated with a $20 Amazon gift card after completion of the interviews.

Quantitative Phase

Participants from the qualitative phase were offered the opportunity to participate in the quantitative phase as well, if they were interested. Participants accessed the survey through a public link; once they were here, they had to pass a series of authentication questions that verified they were eligible for the study (to prevent "spammers" and bots from completing the survey). After passing authentication, participants and their parents were sent a link to complete consent and assent through Qualtrics online. Once consent was obtained, participants were redirected to the full survey. At the end of the questionnaire, participants will be redirected to a page that debriefs them on the nature of the study, as well as provide links for resources if participants report particularly low self-esteem or increased symptoms of depression. Participants also received a random ID, which they provided in a separate questionnaire (unlinked to their data) to receive a $10 Amazon gift card for their participation.

Analysis

Qualitative Phase

The current study employed thematic analysis for the qualitative methodology, using NVivo software. Thematic analysis allowed for the participants to provide full accounts of their experiences with discrimination, so that the researcher could identify themes that emerged across participants' data. The researcher used Rev.com (third-party

transcription service) to transcribe each participant's interview, and after transcription, content of the interviews were reduced to examine surface themes and paraphrases. These themes were then further explored for subthemes, allowing the researcher to map out how themes and subthemes may be related to one another. The researcher was then able to identify how themes were common across participants' interviews to explain how second-generation Asian Indian adolescents are experiencing discrimination. These themes helped the researcher to modify items within the quantitative phase.

Quantitative Phase

The quantitative portion of the study that used survey responses was analyzed using moderation analysis within the multiple regression framework. The examiner assessed the effect of perceived discrimination experiences on mental well-being, and whether this relationship varies based on the racial/ethnic identity and internalization of the model minority myth. Multiple regression was the most appropriate analyses for the current study given the small sample size. Main effects and interaction effects for the relationships are reported. There were 15 total models to be analyzed, given that there were five moderators (racial identity, internal ethnic identity, external ethnic identity, internalized model minority myth related to achievement, and internalized model minority myth related to mobility) and three outcome variables (self-esteem, anxiety, and depression). Effects were adjusted for generational status, religion, age, and gender. Assumptions were checked and normality of residuals and homoscedasticity assumptions were checked. Multicollinearity was checked using Variance Inflation Factor (VIF), where values above 10 indicate that the independent variables may be

highly correlated and thus problematic. There were no missing data, since participants were required to complete every question in the survey. Outliers were screened using visual inspection of scatterplots.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Qualitative Phase

For the current study, the researcher interviewed nine Asian Indian adolescents; demographics of the participants are listed in Table 1. The researcher used NVivo software to code and pull themes and subthemes across the nine interviews.

Scenario Prompts

Five separate scenarios were used as prompts for the participants to assess their perception and feelings related to discriminatory experiences of different levels. Some of these scenarios involved overt racism (e.g., group of men call an Indian man a terrorist) while others were more subtle microaggressions (e.g., assumption that an individual cannot speak English because of their appearance and country of origin). At the end of each scenario, the researcher asked the participant how they felt, and whether they had experienced anything similar in their own lives.

Scenario #1: Racial profiling. This scenario described the experience of an Indian man being pulled over at an airport security screening line to be randomly checked, despite several other individuals going through security without issue. The intention of the scenario was to assess whether participants felt this was a case of racial discrimination (in profiling Indian individuals based on appearance and skin color). Out of the nine participants, seven responded that this was a negative situation that was discriminatory. In particular, all seven explicitly used the word or terms “terrorist” or implied an assumption of fear or suspicion. Some participants shared that their family

members had similar experiences. One participant, SM, shared that her father had a traumatic experience at the airport last summer because he forgot about some coins in his pocket. It became “an ordeal” that took some time to resolve, as this participant described. Other participants mentioned 9/11 and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as reasoning behind these types of security checks, and *hijabs* (religious scarf worn by Muslim women) as symbols that can be perceived as threatening or associated with terrorism because of their Muslim roots.

Scenario #2: Exoticism. This scenario described a situation with an Indian woman who was called exotic and strange by her employer based on her ethnic and racial background. Six of the participants identified this scenario as “offensive” or “discriminatory” in the sense that the woman likely felt judged by her “exotic appearance” due to her ethnic and racial background. The remaining three participants agreed that it was something the woman may have felt hurt by, but shared that they could “understand” where the employer was coming from. This explanation was based on the understanding that others may also perceive the woman as “intimidating” or “exotic” and impose their own opinions on her as well. One participant mentioned how she had a similar experience when she was younger; her friends wanted her to be *Princess Jasmine* because she was the only one in her friend group that was perceived to be ‘exotic.’

Scenario #3: Overt racial discrimination. This scenario described a situation with a group of young men yelling at an Indian man, calling him a “terrorist” with expletives. Across participants, fear was brought up as the initial response to the

scenario. Some participants also expressed a feeling of betrayal, that the character in the story must have felt betrayed for not feeling like he could "belong" in his country (America). Similarly, participants mentioned personal experiences with family members being told to "go back to [your] country!" by random strangers in public. Some participants also mentioned the idea of privilege, and how the group of men in the story must experience a level of privilege in their lives to call out the Indian man as they did without repercussions.

Scenario #4: Language. In this scenario, participants heard a story about microaggressions related to language, with the assumption that an Indian student could not speak English based on her racial/ethnic background. Based on the responses, five participants (out of nine) did not believe there was any discrimination in this scenario. There was a sense of understanding of the reason behind the assumption that the Indian student could not speak English well. At the same time, other participants felt the situation was offensive and shared personal experiences. These experiences involved other adults and peers talking to participants in slow, enunciated terms, and in particular, assuming and/or messing up pronunciation of names. Participants made corrections for the pronunciations of their names, but without much luck. Some participants were met with surprise since their name "sounded White" compared to other Indian names.

Scenario #5: Religion. This scenario depicts an interaction between an Indian woman and her therapist, who assumes the client is Hindu even though she is Muslim. The intention was to reflect an interaction involving the microaggressive assumption of Indians all having the same culture, religion, and language. Seven of the nine

participants endorsed experiencing the same or similar situations in their personal lives. Specifically, many of the participants mentioned being asked or having others assume that they are Hindu (even if they are not) or Muslim participating in religious holidays like other students at school. Other participants experienced being asked if all Indians wear “head scarves and ‘those red dots’ on their foreheads” while others were asked if they “are ‘Hindi’,” implying that there was not an understanding of the difference between the Hindi language and Hindu religion. All participants endorsed feelings of discomfort for the character in the story.

Cross-Case Analysis

There were three major themes that came up across the nine interviews outside of the prompted scenarios: discrimination, aspects of racial/ethnic identity, and the balancing act of identity management. There were also several subthemes that were identified, as described below. In particular, the subtheme of “Otherness,” “Racial discrimination,” and “Assimilation” were the top three subthemes that appeared, with between 43 and 113 coded references across the interviews. These themes and subthemes arose both in response to the scenario prompts and to the questions the researcher asked about participant experiences.

