Boston College

Lynch School of Education and Human Development

Department of Counseling, Developmental, and Educational Psychology

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SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION, RACIAL IDENTITY, AND ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES: AN EXAMINATION OF ASIAN-BORN RACIAL AND CULTURAL DOMINANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Dissertation

By

LIANZHE ZHENG

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Abstract

Social Dominance Orientation, Racial Identity, and Acculturation Strategies: An Examination of Asian-born Racial and Cultural Dominants in the United States

Lianzhe Zheng, M.Ed.

Dissertation Chair: Janet E. Helms, Ph.D.

Asian-born racially and culturally dominant group members (ABDs) enjoy greater social, political, and economic power and privileges in their Asian home countries, but their migration to a White dominant society in the US changes their social status as presumed members of Asian American racial and ethnic groups. However, it is not known how ABDs' disparate psychological experiences of social dominance across two cultural contexts affect their racial and acculturation-related experiences in the US. Thus, the current study investigated the interactions among social dominance orientation, experiences with anti-Asian racism, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies of ABDs.

Asian-born individuals, self-identified majorities in their Asian home countries (N =192), completed a demographic questionnaire and measures that assessed their levels of social dominance orientation (SDO), racism distress levels, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies. Multivariate multiple regression analyses and simple linear moderation analyses were used to investigate relationships among SDO and racism distress and racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. The findings showed that ABDs' levels of SDO and racism distress were related to ABDs' racial identity schemas. ABDs' levels of SDO were positively related to their use of the Assimilation strategy in the US, but not to other types of acculturation strategies. Moreover, racism distress levels did not moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and their racial identity schemas, or between SDO and acculturation strategies. ABDs'

racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies were related and SDO moderated the relationships between racial identity and acculturation.

In this exploratory study to examine Asian acculturation strategies and racial identity, the obtained results suggest that ABDs' preferences for social hierarchy have implications for their racial and acculturation processes in the US. Limitations and implications of the results for research and clinical practice are discussed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Asian-born immigrants are the fastest-growing immigrant group in the United States. As such it consists of a variety of subgroups defined by their immigrant status. The subgroups consist of 1.1 million lawful permanent residents (37.7%), 7.7 million non-immigrant admissions (20%), and 1.4 million students and exchange visitor admissions (53.2%) (Homeland Security, 2017). Foreign-born Asians include foreign-born and naturalized Asian American citizens, Asian international individuals who hold non-immigrant visas, and undocumented Asian immigrants (US Census Bureau, 2019). All have in common that they appear to be Asian when they enter the US according to common practices for defining racial groups. Asian-born immigrants' previous racial, ethnic, and/or cultural group memberships in their home countries are ignored under the US classifications of race, ethnicity, or nationality.

Asian countries use a variety of approaches to classify racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Some employed terms include race, ethnicity, nationality, ancestry, tribal, Indigenous Peoples, and aboriginal groups (Morning, 2005). These concepts are often used interchangeably (Kowner & Demel, 2013). However, researchers draw distinctions between concepts of race, ethnicity, and culture in the US (e.g., Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). The concept of *race* derives from consensual society criteria in terms of physical characteristics, such as skin color and facial features (Helms & Cook, 1999). *Ethnicity* refers to groups that are characterized in terms of nationality, culture, or language. *Culture* is conceptualized as systems of meaning that are learned and shared by people who are an identifiable segment of a population (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Given that different classification systems are used in Asia and in the US, the

present study uses the definition of race and culture in the US context to capture Asian-born immigrants' cross-cultural experiences.

Contrary to the prevalent assumption in the US that Asian-born immigrants are racially and culturally homogeneous, Asia is the site of a large number of racial, ethnic, and cultural communities (Erni, 2008; Kowner & Demel, 2013). Some Asian countries are ethnically homogenous as roughly more than 90% or more of the population is represented by racial and cultural dominant members. Examples include Cambodia (90%), China (92%), Bangladesh (98.6%), India (91.63%), and Taiwan (98%). On the other hand, racial and cultural subordinate groups in Nepal (38%), Myanmar (30%) and Laos (70%) comprised a significant amount of the total population (Erni, 2008). Even though diverse ethnic minority groups in Laos are substantially larger relative to the total population, the ethnic majority of Laos dominates the country both politically and economically (Erni, 2008).

Most racial and cultural subordinate groups in Asia face systemic political and social exclusion to a certain extent, as well as economic challenges (Chakma & Jenson, 2001; Kowner & Demel, 2013). For example, Asian Indigenous Peoples often experience racism and the pressure of cultural assimilation (Erni, 2008). They also gradually lose ownership over their land and resources due to the government's oppressive policies, which is likely to contribute to their struggle with poverty (Erni, 2008). Yet it is the racially or culturally dominant groups in their countries that benefit from the discrimination toward subordinate groups and set the rules by which it occurs (Dikötter, 2005; Shin, 2013). Thus, Asian-born racial and cultural dominants have lived the experiences of dominating others or benefiting from discrimination in their home countries.

However, no studies have examined how Asian-born immigrants' socialization experiences with their dominant or subordinate racial and cultural group statuses in Asia affect their acculturation in the US. When Asian-born immigrants come into the United States, they are all categorized as racial and cultural minority group members (Yakushko, 2009). In actuality, most Asian-born migrants come from countries of origin in which they belong to dominant racial and cultural groups (Erni, 2008). Asian-born dominants (ABDs) may face unique challenges in their acculturation processes in the US given their need to shift from their previous dominant racial and cultural group identity to a subordinate group identity.

Virtually no literature has studied what happens to racial and cultural dominant members psychologically after they lose privileges. However, acculturation literature on Asian men showed that the patriarchal authority of Asian immigrant men in the working-class families has been challenged since they were no longer the only financial supporter (Espiritu, 1999). Most dominant Asian men, who have not modified a rigid form of patriarchal ideology, tend to have more relational and cultural conflicts and poorer mental health (e.g., Leu, Walton & Takeuchi, 2011; Min, 2001). Similar to Asian immigrant men who struggled with lost male privileges or status in the social hierarchy, ABDs who hold onto their racial and cultural privileges in Asia may also have a hard time with racial and cultural adjustment as subordinates in the US.

Given the growing Asian-born immigrants' population in the US, research focusing on ABDs can help mental health practitioners, policy makers, and researchers gain a more nuanced and accurate understanding of how this subgroup adjusts racially and culturally. The proposed study will investigate ABDs' racial and cultural transition from three theoretical frameworks: (a) social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), (b) racial identity model (Helms, 1995a), and (c) acculturation strategy model (Berry, 1997; 2017).

Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) examines how group-based dominance is created and maintained in the dynamics of institutions and groups, and how it, in turn, affects individuals. Racism and ethnic discrimination are two specific forms of group-based social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, social dominance theory provides the structural framework for examining ABDs' racial and cultural dominance in Asia and subordination in the US.

According to SDT, ABDs have limited experience with racial and cultural oppression since their racial and cultural privileges are normalized in their countries of origin (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). As dominant group members, ABDs internalize racism and ethnic prejudice and discriminate against other racial and cultural subordinates (Levin et al., 2012; Sidanius, Cotterill, Sheehy-Skeffington, Kteily & Carvacho, 2017). However, after ABDs come to the US, they may encounter racial and ethnic discrimination themselves and have to adapt to and survive in a White dominant society (Pratto & Stewart, 2012).

The more aware ABDs become of the negative societal messages about being Asian, which contradicts their previous dominant identity, the more likely they are to psychologically distance themselves from Whites (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). In support of this principle, Levin et al. (2002) and Rabinowitz (1999) showed that People of Color's experiences with racism and their awareness of racial injustice lowered their support for White dominance. ABDs may develop more egalitarian views of racial or cultural group relations if their social dominance perspective is challenged by their experiences with discrimination in the US. That is, their own experiences of discrimination may cause ABDs to value equality for subordinate groups (e.g., themselves).

SDT uses the concept of *social dominance orientation* (SDO) to measure individuals' desire to establish and maintain hierarchically structured intergroup relations (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 2000). SDO is driven by the person's identification with hierarchically organized social groups and related socialization experiences (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Compared to Asian-born subordinates, ABDs may be more likely to endorse higher levels of SDO and thus may endorse racist attitudes and strong desires to be affiliated with Whites in the US (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, ABDs may have more challenges with developing positive views of their own racial and cultural groups in the US. Yet no research has focused on the unique acculturation challenge of ABDs in terms of their loss of racial and cultural dominance. Consequently, this proposed study would use the concept of SDO to examine ABDs' psychological processes in relation to their social dominance.

Racial Identity Model

As ABDs are racially socialized into American society, they may receive racist messages about the inferiority of Asians from their environmental contexts and, consequently, develop certain attitudes and beliefs about race (Neblett, Banks, Cooper & Smalls-Glover, 2013). Given that ABDs are ascribed a minority-status racial identity, they may share similar challenges with People of Color (POC) in response to White dominance in the US.

Previous studies of Asian Americans or non-Asian POC found that frequent and distressing experiences of racism were shown to be related to individuals' decreased physical and mental health (e.g., Alvarez & Kimura, 2001; Liu, 2013). In contrast, POC's increased capacity to value their own racial group improved their mental health conditions. One study showed that Black women's positive views of their racial group and integration of race into their core self-concepts were negatively associated with levels of depression (Settles, Navarrete,

Pagano, Abdou & Sidanius, 2010). Thus, it is important to study ABDs' psychological racial adjustment since it may have important implications for their mental health.

This study used Helms's (1995a) POC racial identity model as a framework to study ABDs' psychological process of managing racial dynamics after they come to the US. Her model proposes that, in response to race-related information, a person uses affective and cognitive strategies in a manner consistent with the person's ascribed racial group membership. The strategies are called *racial identity schemas* (Helms, 1995a). This model focuses on the process of POC disowning the White dominant group's negative and stereotypical views of their racial group, as well as developing a positive definition and attitude towards their own race (Helms, 1995a). Thus, ABDs' racial identity schemas might reflect their attitudes towards White racial dominance and their racial minority status to the extent that they perceive that they have experienced racial discrimination. Different positions with respect to reactions to discrimination (e.g., racial identity) may reflect differences with respect to SDO.

For example, the Conformity schema is the simplest racial schema where ABDs conform to the existing stereotypes and attempt to assimilate into White culture (Helms & Cook, 1999). Coming from a dominant racial background, ABDs with high levels of SDO may align themselves with Whites and believe in the legitimacy of racial hierarchy. However, with more experiences with anti-Asian racism, ABDs' racial dominance perspectives may be challenged and thus they may develop a stronger Dissonance schema. The Dissonance schema is when ABDs begin to acknowledge their lack of fit in the dominant White society and feel confused about their subordinate racial group commitment (Helms & Cook, 1999). Thus, ABDs' internalized White dominance (i.e., high SDO) and their anti-Asian racism experiences may affect their racial identity development.

Compared to Asian-born racial subordinate group members, ABDs may bring high levels of racial dominance from their home country. Virtually no information is available concerning how they adapt to the change in their sociopolitical status. Therefore, it is important to study ABDs' racial identity development given that they may face more challenges with developing more sophisticated and positive racial identity schemas. Yet no research has focused on the ABDs' racial identity development in relation to their social dominance perspectives. Consequently, one goal of the present study was to investigate ABDs' racial identity schemas.

Berry's Acculturation Theory

In the US, race and culture are often treated as synonyms. However, ABDs not only must adjust to racism in the US based on their physical appearance, but also to the issues associated with functioning in a host culture different from their own. *Acculturation* refers to the process in which people change their attitudes, values, and behavior as they transition to a new culture (Berry, 1999). Newcomers may experience acculturative stress if they cannot adopt certain strategies to adjust to the mainstream culture (Berry, 1997; 2017). Research has shown that acculturative stress associated with fitting into White culture was a significant risk factor for Asian Americans' mental health problems (Hwang & Ting, 2008). Considering that ABDs are assigned to a minority cultural identity in the US, they may share similar acculturation challenges with Asian Americans, who often maintain Asian culture (Hwang & Ting, 2008). Thus, it is important to examine ABDs' acculturation experiences given that their mental health conditions may be at risk during their transition.

The current study used Berry's (1997) acculturation model as a framework to study ABDs' psychological process of acculturation. *Acculturation strategy* refers to individuals' attitudes and behaviors in daily intercultural encounters, which in Berry's model are aligned

along two dimensions, how much people maintain their heritage culture and how much they contact and participate in their host culture. Conceptually, ABDs' acculturation strategies are determined by how much they accept or reject White cultural dominance (i.e., a specific form of social dominance) and how much they identify with their Asian culture and maintain their cultural practices.

For example, perhaps ABDs with high levels of SDO only support a single cultural hierarchy in their Asian homeland. Once they come to the US, they may start with high levels of Assimilation (i.e., rejection of Asian culture and participation only in White American culture), hoping that they can fit in the White dominant society. However, as ABDs experience more racism and ethnic discrimination, which might result in their lowered levels of SDO, they may turn to the Separation strategy (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). ABDs with high levels of Separation might orient towards their own Asian group and refuse to identify with or participate in White culture (Berry & Hou, 2016).

Compared to Asian-born subordinates and Asian Americans, ABDs' acculturation processes potentially involve stronger preferences for White dominant culture since they were previously socialized to support dominant cultural practices (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). However, no studies have investigated ABDs' unique acculturation challenges from the perspective of social dominance.

The Current Study

Despite literature suggesting the interconnectedness of SDO, racial identity development, and acculturation strategies, ABDs' previous social dominance perspectives and unique experiences with racial and acculturation adjustment have been overlooked. Moreover, seemingly no research has examined the interconnectedness of all three sets of constructs,

although separately they seem to have unique relevance for understanding the racial-cultural adjustment of ABDs in the US. Knowing how SDO may predict racial identity development and acculturation strategies would clarify ABDs' psychological processes of transitioning from dominant members to subordinate members. Thus, this exploratory study aimed to examine the interactions among social dominance orientation, racial identity, and acculturation strategies of ABDs. The results of this study may deepen our understanding of ABDs' unique challenges in acculturating into a White dominant society. Moreover, it may provide some insights about racial and cultural dominant members in terms of their psychological adjustment after they lose racial and cultural privileges.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Asian-born racial and cultural dominants (ABDs) have different socialization experiences with respect to their racial and cultural group statuses in Asia and the US. Although the dominant racial and cultural dynamics of ABDs have not been explicitly explored, research about Asian racial and cultural subordinates' experiences with oppression shows that ABDs have greater social, political, and economic power in their countries of origin (Chakma & Jenson, 2001; Erni, 2008; Miller, 2001). However, as ABDs acculturate into a White dominant society, they are forced to shift their previous dominant racial and ethnic cultural group statuses to subordinate group statuses (Feagin, 2001; Helms & Cook, 1999). Nevertheless, research has not discussed how ABDs' disparate psychological experiences of social dominance across two cultural contexts affects their race and acculturation-related experiences in the US.

Three conceptual models, social dominance theory (Sidanius, Cotterill, Sheehy-Skeffington, Kteily & Carvacho, 2017), the People of Color racial identity model (Helms, 1995a), and the acculturation model (Berry, 1997, 2017), may be helpful in exploring various group-status related individual-differences among ABDs. Therefore, the reviewed literature focuses on empirical evidence regarding the relationships among social dominance orientation (i.e., individuals' preferences for maintaining social hierarchy), racial identity schemas (i.e., cognitive-affective schemas related to environmental racial stimuli), and acculturation strategies (i.e. individuals' attitudes and behaviors about engaging in daily intercultural environments). Much of the existing literature in these areas has not focused on ABDs directly. Therefore, when necessary, I will draw from the literature on Asian Americans, migrant acculturation, and White dominance.

ABDs' Racial and Cultural Dominance in Asia

It is impossible to explore the sociopolitical racial and cultural dynamics of ABDs who come to the US without addressing the manner in which dominant groups oppress subordinate groups in their countries of origin, given that racial-cultural dynamics in the US are governed by the dominant racial group. Asian racial and cultural subordinate groups, including Indigenous Peoples, often struggle with racism and cultural intolerance (Erni, 2008). They have distinct lifestyles, languages, customs, and community-centric social and political institutions. However, the culturally dominant group and local government have not fully recognized subordinates' rights of self-identification and self-determination.

The subordinate racial and cultural groups often face the pressure to assimilate into the dominant culture. Many people experience a sense of loss and shame due to discrimination that targets their cultural heritage (Erni, 2008). To address the prevalent issues of racism, the United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination has been urging Asian governments to acknowledge racial and cultural oppression, but this is unlikely to happen because ABDs benefit from the oppression (Chakma & Jenson, 2001).

Asian racial and cultural subordinate groups sometimes are deprived of equal political rights (Miller, 2001). For example, since the enactment of the Citizenship/Nationality Act in 1965, an estimated 50% of the Hill tribe members in Thailand have not been allowed to apply for citizenship, simply because they do not have birth registers or other means of proof of their birth origins (Erni, 2008; Stavenhagen, 2008). The lack of access to citizenship has made these individuals remain stateless in their own countries. They are vulnerable to many abuses, such as denied freedom of movement, as well as access to health care and education (Stavenhagen, 2008).

Asian-born racial cultural subordinates are more likely than ABDs to live in poverty. For example, India's tribal people are among the poorest of the country (Chakma & Jenson, 2001). Most (52.17%) of these tribal people live below the poverty line, whereas the combined poverty level for the other groups is 31.29% (Erni, 2008). One major contributing factor is their loss of lands and the natural resources that they depend on for their livelihoods. Asian governments often do not recognize racial and cultural subordinates' rights to live on lands where they are born. The dominant groups dispossess them and exploit their land through development projects, plantation leases, logging concessions, and the establishment of protected areas, which is a form of legal segregation (Erni, 2008; Stavenhagen, 2008).

Based on research on subordinate racial and cultural groups' experiences in Asia, it is reasonable to speculate that ABDs grow up with racial and cultural privileges and benefit from systems of oppression. Due to their socialization experiences as dominant group members, ABDs may believe in the legitimacy of racial hierarchy and develop preferences for the racially dominant group in their immediate context (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For example, after the western concept of race became popular in East Asian regions, many Koreans were eager to position themselves closer to Whites and held negative attitudes toward Blacks or relatively poor Eastern Asians. One survey of Korean college students regarding their views of foreigners of different races showed that they felt inferior to Whites and felt superior to Blacks and Southeast Asians (Shin, 2013). Thus, ABDs may discriminate against racial and cultural subordinates in their Asian homelands and show a preference for Whites prior to coming to the US, a preference which may be weakened or strengthened depending on how they perceive that they are treated in the US.

ABDs' Racial and Cultural Subordination in the US

ABDs enter a White-dominated social structure in which their subordinate status is related to the US's long history of anti-Asian racial and cultural racism. The large immigration wave of Asians in the US did not start until the restrictive immigration quotas were lifted in 1965 (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). Yet before the 1965 Immigration Act, Asian Americans experienced exhaustive discrimination, such as the denial of citizenship, less payment in a dual-wage system, exclusion and segregation in labor and house markets, and confinement in concentration camps (Kim, 2012; Kitano,1996; Takaki, 1998). Non-Asians often perceive Asian and Asian Americans in the US as foreigners and regard them as educational, cultural, and economic threats (Takaki, 1998; Tuan, 1998). Currently, Asian communities still experience anti-Asian violence and racially motivated assault and harassment (Alvarez, Juang & Liang, 2006).

Even so Asian-born migrants, especially if they are dominants in their own countries, may attempt to acculturate into the dominant White group either to escape discrimination or because they believe it is their birthright. Yet they cannot achieve full membership in the White racial group because they have physical characteristics similar to Asian Americans, a subordinate group (Helms & Cook, 1999; Schwartz et al., 2010). Regardless of ABDs' previous racial and cultural identification, the dominant White group uses its race and culture-related characteristics, such as accent and physical appearance, as signals of otherness (Berry, 2017). Thus, ABDs, as part of the Asian communities, likely experience similar cultural discrimination and the systemic racism that is targeted at other Asian communities.

In summary, ABDs have disparate psychological experiences of social dominance across two cultural contexts. However, virtually no research has examined the psychological effects of moving from a dominant racial-cultural status to a subordinate status.

Social Dominance Theory

Human societies tend to organize as group-based social hierarchies where one group enjoys greater social resources and power than other groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Given that social dominance is a cross-cultural phenomenon (Pratto et al., 2000) and virtually no literature focuses on adjustment of ABDs, I use studies of social dominance in Western contexts to provide a framework to understand ABDs' psychological processes related to their racially and culturally dominant and subordinate group memberships across two cultural contexts.

Social dominance theory (SDT) postulates about how both dominant and subordinate groups contribute to maintaining group-based social dominance. According to SDT, dominant group members maintain social dominance by discriminating against subordinates through hierarchy-enhancing institutions and hierarchy maintaining attitudes and behaviors (Sidanius et al., 2017). ABDs' psychological and cultural experiences are normalized in their home countries while Asian subordinates' experiences are stereotyped and denigrated (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Consequently, ABDs are likely to be oblivious to their privileges and are not aware of the impact of systemic oppression on subordinates or their own roles in supporting oppression (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Therefore, ABDs may be more likely to promote anti-egalitarian racial and cultural ideologies and support social policies that benefit themselves and powerful ingroup members in Asian contexts, but it is not clear what happens to their social dominance perspectives in other cultural contexts.

