

Does Color-blind Racial Ideology Moderate the Internalization of the Model Minority  
Myth on Psychological Distress among Asian American College Students?

by

Sarah Parks

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Counseling

Approved December 2019 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Hyung Chol Yoo, Co-Chair  
Lisa Spanierman , Co-Chair  
Alisia Giac-Thao Tran

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2020

## ABSTRACT

Using a sample of 309 Asian American college students, the present study examined the effects of color-blind racial ideology (i.e., unawareness of blatant racial issues, unawareness of racial privilege and unawareness of institutional racism) on the link between internalization of the model minority myth (i.e., unrestricted mobility and achievement orientation) and psychological distress (i.e., social climate stress, interracial stress, within group stress, racism stress and achievement stress). Results primarily suggest the denial of blatant racism and racial issues (and not denial of racial privilege and institutional racism) exacerbate the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility, while it buffers the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to achievement orientation on race-related social stress. Also, denial of racial privilege appears to buffer the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility and within group stress. Clinical implications and future directions for research are discussed.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	iv
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Model Minority Myth and Psychological Distress.....	2
The Role of Color-blind Racial Ideology .....	6
2 METHODS .....	10
Participants.....	10
Measures .....	11
3 RESULTS .....	14
Preliminary Analysis.....	14
Main Analysis.....	16
4 DISCUSSION .....	25
Clinical Implications and Limitations .....	29
REFERENCES .....	33
APPENDIX	
A TABLES .....	39
B FIGURES .....	43

## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Correlations and Scale Descriptive Statistics .....	40
2.	Hierarchical Multiple Regression .....	41

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Simple Slopes .....	44

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans are often portrayed as the model minority who are comparatively more successful than other racial minority groups because of their value of hard work, perseverance, and belief in the “American Dream” (F.D. Wu, 2002). This popular stereotype is not only an overgeneralization but a racial trope of Asian Americans that justifies racial inequality in the United States (C.J. Kim, 1999). It does so by denying the existence of systemic and institutional forms of racism arguing that Asian Americans as a minority have succeeded in the US through their own unaided individual efforts and mobility (S.J. Lee, 1996). The internalization of the model minority myth stereotype is thought to relate to psychological distress for Asian Americans as it relates to their increased burden and pressure to succeed (S.J. Lee, 1994). However, empirical support in the link between internalizing the model minority myth and psychological distress for Asian Americans is mixed with studies reporting both positive (e.g., Thompson, Kiang & Witkow, 2016) and negative relationships (e.g., Gupta, Szymanski & Leong, 2011). It is possible that these results may vary based on how strongly an individual adheres to the belief that people are rewarded on merit alone rather than structural inequality, otherwise known as color-blind racial attitudes (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores & Bluemel, 2013). The present study examines the role of color-blind racial ideology as a moderator in the relationship between internalizing the model minority myth and psychological distress, specifically race-related social stress, of Asian American college students.

## **Model Minority Myth and Psychological Distress**

The U.S. history of colonization, slavery, immigration policies and labor markets shape the ways in which people are classified by race (C.J. Kim, 1999). The construction of racial categories are continually being deconstructed and reconstructed to match the political and social demands of systematic racism or “the process of social transmission that have helped Whites pass material, cultural and symbolic capital from one generation to the next, beginning at the time of slavery and continuing to the present day” (Feagin, 1999, p. 80). Thus, race and racism impact the ways in which economic, educational and social opportunities are distributed in society (Omi & Winant, 1994). Furthermore, ascribed racial tropes are used to reinforce systematic racism. Asian Americans are often ascribed as a monolithic group who are the most successful minority group because they have an inherent set of individual characteristics (i.e., submissiveness, self-reliance and hard-working nature) enabling them to achieve the American Dream (C.J. Kim, 1999).

The *model minority myth* is the false stereotype that Asian Americans are comparatively more academically, economically and socially successful than other racial minority groups because Asian Americans are assumed to be more achievement oriented (i.e. work twice as hard, persevere through challenge and driven to succeed) and believe in unrestricted mobility (i.e. stronger belief in fairness and justice of institutional systems and denial of perceived oppression in school or workplace) (F. H. Wu, 2002; Yoo, Burrola & Steger, 2010; Yoo, Miller & Yip, 2015). This ascribed narrative of comparative success based on individual effort and mobility implies that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed and those who do not have only themselves to blame.