Discrimination. Within the discrimination theme, there were several subthemes that appeared during coding. In particular, ‘racial discrimination,’ ‘ethnic discrimination,’ ‘in-group discrimination,’ ‘microaggressions,’ ‘terrorist,’ ‘Trump,’ and ‘fear of discrimination’ were all subthemes identified across most of the interviews. Some of the participants recalled specific scenarios of discrimination that stirred up

feelings of fears of discrimination, such as recent hate crimes against Indians and increased activity of white supremacist groups. S.C. commented on how he self-identifies, "…like in Kansas, an Indian man was shot…in a bar. After that I got really scared because like, I'm brown, I'm Indian, living in America and I didn't want anything to happen tragic to me or my family. So before saying I was Indian, I would always say I'm American and also after the…election…I would always just identify as American after that." (S.C., interview, November 3, 2018). Similarly, N. D. commented on hurtful comments she would hear, "After…was elected in 6th grade, everyone was really glad 'cause they thought that he would build a wall to kick out all the Mexican people and the Indian people…they were the people that bullied my *hijabi* friend. They talk a lot about Indians and how they're part of ISIS or something." (N.D., interview, November 3, 2018).

With ethnic discrimination, participants cited experiences of peers misunderstanding and making assumptions based on language, religion, and culture. S.C. said "…this one kid…found a rock and said 'look it's your God'" and "…in math class…we were doing fractions, multiplying fractions, and to do that we had like little dots and we would have to like put them into groups and stuff. And a white kid was saying 'is this your God?' and put it on his forehead." (S.C., interview, November 11, 2018). Other hurtful comments often came up among peer interactions – "…and then sometimes they would say stuff about the food or they would mock an Indian accent…things like, 'I don't like Indian food'…but some people have said things like 'it's gross' or 'it's weird' or 'it smells really bad.'" (R.V., interview, November 11,

2018). Some of these interactions can be identified more accurately as microaggressions, as well. As N. V. experienced related to academics, "…you don't do as well as you think you would on a test or something and someone else would be like… 'How? You're Indian, you're supposed to be doing good…you're supposed to have an A.'…and that kind of hurts." (N.V., interview, December 23, 2018). Comments like these are consistent with endorsement of the model minority myth, which states Asian Americans are more successful in academics and job performance compared to other ethnic groups.

The issue of skin color was another form of discrimination that came up across a portion of the participants, which interestingly was mostly among same-race peer circles. "[Indians] think that light-skinned Indians are more superior to dark-skinned Indians. They always want me to keep my light skin or whatever." (N.D., interview, November 3, 2018). "…I love my skin color. That took me a long time to love myself because the Indian society world tells you that only fair, skinny girls are pretty…being darker-skinned colored, I have been called the color of dirt before, and by a fellow Indian…and it was a boy…and it really did hurt me." (H.G., interview, December 23, 2018). Interestingly, the references made to skin color were only brought up among the female participants and were often referencing themes of beauty and desirability.

Racial and ethnic identity. Most of the participants used race and ethnicity as interchangeable concepts. At the same time, they were able to distinguish between aspects of culture versus skin color in the way these impacted their experiences growing up as Asian Indian children. Many participants mentioned that they were first aware of

their racial and/or ethnic identity early on in their school years. Most commonly, these experiences involved comparisons of skin color, or interactions where peers questioned aspects of the participants' culture. For example, participants reported feeling embarrassed about participating in Indian classical dance or having religious calendars inside of the home, or deciding to spend more time speaking English instead of their mother tongue. Others mentioned their parents' strict parenting styles (e.g., participants were not allowed to attend sleepovers or go to pool parties) as experiences that made participants aware of their differences among their friends. With skin color, some participants reported feeling angry that they did not have white skin like their friends, and their desire to be more "American" instead. These experiences were as early as preschool for some (e.g., N. D., interview, November 3, 2018 – "It was in preschool actually and all the other kids that were white or black or whatever…one of them came up to me and said that I should go back to my terrorist country.").

Several participants spoke about same-race friends and how comfort changed across the years for some individuals. Most agreed that having Indian friends was more comforting because it was easier to relate and be accepting of others' values and beliefs. In fact, N.V. said her mother insisted that she continues to keep Indian friends "so that they understand…our values." (N.V., interview, December 23, 2018). Some of this understanding lends itself to teasing and racial jokes that are still seen as acceptable considering they are coming from same-race peers. "I like to be with Indian people because not in an insulting type of way but in a humorous way, I like to make Indian jokes with my friends. That's why I like having Indian friends. With American friends I

could make some American jokes, but like I said, I like to be connected to India." (M.K., interview, November 3, 2018). On the other hand, having Indian peers was stressful for some participants due to the sense of competition that inevitably arose. "For some reason, Indians have this weird thing about them where they're like two-sided. In front of me they're like, oh yeah, you're my best friend. Behind you, they just really want to compare themselves to you and get your opportunities and your first place…they just want me for comparing themselves, their grades, my grades." (H.G., interview, December 23, 2018). This example illustrates the pressures incurred by the internalization of the model minority myth, where Asian Americans must do well in their academics.

Identity management. Identity seemed to be an area of particular struggle for these youth, as they straddled their "American" identity with their "Indian" identity. One participant captured this struggle effectively; "Well, if I go out in public in the world, then everyone will look at me as Indian. They will never look at me as Indian American. That's just how I look. So I think with physical appearance, I'm more Indian. So I would connect more with that – with what society says. Me personally, I'm Indian American because I know that. I know my experiences; they aren't Indian, they're Indian American." (H.G., interview, December 23, 2018). This was also an issue in that some participants felt like they were deemed "too Indian" or "too American" (e.g., an "Oreo" – 'white on the inside, brown on the outside') in different contexts. For example, N.V. described Indians who "act American, or white" as being "white-washed" because they are "turning white" as being perceived as cool. "I've heard a few times, 'oh you're

Indian, but you're the cool kind…you're good Indian'." (N.V., interview, December 23, 2018). For these participants, there is an implicit assumption that being Indian at some of these developmental stages was not seen as desirable or socially acceptable.

Code-switching is a form of identity management observed among participants who reported actively "switching" identities based on the context and make-up of the peers with whom they interacted. For example, "…the word Indian American, it means you live between two worlds, my experience. I come home, I'm Indian. I live Indian lives, I eat Indian food…I step over my threshold, I become American. Go to school, I'm an American. So living between two worlds, it's tough. You've got to balance. Your parents don't kind of understand the western world…and the western world doesn't really understand the Indian world….you live between two worlds and you've got to be knowledgeable to know how to balance them." (H.G., interview, December 23, 2018). Similarly, S.M. states that "on papers and everything, I write Asian American, but I don't know. With white people, I guess I'm American and then with Indian people I'm Indian." (S.M., interview, August 11, 2019). Another participant mentioned going to restaurants and making their "accent more American so that [American people] won't think…they won't have this narrative, they won't think I can't speak English" when they order food (S.M., interview, August 11, 2019). These participants shared experiences in juggling the two sets of values associated with each identity they managed.

Overall, participants seemed to have endorsed experiences of perceived discrimination of various levels and kinds even at young ages. Additionally, participants were able to verbalize their experiences related to developing their racial and ethnic

identity. In particular, as second-generation Asian Indian youth, it seems the discriminatory experiences and conflicting value systems made it challenging for these youth to maintain consistency in their identity development over time. These themes informed the modification of items in the quantitative phase (specifically related to ethnic and racial discrimination experiences). With these modifications and additional information being collected in the quantitative phase, the researcher was able to quantify these themes as well.