By contrast, subordinate group members are usually aware that their social identities are problematic but do not always resist oppressive social forces; that is, they may recognize that the social-dominance structure harms them, but endorse it nevertheless (Sidanius et al., 2017). The dynamics of oppression are expressed through psychological mechanisms, such as stereotypes

and discrimination, which produces the cognitive strain of low status that contributes to subordinates' submission to oppression (Sidanius et al., 2017). Given that they encounter the same stereotypes and discrimination as Asian Americans when they enter the US, ABDs are faced with the challenge of acculturating into a White dominant society. Consequently, they might shift their previous dominant racial and cultural group status to a subordinate racial or cultural group status (Feagin, 2001; Helms & Cook, 1999). Alternatively, they might attempt to maintain their social dominance status by adopting White racial and/or behavioral norms. Either strategy may affect their racial and/or cultural adjustment in a society in which Asians are not dominant (Pratto & Steward, 2012).

SDO Research

In SDT, the construct of *social dominance orientation* (SDO) refers to a general orientation towards and desires for dominant-subordinate relationships among social groups (Ho et al., 2015). The most common methods for assessing SDO are rating scales by which respondents indicate the degree to which they support hierarchical group structures (Ho et al., 2015). SDT assumes that the origins of differences in SDO come from social context, group status, and socialization experiences (Pratto & Sidanius, 2006). Thus, ABDs' levels of SDO may reflect their socialization experiences associated with their racial and cultural group statuses across two cultural contexts. Two types of SDO studies seem relevant to the issue of ABDs' racial and cultural adjustment, studies of acculturation and studies of racism.

Acculturation Studies

Only two studies examined the effects of SDO on acculturation attitudes with samples of dominant group members (Levin et al., 2012; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2010). Levin et al. (2012) studied White American college students and Vezzali and Giovannini (2010) studied presumably

White Italian college students. Their participants' dominant statuses in their home culture may parallel the status of ABDs in their countries of origin.

Vezzali and Giovannini (2010) investigated the effects of SDO on acculturation orientations of Italian undergraduate college students who were born and raised in Italy (as were their parents). Participants ($N = 100$) filled out questionnaires that assessed their levels of SDO and their host acculturation orientations towards Moroccan and Chinese immigrants. Results showed that participants' levels of SDO were associated with stronger preferences for assimilation (i.e., immigrants rejected their own cultural practices and immersed themselves in the host culture) and decreased preferences for integration (i.e., immigrants maintained their original cultures and participated in the host culture). Thus, Vezzali and Giovannini's study showed that dominant group members' levels of SDO were associated with their acculturation orientation towards immigrants in their home country. Depending on ABDs' levels of SDO, ABDs may endorse preferences for different acculturation ideologies towards immigrants in Asian contexts.

Levin et al. (2012) investigated the relationship between SDO and personal support for assimilation ideology among White American college students ($N = 299$). Participants completed a survey that included a SDO scale and measures of three acculturation ideologies. The results showed that White students' levels of SDO were positively related to personal support for assimilation ideology (i.e., adopting majority/White cultural characteristics as the basis of American identity) while being negatively related to multiculturalism (i.e., the promotion of the maintenance of each ethnic group's cultural heritage) and colorblindness ideology (i.e., the proposition of abandoning all group differences and treating all individuals equally) (Levin et al., 2012).

Thus, generalizing from their findings, ABDs who have high levels of SDO may be more likely to adopt assimilation ideology, especially if they align themselves with White Americans in the US. Despite findings suggesting that dominants' levels of SDO were related to their acculturation ideologies, it remains ambiguous as to how ABDs' experiences as cultural subordinates in the US affect the relationship between SDO and their acculturation processes.

Racism Studies

Racism studies found that high levels of SDO were consistently related to racist attitudes and preferences for Whites, regardless of individuals' racial or ethnic group memberships (e.g., Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For example, Sidanius and Pratto (1992) investigated the relationships between SDO and various racism scales with U.S. samples (N = 803). With an American college student sample (n = 97), whose racial and ethnic background was not described, the researchers found that the participants' levels of SDO significantly and positively correlated with their scores on McConahay's (1986) seven-item Modern Racism scale and Katz and Hass's (1988) Anti-Blackness scale. Both were measures of racist attitudes towards Blacks.

With an American adult sample of unspecific race (n = 706), Sidanius and Pratto (1992) found that participants' levels of SDO significantly and positively correlated with their scores on Sears's Symbolic Racism Scale (Sears, 1988; Sears & Henry, 2003). Symbolic Racism scale was a measure of symbolic racism targeting Blacks as an abstract collectivity rather than specific Black individuals. Thus, it is possible that ABDs' levels of SDO might be positively related to their racist attitudes.

Similarly, Pratto and Stewart (2012) investigated the relationships between SDO and the difference between their ingroup and outgroup closeness ratings (i.e., differential group

affiliation) with a sample of American college students (N = 1124). The sample consisted of Blacks (n = 211), Latinx (n = 308), and Whites (n = 605). Participants filled out a questionnaire that assessed their levels of SDO, ingroup affiliation (i.e., how strongly participants identified with other members of their racial groups), and outgroup affiliation (i.e., how closely participants felt close to members from other racial groups). Differential group affiliation was calculated by subtracting participants' rated affiliation with an outgroup from their rated ingroup affiliation, such that higher differences reflected stronger ingroup affiliation.

Pratto and Stewart's (2012) results showed that SDO levels of Whites were positively related to differential group affiliation, which means White students, who were high in SDO, identified more with Whites than other groups. Levels of SDO of Blacks and Latinx were negatively related to differential ingroup affiliation, which means racial minority students who were high in SDO identified with White rather than their own groups. Thus, being higher SDO was more associated with affiliation with the dominant rather than subordinated groups, regardless of individuals' racial-group memberships. Consequently, ABDs who have higher levels of SDO may be associated with Whites more than other members of Asian groups in the US.

However, Sidanius and Pratto (1992) and Pratto and Stewart (2012) assessed race as a demographic variable and obfuscated important within-group differences regarding individual experiences with race. Two studies showed that People of Color who had high levels of SDO did not always favor Whites, particularly if they perceived the racial hierarchy to be unjust or they had experienced discrimination (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999).

Levin et al. (2002) studied how SDO and perceived legitimacy of the system affected individuals' attitudes towards social policy that favored Whites. The college student sample (N =

271) consisted of non-Jewish Whites (*n* =147) and Latinx (*n* = 124). The authors used the concept of ethnicity to describe racial groups. The perceived legitimacy of racial hierarchy was measured by four items (e.g., "differences in status between ethnic groups are fair"). Individuals' attitudes towards social policy were measured by rating how much they supported policies that favored Whites over racial minority members.

Levin et al.'s (2002) results showed that Whites' levels of SDO were positively related to favoritism toward Whites at both high and low levels of perceived legitimacy, but Latinx's levels of SDO were not related to White favoritism when they perceived racial hierarchy to be illegitimate. It is possible that ABDs who are aware of racial injustice or have experienced it in the US may not favor Whites.

Rabinowitz (1999) studied how SDO and perceived systemic justice affected college students' attitudes towards hierarchy-attenuating policies. Their sample (*N* = 398) consisted of non-Jewish White (*n* =152), Latinx/Chicano (*n* =121), Black (*n* =120), and Native Americans (*n* = 5). Perceived justice was measured by two items, "I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity" and "Other members of my ethnic group experience discrimination." The results showed that White students, who had high levels of SDO, tended to oppose hierarchy-attenuating policies, regardless of their experiences with racial justice. However, the levels of SDO of Blacks, Latinx, and Native Americans, who felt their groups faced great systemic injustice, were not significantly related to their levels of opposition to hierarchy-reducing policies. It is possible that ABDs, who share similar experiences of racism with POC in the US, may not favor policies that maintain White dominance.

In general, racism studies showed that high levels of SDO were associated with racist views and favoritism toward Whites (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

However, individuals' experiences with racial discrimination or their awareness of racial injustice affected the relationship between SDO and racist attitudes (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999).

Summary

Social dominance theory might presume that ABDs internalize racial and cultural hierarchy and are oblivious to their privileges given their dominant group memberships in Asia (Sidanius & Pratto, 1990). It is not clear what happens to their social dominance perspectives as they acculturate into a society where they are seen as subordinates. SDO studies suggest that high levels of SDO predicted personal support for assimilation and racist attitudes (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Moreover, research showed that POC's experiences with racism and perceptions of legitimacy of racial hierarchy affected their support for White dominance (e.g., Levin et al., 2002). Considering that ABDs may have both socialization experiences with dominance and subordination, it is important to investigate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO, their experiences with discrimination, and their racial and cultural adjustment.

Racial Identity and Social Dominance Orientation

ABDs come from dominant racial and ethnic-groups in their home environments, which function analogously to the White racially dominant group in the US. Becoming racialized as minority members in the US poses a psychological challenge since they may encounter racism against Asian immigrants or Asian Americans (Lee, Park, & Wong, 2017; Wei, Ku, Russel, Mallinckrodt & Liao, 2008). ABDs may experience anti-Asian racism that targets their less English proficiency, stronger affiliation with their national groups, and less acculturated status (Sodowsky & Plake, 1992; Yeo, Mendenhall, Harwood & Huntt, 2019).

ABDs' experiences with racial discrimination may challenge their internalized racism (Federico, 1999; Rabinowitz, 1999). Thus, it is possible that ABDs' racial attitudes and SDO are both related to their experiences and perceptions of racism. Specifically, Helms's People of Color (POC) racial identity model intends to explain individuals' "intrapsychic and interpersonal reactions towards societal racism." (Helms & Cook, 1999, p.81). This model may help us understand how ABDs' attitudes toward White racial dominance, which is a specific form of SDO, may predict their racial adjustment process (Henze, 2007).

People of Color Racial Identity Model

Helms's POC model (Helms, 1995a) describes the process by which racial minority members overcome the version of internalized racism that typifies their group and achieve a self-affirming and realistic collective group identity. In Helms's model, racial identity schemas are individuals' varied cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions, which are associated with various information processing strategies for reacting to environmental racial stimuli (i.e., schemas; Helms, 1995a). The schemas evolve from Conformity, which is identification with the dominant racial group (i.e., Whites) and internalized racism, to a rejection of internalized racism and acceptance of one's own self as a racial being.

The POC racial identity schemas are Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Integrative Awareness (Helms, 1995a). Helms (1995a) postulates that the five racial identity schemas are not exclusive of each other and often are permeable depending on how individuals perceive their immediate contexts. ABDs may use each schema to some extent, but they may rely heavily on the strongest or preferred schema for interpreting racial events in their immediate environment.

Conformity. The Conformity schema is the simplest racial schema whereby ABDs conform to the existing stereotypes and attempt to assimilate into White culture (Helms, 1995a; Helms & Cook, 1999). Coming from racial dominant groups in Asia, ABDs who have high levels of SDO have limited understanding of racial oppression and are oblivious to the racial dynamics (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Racist attitudes that favor Whites over POCs may be more psychologically compatible with ABDs' existing dominant racial schemas (Sidanius et al., 2017). In addition, Asians in the US have been promoted by Whites as being "near Whites" when it is convenient and for being the model minority (Espiritu, 1996). ABDs may feel that they benefit the most by accepting White standards, which may not differ much from the standards of their countries of origin. Consequently, ABDs who highly believe in the legitimacy of racial hierarchy may align themselves with Whites (Helms & Cook, 1999). Even if ABDs with high levels of SDO and Conformity are forced to evaluate racial information, they may distort the information nonconsciously or minimize it to favor Whites (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Dissonance. The Dissonance schema refers to POC's ambivalent feelings and confusion about their own socio-racial group commitment (Helms, 1995a). As ABDs are acculturated into the White dominant society as subordinates, they may experience racism or observe other Asian people in their immediate context experiencing racism, which may contradict their previous high racial dominance orientation (Alvarez, Juang & Liang, 2006). Their levels of SDO may decrease as a result. Consequently, ABDs may begin to acknowledge their lack of fit in the White dominant world and develop a strong Dissonance schema (Rabinowitz, 1999). The feeling of ambivalence and disorientation may be caused by ABDs' lack of familiarity with their newly assigned subordinate racial status and the lack of the access to the positive non-stereotypic information about Asian groups (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Immersion-Emersion. This schema refers to POC's idealization of their own group and denigration of Whites (Helms, 1995a). ABDs who become critically aware of their subordinate group status and no longer favor White dominance (i.e., racism), reflected by their low levels of SDO, turn to their own Asian group to develop a positive group definition. ABDs who have strong Immersion-Emersion schema tend to favor their ingroup members over Whites as long as their ingroup members conform to externally defined group-appropriate behaviors (Helms & Cook, 1999). By acting to promote their own group and engaging in dichotomous thinking about racial issues, they alleviate the anxiety associated with being racially oppressed (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Internalization-Integrative Awareness. The last two racial schemas, Internalization and Integrative Awareness, are the most racially sophisticated schemas. Internalization refers to POC's positive commitment to their racial group and objective assessment and responses towards Whites (Helms, 1995a). ABDs potentially develop internally defined positive racial attributes and have the capacity to interact objectively with Whites. Integrative Awareness refers to POC's empathy and collaboration with members of other oppressed groups (Helms, 1995a). When Integrative Awareness is dominant, ABDs develop personally meaningful understanding of their intersecting identities and can collaborate with other groups to promote diversity and social justice (Helms & Cook, 1999; Liu, 2013). As ABDs become aware of racism and promote racial justice, they may develop non-hierarchical ways of relating to members from oppressed social groups and maintain a positive sense of racial self when interacting with Whites. Thus, ABDs who have low levels of SDO may develop strong Internalization and Integrative Awareness schemas.

Compared to Asian-born subordinates, ABDs may have greater challenges with giving up their hope of benefiting from White dominance and do not have skills to cope with detrimental effects of racism. From a developmental perspective, ABDs may begin with the internalized Asian and White racial hierarchy (i.e., high levels of SDO) across two cultures and gradually develop non-hierarchical thinking so that they can resist White racism (i.e., low SDO). Thus, ABDs' levels of SDO may reflect their racial identity schemas. More specifically, ABDs who have high levels of SDO may use the simplest racial schema (i.e., Conformity and Dissonance) to interpret racial events. ABDs who have low levels of SDO may develop more sophisticated schemas (i.e., Immersion-Emersion and Internalization-Integrative Awareness) to resist White dominance (Helms, 1995a).

Empirical Studies of Racial Identity and Racism with Asian Samples

Some studies have examined racial identity development using samples of Asian Americans, but no studies have investigated differences between ABDs and other Asian-born subordinate members in terms of their SDO and racial adjustment. Given that ABDs may take on a minority-status racial identity in the US, Asian racial identity research is reviewed to permit the analysis and conceptualization of potential relationships among ABDs' levels of SDO, their perceptions and experiences of racism, and their racial identity schemas.

For example, Alvarez and Helms (2001) examined Asian American university students' racial identity schemas and their awareness of racism (N =188). 70% of participants were born in the US, whereas 30% were foreign-born. Participants' racial identity was measured by Helms's POC Racial Identity Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b). Participants' awareness of White racism in interpersonal and social interactions (i.e., interpersonal racism) and racism in the political and legal system (i.e., institutional racism) were measured by the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell

& Terrell, 1981). Results showed that participants' awareness of interpersonal racism was negatively related to Dissonance and Internalization scores but was positively related to Immersion scores. In addition, participants' awareness of institutional racism was only positively related to their Immersion scores.

These results suggest that ABDs' awareness of racism may be differently related to their racial identity schemas. Specifically, ABDs' lack of awareness of interpersonal racism may be related to Dissonance (i.e., racial confusion) and Internalization (i.e., positive commitment to Asian groups). ABDs who have high levels of SDO may be oblivious to interpersonal racism in the US and thus feel confused about their assigned subordinate racial group memberships (i.e., Dissonance). In addition, ABDs' heightened awareness of racism across interpersonal and institutional levels may be related to Immersion. Thus, ABDs who have low levels of SDO may develop a systemic lens on the detrimental impact of racism and thus strongly oppose to White dominance (i.e., Immersion). Interestingly, it was not clear why lack of awareness of racism was associated with Internalization scores given that POC who have high levels of Internalization should understand the mechanisms of racism.

Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude and Dodd (2006) examined the relationships among Asian racial identity schemas and experiences of racism with a sample of Asian American adults (N = 344). 36.4% of the sample were Asian-born immigrants. Participants' racial identity was measured by Helms's POC Racial Identity Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b). Participants' frequency and levels of distress related to racism experiences were measured by the Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (AARRSI; Liang, Li & Kim, 2004). The results showed that participants' low levels of racism experiences were related to high Conformity scores; participants' high levels of experiences with racism were associated with high Dissonance and Immersion scores.

Thus, their results suggest that ABDs' lack of experiences with racism, which might help them maintain their dominant attitudes on race issues (i.e., high SDO), may be related to their attempts at assimilating into White racist culture (i.e., Conformity). Once ABDs have experiences with racism, which contradict their previous racially dominant attitudes and lower their level of SDO, they may experience confusion about race issues (i.e., Dissonance) and thus seek support from other Asian group members to resist White dominance (i.e., Immersion).

Liu's study (2013) examined the relationships between POC racial identity schemas and individuals' experiences with racism with a sample of U.S. born Asian American adults (N = 203). Participants' racial identity was measured by Helms's POC Racial Identity Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b). Participants' experiences with racism were measured by the Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (AARRSI; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). Her results showed that the frequency and levels of distress from racism experiences were related to scores of Conformity (i.e., identification with Whiteness), Dissonance (i.e., confusion about race), and Immersion (in-group identification). Even though ABDs are different from US-born Asian Americans in that they are socialized as racial dominants, whereas US-born Asians are socialized to racial subordinates, they share similar struggles with internalized White dominance in the US. Thus, results of the present study could be used to explore the relationship between ABDs' experiences of racism and their racial identity schemas.

Summary. Previous studies of how Asian Americans' awareness and experiences of racism were related to their racial identity schemas suggest that ABDs' experiences of racism may predict their racial identity development. However, no study has focused on ABDs or explicitly examined how ABDs' levels of SDO affect their psychological adjustment as racial subordinate members in a new cultural context. We do not know how ABDs' SDO, experiences

with racism, and racial identity schemas might be interrelated. Yet such relationships may have significant implications for their development of positive racial identity when coping with racism in the US.

Acculturation and Social Dominance Orientation

ABDs may develop highly variable acculturation attitudes and behaviors in different intergroup contexts as they acculturate into the White dominant society (Schwartz et al., 2010). Presumably, experiencing racism and ethnic discrimination could make ABDs feel rejected and unwanted by the White dominant culture, but not experiencing discrimination might allow them to maintain the social dominance orientation of their country of origin (Berry et al., 2006). Overall, ABDs' acculturation processes may be affected by their cultural identities associated with their own ethnic group in contrast to the White dominant group (Berry & Hou, 2016; Woo, Maglalang, Ko, Park, Choi & Takeuchi, 2020).

It is possible that ABDs' acculturation experiences and SDO are related to a psychological process that reflects their preferences for Asian and/or White cultural identities. Specifically, Berry's (1997, 2017) acculturation theory intends to explain how individuals acculturate based on their preferences for maintaining the heritage culture and participating in the host culture.

Berry's Acculturation Theory

Berry's (1997, 2017) acculturation theory proposed two dimensions that determine one's acculturation status: (a) the extent to which people maintain their heritage culture and (b) the extent to which people contact and participate in the host culture. These two dimensions are independent of each other, which means that how individuals maintain heritage cultural practices does not necessarily affect how much they participate in the host culture (Berry, 1997).

In Berry's model, *acculturation strategy* refers to individuals' attitudes and behaviors regarding these two dimensions in daily intercultural encounters. When these two dimensions intersect, four acculturation strategies are generated, including Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization (Berry, 1997, 2017). Although recent theory does not consider the strategies as mutually exclusive, it is convenient to describe them separately (Ngo, 2008; Yu. 2015).

Assimilation. From the perspective of subordinate cultural groups, this strategy refers to ABDs' rejection of their own cultural practices and exclusive identification with the dominant White culture (Berry, 1997; Guimond, Sablonnière & Nugier, 2014). ABDs who have high levels of SDO may prefer the Assimilation strategy. Since they support a single cultural hierarchy back home, ABDs may start by only identifying with the White cultural group and intending to ignore differences between White and Asian groups (Guimond, Sablonnière & Nugier, 2014). It is possible that ABDs with adopting the Assimilation strategy may have not experienced racial or ethnic discrimination, or they just may not have developed awareness to process or acknowledge cultural oppression (Choi, Park, Lee, Yasui & Kim, 2018; Hwang & Ting, 2008).