It further justifies a color-blind attitude of meritocracy where success (or lack thereof) is attributed to individual actions rather than historic and institutional racism (C.J. Kim, 1999).

The model minority stereotype is also a myth because it does not acknowledge the diversity of Asian Americans including many ethnicities, socioeconomic statuses, reasons for immigration, gender, language and sexual orientation, to name a few (Aronwitz, 2014; E.D. Wu, 2013; E. Lee, 2015; Espiritu, 2008; Takaki, 2012). For instances, Asian American academic outcomes are routinely compared to other racial minority groups with aggregated U.S. Census and survey data. However, educational attainment varies among Asian American ethnic groups, disaggregating the 2016 U.S. Census 1-year estimates, 54% of Chinese Americans and 56% of Korean Americans 25 years of age or older, hold a Bachelor degree or above, while only 16% of Laotian Americans and 19% of Cambodian Americans hold a Bachelor degree or above (U.S. Census Bureau 1-year estimates, 2016). It further ignores political and historical contexts such as the 1965 Immigration Act that disproportionately allowed the immigration of already highly educated and wealthy Asians into the United States (Junn, 2007). The role of selective immigration changed the demographic landscape of Asian Americans in the US by selectively allowing a greater number of already educationally and economically successful Asian Americans who were reasoned to immediately begin contributing to American society (Takaki, 2012).

Although the social and political ramifications of the model minority myth have been well documented (Loewen, 1988; Junn, 2007; C.J. Kim, 1999; Takaki, 2012), less



empirical attention has been given to examine the social and psychological experiences and consequences of internalizing the myth among Asian Americans. It is theorized that Asian Americans who internalize the myth may evaluate their identity based on how they measure up to the myth and subsequently struggle with burden and pressure to succeed (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Gupta, Szymanski & Leong, 2011; Wong, Koo, Tran, Chiu & Mok, 2011). Qualitative studies support this claim as Asian American adolescent and young adults often cite the model minority myth as major source of stress (Lee, Wong & Alvarez, 2009; Qin, Way & Mukherjee, 2008; Siy & Cheryan, 2013) and reported associated feelings of frustration, guilt, and anxiety trying to live up to the image (S.J. Lee, 1996; S.J. Lee, 2009; Qin, 2006; Museus, 2008).

The growing number of quantitative studies also suggest negative psychological outcomes for Asian Americans who internalize the model minority myth, including poorer math performance among Asian American college students (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000), higher psychosomatic distress, interpersonal disturbances, and increased conflict within social roles (Chu, 2002), and higher alcohol-related problems and illicit drug use (Iwamoto, Lejuez, Hamilton, & Grivel, 2015) among a community sample of Asian American adults. Chan and Mendoza-Denton (2008) further found that Asian American college students often reported heightened anticipation in being labeled the model minority, which in turn was related to feelings of shame, depression and low self-esteem. Yoo and colleagues (2010) also found internalizing the myth was related to somatic distress, while controlling for Asian American values and ethnic identity.

Finally, internalization of the model minority myth was related to more negative attitudes toward professional psychological help-seeking (Gupta et al., 2011).

In contrast, quantitative studies have also found a positive or no relationship between the model minority myth and psychological functioning. For instance, Thompson and Kiang (2010) reported internalizing the myth was positively associated with educational aspirations and expectations, school self-concept, value of academic success, and relationship quality among Asian American high school students, after controlling for relevant variables (e.g., school performance, gender, socioeconomic status, and depressive symptoms). Rodriguez-Operana, Mistry, and Chen (2017) also found the myth was positively correlated with high-quality peer relationships among Filipino American adolescents. However, Yoo and colleagues (2015) found no link between internalizing the model minority myth and general distress and performance difficulty, when controlling for Asian American values and ethnic identity among Asian American adolescents. Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, and Sue (2013) similarly reported no significant relationship between the myth and negative affect and somatic distress among a community sample of Asian American adults, even though participants believed the model minority label to be a microinsult. Overall, these mixed results between internalizing the model minority myth and psychological distress may be explained by how much the myth is understood in relation to broader racial ideologies of Asian Americans that minimize and deny the significance of structural racism.