Quantitative Phase

Demographic characteristics are provided in Table 2, detailing the age, gender, and religion by generational status of participants in the quantitative phase. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for all study variables are provided in Table 3. In general, there are statistically significant correlations between many of the assessed measures. The racism-related stress scale had positive and significant correlations with both scales of the internalized model minority myth measure as well as the measures related to internal/external ethnic identity. Additionally, the internalized model minority myth scales were both positively and significantly related to the self-esteem measure. The achievement-oriented scale of the internalized model minority myth in particular was also significantly related to the anxiety, racial identity, and depression measures. There were also significant relationships between the racial identity measure and the internal/external ethnic identity, self-esteem, and anxiety measures. The depression measure was significantly associated with all measures except the internalized model minority myth mobility, race-related stress, and racial identity measures.

For this study, the ordinary least squares estimation method was used to estimate the parameters of most of 11 of the 15 linear regression models, as all assumptions were met (e.g., the variance inflation factor (VIF) values were all between 1.00-1.52, which were well below the threshold cutoff of 10.0 for multicollinearity; the relationship between the predictors and outcome variables for each of these 11 models were linear, residuals demonstrated normality (non-significant Shapiro-Wilk tests) and acceptable values of skewness and kurtosis. Robust regression estimation was used for the remaining four linear regression models. These four models had minor failures to meet assumptions of normality, and/or heteroscedasticity, so the regressions were re-run with robust standard errors to provide better standard errors and p-values. Full regression results for each outcome variable are listed in tables 4 through 6, and all R^2 and adjusted R^2 values are provided in Table 7. R^2 is an estimate of the extent to which the set of predictors accounts for the criterion in the population. In other words, the value explains how much of the variation of the outcome in the population is due to the model. Adjusted R^2, on the other hand, takes into account the number of covariates in the model (so that the fit of the model is not overestimated). Generally, if the R^2 value is higher, the model fits the data better; however, the F-value (with an F-test for significance) provides information on whether the model explains a statistically significant amount of variation in the outcome and thus good fit. Considering the number of models in this study, the alpha level of significance was set at $p<0.003$ to avoid Type I error rate in interpretation. Only models with significant interaction and main effects at the $p<0.003$ level are interpreted.

Effect of Internalized Model Minority Myth: Achievement Orientation

Self-esteem. The overall fit of this model was poor; there were no main effects or interaction effects for racism-related stress and internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) on self-esteem at the $p<.003$ significance threshold.

Anxiety. Approximately 35% of the variation in anxiety is explained by this model ($R^2=.350$); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted $R^2 = .292$ There was an interaction effect between the internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) and racism-related stress that was statistically significant [t(78)=-3.89, $p<.001$, beta=-.39]. As participants' internalized model minority myth related to achievement increases by one standard deviation, the standardized effect of racism-related stress on anxiety decreases by 0.39. As seen in Figure 2, this interaction has a buffering effect. In other words, for participants who endorsed lower levels of achievement orientation of the model minority myth, the effect of racism-related stress on anxiety was stronger. This suggests that internalization of the model minority myth related to achievement may be protective against anxiety related to stress experienced with racism.

Depression. Approximately 52% of the variation in depression is explained by this model ($R^2=.523$); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted $R^2 =.480$. While the interaction was not significant at the $p<.003$ threshold, the main effects of racism-related stress and internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) were both significant. Specifically, there was a main effect of racism-related

stress of 2.53 [t(78)=3.51, $p<.001$] and a main effect of internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) on depression of -2.08 [t(78)=-4.90, $p<.001$].

Effect of Internalized Model Minority Myth: Unrestricted Mobility

Self-esteem. Although the interaction was nonsignificant at the $p<.003$ significance threshold, there was a main effect of the internalized model minority myth-unrestricted mobility orientation of -1.30 [t(78)=-3.33, $p<.003$] on self-esteem.

Anxiety. There were no main effects or interaction effects for racism-related stress and internalized model minority myth (mobility) on anxiety at the $p<.003$ significance threshold.

Depression. Approximately 32% of the variation in depression is explained by this model (R^2=.319); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted R^2=.259. Although the model had an overall good fit, there were no main effects or interaction effects for racism-related stress and internalized model minority myth (mobility) on depression at the $p<.003$ significance threshold.

Effect of Internal Ethnic Identity

Self-esteem. There were no main effects or interaction effects for racism-related stress and internal ethnic identity on self-esteem at the $p<.003$ significance threshold.

Anxiety. Approximately 35% of the variation in anxiety is explained by this model (R^2=.354); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted R^2=.296. There was a statistically significant interaction between internal ethnic identity and racism-related stress [t(78)=-3.97, $p<.01$, beta=-.48]. As internal ethnic identity increases by one standard deviation, the standardized effect of racism-related stress on

anxiety decreases by 0.48. As seen in Figure 3, this interaction has a buffering effect. For participants who endorsed lower levels of internal ethnic identity, racism-related stress had a stronger effect on anxiety. This suggests that internal ethnic identity may have a protective effect against the anxiety one experiences as a result of racism-related stress.

Depression. Approximately 49% of the variation in depression is explained by this model (R^2=.486); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted R^2=0.439). Although the interaction was nonsignificant at the p<.003 threshold, the main effect of internal ethnic identity on depression was significant at -2.33 [t(78)=-3.49, p<.003]. There was also a main effect of racism-related stress at 2.37 [t(78)=3.23, p<.003].

Effect of External Ethnic Identity

Self-esteem. There were no main effects or interaction effects for racism-related stress and external ethnic identity on self-esteem at the p<.003 significance threshold.

Anxiety. Approximately 36% of the variation in anxiety is explained by this model (R^2=.363); accounting for the number of covariates in the model, the adjusted R^2=.306. The interaction between external ethnic identity and racism-related stress was statistically significant [t(78)=-4.33, p<.001, beta=-.57]. As external ethnic identity increases by one standard deviation, the standardized effect of racism-related stress on anxiety decreases by 0.57. As seen in Figure 4, this interaction has a buffering effect. For participants who endorsed lower levels of external ethnic identity, racism-related stress had a stronger effect on anxiety. This suggests that external ethnic identity may have a protective effect against the anxiety one experiences as a result of racism-related stress.

***Depression*.** Although the interaction was nonsignificant at the $p<.003$ threshold, there was a main effect of external ethnic identity on depression at -2.70 [$t(79)=-4.43$, $p<.003$].

Effect of Racial Identity: Internalized Stage

***Self-esteem*.** Approximately 24% of the variation in self-esteem is explained by this model ($R^2=.241$); accounting for the number of covariates in this model, the adjusted $R^2=.173$. Although the interaction was not significant at the $p<.003$ significance threshold, there was a main effect of racial identity on self-esteem of .34 [$t(78)=4.21$, $p<.001$].

***Anxiety*.** Approximately 36% of the variation in anxiety is explained by this model ($R^2=.363$); accounting for the number of covariates in this model, the adjusted $R^2=.306$. Although the interaction was not significant at the $p<.003$ significance threshold, there was a main effect of racial identity at -.13 [$t(78)=-3.57$, $p<.003$] on anxiety.