Integration. This strategy refers to individuals' maintenance of their original culture in concert with high levels of participation in the host culture (Berry, 1997). ABDs with high levels of Integration may highly identify with Asian and White cultures and find various ways to engage in both cultures. This bicultural way of living may enable ABDs to function flexibly and maintain social connections with Asians and Whites (Berry et al., 2006). Thus, ABDs may be less likely to experience ethnic conflicts and may have low levels of psychological distress during acculturation, if they are able to identify with Whites (Hwang & Ting, 2008).

ABDs with high levels of SDO may align themselves with dominant cultures in their Asian homeland and the US, thus resulting in their high levels of Integration. Since Asian immigrants with high Integration may tend to experience low levels of race and ethnic discrimination (Choi et al, 2018), it is possible ABDs previously internalized cultural dominant ideology has not been challenged yet. Different from ABDs adopting primarily an Assimilation strategy, ABDs with high Integration have relative power to maintain their cultural practices when their immediate context is open and inclusive in terms of cultural diversity (Berry, 2017).

Separation. This strategy refers to high levels of maintenance of heritage cultural practices and avoidance of the host culture (Berry, 1997). ABDs with high levels of Separation may orient towards their own ethnic group and refuse to identify with or participate in the dominant White culture (Berry & Hou, 2016). It is not clear how ABDs' levels of SDO would be related to their preference for the Separation strategy. Immigrants with high levels of Separation report higher levels of racial and ethnic discrimination (Berry et al., 2006). Discrimination and negative stereotyping of Asian ethnic groups may encourage ABDs to reject White cultural dominance and develop a more egalitarian view on various cultures (Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010). ABDs who have low levels of SDO may seek support from their Asian ethnic community to cope with the rejection from White culture, as well as to develop a positive cultural identity (Berry & Hou, 2016; Woo et al., 2020). However, ABDs who reside in ethnic enclaves where the vast majority of residents are from the same ethnic group could live their lives without interacting with the White dominant society (Schwartz et al., 2010). In this case, ABDs' high levels of SDO associated with their dominant cultural group status might not be challenged, if the enclave adheres to the rules of Asian hierarchy.

Marginalization. This strategy refers to individuals' little interest in either maintaining cultural heritage or interacting with the host culture. People often are forced to adopt such an option because of the reasons of cultural loss, exclusion, and discrimination (Berry, 1997). ABDs who have high levels of Marginalization would accept neither their original cultural identity nor their White cultural identity (Pointkowski, Florack, Hoelker & Obdrzálek, 2000). Consequently, they may experience heightened confusion and a lack of a sense of belonging, as well as suffering from poor mental health (Berry & Hou, 2016).

According to Berry and Hou (2016), immigrants who primarily use the Marginalization strategy are overrepresented by low income individuals and families and dependent immigrants who cannot easily enter the labor market. They also tend to report higher levels of discrimination. ABDs who have experiences with multiple stressors may develop critical awareness of oppression, which may lower their levels of SDO. Thus, ABDs' low levels of SDO may be associated with high levels of Marginalization.

Summary. These four acculturation strategies are not mutually exclusive categories. Individuals and groups may hold varying attitudes towards these four ways of acculturation simultaneously (Ngo, 2008). ABDs' levels of SDO may reflect a combination of acculturation strategies since social dominance theory and Berry's theory both emphasizes individuals' preferred cultural identification(s) and their experiences with discrimination.

Empirical Studies of Acculturation Strategies in Intergroup Contexts

No study has focused on ABDs' acculturation process. However, given that ABDs may take on a minority ethnic or cultural identity in the US, studies that have investigated acculturation strategies of immigrants and Asian Americans are reviewed to permit analysis and

conceptualization of ABDs' acculturation strategies (Berry et al., 2006; Choi et al., 2018; Xing, Popp & Price, 2020).

If ABDs' levels of SDO relate to their acculturation processes, there may be relationships between their preferred cultural identities, which potentially reflect whether they support White cultural dominance and their acculturation strategies. Some studies have suggested that Asians or immigrants' acculturation strategies were related to their Asian and White cultural identities (e.g., Berry et al., 2016; Choi et al., 2018). For example, Xing, Popp and Price (2020) investigated the relationship between acculturation strategy and cultural identity with a sample of Chinese university students in the US (N = 100). Most students (n =95) were foreign-born. Participants' acculturation strategies were measured by Berry's acculturation strategy scale (Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 2001). Participants' Chinese identity and American identity (i.e., the dominant White cultural identity) were assessed using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). The results showed that levels of White cultural identity were positively related to Assimilation and Integration scores and were negatively related to Separation scores.

Thus, the results suggested that ABDs cultural identity might affect their acculturation strategy. Specifically, ABDs with high levels of White cultural identity may support White cultural dominance (i.e., high SDO). They might prefer Assimilation and Integration strategies. ABDs with low levels of White identity (i.e., low SDO) may immerse themselves in their own Asian culture (i.e., Separation strategy).

Previous studies that examined the extent to which racial or ethnic discrimination was related to acculturation strategy are also directly relevant to the present study (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Choi et al., 2018). If ABDs' levels of SDO relate to their acculturation experiences, there

may be a relationship between their experiences with racism and their preferences for not participating in White culture (i.e., Separation and Marginalization). For example, Berry et al. (2006) investigated the relationships among acculturation attitudes, cultural identities, and perceived ethnic discrimination. Participants' acculturation attitudes were measured by Berry's acculturation strategy scale. Their cultural identities were measured by ethnic and national affirmation (e.g., sense of belonging and feelings associated with being a group member). Their experiences with ethnic discrimination were measured by perceived frequency of being treated unfairly because of one's ethnicity (Berry et al., 2006). This study used a sample of immigrant youths (N = 5,366). 34.7% of the participants were foreign-born and they arrived in their host countries after the age of six. Researchers did not specify race and ethnicity of recruited immigrant youths.

Berry et al. (2006) derived four types of acculturation profiles for immigrant youths based on a cluster analysis of participants' acculturation strategies and their cultural identity. These acculturation profiles were Integration (36.4%, n = 1, 576), Ethnic (22.5%, n= 975), Diffuse (22.4%, n = 973), and National (18.7%, n = 810) profiles.

Specifically, participants in Integration profiles had high levels of both ethnic and national identity, as well as high Integration scores. Participants in Ethnic profiles had high ethnic identity and low national identity, as well as high Separation scores. Participants in the Diffuse profiles reported low levels of national and ethnic identity. Lastly, participants in the National profile showed a strong national identity and high Assimilation scores. Surprisingly, Diffuse participants endorsed Assimilation, Marginalization, and Separation attitudes simultaneously. Adolescents who did not feel they could identify with any cultures may feel uncertain about how they should acculturate.

Results showed that adolescents in the Integration profile or National profile reported experiencing less ethnic discrimination. Adolescents in Ethnic and Diffuse profiles reported more experiences with ethnic discrimination. Thus, if ABDs have frequent encounters with ethnic discrimination, their levels of SDO may decrease as they gain awareness of their subordinate group status, and they may not identify with or participate in the dominant White culture (i.e., Separation and Marginalization).

Summary. Previous studies suggested that ABDs' levels of SDO and acculturation strategies may be related because these two psychological concepts both reflect ABDs' cultural identity and their experiences with racial discrimination. However, no study has focused on ABDs or explicitly examined how ABDs' level of SDO affect their acculturation experiences.

Statement of the Problem

Asian-born racial and cultural dominants (ABDs) enjoy greater social, political, and economic power in their Asian home countries (Erni, 2008; Miller, 2001). Compared to Asian-born subordinates, ABDs are more likely to internalize racial and cultural dominant ideologies and are more likely to support policies that benefit themselves and other ingroup members (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). When ABDs migrate to a White dominant society in the US, ABDs are received as racial and cultural subordinates (Helms & Cook, 1999). White Americans presume that Asian immigrants are members of the U.S. Asian American racial and ethnic groups, which are minority-status classifications (Helms & Cook, 1999). Nevertheless, literature pertaining to Asian immigrants has not studied how ABDs' previous socializing experiences with their dominant racial and cultural group statuses affects their racial and acculturation experiences in the US.

In the present study, I used three relevant theories to indirectly investigate ABDs' psychological transitions from being racially and/or culturally dominant to being subordinate. These theories are social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Helms's (1995a) People of Color racial identity model, and Berry's (1997, 2017) acculturation theory.

Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) proposes the mechanisms and psychological principles by which social hierarchies are maintained and the more powerful groups remain dominant. The construct of social dominance orientation (SDO) refers to individuals' desire and support for group-based social hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 2017). Previous studies have demonstrated that SDO was a powerful predictor of socio-political attitudes and behaviors in intergroup contexts (Pratto & Sidanius, 2006). Specifically, for Whites, high levels of SDO have been found to consistently and significantly predict racist ideology and personal support for assimilation ideology (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). If Whiteness is analogous to social dominance, then it is possible that ABDs and Whites might share attitudes and beliefs (i.e., SDO). Yet if ABDs experience unfair treatment, such as racism and ethnic discrimination, then perhaps their SDO is shaken.

Helms' s Racial Identity Model

The People of Color racial identity model proposes five racial identity schemas to explain individuals' intrapsychic and interpersonal reactions towards societal racism (Helms, 1995a). They are (a) Conformity, identification with Whiteness; (b) Dissonance, racial confusion; (c) Immersion-Emersion, in-group identification; (d) Internalization, positive commitment to one's

group and objective assessment of Whites; and (e) Integrative Awareness, empathy and collaboration with members of other oppressed groups. One could speculate that different positions with respect to SDO, defined as White dominance, are inherent in each status. For example, Conformity is consistent with high levels of SDO in which ABDs' internalized racial hierarchy in the US is not challenged.

Berry's Acculturation Theory

The hierarchical nature of culture as a form of SDO may also be implicit in the acculturation process. Berry's (1997, 2017) acculturation model describes four types of acculturation strategies. They are (a) Assimilation, rejection of Asian culture and participation only in White American culture; (b) Integration, participation in both Asian and White cultures; (c) Separation, participation in Asian culture and rejection of White American culture; and (d) Marginalization, low engagement in both cultures. Conceptually, it seems reasonable to assume that strategies involving some form of acceptance of White dominance (i.e., Assimilation and Integration) might be positively related to SDO, whereas acculturation strategies involving rejection of White culture (i.e., Separation and Marginalization) might be negatively related to SDO.

SDO, Racial Discrimination, and Racial Identity Schemas

Previous SDO studies showed that high levels of SDO predict racist attitudes, regardless of group memberships (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, ABDs who have high levels of SDO may internalize White dominance and thus may have high levels of Conformity and Dissonance (i.e., internalizing racism). In addition, SDO studies suggest that POC's experiences with racial

discrimination may lead them to seek power for their own racial groups instead of supporting White dominance (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999). Thus, ABDs who have low levels of SDO may reject White dominance and thus may have high levels of Immersion-Emersion and Internalization (i.e., externalizing racism).

In addition, previous literature suggested that the underlying psychological processes of social dominance and racial identity development were related to subordinates' experiences with racial discrimination (Helms & Cook, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2017). For example, individuals' awareness of interpersonal and institutional racism was positively related to their Immersion scores (Alvarez & Helms, 2001). Thus, it is also important to consider ABDs' experiences with racial discrimination in relation to their levels of SDO and racial identity schemas.

SDO, Racial Discrimination, and Acculturation Strategies

Previous SDO studies suggested that high levels of SDO of Whites predict their support for Assimilation ideology (Levin et al., 2012). Assimilation ideology refers to the adoption of White cultural characteristics as the basis of American identity. Thus, it is possible that ABDs who have high levels of SDO prefer the Assimilation strategy, particularly if they align themselves with Whites in the US. In addition, acculturation studies showed that Chinese international students' levels of White cultural identity predict their acculturation strategy (Xing et al., 2020). Thus, ABDs with high levels of White cultural identity may support White cultural dominance (i.e., high SDO). They might prefer the Assimilation and Integration strategies.

Previous literature suggested that the underlying psychological processes of social dominance and acculturation strategy were related to subordinates' experiences with racial

discrimination (Berry et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2017). For example, Choi et al. (2018) showed that high Assimilation scores were related to significantly lower level of racial discrimination for Asian American adolescents. Thus, it is important to consider ABDs' experiences with racial and/or ethnic discrimination in relation to their levels of SDO and acculturation strategy.

Proposed Model

Given that SDO, racial identity, and acculturation strategies seem to be related conceptually in ways that have never been investigated empirically, the current study examined the relationships between these three sets of constructs. In addition, studies suggested that the underlying psychological processes of social dominance, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies may be related to people' racism experiences (Berry et al., 2006; Helms & Cook, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2017). Thus, the current study also examined ABDs' racism experiences in relation to their levels of SDO, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies. Figure 1 illustrates how ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences may be related to their racial identity schemas. Figure 2 illustrates how ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences may be related to their acculturation strategies.

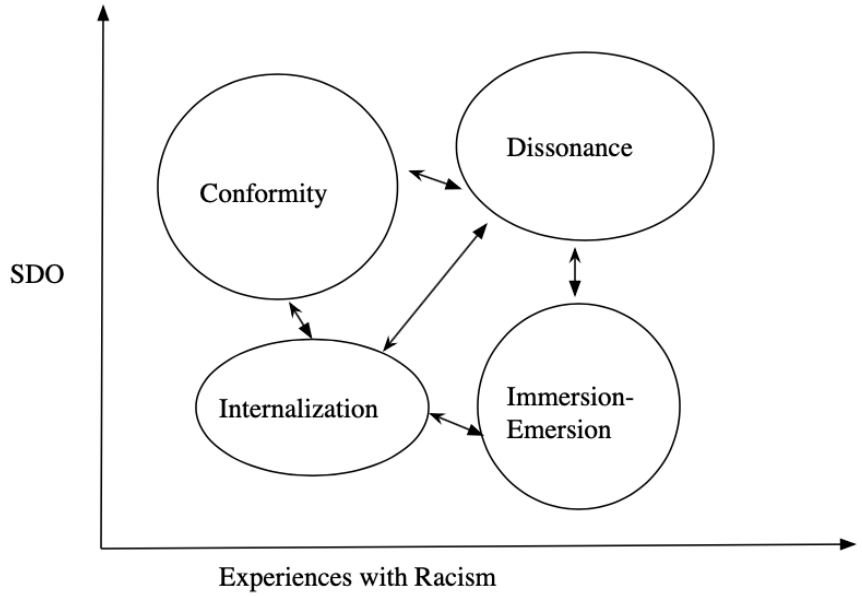

Figure 1: The Potential Relationships Among SDO, Racism Experiences, and Racial Identity Schemas

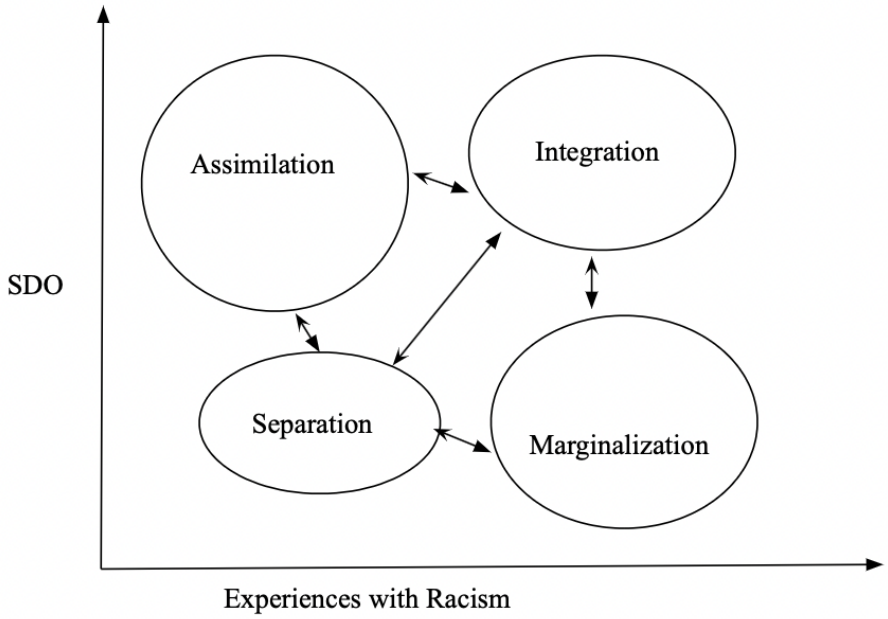

Figure 2: The Potential Relationships Among SDO, Racism Experiences, and Acculturation Strategies

The results of this study may help us gain a more nuanced and accurate understanding of how ABDs adjust racially and culturally in a White dominant society. Moreover, this study may provide some insights about the psychological adjustment of former dominant group members who lose their racial and cultural privileges as they transition to a new context.

In view of the existing theory and empirical research on relationships between SDO, People of Color racial identity development, and acculturation strategies, the following hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis 1a-c. ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences will be significantly related to ABDs' racial identity schemas, such that SDO will be positively related to Conformity and Dissonance (Hypothesis 1a) and negatively related to Immersion-Emersion and Internalization (Hypothesis 1b). ABDs' experiences with racism will moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and racial identity schemas (Hypothesis 1c).

Hypothesis 1 suggests that ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences may be related to their racial identity schemas. Specifically, Hypothesis 1a suggests that when ABDs' levels of SDO are high, their levels of endorsement of racist attitudes and strong desires to be affiliated with Whites in the US may also be strong (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Therefore, levels of SDO may be significantly positively related to endorsement of internalizing racism schemas, Conformity and Dissonance. Hypothesis 1b suggests that levels of SDO may be negatively related to levels of endorsement of externalizing racism schemas, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization-Integrative Awareness, because these schemas reflect valuing equality of subordinate racial groups (e.g., themselves and other marginalized racial groups).

Hypothesis 1c is consistent with the results of the literature review, suggesting that ABDs' racism experiences may moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and racial identity schemas (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Chen, et al 2006). That is, ABDs' levels of SDO may be differentially related to their racial identity schemas depending on their experiences with racism. For example, when ABDs lack experiences or awareness of racism, their levels of SDO may be positively related to their attempt to assimilate into White racist culture (i.e., Conformity). When ABDs have experienced or have been aware of racism, their levels of SDO may be positively related to their confusion about race issues (i.e., Dissonance). ABD's internalized racial hierarchy may be shaken due to racism experiences. Thus, the more they still endorse social hierarchy, the more they may experience internal conflicts and racial confusion.

The questions related to the moderation effect of racism experiences in the current study was explored using a simple linear moderation model, where one moderator is predicted to alter the relationship between the predictor and outcome variables. Figure 3 illustrates the conceptual model for simple linear moderation.

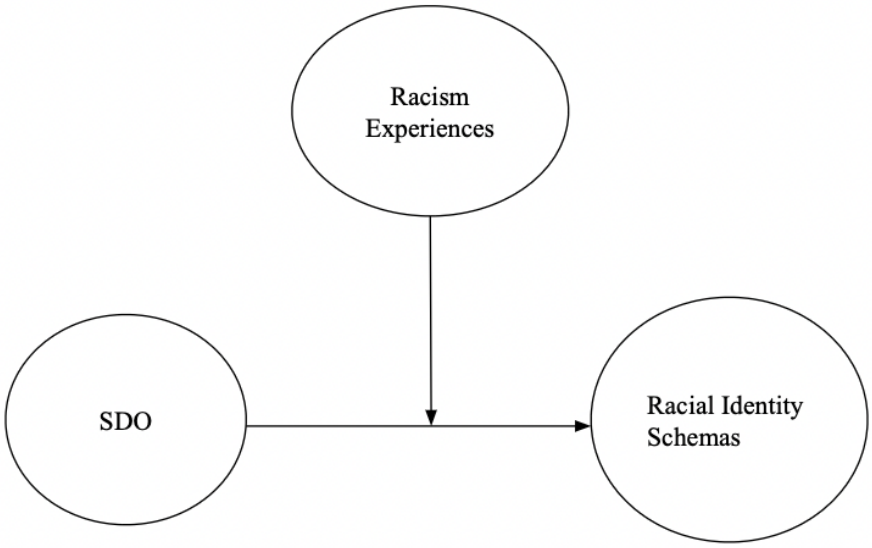

Figure 3: The Conceptual Model for Simple Linear Moderation

Participants' levels of SDO were measured by the SDO 7 scale (Ho et al., 2015), whose scores indicate participants' levels of agreement with establishment and maintenance of hierarchically structured and non-egalitarian intergroup relationships (Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius et al., 2017). Participants' four racial identity schemas were measured by the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b). The schemas are: (a) Conformity, identification with Whiteness; (b) Dissonance, racial confusion; (c) Immersion-Emersion, in-group identification; (d) Internalization and Integrative Awareness, positive commitment to one's group and objective assessment of Whites, as well as empathy and collaboration with members of other oppressed groups. Participants' experiences with anti-Asian racism were measured by the revised Asian American Race-Related Stress Index, focusing on both the frequency of racism events and levels of racism distress (AARRSI; Liang, Li & Kim, 2004).