## **Role of Color-blind Racial Ideology**

*Color-blind racial ideology* is a modern set of racial beliefs that minimize, ignore and distort the existence of race and racism in shaping people's lived experiences, often placing a hyper-focus on the commonalities of all people (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Neville, et al., 2013). It is built upon the evasion of power relationships in society and manifested within individuals' attitudes toward race, including racial discrimination based on phenotype, access and opportunity based on skin color, and supporting policies and practices that disadvantage people of color (Neville et al., 2013). This racial ideology emerged as a way for White society to silence the voices of the oppressed by pointing to the end of slavery and revocation of Jim Crow laws and championing the belief, "Slavery and Jim Crow are long gone, so if you are not doing well it is your own fault" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 28). Thus, race and racism are reorganized into a modern set of ideologies, attitudes and practices used to maintain present day racial inequalities.

For people of color, color-blind racial ideology is conceptualized as a form of internalized racism and negatively relate to adjustment (Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, & Dodd, 2006; Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005). When racial realities (such as exposure to discrimination) go unchallenged, racial color-blindness can create an environment where racial minorities blame themselves for the racial status quo, in turn, increasing their psychological distress. Empirical evidence supports this theory as color-blind racial ideology is related to a wide range of negative outcomes for people of color and Asian Americans in particular, including lower collective self-esteem and racial-ethnic identity (Tawa, Suyemoto & Roemer, 2012), lower engagement in diversity

experiences (Spanierman, Neville, Liao, Hammer, & Wang, 2008), and lower personal self-esteem (O'Brien & Major, 2005).

The negative relationship between internalizing the model minority myth and psychological distress may be stronger for Asian Americans who are more likely to endorse a racial color-blind ideology that minimize and deny the significance of structural racism and privilege. Endorsing a color-blind racial ideology may further validate the belief in meritocracy (e.g., hard work is the only pathway to success regardless of the socio-political and historical realities for Asian Americans) and belief in individual efforts (e.g., personal characteristics are the sole determinants in one's life outcomes) associated with the model minority myth. Both constructs blatantly deny that upward socio-economic mobility is historically connected to ascribed racial group membership along with power and privilege associated with whiteness (C. J. Kim, 1999). The model minority myth may be a driving factor that influences Asian Americans to deny and underreport experiences of race and racism in their daily lives (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2007). Believing any success, they have or have not achieved is a direct result of individual efforts while denying the impact of race and racism generates confusion and anxiety about one's own identity (Chen et al., 2006; Thompson & Neville, 1999). Therefore, color-blind racial ideology may exacerbate or worsen the link between internalizing the model minority myth and psychological distress among Asian Americans.

Also, psychological distress measures used in this area of research often relies on outcomes distal to internalizing the model minority myth for Asian Americans, including

depression, anxiety, and substance use (McGee, Thakore, LaBlance, 2016). This study contributes to the literature by examining more proximal psychological distress outcomes specifically related to internalizing the model minority myth among Asian American college students, including various types of race-related social stress, including social climate stress, interracial stress, racism stress, within group stress, and achievement stress. *Race-related social stress* is a unique source of stress that stems from psychosocial events related to one's racial background (i.e., racial discrimination, first generation college student, underrepresentation in academic environment, intragroup and intergroup conflicts) (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007, p. 26). Race-related social stress has been used as outcome measures in other studies as a specific form of distress defined as the product of person-environment race-related interactions that are perceived by individuals as taxing or exceeding their available resources (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007).

### **Present Study and Hypothesis**

The current study was designed to address the gap in literature by examining color-blind racial ideology (i.e., unawareness of blatant racism, racial privilege and institutional racism) as a moderator in the relationship between internalization of the model minority myth (i.e., achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility) and race-related social stress (i.e., social climate stress, interracial stress, within group stress, racism stress and achievement stress) among Asian American college students. Drawing on Neville's work on color-blind racial ideology, the relationship between internalizing the model minority myth and race-related social stress is expected to be stronger for Asian American college students with higher racial color-blindness, since these

individuals are more likely to internalize racism and believe racial disparity is caused by individual efforts and mobility (or lack thereof) rather than institutional racism.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODS

**Participants.** Three hundred and seventy-eight Asian American students at a major Southwest university were recruited through ethnic study courses over the course of two semesters. Sixty-nine participants were eliminated who did not meet inclusion criteria (i.e., indicated racial identity other than Asian American and failed to complete variables of interest).