***Depression*.** Approximately 47% of the variation in depression is explained by this model ($R^2=.466$); accounting for the number of covariates in this model, the adjusted $R^2=.418$. Although the interaction was not significant at the $p<.003$ significance threshold, there was a main effect of racial identity at -.25 [$t(78)=-3.68$, $p<.001$] on depression.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

While the research is minimal, most of the available literature on the area of discrimination experiences among Asian Indians focuses on college-age and adult individuals. These studies have documented the negative impacts of discrimination on both physical and mental health outcomes, yet documentation of how this impacts young adults and children is generally lacking (Gee & Ponce, 2010; Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009, Yoshihama et al., 2012). With the continued rise of immigration, it is imperative to understand how youth are experiencing discrimination in their day-to-day life to better intervene and provide services. The purpose of the current study was to explore the unique discrimination experiences of Asian Indian youth more broadly. Considering the historical context of Asian Indians immigrating over the last several decades, youth are likely to be experiencing stressors such as acculturation and navigating differing value systems. Thus, an additional purpose of this study was to understand how ethnic and racial identification among Asian Indian youth may change the impact of discrimination experiences on mental health outcomes. Given that there are a small number of available studies that discuss this area of research, this study employed a mixed-methods approach. Mixed-methods studies have the benefit of both qualitative and quantitative research designs to provide a well-rounded understanding of a given area, which is what the current study aimed to complete for Asian Indian youth's discrimination experiences.

The main purpose of the qualitative phase of this study was exploratory, allowing the participants to act as experts on their individual experiences of discrimination and identity formation. With that said, the participants provided information that was supportive of much of the research on discrimination experiences that South Asians (and in particular, Asian Indians) endure. The prompted scenarios in this study allowed for a "baseline" in understanding what each participant defined as discrimination in the first place. Interestingly, most participants seemed to have easily established an agreement in what was considered discriminatory. The younger participants struggled a little more with identifying microaggressive scenarios as discrimination, although they still acknowledged a level of discomfort with the situation.

The cross-case analysis pulled themes that further characterized the experiences these youth have with discrimination. In particular, participants were quick to share their affective responses to discrimination experiences. For example, these youth reported experiencing heightened sense of fear and anxiety about events they heard on the news and how they may feel at school with peers who actively created racially hostile environments. Further, the results from the survey suggest Asian Indian youth are experiencing more symptoms of depression as a result of higher levels of racism-related stress.

At the same time, some of the youth from the interview shared that they tried to embrace the values of their Indian culture as much as possible, considering the competing American values they had to balance. The results from the survey suggest that both internal and external ethnic identity act as a protective buffer against the

negative experiences of discrimination. In other words, when youth identify more strongly with their ethnic identity, the impact of the discrimination on their anxiety in particular is less severe. Additionally, taking out racism-related stress, stronger internal and external ethnic identity were in general both associated with decreased levels of depression. Similarly, stronger racial identity was associated with decreased levels of both anxiety and depression, outside of racism-related stress. Other research has supported these findings for adult Asian Americans in the past as well; ethnic identity served as protective factor for mental health outcomes even with racism-related stress (Mossawkowski, 2009). The findings of this study also suggest that internalization of the model minority myth (related to believing Asian Americans are successful) acts in a protective manner against poor mental health outcomes from discrimination. It is important to note that the protective aspect of this model minority myth is for anxiety related to discrimination; however, endorsing this model minority myth achievement orientation was still associated with lower levels of depression outside of racism-related stress. For these reasons, further research is warranted to understand how it may be related to other mental health outcomes in situations where beliefs about personal success are more salient.

Interestingly, the results also suggest that youth who internalize the model minority myth that Asian Americans lack perceived barriers in society (and thus have unrestricted social mobility compared to other groups) do not experience this protective effect against mental health outcomes of discrimination. Specifically, endorsement of this myth results in lower self-esteem, although this is outside of experiences of racism-

related stress. In other words, Asian Indian youth who have core beliefs that they do not experience discrimination like other racial groups will be more likely to maintain a lower sense of self-esteem. This finding is consistent with a study on Asian American college students, where it was found that endorsement of the unrestricted social mobility aspect of the model minority myth was associated with increased levels of distress (Yoo et al., 2010). These findings offer additional insight into other ways this myth impacts these children's experiences.

Despite the apparent protective nature that ethnic identity may have, it seems that Asian Indian youth are constantly straddling the identity "line," trying to balance their "Asian Indian" identity with their "American" identity. In the current study, participants discussed the various ways they found themselves "code-switching" to feel more comfortable with these opposing value systems. For these kids, this often meant having separate interests and behaviors at home with one's family versus at school with friends. Further, most of the experiences these youth recounted were racially charged. This supports previous research that suggests second-generation youth endure more discrimination based on skin color and race, as opposed to the increased ethnic discrimination that their first-generation counterparts may experience (Inman, 2006).

Importantly, this study highlights a significant finding – that Asian Indians youth are experiencing discrimination at a very early age. Although the participants in this study were adolescents, most participants shared that they were first aware of their race or ethnicity as early as preschool or elementary school, often due to a negative event that brought their race or ethnicity to the foreground. While this study supports the

notion that ethnic and racial identity may be protective against distressing mental health outcomes, second-generation Asian Indian youth may not experience this benefit to its full advantage due to the constant tug-of-war they experience with their identities.

Limitations

While the current study has opened up avenues for better understanding the experiences of Asian Indian youth, there are some limitations to consider when generalizing the findings. First, the participants for the qualitative interviews were recruited through convenience sampling, and as such many of the participants were from a small sample in Dallas, Texas. It is possible that the experiences outlined in their interviews are culturally-bound to Texas; youth living in California among dense populations of South Asian Americans may have completely different experiences with discrimination. Recruiting participants for interviews across a broader range of geographical areas in the United States may provide a more well-rounded picture of discrimination experiences.

Second, the quantitative phase was employed online using Qualtrics and social media recruitment strategies. This ultimately led to "spammers" being able to move through the authentication stages and still manage to respond to the survey. While 735 participants were narrowed down to 86 participants with careful review of responses, it is not possible to guarantee the integrity of online responders in any situation. Without the face-to-face contact, online research makes it difficult to confirm the identity of the person responding on the other side of the screen. Additionally, this naturally led to a much smaller sample than the researcher initially intended to recruit. As a result, the

power of the quantitative phase of the study is weak and thus makes it difficult to generalize results to a wider population. With that said, this study still provides valuable information that can help jumpstart future studies that can replicate or expand on the current study's findings.

Third, the scale for anxiety had lower internal consistency, likely due to the small number of items (α=.54). As such, the results for the interaction effects should be interpreted with caution. Despite the lower internal consistency, the findings still provide an opening in the literature that warrants further research.

Another limitation to this study is that the quantitative phase included both first- and second-generation youth. The purpose of the study was initially to understand the unique experiences of Asian Indians born and raised in the United States without necessarily comparing experiences to first-generation youth. However, recruitment led to a smaller sample size in general, so both groups had to be collapsed into one for the purpose of this study. Generational status was controlled in the analyses, but in the future analyses may be more fruitful with a larger sample of each group; part of this may also be resolved in recruitment itself. There is a large area of research supporting Asian American's reluctance to engage in help-seeking behaviors due to several reasons, some of which may be due to stigmatization of services related to psychological help (Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005; Masuda, Anderson, Twohig, Feinstein, Chou, Wendell, & Stormo, 2009). Although research studies do not necessarily involve providing therapy or psychological treatment, research like the current study still request disclosure about experiences that may be uncomfortable for participants. In fact, some of the parents that

the researcher recruited for the current study refused to have their children participate because they "did not want [their child] to start feeling badly" or "get any ideas" when discussing mental health. In the future, it may be beneficial to complete recruitment with a community participatory research approach to establish more buy-in and trust with the participants.