Hypothesis 2a-c. ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences will be significantly related to ABDs acculturation strategies. Specifically, Hypothesis 2a predicts that ABDs' levels of

SDO will be significantly positively related to their levels of Assimilation and Integration (i.e., acceptance of White culture). Hypothesis 2b predicts that ABDs' levels of SDO will be significantly negatively related to Marginalization and Separation (Hypothesis 2b). ABDs' experiences with racism will moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 2c).

Hypothesis 2 suggests that ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences may be related to their acculturation strategies. Specifically, Hypothesis 2a suggests that ABDs' levels of SDO may be positively related to their preferences for Assimilation and Integration strategies. Previous SDO and acculturation studies suggested that participants' high levels of SDO and high levels of American identity (i.e., the dominant White cultural identity) were associated with individuals' support for Assimilation and Integration ideology (Levin et al., 2012; Xing et al., 2020). Hypothesis 2b suggests that ABDs' levels of SDO may be negatively related to their use of Separation and Marginalization strategies. One acculturation study suggested that participants who have high levels of ethnic identity or endorse high levels of uncertainty around acculturation (i.e., reject or feel uncertain about White culture) may have high Separation and Marginalization scores (Berry et al., 2006).

Hypothesis 2c is consistent with the results of the literature review, suggesting that ABDs' racism experiences may moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Choi et al. 2018). That is, ABDs' levels of SDO may be differentially related to their acculturation strategies depending on their experiences with racism. When ABDs lack experiences or awareness of racism, their levels of SDO may be

positively related to their use of Assimilation and Integration strategies. ABDs may maintain their dominant attitude on cultural practices (i.e., prefer White culture and/or their home culture) given that they have not personally experience racial or ethnic oppression. When ABDs have experienced or have been aware of racism, their levels of SDO may be positively related to their use of Separation strategy. When ABDs' internalized cultural hierarchy may be shaken, they may seek support from other Asian group members to maintain their cultural practices (i.e., Separation). The question related to the moderation effect of racism experiences in Hypothesis 2c was also explored using a simple linear moderation model.

Participants' acculturation strategies were measured by the Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students (ASAIS; Gu, 2008). The four acculturation strategies are: (a) Assimilation, rejection of Asian culture and participation only in White American culture; (b) Integration, participation in both Asian and White cultures; (c) Separation, participation in Asian culture and rejection of White American culture; and (d) Marginalization, low engagement in both cultures.

Hypothesis 3a-b. ABDs' racial identity schemas will be significantly related to ABDs' use of acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 3a). SDO will moderate the relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 3b).

Hypothesis 3a suggests that ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies may be related given that they are both reflective of their attitudes towards White dominance (i.e., SDO) (Berry et al., 2006; Helms, 1995b). If ABDs internalize racism (i.e., Conformity and Dissonance), they may engage in White cultural practices to assimilate into the

White dominant culture (i.e., Assimilation and Integration). If ABDs work hard to overcome racism (i.e., Immersion-Emersion and Internalization-Integrative Awareness), they may reject White cultural practices, turn to their own Asian dominant cultural practices (i.e., Separation) or reject both dominant cultures (i.e., Marginalization). Hypothesis 3b specially examines how ABDs' levels of SDO may moderate the relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies.

Chapter 3

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 192 participants. Participants were Asian-born individuals who self-identified as racial, ethnic, or tribal majority in their Asian home countries. All participants currently live in the US or they have lived in the US. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 71 years (Mean = 30.27, SD = 8.23). Their length of time lived in their Asian home countries ranged from 1 to 40 years (Mean = 20.33, SD = 6.17). Their length of time living in the US ranged from 0.5 to 61 years (Mean = 9.02, SD = 8.94). The sample consisted of 126 women (65.6%), 62 men (32.3%), and 4 gender queers (2.1%). Most participants indicated that they spoke English fluently (n = 177, 92.2%). 89 participants were students (46.4%) and 85 participants were employed full time (44.3%). Table 1 provides a summary of the participants' self-described demographic characteristics.

Most participants identified themselves as the racial, ethnic, or tribal group members from mainland China (n = 148, 77.1%). 43 participants self-identified as the majority racial, ethnic, or tribal group members in other Asian regions or countries, including Hong Kong (n = 7), India (n = 6), Indonesia (n = 1), Japan (n = 5), Philippines (n = 3), South Korea (n = 5), Singapore (n = 1), Sri Lanka (n = 1), Taiwan (n = 6), Thailand (n = 2), and Vietnam (n = 6). One participant did not specify their Asian home country.

Most participants had received higher education and most of them were from highly educated families. 51% of participants indicated that they had completed a master's degree (n = 98) and 25% of participants had completed a doctoral degree (n = 48). 50.5% of participants' mother figures obtained at least a bachelor's degree (n = 97). 60.9% of participants' father figures

obtained at least a bachelor's degree (n=117). Most participants indicated that they came from a middle-class background or above (n = 156, 81.3%).

Table 1

Summary of Participants' Self-Reported Demographic Characteristics (*N* = 192)

Variables		Frequency	%	M	SD
Home country in Asia					
	China, Mainland	148	77.1		
	Hong Kong	7	3.7		
	India	6	3.1		
	Indonesia	1	0.5		
	Japan	5	2.6		
	Philippines	3	1.6		
	South Korea	5	2.6		
	Singapore	1	0.5		
	Sri Lanka	1	0.5		
	Taiwan	6	3.1		
	Thailand	2	1.0		
	Vietnam	6	3.1		
	Unspecified	1	0.5		
Age				30.27	8.23
Gender					
	Female	126	65.6		
	Male	62	32.3		
	Gender queer, non-conforming, or non-binary	4	2.1		
Racial Identifications in the US					
	Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander	188			
	Asian and Latinx or Hispanic	1			
	Asian and White (non-Hispanic)	3			
Length of living in the US (Year)				9.02	8.94
Currently living in the US					
	Yes	162			

	No	30	
Length of Living in Their Asian Home Countries (Year)			20.33 6.17
English Fluency			
	Very fluent	82	42.7
	Fluent	95	49.5
	Don't know/Undecided	2	1.0
	Slightly fluent	12	6.3
	Not fluent at all	1	0.5
Highest Completed Degree			
	High school graduate	5	2.6
	Some college credit, no degree	7	3.6
	Associate degree	4	2.1
	Bachelor's degree	30	15.6
	Master's degree	98	51.0
	Doctorate degree	48	25.0
Highest Mother Figure's Completed Degree			
	Less than high school	20	10.4
	Some high school, no diploma	9	4.7
	High school graduate	28	14.6
	Some college credit, no degree	8	4.2
	Trade/technical/vocational training	10	5.2
	Associate degree	20	10.04
	Bachelor's degree	68	35.4
	Master's degree	22	11.5
	Doctorate degree	7	3.6
Highest Father Figure's Completed Degree			
	Less than high school	17	8.9
	Some high school, no diploma	9	4.7
	High school graduate	18	9.4
	Some college credit, no degree	8	4.2
	Trade/technical/vocational training	8	4.2
	Associate degree	15	7.8
	Bachelor's degree	68	35.4
	Master's degree	31	16.1

	Doctorate degree	18	9.4
Current Employment Status			
	Student	89	46.4
	Employed full time (40 hours or more per week)	85	44.3
	Employed part time	7	3.6
	Unemployed	2	1.0
	Retired	2	1.0
	Homemaker	1	0.5
	Self-employed	5	2.6
	Unable to work	1	.5
The Estimated Socioeconomic Status of Their Families of Origin			
	Low income	8	4.2
	Lower middle class	28	14.6
	Middle class	119	62.0
	Upper middle class	33	17.2
	Upper class	4	2.1

Measures

Participants were asked to complete the following measures: (a) a demographic questionnaire; (b) the Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7 (Ho et al., 2015); (c) the Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (AARRSI; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004); (d) the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b); and (e) the Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students (ASAIS; Gu, 2008). Table 2 provides a summary of means, standard deviations, score ranges, and alpha coefficients for scores on the scales used in the current study.

Table 2

Summary of Alpha Coefficients, Means, Standard Deviations, and Score Range of Scales Used in the Current Study (N =192)

Variable	Mean	SD	Obtained Range	Possible Range	α
Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7					
SDO	33.26	15.23	16 - 75	16 - 112	.85
Asian American Race-Related Stress Index					
Racism Distress Levels	69.10	30.80	8 - 150	0 – 150	.94
People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale					
Conformity	24.12	5.69	13 - 46	12 - 60	.68
Dissonance	35.79	8.90	17 - 63	14 - 70	.84
Immersion-Emersion	39.42	7.65	19 - 56	14 - 70	.80

Internalization	43.83	4.50	23 - 50	10 - 50	.81
Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students					
Integration	28.15	5.81	5 - 35	5 - 35	.84
Assimilation	28.78	9.30	8 - 50	8 - 56	.84
Separation	32.54	9.10	12 - 56	8 - 56	.83
Marginalization	29.88	12.75	12 - 81	12 - 84	.88

Demographic Questionnaire. I designed a questionnaire to gather information about participants' Asian home countries and experiences in the US. Participants were asked to report their racial, ethnic or tribal group memberships in their home country, age, gender, length of US residence, length of Asian home country residence, English proficiency, highest education, highest education of their parent figures, the estimated socioeconomic status of their families of origin, as well as current employment status. The information was collected to describe the sample and to determine whether participants met the inclusion criteria of being ABDs. The demographic measure can be found in Appendix A.

Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7 (SDO 7, Ho et al, 2015). The SDO 7 scale was used to measure participants' levels of social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The SDO 7 scale consists of 16-items, assessing individuals' preferences and desire for group-based social dominance (e.g., "Some groups of people must be kept in their place") (Ho et al., 2015; Appendix B). Seven-point scales were used to describe oneself concerning each item, with 1 indicating "strongly oppose" and 7 indicating "strongly favor". High levels of SDO were

theorized to reflect participants' strong desire to establish and maintain hierarchically structured and non-egalitarian intergroup relationships (Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius et al., 2017).

Research showed that individuals' SDO could be measured reliably in samples of varying national groups (e.g., Pratto et al., 2000; Pratto & Sidanius, 2006). Pratto et al. (2000) demonstrated that SDO could be measured reliably with participants in Canada (α = .91), Taiwan (α = .76) and Israel (α =.81), and mainland China (α = .66). Also, the median reliability of SDO scores was .83 across 14 independent samples with a total of 4827 respondents (Pratto & Sidanius, 2006). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient that assessed the internal consistency of the SDO 7 scale was 0.85.

Construct validity of SDO scores were investigated through concurrent validity studies (e.g., Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 2000). For example, Pratto et al. (2000) tested whether SDO scores were related to prejudice in participants' local contexts through samples of native participants across different countries. Levels of SDO have been found to be strongly and significantly correlated with sexism scale scores (r =.69, p <.01) and ethnic prejudice scale scores (r =.67, p <.01) in a Canadian sample. Levels of SDO were correlated with sexism scale scores (r =.40) and ethnic prejudice against aboriginal people scale scores (r =.57) in a Taiwanese sample (Pratto et al., 2000). Similarly, Ho et al. (2015) demonstrated that levels of SDO significantly predicted scores of old-fashioned racism, perceptions of zero-sum competition, political conservatism, and system legitimacy beliefs with samples of White Americans and Black Americans.

Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (AARRSI; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). ABDs' experiences with anti-Asian racism were measured by an adapted version of

AARRSI (Appendix C). It was necessary to modify the original AARRSI measure that focused on Asian Americans' racism experiences to better reflect Asian-born individuals' experiences.

The original version of the AARRSI is a 29-item questionnaire assessing both the frequency of and levels of distress related to individuals' racism experiences (e.g., "You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions"). Liang, Li and Kim (2004) examined reliability and validity of AARRSI responses with an Asian American sample (N = 142), which included approximately 45.8% foreign-born immigrants. The researchers reported the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the scale scores of .90. Liang, Li and Kim (2004) also provided evidence of convergent validity. The total scores of AARRSI were significantly positively related to the Schedule of Racism Events' scores. The Schedule of Racism Events scale was originally developed based on Black Americans' experiences with racism and their emotional and behavioral coping responses (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Thus, these two measures that are supposed to be measuring people of color's racism experiences, not only theoretically related but in fact related.

Based on the feedback from my committee and my colleagues, some adjustments I made include (a) replacing "Asian Americans" with "Asians", (b) replacing item 28 "someone asks you what your real name is" with "you change your real name to make others more comfortable, or others ask you to change your name to make them comfortable", (c) replacing item 19 "someone tells you that your Asian American friend looks just like Connie Chung" with " an Asian celebrity" to reflect Asians' current and general experiences with media, (d) changing the past tense of the item 10 "you learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist action" to the current tense "you learn that Asians are targets of racist actions" to recognize the ongoing anti-Asian racism in the US, (e) changing "You learn that most White Americans are

ignorant of the oppression and racial prejudice Asians have endured in the U.S." to "Americans" in item 11 given that anti-Asian racism is not only pervasive in White American populations, and (e) adding item 30 "how often have you or some Asian people you know experienced any kinds of racism at all?" to assess participants' general experiences with racism in case they might not have been able to relate to the original 29 AARRSI items.

The original scale combined the frequency and distress scores, wherein each item is rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 ("This event has never happened to me or someone I know") to 5 ("This event happened and I was extremely upset"). The scoring procedures in this study were modified so that participants assess the occurrence of a racial event during their lifetime first ("how many times you, your friend or relative have experienced this event?"). For each racism event that occurred, participants then rated how distressing the event was, ranging from 1= "This event did not upset me at all" to 5 = "This event made me extremely upset".

Participants' total occurrence of racism events and total racism distress levels were summed separately. Due to the wide range of responses regarding the frequency of encountering racism events, I re-coded any events that happened once or more than once into "1" and events that did not happen into "0". Higher occurrence total scores indicated participants' more exposure to racism events. Preliminary data analysis showed that 32% participants indicated that all the proposed racism events had happened to them or people they knew, which resulted in their scores being outliers. Since there was no way to correct this statistically, this variable was not included in the data analysis. Thus, the current study only used the levels of racism distress to measure participants' experiences with anti-racism. Higher total scores indicated individuals had higher racial distress levels. In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the racism distress levels subscale was 0.94.

People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995b). The PRIAS is a 50-item scale based on Helms's People of Color racial identity model (Helms, 1995a). It measures four types of racial identity schemas of People of Color in the US. The present study used PRIAS to assess ABDs' racial identity schemas (Appendix D). The four subscales are as follows: (a) Conformity, 12 items measuring the extent to which ABDs conform to the existing stereotypes and attempt to assimilate into White culture, (e.g., "I feel more comfortable being around Anglo-Americans than I do being around people of my own race"); (b) Dissonance, 14 items measuring ABDs' ambivalent feelings and confusion about their own socio-racial group commitment , (e.g., "Sometimes I am proud of the racial group to which I belong and sometimes I am ashamed of it"); (c) Immersion-Emersion, 14 items measuring ABDs' idealization of their own group and denigration of White, (e.g., "I limit myself to activities involving people of my own race"), and (d) Internalization-Integrative Awareness, 10 items measuring ABDs' positive commitment to their racial group and their empathy towards members of other oppressed groups (e.g., "I think people of my culture and the White culture differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior"). Respondents rate each item on a five-point Likert scale with options ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 5 ("strongly agree") (Helms, 1995b). Scores for each scale were summed. High scale scores indicated strong use of each racial schema.

The PRIAS has been used to investigate racial identity schemas in Asian samples (e.g., Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Perry, Vance & Helms, 2009). Perry, Vance and Helms (2009) investigated the racial schemas of Asian American college students ($N = 225$), which included approximately 40% foreign-born immigrants. The study reported Cronbach alpha coefficients for the four subscale scores as follows: Conformity (.75), Dissonance (.81), Immersion (.79), and Internalization (.68). Iwamoto and Liu (2010) investigated Asian American and Asian

international college students (*N*= 402), which included 100 foreign-born Asians. Researchers reported internal consistency as Conformity (.71), Dissonance (.70), Immersion (.82), and Internalization (.76). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficients for the PRIAS racial identity schemas were: Conformity = 0.68, Dissonance = 0.84, Immersion-Emersion = 0.80, and Internalization = 0.81.

Studies have also reported evidence of construct validity of racial identity schemas (e.g., Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010). Iwamoto and Liu (2010) reported racial identity schemas were shown to be significantly related to race-related stress and well-being. Alvarez and Helms (2001) also reported significant correlations between racial identity schemas and Asian Americans' collective self-esteem and awareness of anti-Asian racism.

Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students (ASAIS; Gu, 2008). The ASAIS is a 33-item self-report measurement assessing Asian international students' acculturation into the western culture based on Berry's (1997) bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Appendix E). Its four subscales aim at measuring four types of acculturation attitudes, including: (a) Integration, five items measuring how much ABDs maintain their Asian cultural heritage while they adopt White cultural practices (e.g., "I am able to make good friends with persons from my own and American culture"); (b) Assimilation, eight items measuring the extent to which ABDs absorb new White cultural beliefs and behaviors and relinquish their cultural heritage (e.g., "I see myself as being more able to succeed in American society); (c) Separation, eight items assessing how much ABDs hold onto their original culture and minimize their interaction with White American culture (e.g., "I feel like Asian values are far more acceptable than American values"); and (d) Marginalization, 11 items assessing the level of low adherence to both home and host culture (e.g., "I feel like I am rejected by both Asian international students and Americans").

Respondents rate each item on a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 7 (“strongly agree”). To make the scale applicable to Asian international people, I made a couple of minor changes, including (a) replacing “Asian international students” with “Asians” in item 31; and (b) replacing academic/school systems with “school systems and workplaces” in item 5 and item 25.

Gu (2008) developed the ASAIS with a sample of Asian international students ($N = 259$). Gu (2008) reported Cronbach alpha coefficients for four subscale scores as follows: Integration (.83), Assimilation (.82), Separation (.83), and Marginalization (.89). Gu (2008) also reported the test-retest reliability coefficients as follows: .33 (Marginalization), .66 (Separation), .70 (Integration), .83 (Assimilation). The ASAIS has been used to investigate Chinese female graduate students’ acculturation strategies in the U.S. higher education institutions (Yu, 2015; $N= 192$). Yu (2015) reported Cronbach alphas coefficients for four subscale scores as follows: Integration (.85), Assimilation (.88), Separation (.87), and Marginalization (.90). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficients for the Acculturation Strategies were: Assimilation = 0.84, Integration = 0.84, Separation = 0.83, and Marginalization = 0.88.

Gu (2008) demonstrated convergent validity of acculturation strategies, measured by ASAIS. Correlation analysis showed that Integration and Assimilation subscales were significantly positively related to scores of Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Ahuma & Khoo, 1992) and Separation subscale was significantly negatively related to SL-ASIA scores. High SL-ASIA scores indicated high levels of integrating into American culture, which was consistent with high levels of Integration and Assimilation. Low SL-ASIA scores indicated high levels of Asian cultural maintenance, which was consistent with high levels of Separation (Gu, 2008).

Procedures

The Boston College Institutional Review Board approved the study before I started to recruit participants. I sent recruitment emails to Offices of International Students and Scholars in various higher education institutions (e.g., Boston College and Wellesley College), Asian student organizations (e.g., the Boston College Asian Caucus), and Asian mental health organizations (e.g., the Asian American Psychological Association). I also promoted my study on social media platforms, including Facebook, Wechat, and Reddit.

Participants were invited to fill out an online survey through Qualtrics with an informed consent form attached at the beginning. After participants clicked on an arrow signifying "Yes, I agree to the above information," they were directed to the demographic questionnaire and four other measures in the following order: Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7, the revised Asian American Race-Related Stress Index, the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale, and the revised Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students.

Participants were debriefed electronically about the goals of the study after they completed the online survey and were given my email address if they had questions or if they would like to receive a report of this study. Participants were given the opportunity to enter a raffle for one of eight $25 Amazon gift cards. Participants who were interested in entering a raffle were able to click a link that redirects them to a separate google form to leave their email addresses. Thus, their contact information was kept separate from their survey data to ensure anonymity. The collected email addresses were destroyed after the drawing was completed.

Chapter 4

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to testing the hypotheses, the data were assessed for missing responses. Participants with any missing data were not included in the data analyses. In addition, preliminary analyses were conducted to test for violations of multivariate assumptions of (a) linearity, (b) homoscedasticity, (c) normality of score distributions, and (d) multicollinearity.

Missing Data. The final sample used for the main data analyses (N = 192) consisted of approximately 42.4% of the originally consenting participants (N = 453). Some participants were excluded because of (a) not specifying whether they were born in Asia (n = 21); (b) not specifying their racial, ethnic, or tribal group status, whether they belong to a majority or minority group (n = 10); (c) identifying as born in Hawaii and racially identified as White in the US (n = 1); (d) identifying as not born in Asia (n = 31); (e) identifying as belonging to a minority racial, ethnic or tribal group in their Asian home countries (n = 48); (f) not completing the demographic questionnaire (n = 51); (g) not completing the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (n = 28); (h) not completing the Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (n = 61); (i) not completing the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (n = 8); and (j) not completing the Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students (n = 2).