The final sample of participants consisted of 309 self-identified Asian Americans. Of the 309 participants (176 males and 133 females), 35% were Chinese ( $n = 108$ ), 11% Korean ( $n = 35$ ), 8% Vietnamese ( $n = 24$ ), 8% Filipinx ( $n = 24$ ), 4% Taiwanese ( $n = 12$ ), 4% Asian Indian ( $n = 11$ ), 2% Japanese ( $n = 7$ ), and less than 1% other ethnicities ( $n = 8$ ) including, Burmese, Malaysian, Bengali, Laotian, and Thai, 20% multi-ethnic ( $n = 61$ ), and 6% who did not identify an ethnicity ( $n = 19$ ). The age for participants ranged from 18 to 35, with a mean age of 21 ( $SD = 2.44$ ). Class standing was 67 freshmen, 104 sophomores, 85 juniors, and 53 seniors (including 11 in their fifth and sixth year). Participants consisted of 181 foreign-born students and 128 U.S.-born students.

**Procedure.** Informed consent was obtained from all participants. Data collection was conducted through ethnic studies courses at a major southwest university over the course of two semesters. Asian American college students were specifically recruited for the purpose of this study and received extra credit in their ethnic studies course for their participation. The university's human subjects committee approved all procedures.

## Measures

***Demographic Questionnaire.*** The demographic questionnaire was used to gather background information on the respondents. Respondents reported their gender, ethnicity, age, academic year, GPA and nativity status.

***Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4; Yoo et al., 2010).*** The IM-4 is 15-item self-report measure of an individual's belief that Asian Americans are more successful than other racial minority groups based on their individual efforts and belief in mobility. It has two subscales, including the Model Minority Myth of Achievement Orientation (MM-Achievement; 10 items; e.g., "In comparison to other racial minority groups, Asian Americans have higher grade point averages in school because they work harder") and the Model Minority Myth of Unrestricted Mobility (MM-Mobility; five items; e.g., "In comparison to other racial minority groups Asian Americans are less likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination"). The response format for the measure is a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with higher scores representing higher internalization of the model minority myth. Internal consistency reliabilities have been reported ranging from .91 to .92 for MM-Achievement and .68 to .77 for MM-Mobility (Yoo et al., 2010; Yoo et al., 2015; Kim & Lee 2014).

***Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000).*** The CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) is a 20-item self-report measure of power evasion, specifically denial of racism by emphasizing the belief that everyone has the same opportunities (Frankenberg, 1993; Neville et al., 2013). It has three subscales, including



Unawareness of Racial Privilege (CB-Privilege; 7 items; e.g., “Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not”), Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (CB-Institutional; 7 items; e.g., “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people”), and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (CB-Blatant; 6 items; e.g., “Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today”). The response format is measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating higher color-blind racial attitudes. This scale has been validated with Asian American samples with reported reliability estimates ranging from .71 to .75 for CB-Blatant (Yoo, Steger & Lee, 2010; Chen et al., 2006), .71 to .78 for CB-Privilege (Chen et al., 2006; S. J. Chen, 2015) and .65 to .71 for CB-Institutional (Chen et al., 2006; Tran, 2010).