Future Directions

The results of the current study provide insight into what Asian Indian Americans are experiencing from a very young age. Future studies should explore the experiences of discrimination that youth experience at even younger age ranges, since many of the participants in the current study endorsed discrimination experiences from a very young age. At the same time, it may be difficult to understand the moderating role of ethnic and/or racial identity for younger youth, as these individuals may not have developed enough of an awareness of their racial/ethnic identities at that age (Quintana, 1998). On the other hand, it may be beneficial to follow youth when they are older via a longitudinal study to examine how mental health outcomes may change over time with or without shifts in ethnic/racial identity.

Another avenue worth exploring in future studies is the idea of colorism. Colorism, or the preferential treatment of individuals with lighter skin complexion, has been a pervasive issue among communities of color throughout the centuries often rooted in colonialism and imperialism (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Ryabov, 2016). Several hundreds of years later, colorism still continues to be internalized, especially among women of color (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Ryabov, 2016). Two participants from the

current study mentioned how their skin color contributed to a unique set of discrimination experiences among same-race peers and other-race peers alike. Studies that examine the impact of colorism have found that it is often a gendered experience; Asian Indian women have taken the brunt of negative stigma related to darker skin color (Jha & Adelman, 2009; Tummala-Narra, 2013). Movies, music, and television programs began to portray the "ideal woman" as having lighter skin; even the use of language in songs promoted the interchangeable use of words to describe "femininity" and "light-skinned" (Jha & Adelman, 2009). At the same time, beauty products that contained bleaching ingredients such as "Fair and Lovely" were sold using negative advertisements that suggested women were unable to obtain jobs, marriage partners, or be successful overall unless they had lighter skin (Jha & Adelman, 2009; Mishra, 2015). There are already studies among Black youth that explore the impact of colorism; for example, Townsend and colleagues (2010) found that endorsement of colorism and other racial stereotypes increased sexual risk among Black adolescent girls. The participant remarks related to skin color from the current study may be worth exploring further, as experiences with colorism may be conceptualized differently by youth (and thus the distress they experience may be different from general discrimination experiences).

Similarly, same-race discrimination may be an area that could benefit from future studies. Most of the participants in the current study recalled same-race insults and microaggressions that were mostly humorous in nature, but still offensive in their content. Other studies on Latinx youth have observed this phenomena as "intragroup marginalization" (Castillo, Cano, Chen, Blucker, & Olds, 2008). The marginalization

occurs when a member of the same race or ethnicity goes against norms in their behavior. As an example, Latinx individuals born in America may be subjected to "...the phrase, 'brown on the outside' (referring to race or skin color), 'white on the inside' (meaning the adoption of White American values and behaviors)" (Castillo et al., 2008, p. 44). This sentiment was often brought up with youth in the current study, with teasing and insults seen as jokes that were potentially hurtful in some cases. It may be interesting to understand how ethnic and racial identity relates to these experiences with same-race peers.

Conclusions

This study has provided an initial understanding of the experiences that may be shaping Asian Indian youth's mental health and interactions with other individuals from the same or other race. Children and adolescents as young as 12 (and likely younger) are experiencing discrimination based on race and ethnicity. Although further research is needed, it is likely that ethnic and racial identity may have some influence in how these youth relate to and navigate their worlds in the midst of ethnic and racial discrimination.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1.

Demographic characteristics of interview participants.

Participant Initials	Age	Grade	Gender	Generation Status
A.T.	16	11th	M	2nd
L.G.	15	10th	F	2nd
S.C.	13	8th	M	2nd
N.D.	14	8th	F	1.5*
M.K.	12	7th	F	2nd
R.V.	15	10th	M	2nd
H.G.	14	9th	F	2nd
N.V.	15	9th	F	2nd
S.M.	17	12th	F	2nd

Note. 1.5 generation Asian Indian adolescents are those who were born in India but came to the U.S. before age 16 (Lee et al., 2009). This participant moved to the U.S. at age 4.

Table 2.

Demographics of survey participants.

	First Generation (N = 36)		Second Generation (N = 50)	
Variable	N	%	N	%
Age				
12	2	50%	2	50%
13	5	33.3%	10	66.7%
14	20	54.1%	17	46%
15	7	46.7%	8	53.3%
16	2	25%	6	75%
17	0	0%	7	100%
Gender				
Male	17	39.5%	26	60.5%
Female	19	44.2%	24	55.8%
Religion				
Hindu	14	46.7%	16	53.3%
Muslim	9	90%	1	10%
Buddhist	3	16.7%	15	83.3%
Christian	0	0%	8	100%
Sikh	5	100%	0	0%
None	4	33.3%	8	66.7%
Other	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

Table 3.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables.

	M	*SD*	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
1. Gender	0.50	0.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Age	14.3	1.24	.009	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Generation	1.42	.496	.047	-.193	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Religion	3.00	1.99	-.035	.052	-.036	-	-	-	-	-
5. Racism Stress	4.91	1.01	-.109	.001	.051	-.140	-	-	-	-
6. Self-Esteem	3.06	0.64	-.054	-.204	-.027	.-.122	.068	-	-	-
7. Anxiety	3.73	2.07	.198	-.019	-.374***	.034	-.102	-.432***	-	-
8. Depression	37.1	6.58	.145	-.062	.529***	-.066	.049	-.346**	.589***	-.0573

Note. *p<.05, **p<.01, *** p<.001. IM4: Internalized model minority myth scale; Int. Ethnic ID: Internal ethnic identity; Ext. Ethnic ID: External ethnic identity; Racism Stress: Racism-related stress; Racial ID: Internalized racial identity.

Table 4.

Standardized coefficients for internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) moderator.

	Anxiety* (p-value)	Depression (p-value)	Self-Esteem (p-value)
Racism-Related Stress	.239 (.067)	.373** (.001)	-.155 (.284)
Internalized Model Minority Myth – Achievement	-.324 (.022)	-.483** (.000)	.224 (.098)
Racism-Related Stress X Internalized Model Minority Myth – Achievement	-.395**(.000)	-.330 (.003)	.231 (.121)
Gender	.040 (.688)	-.032 (.701)	.037 (.741)
Age	-.044 (.624)	-.069 (.402)	-.152 (.173)
Generational Status	.279 (.047)	.338** (.001)	.005 (.970)
Religion	.025 (.778)	-.052 (.511)	-.099 .358)
Intercept	3.15	8.22	26.263**
R-squared	.350** (.000)	.523** (.000)	.130 (.129)

Note. * = robust regression results. ***p*<.003 used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

Table 5.

Standardized coefficients for internalized model minority myth (mobility) moderator.

	Anxiety (p-value)	Depression (p-value)	Self-Esteem (p-value)
Racism-Related Stress	-.052 (.661)	.093 (.400)	.133 (.260)
Internalized Model Minority Myth -- Mobility	-.010 (.934)	-.037 (.732)	-.377* (.001)
Racism-Related Stress X Internalized Model Minority Myth – Mobility	-.135 (.227)	-.158 (.126)	.237 (.033)
Gender	.150 (.153)	.096 (.319)	-.031 (.761)
Age	.040 (.701)	.025 (.794)	-.234 (.025)
Generational Status	.380* (.001)	.519* (.000)	-.165 (.121)
Religion	.019 (.854)	-.059 (.541)	-.024 (.813)
Intercept	.270	.680	32.138*
R-squared	.202 (.011)	.320* (.0001)	.234 (.003)

Note. *p<.003 used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

Table 6.