Linearity. The assumption of linearity means that two variables are linearly related to each other such that paired comparisons of them reveal shared regression lines and significant correlations. Scatterplots of and correlations between pairs of predictor and outcome variables indicated that their relationships were linear with a few exceptions (See Table 3 for correlation matrices). SDO was not significantly correlated with Immersion-Emersion, Marginalization,

Separation, and Integration. Racism distress levels were not significantly correlated with Conformity, Internalization, Integration, Assimilation, and Separation. Conformity was not significantly correlated with Separation. Dissonance was not significantly correlated with Integration. Immersion-Emersion was not significantly correlated with Internalization and Integration. Internalization was not significantly correlated with Separation. When scatterplots were examined, these pairs of variables were found not to be linearly related. Log transformation of these variables did not address the violation of the linearity assumption. Thus, I did not transform any variables in subsequent analyses.

Homoscedasticity. Homoscedasticity refers to the residuals or errors of an outcome variable for a given predictor variable that are assumed to be normally distributed with constant variance across the full range of the predictor variable values. Regression analyses of pairs of predictors and outcome variables were conducted to test whether predictor variables met this assumption. Scatterplots of residuals (i.e., indicators of error) and predictor values were used to assess for systematic pattern of error variance. The resulting plots showed that the assumption of homoscedasticity was met for all variables due to the lack of any discernible pattern in the residual variances.

Normality. The assumption of normal distributions of predictor and outcome variables was assessed by evaluating the shapes of the histograms of variables and examining levels of skewness. The scores of racism distress levels, the PRIAS Dissonance, and Immersion-Emersion subscale scores were roughly normally distributed. However, levels of SDO, the PRIAS Conformity subscale score, and the ASAIS Marginalization subscale score were moderately positively skewed, which indicated a tendency for participants to report low levels of these variables. Additionally, the PRIAS Internalization subscale score was moderately negatively

skewed and the ASAIS Integration subscale score was highly negatively skewed, which indicated a tendency for participants to report high levels of these variables.

Outliers for the problematic predictor and outcome variables were analyzed to assess whether they contributed to skewness. I examined the Z scores for excessive skewness (i.e., outside the range of ±3 standard deviations) and moved outliers toward the scores in the distribution that they were closest to (i.e., winsorized outliers). The skewness of the variables did improve. Most problematic variables became slightly or moderately skewed except for the ASAIS Integration subscale scores. In addition, the log transformation only worked for certain variables but not for others. For the current study, I used the winsorized dataset but did not transform any variables.

Multicollinearity. Multicollinearity refers to the correlation among the predictor variables. High multicollinearity can lead to highly unstable estimates of regression coefficients and makes it difficult to interpret each predictor's individual variance contribution. Multicollinearity was examined by the variance inflation factors (VIF), tolerance levels and the correlation matrix. VIF and tolerance levels indicated how and whether the predictor variables were too strongly correlated with each other. VIF and tolerance levels for the four racial identity schemas subscale scores and the four acculturation strategies subscale scores were all in acceptable ranges (i.e., VIF < 5). In addition, as shown in Table 3, correlations between the predictor variables were not excessively high (i.e., > .90). Therefore, relationships among the predictor variables would not suppress the contributions to predicted variance for any of the predictor variables.

Table 3

Summary of Means, Standard Deviation, and Pearson Correlations among Variables (*N* = 192)

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Racism distress	69.10 (30.80)	--	-.17 *	-.06	.26 **	.27 **	.06	.03	-.01	.01	.17 *
2. SDO	33.26 (15.23)		--	.37 **	.15 *	-.049	-.38 **	-.100	.19 **	.11	.05
3. Conformity	24.12 (5.69)			--	.55 **	.16 *	-.28 **	-.20 **	.42 **	.09	.27 **
4. Dissonance	35.79 (8.90)				--	.42 **	-.29 **	-.12	.41 **	.19 **	.52 **
5. Immersion-Emersion	39.42 (7.65)					--	-.03	-.02	-.19 **	.58 **	.23 **
6. Internalization	43.83 (4.50)						--	.43 **	-.19 **	.08	-.35 **
7. Integration	28.15 (5.81)							--	-.003	.06	-.14
8. Assimilation	28.78 (9.30)								--	-.32 **	.33 **
9. Separation	32.54 (9.10)									--	.07
10. Marginalization	29.88 (12.75)										--

* p < 0.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001

Test of Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1a-b, 2a-b and 3a investigated direct relationships among predictor and outcome variables. Hypothesis 1a-b and Hypothesis 2a-b investigated the direct relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and their racial identity statuses and acculturation strategies in a model that used both levels of SDO and racism distress levels as predictors. Hypothesis 3a investigated the direct relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies in a model that used both levels of SDO and racial identity schemas as predictors.

Multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRAs) were conducted to "model the linear relationships between more than one predictor variable and more than one outcome variable" (Dattalo, 2013, p. 87). MMRA is a step-down analysis such that if the overall model is significant, each subsequent significant step (i.e., model) in the analysis may be interpreted. Wilk's lambda was used to test the omnibus null hypothesis that all regression coefficients equal zero across all outcome variables, which determined the significance of successive steps. One minus lambda equals the percentage of variance explained by the model. If Wilk's lambda was significant, follow-up tests explored the relationships between the predictor variables and each outcome variable. Each outcome variable was regressed on all predictor variables, such that the unique contribution of each predictor variable on each outcome variable could be determined (Dattalo, 2013).

Haye's PROCESS macro for SPSS (version 3.5.3; Hayes, 2021) was used to test the moderation hypotheses. Predictor and moderator variables were mean-centered for Hypothesis 1c, 2c, and 3b. Mean-centering was done because it can aid in the interpretation of regression coefficients when zero is not a meaningful value of the predictor or moderator measures (Hayes,

2017), which was the case for the racism distress levels and the four PRIAS racial identity schemas (i.e., scores on either scale cannot be equal to zero). The mean-centered version of variables has a mean of zero and a standard deviation equal to the standard deviation of moderators.

Hypothesis 1 a-c. ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences will be significantly related to ABDs' racial identity schemas, such that SDO will be positively related to Conformity and Dissonance (Hypothesis 1a) and negatively related to Immersion-Emersion and Internalization (Hypothesis 1b). ABDs' experiences with racism will moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and racial identity schemas (Hypothesis 1c).

For hypothesis 1a-b, predictor variables were participants' levels of SDO and racism experiences and outcome variables were participants' four racial identity schemas. The total score on the SDO scale 7 indicated participants' levels of SDO, with higher score indicating stronger preference for social hierarchy maintenance. The racism distress subscale score of AARRSI indicated ABD's experiences with racism, with higher scores indicating higher distress levels due to racism events. The PRIAS racial identity subscale scores (i.e., Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) indicated ABDs' level of endorsement of each racial identity schema, with higher scores indicating strong endorsement of the racial schemas.

The overall model using participants' levels of SDO and racism distress levels to predict racial identity schemas was significant using the Wilk's Lambda criterion ($\lambda = .66$, $F(8, 370) = 10.68$, $p < .001$), which allowed subsequent steps in the MMRA to be interpreted. The full model explained a substantial portion, about 34%, of the variance shared between the predictor variables and outcome variables. The next step examined the unique contribution of levels of

SDO and racism distress levels for each of the PRIAS four racial identity schemas. Table 4 summarizes the MMRA with levels of SDO and racism distress levels predicting ABDs' racial identity schemas.

The SDO Model

The SDO model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 21.6% (Lambda $\lambda = .78$, $F(4, 186) = 12.84$. $p < .001$). Levels of SDO were significantly related to Conformity ($F(1, 190) = 28.26$, $p < .001$), Dissonance ($F(1, 190) = 8.31$, $p = .004$), and Internalization $F(1, 190) = 30.52$, $p < .001$) but not to Immersion-Emersion ($F(1, 190) = .004$, $p = .95$). Therefore, the regression coefficient for SDO and Conformity, Dissonance and Internalization were examined to determine the directionality of these relationships.

As shown in Table 4, levels of SDO were significantly positively related to Conformity ($b = .14$) and Dissonance ($b = .12$), which indicates that when ABDs had a stronger preference for maintaining social hierarchy, they tended to use internalizing racism schemas (i.e., Conformity and Dissonance), which supports Hypothesis 1a. Levels of SDO were significantly negatively related to Internalization ($b = -.11$), which indicates that when ABDs preferences for social hierarchy were low, they tended to use one of the overcoming racism schemas and to have positive, self-actualizing feelings about other groups (i.e., Internalization). Levels of SDO were not significantly related to Immersion-Emersion. Thus, Hypotheses 1b was partially supported.

Table 4

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analysis Using Levels of SDO and Racism Distress to Predict the PRIAS Racial Identity Schemas ($N = 192$)

Predictor Variables	Outcome Variables	R^2	F	b	t	p
SDO		.22	12.84			<.001 ***
	Conformity	.13	28.26	.14	5.32	<.001 ***
	Dissonance	.04	8.31	.12	2.88	.004 **
	Immersion-Emersion	<.001	.004	-.002	-.07	.95
	Internalization	.14	30.52	-.11	-5.52	<.001***
Racism Distress		.14	7.65			<.001 ***
	Conformity	<.001	.002	-.001	-.05	.96
	Dissonance	.08	17.08	.08	4.13	<.001 ***
	Immersion-Emersion	.06	14.07	.07	3.75	<.001 ***
	Internalization	<.001	<.001	<.001	.01	.99

* p < 0.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001

The Racism Distress Model

The racism distress model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 14.1% (Lambda $\lambda = .86$, F (4, 186) = 7.65. p < .001). Participants' racism distress levels were significantly related to Dissonance (F (1, 190) = 17.08, p < .001) and Immersion-Emersion (F (1,

190) = 14.07, p < .001) but not to Conformity (F (1, 190) = .002, p = .96) and Internalization F (1, 190) < .001, p = .99). Therefore, the regression coefficients for the racism distress levels and Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion levels were examined to determine the directionality of these relationships. As shown in Table 4, the racism distress levels were positively related to Dissonance (b = .083), which indicates that when ABDs had higher racism distress levels, they tended to experience racial confusion (i.e., Dissonance). Participants' racism distress levels were significantly positively related to Immersion-Emersion (b = .07), which indicates that when ABDs experienced higher levels of racism distress, they tended to express in-group racial identification (i.e., Immersion-Emersion).

Moderation Analysis

Previous MMRAs analyses showed that Hypothesis 1a was supported and Hypothesis 1b was partially supported. Nevertheless, the direct relationships (i.e., main effect) need not be significant for moderation to occur in moderation analysis (Hayes, 2017). Therefore, moderation analyses to test Hypothesis 1c were conducted. Each outcome variable was tested separately because Hayes' model does not allow for multivariate analyses.

Hypothesis 1c investigated the simple moderation effects of racial distress levels on the relationships between SDO and racial identity schemas. The interaction between the levels of SDO and the racism distress levels was tested to determine whether the relationships between participants' levels of SDO and racial identity schemas depended on their level of racial distress. I analyzed four separate models in which I used levels of SDO, racism distress levels, and the interaction between SDO and racism distress levels (i.e., the moderator) as predictor variables and racial identity schemas as four separate outcome variables. Table 5 summarized Hypothesis 1c results.

Table 5

Summary of Simple Linear Moderation Analyses Predicting Four Racial Identity Schemas from Levels of SDO and Racism Distress

	b	t	p	95% CI
Model 1: Conformity				
R^2= .14, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	.14	5.32	<.001***	[.09, .19]
Racial Distress	.01	.15	.88	[-.02, .03]
SDO x Racial Distress	.01	1.50	.14	[-.01, .01]
Model 2: Dissonance				
R^2= .11, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	.12	2.87	<.01**	[.04, .20]
Racial Distress	.09	4.29	<.001***	[.05, .13]
SDO x Racial Distress	.01	1.37	.17	[-.01, .01]
Model 3: Immersion-Emersion				
R^2= .08, R^2 change = .02				
SDO	-.01	-.09	.93	[-.07, .07]
Racial Distress	.07	3.98	.01**	[.04, .11]
SDO x Racial Distress	.01	1.81	.07	[-.01, .01]
Model 4: Internalization				
R^2= .14, R^2 change = .005				
SDO	-.11	-5.51	<.001***	[-.15, -.07]

Racial Distress	-.01	-.12	.90	[-.02, .01]
SDO x Racial Distress	-.01	-1.01	.31	[-.01, .01]

* p < 0.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001

Conformity. The first model of Hypothesis 1c used Conformity as the outcome variable. The overall model was statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 10.53, R^2= .14, p < .001). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Conformity scores (F (1, 188) = 2.25, R^2 change =.01, p = .14). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress level interaction was not further interpreted.

Dissonance. The second model of Hypothesis 1c used Dissonance as the outcome variable. The overall model was statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 8.00, R^2 = .11, p < .001). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Dissonance scores (F (1, 188) = 1.87, R^2 change = .01, p = .17). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress level interaction was not further interpreted.

Immersion-Emersion. The third model of Hypothesis 1c used Immersion-Emersion as the outcome variable. The overall model was statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 6.01, R^2 = .09, p < .001). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Immersion-Emersion scores (F (1, 188) = 3.29, R^2 change = .02, p = .07). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress level interaction was not further interpreted.

Internalization. The fourth model of Hypothesis 1c used Internalization as the outcome variable. The overall model was statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 10.81, R^2 = .15, p < .001).

The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Internalization scores (F (1, 188) = 1.02, R^2 change =.01, p = .31). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress level interaction was not further interpreted.

Summary

There was mixed support for Hypothesis 1. Racial distress and levels of SDO were related to ABDs' racial identity schemas. Levels of SDO were significantly positively related to Conformity and Dissonance, which indicates that when ABDs had a stronger preference for maintaining social hierarchy, they tend to use the internalizing racism schemas. Hypotheses 1a was supported. Hypothesis 1b was partially supported. Levels of SDO were significantly negatively related to Internalization, which indicates that when ABDs preferred attenuating social hierarchy, they tended have positive, self-actualizing feelings about other groups (i.e., Internalization). Levels of SDO were not significantly related to Immersion-Emersion.

Participants' racism distress levels were positively related to Dissonance, which indicates when ABDs had higher racism distress levels, they tended to experience racial confusion (i.e., Dissonance). Participants' racism distress levels were positively related to Immersion-Emersion, which indicates when ABDs experienced higher levels of racism distress, they tended to express in-group racial identification (i.e., Immersion-Emersion).

The moderation analyses confirmed what MMRAs found with respect to main effects. There was no support for racism distress levels moderating the relationships between levels of SDO and racial identity schemas. Hypothesis 1c was not supported.

Hypothesis 2a-c. ABDs' levels of SDO and racism experiences will be significantly related to ABDs' acculturation strategies. Specifically, Hypothesis 2a predicts that ABDs'

levels of SDO will be significantly positively related to their levels of Assimilation and Integration (i.e., acceptance of White culture). Hypothesis 2b predicts that ABDs' levels of SDO will be significantly negatively related to Marginalization and Separation (Hypothesis 2b). ABDs' experiences with racism will moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 2c).

For hypothesis 2a-b, predictor variables were participants' levels of SDO and racism experiences and outcome variables were participants' four acculturation strategies. The ASAIS acculturation strategy subscale scores (i.e., Assimilation, Integration, Separation, and Marginalization) indicated ABDs' levels of endorsement for each acculturation strategy, with higher scores indicating strong endorsement for the specific acculturation strategy.

The overall model using participants' levels of SDO and racism distress level to predict acculturation strategies was significant using the Wilk's Lambda criterion (λ= .88, F (8, 370) = 3.10, p = .002), which allowed subsequent steps in the analyses to be interpreted. The full model explained a substantial portion, about 12%, of the variance shared between the predictor variables and outcome variables. In the next step, the unique contribution of levels of SDO and racism distress levels for each of the ASAIS four acculturation strategies were examined. Table 6 summarizes MMRA with levels of SDO and racism distress levels predicting ABDs' acculturation strategies.

Table 6

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses with Levels of SDO and Racism Distress Predicting the Acculturation Strategies (*N* = 192)

Predictor Variables	Outcome Variables	R^2	F	b	t	p
SDO		.09	4.20			.002
	Assimilation	.03	7.11	.12	2.67	.008**
	Integration	.01	1.74	-.04	-1.32	.19
	Separation	.02	2.91	.07	1.71	.09
	Marginalization	.01	1.17	.07	1.08	.28
Racism Distress		.04	1.96			.10
	Assimilation	< .001	.12	.01	.34	.73
	Integration	< .001	.06	.003	.24	.81
	Separation	.01	1.79	.03	1.34	.18
	Marginalization	.03	6.21	.08	2.49	.01**

* p < 0.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001

The SDO Model

The SDO overall model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 9% (Lambda λ = .91, F (4, 186) = 4.42. p = .002). Levels of SDO were significantly related to Assimilation (F (1, 190) = 7.11, p = .008), but not to Integration (F (1, 190) = 1.74, p = .19), Separation (F (1, 190) = 2.91, p = .09), or Marginalization (F (1, 190) = 1.17, p = .28). Therefore, the regression coefficient for SDO and Assimilation was examined to determine the directionality of this relationship. As shown in Table 6, levels of SDO were significantly positively related to

Assimilation (b =.12), which indicates that when ABDs have a stronger preference for maintaining social hierarchy, they tend to use the Assimilation strategy. Thus, Hypotheses 2a was partially supported and Hypothesis 2b was not supported.

The Racism Distress Model

The racism distress model was not significant using the Wilk's Lambda criterion (λ = .96, F (4, 186) = 1.96. p =.102). Thus, the subsequent steps were not interpreted. The omnibus test accounted for 4% of the variance between racism distress level and the four acculturation strategies.

Moderation Analysis

Previous MMRA analyses showed that some direct effects for Hypothesis 2a were significant as predicted and Hypothesis 2b was not supported. Nevertheless, the direct relationship (i.e., main effect) need not be significant for moderation to occur in moderation analysis (Hayes, 2017). Therefore, moderation analyses to test Hypothesis 2c were conducted.

Hypothesis 2c investigated the simple moderation effects of racism distress levels on relationships between levels of SDO and acculturation strategies. The interaction between the levels of SDO and racism distress levels was tested to determine whether the relationships between participants' levels of SDO and acculturation strategies depended on their racism experiences. I analyzed four separate models in which I used levels of SDO, racism distress levels, and the interaction between SDO and racism distress levels as predictor variables and used acculturation strategies as four outcome variables. Table 7 summarizes Hypothesis 2c results.

Table 7

Summary of Simple Linear Moderation Analyses Predicting Four Acculturation Strategies from Levels of SDO and Racism Distress

	b	t	p	95% CI
Model 1: Assimilation				
R^2 = .04, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	.12	2.67	.01**	[.03, .21]
Racial Distress	.01	.26	.79	[-.03, .05]
SDO x Racial Distress	-.01	-.57	.57	[-.01, .01]
Model 2: Integration				
R^2= .02, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	-.03	-1.31	.19	[-.09, .02]
Racial Distress	.01	.02	.98	[-.02, .03]
SDO x Racial Distress	-.01	-1.62	.11	[-.01, .01]
Model 3: Separation				
R^2= .03, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	.07	1.69	.09	[-.01, .16]
Racial Distress	.03	1.45	.15	[-.01, .07]
SDO x Racial Distress	.01	.94	.35	[-.01, .01]
Model 4: Marginalization				
R^2= .21, R^2 change = .01				
SDO	.06	1.07	.29	[-.05, .18]
Racial Distress	.08	2.67	.01**	[.02, .14]

SDO x Racial Distress	.01	1.44	.15	[-.01, .01]

* p < 0.05 ** p <.01 *** p < .001

Assimilation. The first model of Hypothesis 2c used Assimilation as the outcome variable. The overall model was not statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 2.47, R^2 = .04, p = .06). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Assimilation scores (F (1, 188) = .33, R^2 change =.01, p = .57). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress levels interaction was not further interpreted.

Integration. The second model of Hypothesis 2c used Integration as the outcome variable. The overall model was not statistically significant (F (3, 188) =1.53, R^2 = .02, p = .21). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Integration scores (F (1, 188) = 2.62, R^2 change= .01, p = .11). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress level interaction was not further interpreted.

Separation. The third model of Hypothesis 2c used Separation as the outcome variable. The overall model was not statistically significant (F (3, 188) =1.64, R^2 = .03, p = .18). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Integration scores (F (1, 188) = .88, R^2 change= .01, p = .35). Therefore, the levels of SDO by racism distress levels interaction was not further interpreted.

Marginalization. The fourth model of Hypothesis 2c used Marginalization as the outcome variable. The overall model was statistically significant (F (3, 188) = 2.93, R^2 = .04, p = .04). The simple moderation analysis showed that the interaction between levels of SDO and

racism distress level was not a statistically significant predictor of Marginalization scores (F (1, 188) = 2.07, R^2 change =.01, p = .15). Therefore, levels of SDO by racism distress levels interaction was not further interpreted. As Table 7 shows, the main effect of racism distress levels on Marginalization score was significant, but the main effect of levels of SDO on Marginalization score was not significant. Higher racism distress levels were related to higher levels of Marginalization.