***Minority Status Stress Scale (MSSS; Smedley et al., 1993).*** The MSSS (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993) is a 33-item self-report measure developed to measure race-related social stress experienced by students of color in race-related college settings. The MSSS measures five domains of stress that students of color experience and attribute to their racial status. It has five subscales, including Social Climate Stress (11 items; e.g., “The university is an unfriendly place”), Interracial (7 items; e.g., “Having to always be aware of what White people might do”), Within-Group Stress (4 items; e.g., “Pressures to show loyalty to my race”), Racism Stress (5 items; e.g., “Being treated rudely or unfairly because of my race”) and Achievement Stress (6 items; e.g., “Feeling less intelligent or less capable than others”). The MSSS uses a 6-point response scale ranging from 0 (does not apply) to 5 (extremely stressful). For the purpose of this study,

the response format was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (a little stressful) to 5 (extremely stressful), with higher scores indicating greater levels of stress. This scale has been validated with Asian American samples and has adequate reliability estimates ranging from .75 to .94 (Cokley, McClain, Enciso & Martinez, 2013; Liang, Li & Kim, 2004; Wei, Ku & Liao, 2011).

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

#### **Preliminary Analyses**

Table 1 presents the mean scores, standard deviations, correlations and reliability estimates for all variables of interest. Prior to conducting main analyses, the data was screened using SPSS 27 for missingness, accuracy of data entry, improbable scores, multivariate outliers, and normality of distributions. Little's missing at random (MCAR) test was used to examine if all main variables were missing completely at random. Results indicated data was an acceptable level of missingness (i.e., < 2%) and were found to be completely at random. Next, main variables were examined for the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity for regression analysis. Normality was assessed by examining outliers, skewness, and kurtosis. The values for skewness and kurtosis fitted into an acceptable range (i.e., below absolute value of 2), indicating the normal distribution of scores across all variables of interest, including MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege, CB-Institutional, Social Climate Stress, Interracial Stress, Within Group Stress, Racism Stress, and Achievement Stress. After examining cases for extreme Z scores, none were found to have univariate outliers. Additionally, Cook's Distance values were examined in regression analysis to further identify outliers. The residuals for all data points were under 1, suggesting all cases could be retained as no observations excessively influenced the model.

Multicollinearity was examined to detect non-linearity between variables of interest. As recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), the tolerance ( $> .02$ ) and

variance inflation factor ( $< 10$ ) scores were within appropriate range for regression analysis. Finally, residual plots were examined for heteroscedasticity. Scatter plots determined the residuals were relatively evenly distributed, indicating that the variance of errors is similar across all levels of independent variables. Additionally, the Durbin-Watson statistic showed the obtained values across all variables of interest were close to 2 indicating that the assumption for homoscedasticity has been met.

Given the diverse cultural and immigration experiences of Asian Americans, within-group analyses examined possible demographic (i.e., gender, ethnicity, age, academic year, GPA and nativity status) differences on dependent variables, including Social Climate Stress, Interracial Stress, Racism Stress, Within Group Stress and Achievement Stress. Ethnic group differences were not tested given the small sample size of each group. Specifically, bivariate correlations were used to examine the relationship between continuous demographic variables (i.e., age, academic year) and dependent distress variables. Results indicated no significant correlations, except GPA was found to significantly correlate with Achievement Stress ( $r = -.22, p < .05$ ). For dichotomous variables (i.e., gender and nativity status), five 2 (nativity status; U.S.-born vs. foreign-born) x 2 (gender; male vs. female) ANOVA analyses were conducted on dependent distress variables. Significant main effects were found for nativity status on Social Climate Stress ( $F(1, 296) = 16.89, p < .05$ ), Interracial Stress, ( $F(1, 297) = 16.52, p < .05$ ) and Within Group Stress ( $F(1, 305) = 7.14, p < .05$ ). Specifically, compared to U.S.-born Asian Americans, foreign-born Asian Americans reported higher Social Climate Stress ( $M = 1.52, SD = 1.12$  vs  $M = .95, SD = .98$ ), Interracial Stress ( $M = 1.52,$

$SD = 1.12$  vs  $M = .98$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) and Within Group Stress ( $M = 1.66$ ,  $SD = 1.17$  vs  $M = 1.24$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ). No significant main effects were found for nativity status on Racism Stress or Achievement Stress. Additionally, no significant main effect effects were found for gender on outcome variables. Consequently, nativity status and GPA were the only significant demographic variables controlled for in main analyses.