Standardized coefficients for internal ethnic identity moderator.

	Anxiety* (p-value)	Depression (p-value)	Self-Esteem* (p-value)
Racism-Related Stress	.252 (.032)	.350** (.002)	-.112 (.534)
Internal Ethnic Identity	-.160 (.225)	-.366** (.001)	.101 (.597)
Racism-Related Stress X Internal Ethnic Identity	-.483** (.000)	-.322 (.008)	.213 (.184)
Gender	.077 (.439)	.042 (.623)	-.003 (.978)
Age	-.038 (.676)	-.045 (.600)	-.170 (.055)
Generational Status	.327 (.006)	.382** (.000)	-.035 (.809)
Religion	-.040 (.690)	-.144 (.093)	-.066 (.635)
Intercept	2.925	6.747	27.619**
R-squared	.354** (.000)	.486** (.000)	.103 (.001)**

Note. * = robust regression results. ***p*<.003 used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

Table 7.

Standardized coefficients for external ethnic identity moderator.

	Anxiety (p-value)	Depression* (p-value)	Self-Esteem (p-value)
Racism-Related Stress	.278 (.026)	.335 (.005)	-.102 (.486)
External Ethnic Identity	-.050 (.651)	-.349** (.000)	.018 (.890)
Racism-Related Stress X External Ethnic Identity	-.567** (.000)	-.295 (.030)	.235 (.136)
Gender	.072 (.443)	.031 (.715)	-.006 (.956)
Age	-.029 (.760)	-.016 (.874)	-.179 (.113)
Generational Status	.379** (.000)	.432** (.000)	-.072 (.543)
Religion	-.009 (.927)	-.130 (.102)	-.088 (.435)
Intercept	2.341	4.61	28.681**
R-squared	.363** (.000)	.466** (.000)	.094 (.336)

Note. * = robust regression results. ** $p<.003$ used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

Table 8.

Standardized coefficients for internalized racial identity moderator.

	Anxiety (p-value)	Depression (p-value)	Self-Esteem (p-value)
Racism-Related Stress	.132 (.298)	.267 (.024)	.023 (.868)
Internalized Racial Identity	-.405* (.001)	-.382* (000)	.521* (.000)
Racism-Related Stress X Internalized Racial Identity	-.265 (.055)	-.281 (.027)	-.064 (.669)
Gender	.155 (.104)	.102 (.238)	-.086 (.403)
Age	-.030 (.752)	-.038 (.662)	-.136 (.188)
Generational Status	.187 (.112)	.348* (.002)	.231 (.073)
Religion	.008 (.929)	-.071 (.402)	-.097 (.339)
Intercept	3.042	5.867	23.432*
R-squared	.363* (.000)	.466* (.000)	.241* (.002)

Note. *p<.003 used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

Table 9.

R^2 values (and adjusted R^2 values) of each moderated regression model.

	Model Minority-Achievement	Model Minority-Mobility	Internal Ethnic Identity	External Ethnic Identity	Internalized Racial Identity
Self-Esteem	.13 (.05)	.23 (.16)	.10 (.02)	.09 (.01)	.24 (.17)*
Anxiety	.35 (.29)*	.20 (.13)	.35 (.30)*	.36 (.31)*	.36 (.31)*
Depression	.52 (.48)*	.32 (.26)*	.49 (.44)*	.47 (.42)*	.47 (.42)*

Note. *Overall good fit for model. ***p*<.003 used for interpretation to reduce Type I error.

APPENDIX B

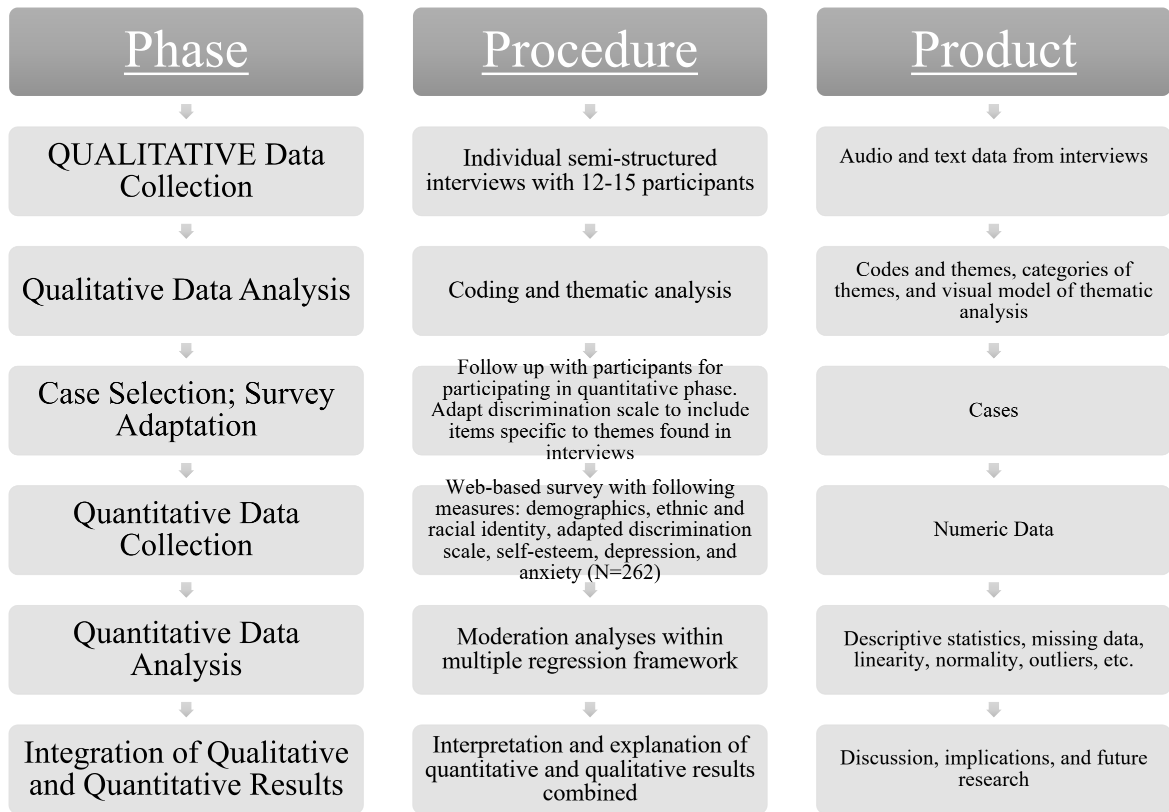

Figure 1. Visual model of mixed methods exploratory sequential design procedures.