Summary

There was mixed support for Hypothesis 2. Participants' levels of SDO were related to one of their acculturation strategies. Participants' levels of racial distress were not significantly related to their acculturation strategies. Hypotheses 2a was partially supported. Levels of SDO were positively related to Assimilation, but not the other three acculturation strategies. Levels of SDO were significantly positively related to Assimilation, which indicates that when ABDs have a stronger preference for maintaining social hierarchy, they tend to use the Assimilation acculturation strategy. Hypothesis 2b was not supported. Levels of SDO were not statistically significantly related to Separation and Marginalization. Hypothesis 2c was not supported. There was no support for racism distress levels moderating the relationship between levels of SDO and acculturation strategies.

Hypothesis 3a-b. ABDs' racial identity schemas will be significantly related to ABDs' use of acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 3a). SDO will moderate the relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies (Hypothesis 3b).

For hypothesis 3a, predictor variables were participants' racial identity schemas and levels of SDO, and outcome variables were participants' four acculturation strategies. The overall model using participants' levels of SDO and racial identity schemas to predict

acculturation strategies was significant using the Wilk's Lambda criterion (λ= .24, F (20, 608) = 16.38, p < .001), which allowed interpretation of subsequent steps in the analysis to be conducted. The full model explained a substantial portion, about 76%, of the variance shared between the predictor variables and outcome variables. In the next step, additional follow-up interpretations of the analysis examined the unique contribution of levels of SDO and racial identity schemas for the ASAIS acculturation strategies. Table 8 summarizes MMRA with levels of SDO and racial identity schemas predicting ABDs' acculturation strategies.

Table 8

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses with Levels of SDO and Racial Identity Schemas Predicting the Acculturation Strategies (N = 192)

Predictor Variables	Outcome Variables	R^2	F	b	t	p
Levels of SDO		.09	4.31			.004
	Assimilation	< .001	.05	.01	.23	.82
	Integration	.01	2.39	.04	1.55	.12
	Separation	.03	10.42	.13	3.23	.001***
	Marginalization	.01	2.69	-.09	-1.64	.10
Conformity		.08	4.05			.004**
	Assimilation	.03	9.85	.38	3.14	.002**
	Integration	.01	3.23	-.15	-1.80	.07
	Separation	<.001	.01	-.01	-.11	.91
	Marginalization	<.001	.03	-.03	-.17	.87
Dissonance		.23	4.05			< .001***

	Assimilation	.11	32.84	.47	5.73	< .001***
	Integration	<.001	.89	.05	.94	.35
	Separation	<.001	.41	-.05	-.64	.52
	Marginalization	.12	32.50	.66	5.70	< .001***
Immersion-Emersion		.36	26.52			< .001***
	Assimilation	.13	39.08	-.48	-6.25	< .001***
	Integration	<.001	.02	-.01	-.14	.89
	Separation	.31	94.48	.74	9.72	< .001***
	Marginalization	<.001	.19	.05	.43	.67
Internalization		.25	15.20			< .001***
	Assimilation	<.001	<.001	.003	.02	.98
	Integration	.17	39.37	.59	6.28	< .001***
	Separation	.02	6.49	.33	2.55	.01*
	Marginalization	.05	14.57	-.73	-3.82	< .001***

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

The SDO Model

The SDO model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 9% (Lambda $\lambda = .91$, $F(4, 183) = 4.31$. $p = .002$). Levels of SDO were significantly related to Separation ($F(1, 190) = 542.19$, $p = .001$), but not to Integration ($F(1, 190) = 65.67$, $p = .12$), Assimilation ($F(1, 190) = 2.96$, $p = .82$), or Marginalization ($F(1, 190) = 2.69$, $p = .10$). Therefore, the regression coefficient for SDO and Separation was examined to determine the directionality of the significant relationship. As shown in Table 8, levels of SDO were positively related to

Separation (b =.13), which indicates that when ABDs had a stronger preference for maintaining social hierarchy, they tended to use the Separation strategy (i.e., Removing themselves from White culture).

The Racial Identity Model

The multivariate multiple regression analyses showed the significant contribution of each racial identity schema, which were outlined below.

Conformity. The Conformity model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 8% (λ = .92, F (4, 183) = 4.05. p =.004). Participants' Conformity was significantly related to Assimilation (F (1, 190) = 9.85, p =.002) but not to Integration (F (1, 190) = 3.23, p = .07) Separation (F (1, 190) = .01, p = .91) or Marginalization (F (1, 190) = .03, p = .87). Therefore, the regression coefficient using Conformity to predict Assimilation was examined to determine the directionality of this relationship. As shown in Table 8, Conformity was significantly positively related to Assimilation (b =.38), which indicates that when ABDs identified with Whiteness (i.e., Conformity), they tended to reject Asian culture and participate only in White American culture (i.e., Assimilation).

Dissonance. The Dissonance model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 23% (λ = .77, F (4, 183) = 13.68, p <.001). Participants' Dissonance scores were significantly related to Assimilation (F (1, 190) = 32.85, p < .001) and Marginalization (F (1, 190) = 34.50, p < .001), but not to Integration (F (1, 190) = 24.32, p = .35) or Separation (F (1, 190) = 21.46, p = .52). Therefore, the regression coefficient using Dissonance to predict Assimilation and Marginalization were examined to determine the directionality of these relationships. As shown in Table 8, participants' Dissonance scores were significantly positively related to their Assimilation scores (b =.47), which indicates that when ABDs experienced racial confusion (i.e.,

Dissonance), they tended to use the Assimilation strategy or internalization of White culture. Dissonance also was significantly positively related to Marginalization (b = .66), which indicates that when ABDs experienced racial confusion, they tended to adopt neither home cultural practices nor dominant White cultural practices (i.e., Marginalization).

Immersion-Emersion. The Immersion-Emersion model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 36% (λ = .63, F (4, 183) = 26.52, p <.001). Participants' Immersion-Emersion scores were significantly related to Assimilation (F (1, 190) = 39.08, p < .001) and Separation (F (1, 190) = 94.48, p < .001), but not to Integration (F (1, 190) = .02, p = .89) or Marginalization (F (1, 190) = .19, p = .67). Therefore, the regression coefficients using Immersion-Emersion to predict Assimilation and Separation were examined to determine the directionality of these relationships. As shown in Table 8, participants' Immersion-Emersion scores were significantly negatively related to their Assimilation scores (b = -.48), which indicates that when ABDs racially identified with their Asian communities (i.e., Immersion-Emersion), they tended not to use the Assimilation strategy. Immersion-Emersion was significantly positively related to Separation (b = .74), which indicates that when ABDs racially identified with their Asian communities, they tended to practice their home culture and reject White cultural practices (i.e., separated themselves from White culture).

Internalization. The Internalization model accounted for a significant amount of variance, 25% (λ = .75, F (4, 183) = 15.20, p <.001). Participants' Internalization scores were significantly related to Integration (F (1, 190) = 39.37, p < .001), Separation (F (1, 190) = 6.49, p=.01), and Marginalization (F (1, 190) = 14.57, p < .001), but not to Assimilation (F (1, 190) < .001, p = .98). Therefore, the regression coefficients for Internalization predicting Integration,

Separation, and Marginalization were examined to determine the directionality of these relationships.

As shown in Table 8, participants' Internalization scores were significantly positively related to Integration (b =.59), which indicated that when ABDs reported positive commitment to their own group and described themselves as empathizing and collaborating with members of other oppressed groups (i.e., Internalization), they tended to participate in both Asian and White cultures (i.e., Integration). Participants' Internalization scores were also significantly positively related to Separation (b = .33), which indicated that when participants predominantly used the Internalization schema, they tended to practice their home culture and reject White cultural practices (i.e., Separation). Participants' Internalization scores were significantly negatively related to Marginalization (b = -.73), which indicated that when participants predominantly used the Internalization schema, they tended not to report low engagement in Asian and White cultures.

Summary. In sum, identification with Whiteness (Conformity) was significantly positively related to adapting to White culture (Assimilation). Confusion about one's racial group membership (Dissonance) was significantly positively related to adaptation (Assimilation) and not belonging (Marginalization). Reactive affiliation with their own racial group(s) (Immersion-Emersion) was significantly negatively related to Assimilation, but significantly positively related to Separation. Self-actualizing racial identity (Internalization) was significantly positively related to Integration (integrating aspects of both cultures) and Separation (distancing from White culture) but significantly negatively related to Marginalization (withdrawal from both cultures).

Moderation Analysis

To test Hypothesis 3b, I analyzed 16 models in which I used levels of SDO, the four racial identity schemas, and the interactions between SDO and racial identity schemas as predictor variables and four acculturation strategies as outcome variables. In these models, SDO was the moderator. Seven of the models were significant. Table 9 summarizes Hypothesis 3b results for the seven models for which the SDO moderation effect was significant.

Table 9

Simple Linear Moderation Analyses Predicting Four Acculturation Strategies from the Interactions Between Levels of SDO and Racial Identity Schemas

	b	t	p	95% CI
Model 1: Assimilation				
$R^2 = .12$, R^2 change = .06			< .001 ***	
Immersion-Emersion	-.26	-3.10	.002 **	[-.43, -.09]
SDO	.12	2.87	.004 **	[.04, .20]
Immersion-Emersion x SDO	.02	3.51	.006 ***	[.01, .03]
Model 2: Assimilation				
$R^2 = .08$, R^2 change = .02			.002 **	
Internalization	-.35	- 2.20	.03 *	[-.67, -.04]
SDO	.11	2.33	.02 *	[.02, .21]
Internalization x SDO	.02	2.25	.03 *	[.002, .04]
Model 3: Integration				
$R^2 = .07$, R^2 change = .03			.003 **	
Conformity	-.25	-3.09	.002 **	[-.41, -.09]
SDO	-.03	-.90	.37	[-.08, .03]

Conformity x SDO	.01	2.61	.01**	[.003, .02]
Model 4: Separation				
R^2 = .08, R^2 change = .04			.001 ***	
Dissonance	.15	2.05	.04 *	[.01, .29]
SDO	.04	.85	.39	[-.05, .12]
Dissonance x SDO	.01	2.84	.005 **	[.004, .02]
Model 5: Separation				
R^2 = .06, R^2 change = .03			.01 **	
Internalization	.23	1.49	.14	[-.08, .54]
SDO	.13	2.66	.01 **	[.03, .22]
Internalization x SDO	.02	2.27	.02 *	[.002, .04]
Model 6: Marginalization				
R^2 = .11, R^2 change = .03			< .001 ***	
Conformity	.52	3.02	.003 **	[.18, .87]
SDO	-.08	-1.27	.21	[-.20, .04]
Conformity x SDO	.02	2.63	.009 **	[.01, .04]
Model 7: Marginalization				
R^2 = .08, R^2 change = .02			.002 **	
Immersion-Emersion	.35	2.97	.003 **	[.12, .58]
SDO	.06	.99	.32	[-.05, .17]
Immersion-Emersion x SDO	.01	2.07	.04*	[.0007, .09]

Note: Only the seven of 16 models that showed significant moderation effects are summarized.
* p < .05, p <. 01 **, p < .001**

To deconstruct the significant interaction terms in which SDO was the moderator, three groups were created: (a) high, scores at least one SD above the SDO mean; (b) low, scores at least one SD below the SDO mean; and (c) moderate, scores between the high and low groups. Two moderation effect patterns were identified: a low-to-moderate SDO moderation effect and a moderate-to-high SDO moderation effect.

Low-to-Moderate SDO Moderation Effect

Models 1 through 3 describe significant negative relationships between (a) Immersion-Emersion and Assimilation, (b) Internalization and Assimilation, and (c) Conformity and Integration only when participants' SDO scores (the moderator) were low (i.e., - 1 SD) or moderate (i.e., the mean).

Model 1. This model used Immersion-Emersion, SDO, and the interaction between Immersion-Emersion and SDO as the predictor variables and Assimilation as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 8.91, R^2 =.12, p < .001) and the interaction between Immersion-Emersion and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 12.31, R^2 change = .06, p =.006). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant negative relationship between Immersion-Emersion and Assimilation for participants with low SDO (b = - .50, t = -4.30, p < .001) and moderate levels of SDO (b = -.34, t = -3.73, p < .001), but the relationship was not significant for those with high levels of SDO (b = .07, t = .59, p = .55), as shown in Figure 4. Therefore, when Immersion-Emersion (i.e., withdrawal into one's own group) was high, Assimilation (i.e., identification with the dominant culture) was low for participants with low or moderate endorsement of a social dominance orientation (SDO).

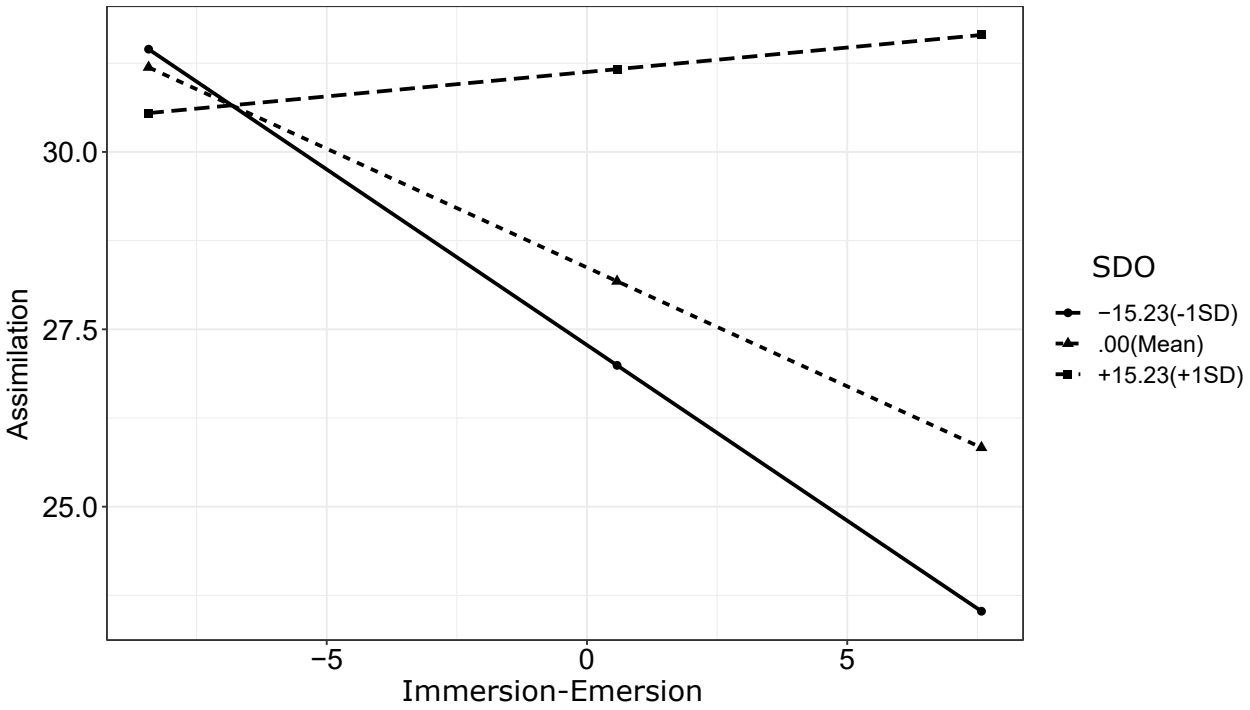

Figure 4. Graph depicting moderation effect of SDO on relationships between Immersion-Emersion and Assimilation

Model 2. This model used Internalization, SDO, and the interaction between Internalization and SDO as the predictor variables and Assimilation as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 5.23, R^2 =.08, p = .002) and the interaction between Internalization and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 5.08, R^2 change = .02, p =.03). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant negative relationship between Internalization and Assimilation for participants with low SDO (b = - .60, t = - 2.87, p = .005) and moderate levels of SDO (b = -.43, t = -2.54, p = .01), but the relationship was not significant for those with high levels of SDO (b = .01, t = .01, p = .99). Therefore, when participants' Internalization (i.e., humanist racial identity) was strong, their Assimilation (i.e., adaptation to dominant culture) was weak if their social dominance orientation was low to moderate.

Model 3. This model used Conformity, SDO, and the interaction between Conformity and SDO as the predictor variables and Integration as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 4.90, R^2 =.07, p = .003) and the interaction between Conformity and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 6.80, R^2 change = .03, p =.01). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant negative relationship between Conformity and Integration for participants with low SDO (b = - .40, t = - 3.56, p <.001) and moderate levels of SDO (b = -.30, t = -3.38, p < .001), but the relationship was not significant for those with high levels of SDO (b = -.04, t = -.39, p = .69). Therefore, when participants' Conformity (i.e., Identification with racial Whiteness) was strong, their Integration (i.e., engagement in both Asian and White cultures) was weak if their SDO was low to moderate.

Summary. These results indicate that when participants endorsed low to moderate levels of SDO, their levels of identifying with and committing to their own group (i.e., Immersion-Emersion) and capacity to assess Whiteness objectively (i.e., Internalization) were each related to lower levels of assimilation into the dominant White American culture (i.e., Assimilation). Yet the more the low and moderate groups identified with Whiteness racially (i.e., Conformity), the less likely they were to engage in both Asian and White American cultural practices (i.e., Integration). For participants who endorsed high levels of SDO, none of the examined relationships were statistically significant. It is possible that race and culture do not matter to ABDs with high levels of SDO.

Moderate-to-High SDO Moderation Pattern

Models 4 through 7 described significant positive relationships between (a) Dissonance and Separation, (b) Internalization and Separation, (c) Conformity and Marginalization, and (d)

Immersion-Emersion and Marginalization only when SDO (the moderator) was high (i.e., + 1 SD) or moderate (i.e., the mean).

Model 4. This model used Dissonance, SDO, and the interaction between Dissonance and SDO as the predictor variables and Separation as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 5.58, R^2 =.08, p = .001) and the interaction between Dissonance and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 8.05, R^2 change = .04, p =.005). The deconstruction of the significant interaction showed a significant positive relationship between Dissonance and Separation for participants with high SDO (b = .38, t = 3.78, p = .002), but the relationship was not significant for those with low levels of SDO (b = -.01, t = -.13, p = .89) and moderate levels of SDO (b = .10, t = 1.26, p = .21), as shown in Figure 2. Therefore, when participants' Dissonance (i.e., racial confusion) was strong, their Separation (i.e., reject White culture and only engage in Asian culture) was strong if their SDO was high.

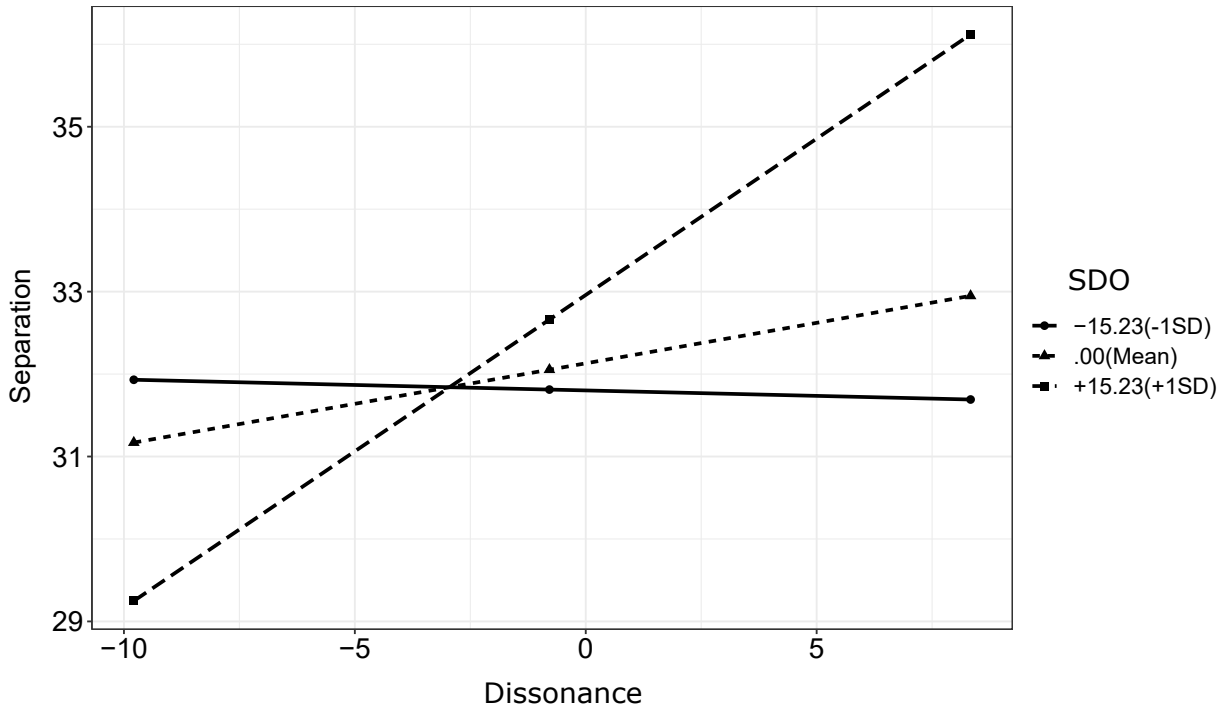

Figure 5. Graph depicting moderation effect of SDO on the relationship between Dissonance and Separation

Model 5. This model used Internalization, SDO, and the interaction between Internalization and SDO as the predictor variables and Separation as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 3.71, R^2 =.06, p = .01) and the interaction between Internalization and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 5.15, R^2 change = .03, p =.02). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant positive relationship between Internalization and Separation for participants with high SDO (b = .58, t = 2.92, p = .004), but the relationship was not significant for those with low levels of SDO (b = -.02, t = -.08, p = .94) and moderate levels of SDO (b = .15, t = .92, p = .36). Therefore, when participants' Internalization (i.e., humanist and self-actualizing racial identity) was strong, their Separation (i.e., only engage in Asian culture) was strong if their SDO was high.