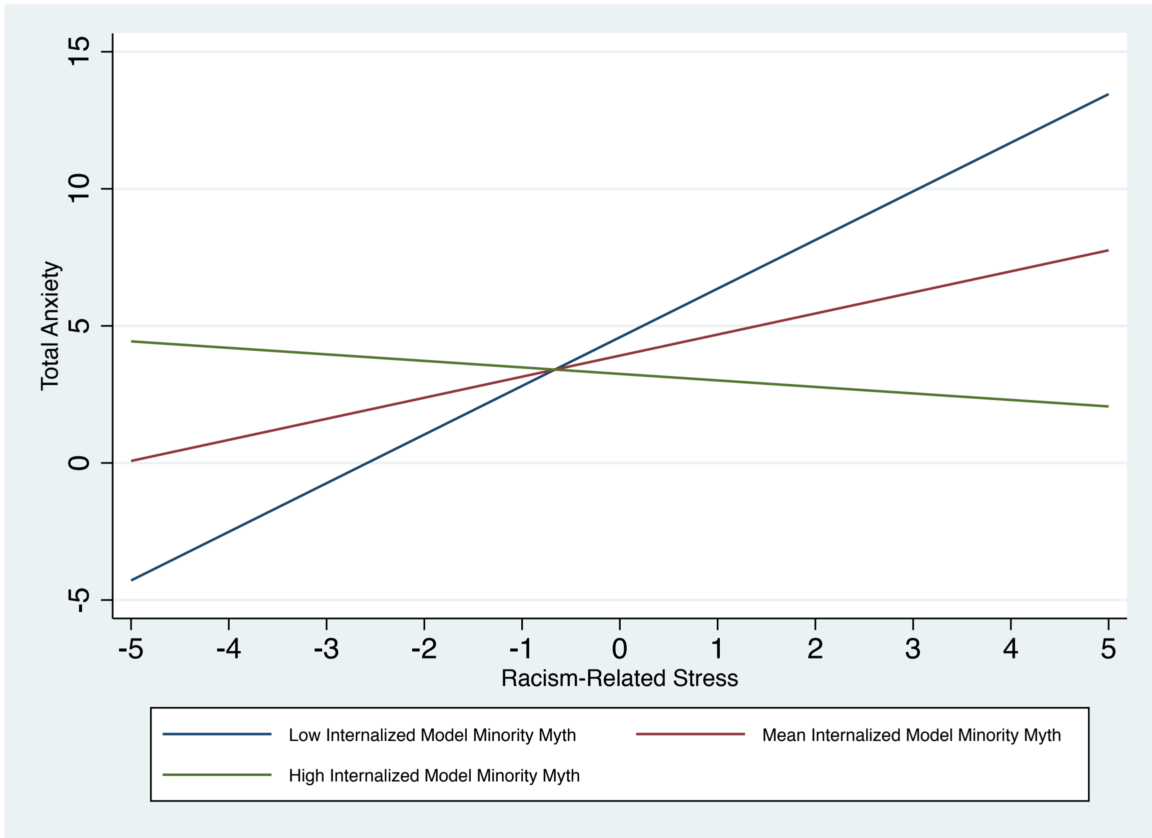

Figure 2. Interaction plot of the buffering effect of the internalized model minority myth (achievement orientation) on relationship between racism-related stress and total anxiety.

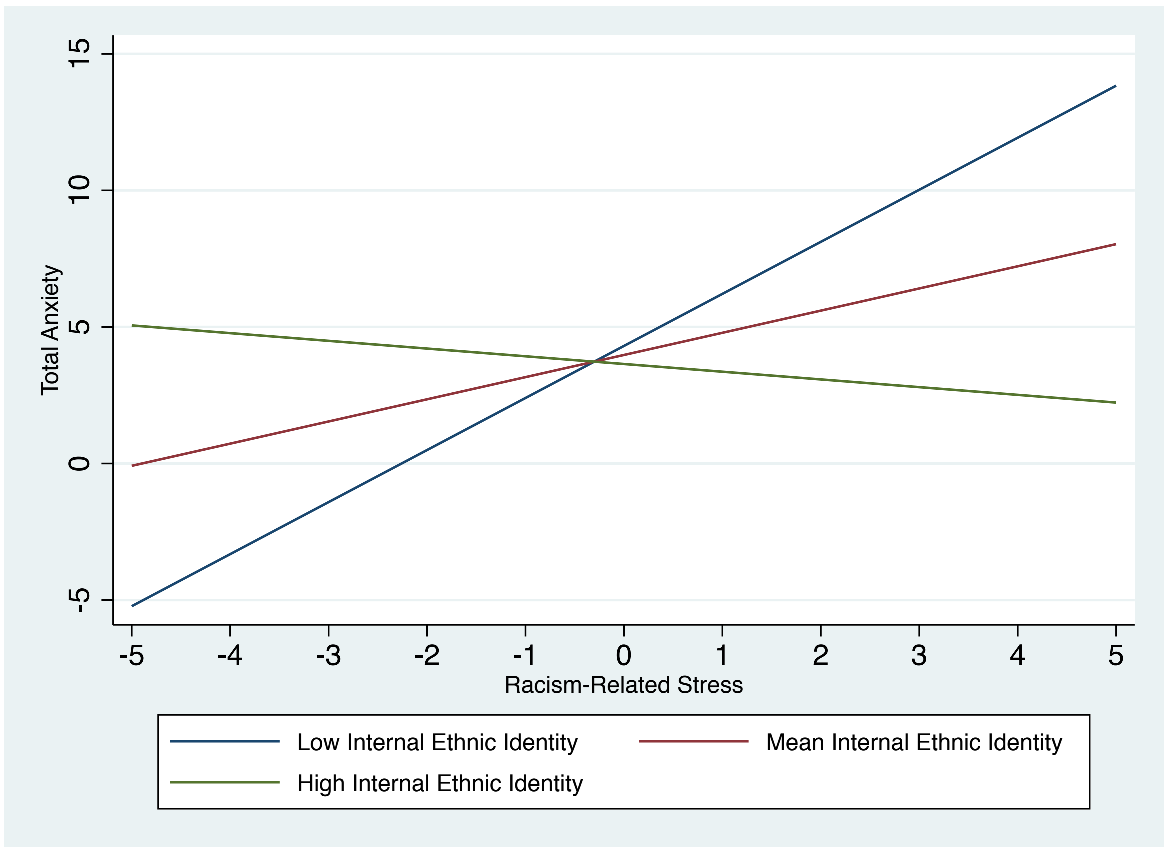

Figure 3. Interaction plot of the buffering effect of internal ethnic identity on relationship between racism-related stress and total anxiety.