Model 6. This model used Conformity, SDO, and the interaction between Conformity and SDO as the predictor variables and Marginalization as the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 7.77, R^2 =.11, p = < .001) and the interaction between Conformity and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 6.92, R^2 change = .03, p =.01). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant positive relationship between Conformity and Marginalization for participants with high SDO (b = .98, t = 4.77, p < .001) and moderate levels of SDO (b = .42, t = 2.22, p = .03), but the relationship was not significant for those with low levels of SDO (b = .20, t = .81, p = .42). Therefore, when participants' Conformity (i.e., conformance to White racial hierarchy) was strong, their Marginalization (i.e., disengagement from both Asian and White cultures) was strong if their SDO was moderate or high.

Model 7. This model used Immersion-Emersion, SDO, and the interaction between Immersion-Emersion and SDO were the predictor variables and Marginalization was the outcome variable. The overall model was significant (F (3, 188) = 5.26, R^2 =.08, p = .002) and the interaction between Immersion-Emersion and SDO was significant (F (1, 188) = 4.29, R^2 change = .02, p =.04). The deconstruction of the significant interaction indicated a significant positive relationship between Immersion-Emersion and Marginalization for participants with high SDO (b = .62, t = 3.82, p < .001) and moderate levels of SDO (b = .29, t = 2.29, p = .02), but the relationship was not significant for those with low levels of SDO (b = .15, t = .96, p = .34). Therefore, when participants' Immersion-Emersion (i.e., withdrawal into one's own group) was strong, their Marginalization (i.e., disengage from both Asian and White cultures) was strong if their SDO was moderate or high.

Hypothesis 3b Summary. These results indicate that when participants endorsed high or moderate levels of SDO, their levels of racial confusion (i.e., Dissonance) or committing to their Asian racial group and empathizing with other marginalized groups (i.e., Internalization) were each related to higher levels of reported participation in Asian culture and rejection of White culture (i.e., Separation). Also, the more they conformed to Whiteness racially (i.e., Conformity) or identified only with their own Asian group (i.e., Immersion-Emersion), the more likely they were to show little interest in either maintaining their cultural heritage or interacting with the host culture (i.e., Marginalization). For participants who endorsed low level of SDO, none of the moderate-high moderation relationships were statistically significant.

Summary

Hypothesis 3a, which was that ABDs' racial identity schemas would be significantly related to their use of acculturation strategies, was supported. Participants' racial identity schemas were significantly related to their use of acculturation strategies in models using levels of SDO and racial identity schemas to predict ABDs' acculturation strategies. Dissonance was positively related to Assimilation and Marginalization; Immersion-Emersion scores were negatively related to Assimilation and were positively related to Separation; and Internalization was positively related to Integration and Separation and it was negatively related to Marginalization.

Hypothesis 3b, which was that ABDs' levels of SDO would moderate the relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and their acculturation strategies, was supported. For participants who endorsed low to moderate levels of SDO, high levels of Immersion-Emersion or Internalization were associated with low levels of use of the Assimilation strategy; and high levels of Conformity were associated with low levels of use of the Integration strategy. For

participants who endorsed high levels of SDO, as their levels of Dissonance or Internalization increased, they were more likely to use the Separation strategy. High-SDO endorsers' levels of Conformity or Immersion-Emersion were each associated with greater use of the Marginalization strategy.

General Summary

The current study used multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRA) and simple linear moderation analyses to answer questions related to the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and racism distress levels and racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. Hypotheses 1-3 were partially supported. Results showed that ABDs' levels of SDO were significantly related to three out of four racial identity schemas, including Conformity, Dissonance, and Internalization. ABDs' levels of SDO were significantly related to one acculturation strategy (i.e., Assimilation) but not to the other three. Results of simple linear moderation analyses showed that SDO was a significant moderator for the relationships between ABDs' racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. Seven out of 16 SDO moderation models were significant. Three models showed significant negative relationships between Immersion-Emersion and Assimilation, between Internalization and Assimilation, between Conformity and Integration for ABDs who had low-to-moderate levels of SDO. Four models showed significant positive relationships between Dissonance and Separation, between Internalization and Separation, between Conformity and Marginalization, and between Immersion-Emersion and Marginalization for ABDs who had moderate-to-high levels of SDO.

Results showed that ABD's racism distress levels were related to two out of four racial identity schemas (i.e., Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion), but not to any acculturations strategies. Thus, ABDs' racism distress levels were related to emotional schemas in which

people experience racial confusion (Dissonance) or psychologically or physically withdraw into their Asian groups (Immersion-Emersion). Moreover, racism distress levels did not moderate the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and their racial identity schemas, or the relationships between ABDs' levels of SDO and their acculturation strategies.

Chapter 5

Discussion

ABDs hold racial and cultural dominant group positions and have greater social, political, and economic power in their countries of origin (Chakma & Jenson, 2001; Erni, 2008; Miller, 2001). Of the limited empirical studies of Asian Americans and Asian immigrants, some research suggested that ABDs may experience similar challenges with racism and acculturation in White dominant society as subordinate group members (Feagin, 2001; Kim, 2012; Kitano,1996; Takaki, 1998). Yet it is not clear how ABDs' disparate psychological experiences of social dominance across two cultural contexts affects their race and acculturation-related experiences in the US.

Social Dominance Theory postulates that both dominant and subordinate groups contribute to maintaining group-based social dominance and individuals' preferences and support for maintaining group-based social hierarchy (SDO). Levels of SDO may indicate ABDs' psychological process related to their racially and culturally dominant and subordinate group memberships across two cultural contexts (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). People of Color racial identity theory describes the process by which racial minority members overcome the version of internalized racism that typifies their group and achieve a self-affirming and realistic collective group identity (Helms, 1995a). Racial identity schemas, which are individuals' varied cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions towards environmental racial information, were used in this study to conceptualize ABDs' racial identity development in the US context. Berry's (1997, 2017) acculturation theory posits people's acculturation status is determined by the extent to which people maintain their heritage culture and the extent to which people contact and participate in the host culture. Acculturation strategies, which refers to individuals' attitudes and

behaviors regarding these two dimensions in daily intercultural encounters, was used to conceptualize ABDs' acculturation process in the US. Figure 1 and 2 are the conceptual models that summarize how SDO and racism experiences were hypothesized to be related to ABDs' racial identity and acculturation strategies.

Therefore, to address the questions of how ABDs, as privileged dominant group members in Asia, acculturate into a White dominant society in the context of anti-Asian racism, the current study investigated the interactions among SDO, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies of ABDs. Responses from a sample of 192 individuals who self-identified as a racial, ethnic, or tribal majority in their Asian home countries were analyzed to address the following research questions: (a) How are ABDs' levels of SDO, experiences with racism, and racial identity schemas related to each other? (b) How are ABDs' levels of SDO, experiences with racism, and acculturation strategies related to each other? (c) How are levels of SDO, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies related to each other?

In the following discussion, each research question will be addressed with respect to the results of the multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRA) and simple linear moderation analyses. In the following sections, findings related to research questions, methodological limitations of the study, and research implications are discussed.

Relationships of SDO and Racial Distress on Racial Identity

A guiding presumption underlying the current study was that Asian-born dominants (ABDs) who had internalized a belief in the justness of hierarchy (high SDO) would be psychologically close to Whites and use this perspective to cope with Anti-Asian racism. ABDs who rejected and challenged hierarchy (low SDO) would psychologically distance themselves from Whites; thus, they would disown racism and develop a positive view of their subordinate

Asian group. The current study also hypothesized that ABDs' support for hierarchy may be shaken after they encounter discrimination themselves. ABDs' experiences with racism might challenge their perceptions of racial hierarchy as reflected in their social dominance orientation (SDO) and affect their racial identity development.

Hypothesis 1a-b results indicated that both levels of SDO and levels of racism distress were significantly related to ABDs' racial identity schemas, such that when levels of SDO were high so was use of the Conformity and Dissonance schemas, but use of Internalization was low as hypothesized. Use of the Immersion-Emersion schema was not predicted by SDO. Racism distress levels were only related to Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion, and the nature of the relationships were that more racism distress was associated with greater racial confusion and withdrawal.

The findings did support the hypothesis that high levels of SDO were related to internalized racism schemas (Conformity and Dissonance), which refers to ABDs' acceptance of White dominant group's racist definition of People of Color; and that low levels of SDO were related to overcoming racism schemas (Internalization), which refers to ABDs' use of a self-actualizing definition instead of psychological alignment with Whites. This finding was consistent with previous SDO literature on racism studies where high levels of SDO were related to racist attitudes and preferences for Whites (Sidanius & Pratto, 1992; Pratto & Stewart, 2012).

The findings also support the proposition that ABDs' racism distress levels were related to their racial identity development. These findings were consistent with POC racial identity studies of Asian Americans wherein participants' heightened awareness of racism across interpersonal and institutional levels were related to Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion schema (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Liu, 2013). One SDO study on Latinx college students also

reported that POC's awareness of racism may challenge their perceptions of racial hierarchy. The study showed that their levels of SDO were not related to White favoritism when they perceived White racial hierarchy as unjust and illegitimate (Levin et al., 2002). However, results from Hypothesis 1a-b are unique to the literature, in that no prior study has examined how levels of SDO and experiences with racism each may differentially contribute to ABDs' racial identity development.

The hypothesis that ABDs' levels of SDO and their racial identity schemas would be moderated by their racism distress levels was not supported by the obtained results. Figure 3 is the conceptual model that summarizes how ABDs' SDO and racism distress were hypothesized to be related to their racial identity schemas. This finding suggests that ABDs' levels of SDO were directly related to their racial identity schemas and not dependent on their experiences with racism in the US context. No previous studies have investigated the influence of racism distress levels on either levels of SDO or racial identity development.

Relationships of SDO and Racial Distress on Acculturation Strategies

The current study assumed that ABDs who support group-based hierarchy and reject an egalitarian view on inter-group relationships (high SDO) would identify with White dominant cultural practices and use this perspective to justify the assimilation pressure they face. ABDs who challenge social hierarchy (low SDO) would psychologically withdraw from White culture, thus they would either stay in their Asian cultural circle or lose a sense of belonging in both Asian and White groups. The current study also hypothesized that ABDs' experiences with racism might challenge their previously held cultural privileges. Presumably, experiencing racism would make ABDs realize they are discriminated against due to their assigned minority group status, thus they may choose not to participate in White cultures to avoid the harm. Thus,

in hypothesis 2, I proposed that both ABDs' levels of SDO and experiences with racism would be related to their acculturation strategies and that ABDs' experiences with racism would moderate the relationships between SDO and acculturation strategies.

The findings indicated that participants' levels of SDO were positively related to Assimilation, but not to the other three acculturation strategies. ABDs with high levels of SDO tended to only participate in White culture and not to retain their home cultural practices. This finding was consistent with the results of one SDO study (Levin et al., 2012), as their research found a link between high levels of SDO of Whites and their support for Assimilation ideology. The finding was also consistent with the results of Xing et al.'s (2020) acculturation study, which showed that Chinese international students' levels of White cultural identity predicted their uses of the Assimilation strategy. It is likely that ABDs with high levels of SDO support a single cultural hierarchy back home and also only identify with Whites and participate in dominant White culture in the US possibly because it seems similar in some ways.

Additionally, the obtained results did not provide strong support for ABDs' racism distress levels relating to their acculturation strategies, nor being a moderator of the relationships between SDO and acculturation strategies. This was not consistent with previous acculturation studies that showed significant relationships between racial or ethnic discrimination and acculturation strategies. For example, studies showed that Asian American youths with high Assimilation scores tended to report lower levels of racial discrimination (Choi et al., 2018), Asian immigrants with high Separation scores tended to report higher levels of racial and ethnic discrimination (Berry et al., 2006), and immigrants who were marginalized in both cultures tended to report high levels of discrimination (Berry & Hou, 2016). However, these studies assessed Asian immigrants' discrimination experiences using perceived frequency of being

treated unfairly because of one's ethnicity or culture, race, religion and language. The current study only used participants' self-report racism distress levels but not the occurrence or frequency of racism events.

Relationships Between Racial Identity and Acculturation Strategies and the Moderation Effect of SDO

The hierarchical nature of race and culture as forms of SDO may be implicit in the racial identity development and acculturation processes. Conceptually, it seems reasonable to assume that ABDs' racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies involving some forms of acceptance of or rejection of White racial or cultural dominance might be related. However, no previous studies have investigated the relationships between racial identity and acculturation strategies from a lens of social dominance. Hypothesis 3a posited that ABDs' racial identity schemas would be related to their use of acculturation strategies given that these two psychological concepts may be reflections of how they identify with social hierarchy. The findings supported Hypothesis 3, with participants' all four racial identity schemas being significantly related to acculturation strategies.

Conformity. Participants' Conformity was positively related to Assimilation. Thus, when ABDs supported the racial status quo, they also used the Assimilation strategy. Both racially and culturally, ABDs conform to Whiteness and internalize the legitimacy of White hierarchy. This pattern makes intuitive sense in that ABDs who show support for group-based hierarchy (high SDO), are implicitly choosing to conform to racial hierarchy in the US as well as White dominant cultural practices. Cheng's (2015) study of Asian Americans showed similar results in that Chinese American participants' high endorsement of Conformity was related to higher levels of acculturation into White dominant culture (Assimilation).

Dissonance. Participants' Dissonance was positively related to their use of Assimilation and Marginalization. Thus, when ABDs felt confused by racism, they either chose White cultural practices or disengaged from both Asian and White cultures. It is possible that ABDs with high levels of SDO felt confused about racism, due to lack of experiences or awareness of racial oppression in their home country, tried to maintain a sense of dominance by practicing White culture (Assimilation). Even though ABDs may have wanted to be part of the larger White society, they may have lacked the skills and ability to make cultural contacts with Whites. Therefore, they might have experienced a lack of belonging and were socially isolated from both Whites and People of Color (Marginalization).

Immersion-Emersion. Participants' Immersion-Emersion was positively related to their use of the Separation Strategy and was negatively related to the Assimilation strategy. Thus, when ABDs psychologically and physically withdrew from White racism (Immersion-Emersion), they preferred maintaining their Asian cultural practices and rejected White cultural practices. This finding was consistent with Concepcion, Kohatsu, and Yeh's study (2013), which suggested that maybe Asian Americans' strong cultural and ethnic ties serve as a buffer and coping strategy for racism. It is possible that ABDs who are questioning racial hierarchy and rejecting racism (low SDO) choose to maintain their Asian culture for a sense of safety.

Internalization. Participants' Internalization was positively related to Integration and Separation, and was negatively related to Marginalization. ABDs who used a self-actualizing racial identity schema might enjoy flexibility and could choose to engage in Asian culture primarily (Separation) or engage in both Asian and White dominant culture (high Integration and low Marginalization). ABDs with low levels of SDO might have developed non-hierarchy ways of relating to other racial and cultural groups. Thus, these ABDs might have developed the most

balanced perspective on the racial and cultural dynamics of their group of Color and Whites, such that they could maintain positive identification with their Asian groups racially and culturally while realistically appreciating the valuable aspects of Whiteness and participate in White culture at their will.

Summary. The findings supported Hypothesis 3a assessing direct effects of racial identity on preference for acculturation strategies and provided new insights into the connections between ABDs' internalized racial and cultural hierarchy. It is possible that when ABDs' SDO adherence is high, ABDs use White-dominant racial schemas (Conformity and Dissonance) and the Assimilation strategy. When ABDs reject group-based dominance, they may racially and culturally withdraw from Whites (Immersion-Emersion and Separation) or they develop self-defining schemas (Internalization and Integration) and non-hierarchical ways of relating to other groups.

SDO as a Moderator

Although SDO was a strong predictor of racial identity but not of acculturation strategies, it may moderate the relationships between racial identity and acculturation. That is, different types of participants as reflected in their levels of SDO might reveal different types of relationships between their use of racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. Hypothesis 3b focused on whether and how levels of SDO moderated the relationships between racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. The results showed that how ABDs' racial identity schemas related to their acculturation strategies was dependent on to the extent to which they supported and preferred social hierarchy. Seven out of 16 interactions between racial identity schemas and SDO levels significantly predicted acculturation strategies. The findings

revealed two significant patterns which are interpreted as (a) a Low-to-moderate SDO moderation effect and (b) a Moderate-to-high SDO moderation effect.

Low-to-Moderate SDO Moderation Effects. For participants with low or moderate endorsement of SDO, when Immersion-Emersion (i.e., withdrawal into one's own group) or Internalization (i.e., humanist racial identity) was high, Assimilation (i.e., identification with the dominant culture) was low. Furthermore, the more the low and moderate SDO groups identified with Whiteness racially (Conformity), the less likely they were to engage in both Asian and White cultural practices (Integration). For participants who endorsed high levels of SDO, none of the examined relationships between racial identity and acculturation strategies were statistically significant. It is possible that race and culture do not matter to ABDs with high levels of SDO.

Despite the lack of prior research, this finding is consistent with SDO, racial identity and acculturation theory. When ABDs do not show full support for social hierarchy, they may develop a humanistic and non-hierarchical view on racial and cultural intergroup conflicts or connections. ABDs' hierarchical-attenuating attitudes, support for racial justice and realistic appreciation of White, and high engagement in both cultures were aligned with each other. Thus, ABDs with low or moderate levels of SDO may not experience inner conflicts when they transition from being dominant group members in Asia to being subordinate group members in the US.

Moderate-to-High SDO Moderation Effects. When participants endorsed moderate or high levels of SDO, their levels of racial confusion (i.e., Dissonance) or humanist racial identity (i.e., Internalization) were related to high levels of engagement in Asian culture and rejection of White culture (i.e., Separation). For participants who endorsed low levels of SDO, none of the examined relationships between racial identity and acculturation strategies were statistically

significant. These findings make intuitive sense. For ABDs who showed strong support for social group hierarchy, their racial confusion or humanist racial attitudes conflicted with their high levels of belief in a social hierarchy (e.g., SDO). Thus, to minimize their internal conflicts and avoid racial information in the US society, they may have only socialized within their Asian cultural groups so that their sense of racial and cultural dominance would not be challenged.

Additionally, for participants who endorsed moderate or high levels of SDO, the more they conformed to the White racial hierarchy (i.e., Conformity) or identified only with their own Asian group or groups of Color (i.e., Immersion-Emersion), the more likely they were to disengage in both Asian and White cultures (i.e., Marginalization). For participants who endorsed low levels of SDO, none of the examined relationships between racial identity and acculturation strategies were statistically significant. It is not clear why ABDs with high levels of SDO who primarily use the Conformity schema would choose to disengage in both cultures (i.e., Marginalization). It was originally assumed that people who support social hierarchy and conform to White racial hierarchy would try to assimilate into the dominant culture. As for ABDs with high levels of SDO who use Immersion-Emersion schema, it is possible that they were trying to learn rules of belonging in Asian cultures and thus experienced Marginalization in their transitional phrase. This finding may highlight the cost of high levels of SDO on ABDs' racial identity and acculturation outcomes, which has not been examined in previous studies.

Modifications of Conceptual Model

Given that ABDs belong to Asian dominant racial and cultural groups, they are socialized in systems and institutions that legitimize social hierarchy. Their racial and cultural privileges may not be challenged until they experience and become aware of anti-Asian racism in the US. Originally, SDO and experiences with racism were conceptualized as being central to ABDs'

development of racial identity and acculturation strategies within the context of racism in the US.

The findings showed that both ABDs' levels of SDO and racism distress were related to ABDs' racial identity development, as reflected in their use of racial identity schemas. Receiving racist messages regarding Asians' subordinate group status shakes ABDs' understanding of racial dynamics and their loss of group dominance. Moreover, racism distress levels did not moderate ABDs' levels of SDO and their racial identity schemas.