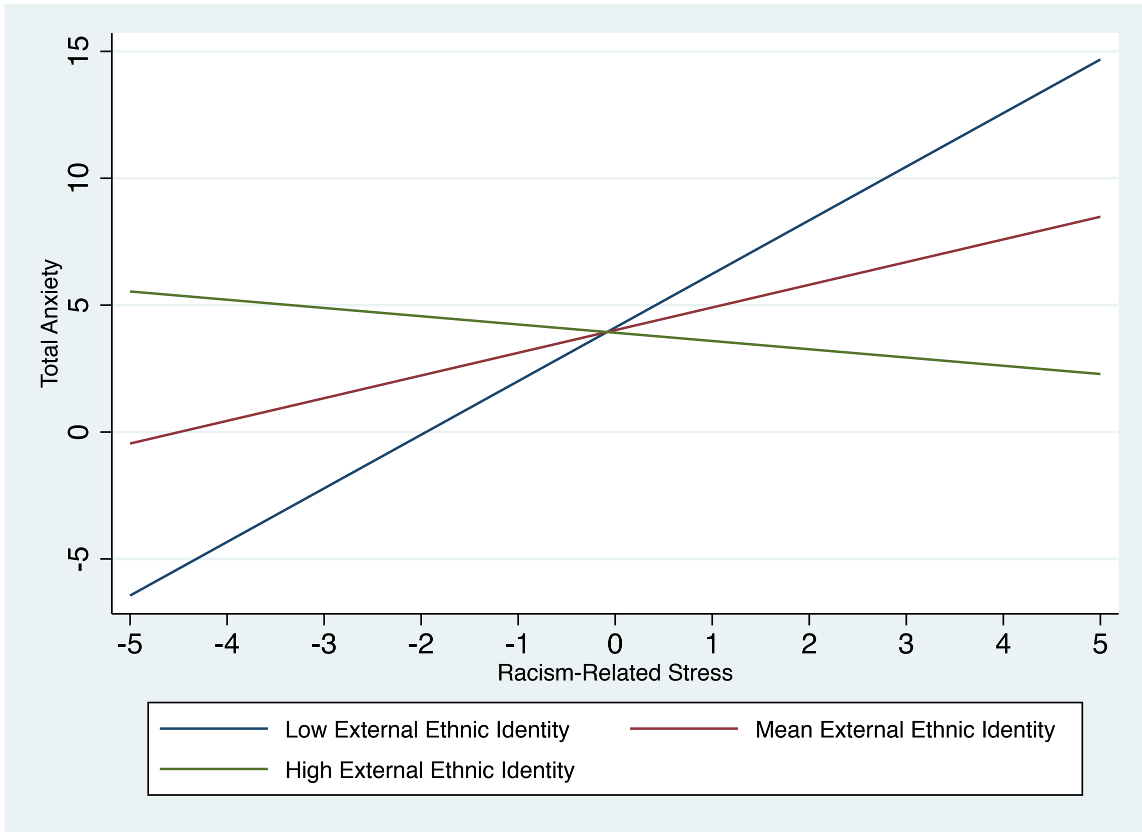

Figure 4. Interaction plot of the buffering effect of external ethnic identity on relationship between racism-related stress and total anxiety.

APPENDIX C

Semi-Structured Interview Script

Welcome! Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. My name is Asha, and I am a doctoral student from Texas A&M University and I am the research coordinator of this study. As the flyers and information packet stated, the purpose of this study is to explore the unique experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination among Asian Indian youth. We will be meeting for about 1 hour today. Although I have some questions I would like to ask you, there are no right or wrong answers. We can think of this more of a conversation where I learn more about your story and your thoughts on experiences you have had. As mentioned in the information packet, your participation is completely voluntary. If at any point you start to feel uncomfortable with any question or topic, or you would like to discontinue your participation, please let me know. If you do not understand any of the questions I ask you, please let me know as well.

As part of your participation in this study, I requested your parents' permission to record your answers with a tape recorder. This is to help me record your exact answers when I go to write up the data. I will delete this recording as soon as I finish typing it up. Once I type up the information from our interview recording, I will send you a copy of the write-up to see if there are any parts you would like to edit or remove. At the end of the interview, you will receive compensation of $20 for your time and effort. Do you have any questions before we begin?

1. For starters, I'd like to ask for some basic information about you. How old are you? What grade are you in currently? Where do you go to school? What gender do you identify with most – male, female, other? Are your parents currently employed (if so, what do they do for their jobs?)? How many years have you lived within the U.S.? Where in the U.S. have you lived? Have you lived anywhere else outside the U.S.? How many years have your parents been living in the U.S.? When did they immigrate and where from?
2. Some people have different ways of defining the meaning of a person's race and ethnicity. How do you define race? How do you define ethnicity?
3. What race do you identify with the most? What ethnicity do you identify with the most? How would you describe your parents' racial and ethnic identities?
4. What does being a (*participant's self-described racial/ethnic identity*) young woman/man mean to you?
5. Please describe the first time you realized that you were (*self-described racial/ethnic identity)*? Are there any other experiences you have had that made you think about your identity? How did you feel?
6. Have you ever had experiences that made you change your mind about what race you identify with most? What about the ethnicity you identify with? Have you ever changed the way you talk or behave, or your likes and dislikes based on these experiences?

7. What do you think other members of (*participant's self-described racial/ethnic group)* think about members of their group? What do you think non-group members think of members from your group?

8. What are your friends like? What are their racial/ethnic backgrounds? (Follow-up: Have you always had friends from this group?). How did you meet them?

1. Scenario #1: I'm going to tell you about some scenarios about things that happened between some random, fake people. They are not real. For the first scenario, a man, let's say his name is Rajeev, is traveling to California for a business trip. Rajeev is a 26- year-old Indian businessman, and is wearing a button-down dress shirt with dress pants. He goes to the airport and is waiting in the security checkpoint line. He suddenly gets pulled aside for a random security "pat-down" although he is not carrying any questionable items. What do you think of Rajeev's situation? What do you think is happening? How do you think he feels in this situation? Has anything similar to this ever happened to you or anyone you know? Please elaborate.

2. Scenario #2: For this second scenario, an older white male named Jonathan is speaking to his employee, Fatima, a young South Asian woman, about customer service and how to relate to potential customers. Jonathan warns Fatima that customers may be apprehensive about approaching her because they may feel intimidated. Fatima asked Jonathan why this may be, and Jonathan responds with, "because they probably feel like you are very…exotic. And that you could at any point sprout a few extra arms on the sides of your body!" What do you think of this situation? What do you think is happening? How do you think Fatima feels in this

situation? Has anything like this ever happened to you or anyone you know? Please elaborate.

3. Scenario #3: For this third scenario, a young Indian man, Praveen, has just finished working out at the gym. He leaves the gym to go to his car, and begins reversing when a large Jeep filled with three or four young white males comes swerving around the corner, honking loudly. Praveen brakes his car abruptly, and looks outside of his window to take a look at the driver of the Jeep. The Jeep circles around and speeds by Praveen, and all four males proceed to show Praveen their middle fingers while simultaneously shouting "F**KING TERRORIST!" before they zoom off. What do you think of this situation? What do you think is going on? How do you think Praveen feels in this situation? Has anything like this ever happened to you or anyone you know? Please elaborate.
4. Scenario #4: In this scenario, Deepika, a 15-year-old Indian student, has just moved from New Jersey to Texas to start the 10th grade. She goes to the school to meet her counselor for the first time to create her schedule of classes. The counselor is a white woman in her 40's, and she introduces herself slowly, enunciating all syllables and words carefully and loudly. When Deepika introduces herself, the counselor stands back in surprise and says "Wow! You speak English really well!" What do you think of this situation? What do you think is happening? How do you think Deepika feels in this situation? Has anything like this ever happened to you or anyone you know? Please elaborate.

5. Scenario #5**:** In this final scenario, a 17-year-old Indian woman named Yasmin goes to see a counseling therapist for treatment of anxiety. The therapist is a 50-year-old white woman who has had several years of experience working in the mental health field. The therapist begins asking Yasmin about her experiences and her background, and asks "You're Hindu, right?" Yasmin corrected her and said "No, I'm Muslim." What do you think of this situation? What do you think is happening? How do you think Yasmin feels in this situation? Has anything like this ever happened to you or anyone you know? Please elaborate.
6. Have you ever had any experiences where another person has said or done something (directly or indirectly) negative towards you based on your race or ethnicity? If so, please describe what happened? (Follow-up: was it verbal/non-verbal, a teacher, friend, stranger, family member?). How did you feel when that happened? What did you do/say in response? How did it impact your views about your own ethnic/racial group, if at all? Are there any other experiences you'd like to share?