The findings showed that ABDs' levels of SDO were positively related to their use of the Assimilation strategy in the US, but not to other types of acculturation strategies. ABDs' levels of racism distress were not significantly related to their acculturation strategies, nor were they a moderator of the relationships between SDO and acculturation strategies. When ABDs endorse high levels of support of social dominance, they may be more likely to identify with the dominant culture and they do not engage in other types of acculturation strategies. Thus, ABDs' levels of SDO and racism distress were more closely related to their racial identity schemas than their acculturation strategies. Future SDO research on ABDs should focus on their racial identity and racial experiences rather than just their acculturation process.

Additionally, ABDs' racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies were related, such that their racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies seemed aligned, both depending on the extent to which the ABDs supported racial and cultural dominance. It is possible that different patterns of racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies represent different internalizations of dominance. When ABDs internalize social dominance, they use White-dominant racial schemas (Conformity and Dissonance) and the Assimilation strategy. When ABDs reject social dominance, they may either racially and culturally withdraw from

Whites (Immersion-Emersion and Separation) or develop non-hierarchical ways of relating to other racial and cultural groups (Internalization and Integration).

Limitations

Given the fact that SDO, racial identity schemas, and acculturation strategies of ABDs, rarely have been empirically examined in the literature, the current study is exploratory in nature. Several limitations will be discussed concerning (a) research design, (b) sampling issues, (c) measurement considerations, and (d) pandemic considerations.

Research Design

A central focus of the current study was to understand how ABDs psychologically transition from being racially and culturally dominant members in Asia to subordinate group members in the US. The transition in social position regarding race and culture were presumed to be affected by their social dominance orientation and their experiences with anti-Asian racism, and were manifested through their development of racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies. However, the study used a correlational design and collected data one point in time (during March 2021 to May 2021). Thus, one cannot describe ABDs' psychological transition from being dominant to subordinate based on one-time data collection and conclude any causal relationships between SDO, racism experiences, and their racial identity development and acculturation process.

Moreover, the study did not use a longitudinal design in which ABDs' levels of SDO, racial attitudes, acculturation ideology before leaving Asia were compared to their characteristics at different time periods after they arrived in the US. This type of longitudinal design might make it possible to assess how ABDs' original SDO levels prior to migration and their racial and

acculturation experiences in the US affected their current levels of SDO, racial identity development, and acculturation process.

Additionally, the SDO scale used in the current study focused on an external view on social dominance rather than a personal view of social dominance. A personal view of social dominance might better capture people's psychological reaction towards dominance, given that individuals must make personal statements rather than hiding their views behind collective and ambivalent "we" statements. For example, the current scale included "we" statements such as "We should not push for group equality" or "No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life". Future SDO studies may benefit from developing different ways of measurement, especially emphasizing on individuals' internal views regarding social dominance and justice issues. Potential statements could be "I will push for group equality by engaging in social activism" and "I believe some groups of people must be kept in their place".

Lastly, 21.9% of the original participants (n = 99) were not included because they did not complete all measures, which contributed to a significant amount of missing data. Most participants dropped out when they were doing the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (n = 28) or the Asian American Race-Related Stress Index (n = 61). These two scales were the first two scales out of four that participants had to fill out. It is possible that participants dropped out of the survey due to their changes in emotional state, as they answered questions related to their social dominance perspective and/or their experiences with racism. In addition, the length of the Race-Related Stress Index may have contributed to participants' incompletion of the measure. Participants were required to first assess the frequency of 29 racism events and then assess their distress levels if they indicated that certain racism events happened to them, which might have

made the survey experiences tiring and overwhelming. Moreover, eight participants did not finish the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale. It is possible that participants dropped out of the survey due to their elevated distress levels, as they answered questions related to racial identity. One participant reached out to me through email and shared that she/he/they were not able to complete the Racial Identity Attitude Scale because the participant thought some statements were "unfair" to White people and White culture. Protection of White people is a theme of the internalizing-racism schemas. Thus, ABDs who were using internalizing-racism schemas may be less likely to finish the survey and may not be well represented in the study.

Sampling Issues

First, the homogeneity of sample characteristics with respect to race, ethnicity, and education resources may have limited the generalizability of the results. The majority of the sample of ABDs for this study were majority racial, ethnic, or tribal group members from mainland China (n = 148, 77.1%). Most participants held a master's degree and a doctoral degree and they came from middle-class or above socioeconomic statuses provided by well-educated parents. It is possible that the obtained results better represented the experiences of mainland China ABDs than ABDs from other Asian countries. Thus, the current study's results were likely influenced by this portion of the sample of ABDs' socialization experiences related to their specific demographic characteristics rather than the characteristics of underrepresented ABD groups.

Second, the sample was not random. Varied sampling techniques were used in this study with the purpose of obtaining an adequate sample of ABDs. These procedures included recruitment through social media and "snowball sampling" where some participants invited their friends to join this research. It is difficult to know how the participants decided to complete the

online survey. Consequently, unknowable sample biases may have influenced the study outcome. In addition, my race and Asian/Chinese international identity were easily accessible to potential participants, as I indicated who I am in the study promotion materials. My Chinese international colleagues or Asian American colleagues often responded to this research positively, gave me encouragement, and shared the survey with their networks. This may explain why the sample was overrepresented by Chinese Han participants who have received high education in the US.

Third, 30 participants did not reside in the US when they took this survey. Various factors may have contributed to their decisions to not live in the US. For example, during the pandemic, many Asian international individuals were not able to return to the US to study or work due to traveling restrictions. It is also possible that ABDs may feel uncertain about staying in the US for a longer term due to the impact of pandemic or the rise of anti-Asian violence. Or ABDs might have returned to their home countries simply because they had finished their temporary job or education programs in the US. For participants who stayed outside of the US, the relevance of acculturation strategies may be different since they were no longer engaging in daily intercultural contexts. In addition, these participants may have viewed anti-Asian racism experiences as less relevant than did the 162 participants who are currently residing in the US and who are still impacted by racially salient events in the US. Future research should consider the relevance of participants' current residence location on their acculturation process and experiences with racism in the US.

Measurement Considerations

All measures were self-reported. As a result, all responses were subject to response bias, and it is possible that participants may have responded in manners that were consistent with social expectations. For example, scores on the SDO scale and the Marginalization subscale of

the ASAIS were still positively skewed even after winsoring techniques had been applied, which indicated that participants may tend to report low scores on SDO and Marginalization. Scores on the Internalization subscale of the PRIAS and the Integration subscale of the ASAIS were negatively skewed, which indicated that participants may tend to report high scores on Internalization and Integration. Previous research on Asian Americans and immigrants has reported that the Integration strategy was the most preferred acculturation strategy and reported a positively skewed Internalization distribution (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Berry, 2016; Liu, 2013). It is possible that participants may find the presentation of low SDO and Marginalization and high Integration and Internalization to be socially desirable and may endorse these items more or less. Thus, the limited variability in the participants' responses regarding SDO and certain racial identity schemas and acculturation strategies may affect the investigation of their relationships.

In addition, it was necessary to modify the original AARRSI measure that focused on Asian Americans' racism experiences to better reflect Asian international people's experiences. Some minor adjustments I made included replacing "Asian Americans" with "Asians" and changing the past tense of some events to the current tense to recognize that racism is ongoing instead of a historical event. A couple of participants reached out to me and stated that they did not resonate with some racism events. For example, one participant stated that she did not think if someone asked her what her real name was a racist act. Thus, I changed item 28 from "Someone asks you what your real name is" to "You change your real name to make others more comfortable, or others ask you to change your make to make them comfortable". It is possible that the revised AARRSI measure still does not accurately capture Asian international people's experiences with racism in the US.

I also separated the frequency subscale and the distress level subscale of AARRSI. Participants were asked to first assess the occurrence of a racial event during their lifetime, and then rate their levels of racism distress regarding each event. Preliminary data analysis showed that 32% of participants indicated that all of the proposed racism events had happened to them or people they knew, which resulted in excluding this variable in the data analysis. Thus, I only used participants' levels of racial distress to measure their experiences with racism in the current study. Future researchers might obtain less ambiguous results by separating frequencies from the psychological reactions to such experiences and focusing on participants' psychological reactions (i.e., distress levels). In addition, future research should find other ways to measure frequency of racism events given the wide range of and the high frequency of racism events that participants reported in the original data analysis.

Pandemic Considerations

The data collection occurred from March to May in 2021, when people were into the second year of the Covid-19 pandemic. Many Asians in the US have been facing exacerbated racism and xenophobia during pandemic (Jeung, 2020). Anti-Asian discrimination has surged in the forms of hate crimes, physical attacks, and verbal assaults, as the U.S. government perpetuated racist rhetoric such as "China Virus" or "Wuhan Virus" (Gover, Harper & Langton, 2020). The current study did not address the impact of this historic period directly. However, the fact that participants indicated high occurrences of racism events and 32% of the sample reported that all the proposed racism events have happened to them, could give readers a sense of the impact of anti-Asian racism during the pandemic on individuals' lives. Perhaps future researchers should attempt to capture the significant contextual influences on participants' reports of racism experiences.

It is also possible that ABDs' social dominance perspective was challenged during the pandemic given the widespread anti-Asian violence. If so, this aspect was not fully captured in the current study. Due to their critical experiences with racism, ABDs may reflect on their ascribed subordinate racial and cultural group memberships in the US and begin to question their internalized messages about the legitimacy of racial and cultural dominance.

In addition, during the pandemic, women, younger adults, Asian, and Black communities were actively engaging in the movement to "Stop Asian Hate" (Lyu, Fan, Xiong, Komisarchik & Luo, 2021). One study found that racially salient events, such as Black Lives Matter, impacted racial identity development of Black and multiracial children (Rogers, Rosario, Padilla & Foo, 2020). Thus, participants in this study may have developed more complex racial identity schemas in response to their racism experiences or their involvement with racial justice movements during the pandemic. Political activism was not fully captured in the current study.

Lastly, people's experiences with racism during the pandemic may have affected ABDs' choices of acculturation strategies. Research has demonstrated that Asian immigrants' choices of staying within their Asian cultural circle and experiences with the lack of belonging in both White American and Asian culture were related to their report of high levels of racial and ethnic discrimination (Choi et al., 2018; Berry et al., 2006). ABDs may find it hard to assimilate into White culture given the increased anti-Asian racism during the pandemic. Thus, participants in the current study may have engaged with their Asian community members (i.e., Separation) or disengaged from both cultures (i.e., Marginalization). Perhaps future acculturation research should explore the effects of the racial and immigration climate on the types of constructs investigated in the current study.

Implications

Even though the current study used a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal design, it might be the first research to address the racial and cultural transitions of ABDs from the cultural contexts of their Asian home countries to the US. These results may have implications for future theory and research and for practicing and training clinicians.

Implications for SDO Research and Race and Acculturation Studies

Previous SDO research focused on individual differences that are related to levels of SDO, such as levels of empathy, attitudes towards diversity and intergroup threat (Ward & Masgoret, 2006), traditional gender ideologies (Swami et al., 2013), and racist attitudes (Sidanius & Pratto, 1992). However, the psychological complexity of social dominance in ABDs has not been recognized in the context of transition from being socially dominant to subordinate. Given that SDO is an important factor for ABDs' racial identity development and assimilation process, future SDO research should potentially explore (a) the cost and benefit of ABDs holding their socially dominant attitude in the US; (b) factors that promote social dominance increase and reduction within ABDs, such as experiences with discrimination and/or changes in critical awareness through observing or participating in activism; and (c) the various ways by which socialization processes regarding dominant or subordinate group memberships relate to ABDs' changes in or stabilization of their dominant attitudes.

Additionally, previous race and acculturation research focused on Asian Americans' experiences and some of these studies included Asian-born immigrants without distinguishing participants' racial and cultural group memberships in Asia (e.g., Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Cheng, 2015). Contrary to the prevalent assumption in the US that Asian-born immigrants are racially and culturally homogeneous and their experiences with racial oppression and

acculturation stress are similar, the results of the present study suggest that ABDs' SDO levels may have direct implications for their racial identity development and acculturation process. Thus, a thorough understanding of Asian immigrants' previous socialization experiences regarding their dominant and oppressed racial and cultural group statuses is needed.

For example, one qualitative study Chinese Han international students (CHIS) showed that CHIS, who were racial majority members in China, endorsed racial identity schemas related to internalization of racial superiority due to lack of awareness and experiences of racism, internalization of racial inferiority, such as idealization of Whites and White culture, and externalization of racial inferiority, such as development of strong Chinese identity and ethnic pride (Zheng, Xu & Helms, 2021). Similar future research may open discussions around the unique challenges faced by Asian immigrants who also have their own racial and cultural identities back in their Asian homelands.

Implications for Clinical Practice

The findings from the current study have many implications for clinical work with ABDs whenever clients' problems appear to have some race-related, immigration-related, or cultural aspects. They are (a) exploring a variety of racial and cultural backgrounds, (b) assessing and understanding the clients' attitudes towards social hierarchy in conversations about race and culture, and (c) exploring the clients' experiences with Anti-Asian racism and assessing their racial identity schemas.

Clinicians should be aware that Asian immigrants are coming from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds in Asia and develop the habit of asking clients about their racial and cultural experiences in their home country, even if the client appears to be in the same Asian group as the therapist. ABDs may internalize explicit or implicit racial and cultural messages

regarding their dominant group position. It is important for the clinician to help clients build connections between their previous and current racial and cultural socialization experiences, which may assist clients in developing externalizing racism identity schemas and alleviating their acculturation stress. Also, familiarity with the racial and cultural knowledge or stereotypes commonly associated with the clients' racial or cultural groups in Asia and in the US can provide the clinician an opportunity to assess clients' acculturation challenges or related self-esteem issues.

The results of the current study showed that ABDs' levels of SDO both were associated with their racial identity schemas and the use of Assimilation strategy directly and were moderating the relationships between these two sets of psychological constructs. Thus, exploring and assessing ABDs' understanding and support for racial and cultural hierarchy is important in conversations about race and culture. For example, the clinician who uses Cognitive Behavioral Therapy could discuss with clients their thoughts, emotions, physical reactions, and behaviors in a particular racial and cultural context, which may lead to a conversation about their core beliefs on racial and cultural hierarchy. The clinician who uses Acceptance and Commitment Therapy could discuss with clients about their core values during their acculturation journey and see if clients share any thoughts around social justice topics. These conversations may provide an opportunity for clients to explore their internal conflicts as they transition from being dominant racial and cultural members to being subordinate in the US. Maybe once ABDs no longer ignore the impact of their previous privileges and develop non-hierarchical ways of relating to White and other racial and cultural groups in the US, they could gain a sense of belonging and acquire self-advocacy skills when they face race and acculturation challenges.

Clinicians should also hold a space for ABDs to discuss their experiences or observations of racism directly, especially during the pandemic where many Asians are targeted and discriminated against. For ABDs with high levels of SDO, they may avoid discussing racism or minimize its impact. The firm believes that racism does not affect them as much as how it affects racial minority groups in the US may be related to their previous socialization experiences as dominant group members. Clinicians could provide psychoeducation on the history of Anti-Asian racism in the US or share resources with them if clients show interest in exploring some relevant topics. For ABDs who share their experiences with racism and who primarily use the Dissonance and Immersion-Emersion schemas, clinicians should pay close attention to their distress levels and whether they show signs of racial trauma so that they can plan treatment accordingly. These racial identity schemas typically involve feeling confused about their racial group commitment and/or experiencing intense emotions around racial issues (Alvarez & Kimura, 2001; Concepcion, Kohatsu & Yeh, 2013).

In summary, whenever clients' problems appear to be affected by their race, immigration, and acculturation experiences, clinicians should consider discussing ABDs' racial and cultural socialization experiences across multiple racial and cultural contexts and assessing the impact of their attitudes toward social dominance on their psychological transition.

Implications for Community Intervention

With the increasing number of Asian people arriving in the US, the results of the current study points towards the complexity of the acculturation and racialization processes of Asian-born racially and culturally dominant group members in the United States. The results of the current study may help psychologists and educators, who work with Asian international students

or Asian immigrants, to develop community-based interventions to address ABDs' unique challenges with anti-Asian racism and acculturation stress in the US.

For example, offices of international students and scholars or university counseling centers should consider providing a support space for Asian-born students to discuss their racial and cultural experiences across two cultural contexts. To help Asian-born students connect their history of racial and cultural experiences with their current experiences in the US, psychologists should facilitate dialogues related to racism and ethnic violence in Asia and students' previous experiences or lack of experiences with racism. In addition, psychologists should provide racial healing toolbox that address their experiences with anti-Asian racism in the US. To help Asian-born students cope with acculturation stress, psychologists could facilitate discussions on the immigration history of Asians in the US and importance of building communities that not only could share students' cultural practices and values, but also could validate their acculturation challenges. To help ABD students make sense of their potential internal conflicts related to their lost racial and cultural privileges, psychologists could facilitate conversations related to individuals' intersectionality of privileges and marginalization experiences.

In addition, college faculties who teach subjects related to race and cultural issues should include discussions of issues of racism and immigration as they occur in Asian international students' home countries. Through encouraging international students to reflect on and discuss their previous socialization experiences, they may be able to understand their unique social positions in the US and find their voices in the process of rejecting racism and externalizing assimilation pressure.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
2. Were you born in Asia?
3. What is your home country in Asia? Please specify_____
4. How does your government back in Asia classify your racial, ethnic, or tribal group?
    a. Majority group
    b. Minority group
    c. I don't know
5. What is your racial, ethnic, or tribal group in your Asian home country? Please specify. _____
6. What do people in the United States think your race is? (You can pick multiple categories).
    a. Asian, Asian Americans, or Pacific Islander
    b. African Descent, African American, or Black (non-Hispanic)
    c. Latinx or Hispanic (e.g., Puerto Rican, Mexican, Central/South America)
    d. Native American, American Indian, or Indigenous American
    e. White (non-Hispanic)
    f. Other (please specify)
7. How long did you live in your Asian home country before you came to the United States? Please enter the length of years.
8. Are you currently living in the United States?
    a. Yes
    b. No
9. How long have you or did you live(d) in the United States? Please enter the length of years.
10. What's your English fluency?
    a. Very fluent
    b. Fluent
    c. Don't know/Undecided
    d. Slightly fluent
    e. Not fluent at all
11. What is your gender?
    a. Female
    b. Transwoman
    c. Male
    d. Transman
    e. Gender queer, non-conforming, or non-binary
    f. Prefer not to say
    g. Other (please specify)
12. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If currently enrolled, highest degree received)
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school, no diploma

c. High school graduate
d. Some college credit, no degree
e. Trade/technical/vocational training
f. Associate degree
g. Bachelor's degree
h. Master's degree (e.g., J.D., MBA, MA, MS)
i. Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD., Psy.D.)

13. What is the highest degree or level of school your mother figure has completed? (If currently enrolled, highest degree received)?
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school, no diploma
    c. High school graduate
    d. Some college credit, no degree
    e. Trade/technical/vocational training
    f. Associate degree
    g. Bachelor's degree
    h. Master's degree (e.g., J.D., MBA, MA, MS)
    i. Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD., Psy.D.)
14. What is the highest degree or level of school your father figure has completed? (If currently enrolled, highest degree received)?
    a. Less than high school
    b. Some high school, no diploma
    c. High school graduate
    d. Some college credit, no degree
    e. Trade/technical/vocational training
    f. Associate degree
    g. Bachelor's degree
    h. Master's degree (e.g., J.D., MBA, MA, MS)
    i. Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD., Psy.D.)
15. What is your current employment status?
    a. Employed full time (40 or more hours per week)
    b. Employed part time (up to 39 hours per week)
    c. Unemployed
    d. Student
    e. Retired
    f. Homemaker
    g. Self-employed
    h. Unable to work
16. What is the estimated socioeconomic status of your family of origin?
    a. Low income
    b. Lower middle class
    c. Middle class
    d. Upper middle class
    e. Upper class

Appendix B

Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7

Instruction: Please show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
Strongly oppose Strongly favor

1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.
2. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
3. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.
6. No one group should dominate in society.
7. Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.
8. Group dominance is a poor principle.
9. We should not push for group equality.
10. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.
11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
12. Group equality should not be our primary goal.
13. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.
14. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
15. No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.
16. Group equality should be our ideal.

From Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO_7 scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 109*(6), 1003.

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Appendix C

Revised Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory

From Liang, C. T., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *51*(1), 103.

The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory was not reprinted by the request of author. Please contact Dr. Chris Liang at ctl212@lehigh.edu for further request.

Appendix D

People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale

From Helms, J. E. (1995b). The people of color (POC) racial identity attitude scale. Unpublished manuscript, University of Maryland, College Park.

The people of color (POC) racial identity attitude scale was not reprinted by the request of author. Please contact Dr. Janet E. Helms at janet.helms@bc.edu for further request.

Appendix E

Revised Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students

From Gu, S. F. (2008). An acculturation scale for Asian international students: Development and validation. Doctoral dissertation, Purdue University.

The Acculturation Scale for Asian International Students was not reprinted given that the writer was unable to contact Dr. Gu for his/her/their permission.