### **Main Analyses**

Hierarchical regression analyses were used to test the hypothesized interaction effects. This study used Aiken and West (1991) statistical procedure to test the hypothesis that color-blind racial ideology (i.e., CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege, CB-Institutional) moderated the relationship between internalization of the model minority myth (i.e., MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility) and psychological distress (i.e., Social Climate Stress, Interracial Stress, Racism Stress, Within Group Stress and Achievement Stress). All continuous predictor variables (i.e., GPA, MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege, CB-Institutional) were standardized to reduce multicollinearity as recommended by Frazier, Tix, and Barron (2004).

A total of five hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed with outcome variables, Social Climate Stress, Interracial Stress, Racism Stress, Within Group Stress, and Achievement Stress. For each regression analysis, nativity status and GPA were entered in Step 1 as covariates after being found to be significant demographic variables. To test main effects, model minority myth (i.e., MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility) and color-blind racial ideology (i.e., CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege, CB-Institutional) were entered in Step 2. Six two-way interaction terms including, MM-

Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege and MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional were entered in Step 3 to test the hypothesized moderation effects. This process was repeated for each outcome variable (i.e., Social Climate Stress, Interracial Stress, Within Group Stress, Racism Stress, and Achievement Stress). Finally, regression slopes of significant two-way interactions were plotted using predicted values for representative high (+ 1 SD) and (-1 SD) low color-blind racial ideology factors on model minority myth factors to determine if the regression slopes differ from zero (Aiken & West, 1991).

***Social Climate Stress.*** In Step 1, the covariates (nativity status and GPA) on Social Climate Stress were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level ( $R^2 = .07$ ),  $F(2, 244) = 9.23$ ). Specifically, U.S.- born Asian American college students reported lower Social Climate Stress than foreign-born Asian American college students ( $\beta = -.24$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$ ,  $p < .05$ ). GPA was not significant. In Step 2 the incremental main effect (e.g., MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege and CB-Institutional) on Social Climate Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .20$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .13$ ),  $F(5, 239) = 7.84$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, higher CB-Privilege was associated with lower Social Climate Stress ( $\beta = -.32$ ,  $sr^2 = .07$ ,  $p < .05$ ), controlling for nativity status, GPA, MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility. In Step 3, the effect of the hypothesized two-way interaction terms (e.g., MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege, MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional) on Social Climate Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 =$

.24,  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ),  $F(6, 233) = 1.91, p < .05$ . Specifically, the interaction terms MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = -.20, sr^2 = .02, p < .01$ ) and MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = .19, sr^2 = .02, p < .01$ ) were statistically significant.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Achievement on Social Climate Stress was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03, F(3, 284) = 2.90, p = .04$  (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = -.15, t = -1.73, p > .05, p = .09$ ), nor was it significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = .12, t = 1.66, p = .10$ ; see Figure 1).

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Social Climate Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03, F(3, 278) = 2.57, p < .05$  (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .20, t = 2.04, p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .09, t = 1.15, p = .25$ ; see Figure 2). Consistent with hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Mobility and Social Climate Stress.

***Interracial Stress.*** In Step 1, the covariates (nativity status and GPA) on Interracial Stress was statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level ( $R^2 = .05$ ),  $F(2, 243) = 6.69$ . Specifically, U.S.-born Asian American college students reported lower Interracial Stress than foreign-born Asian American college students ( $\beta = -.23, sr^2 = .05, p < .05$ ). GPA was not significant. In Step 2, the incremental main effect (e.g., MM-Achievement,

MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege and CB-Institutional) on Interracial Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .22$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .16$ ),  $F(5, 238) = 9.36$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, higher CB-Privilege was associated with lower Interracial Stress ( $\beta = -.39$ ,  $sr^2 = .12$ ,  $p < .05$ ), controlling for nativity status, GPA, MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility. In Step 3, the effect of the hypothesized two-way interaction terms (e.g., MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege, MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional) on Interracial Stress were statistically significant ( $R^2 = .25$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ),  $F(6, 232) = 5.82$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, the interaction terms MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = -.18$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were statistically significant.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Achievement on Interracial Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(3, 283) = 3.38$ ,  $p < .05$  (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = -.17$ ,  $t = -1.97$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = .13$ ,  $t = .176$ ,  $p = .08$ ; see Figure 3). These results suggest that CB-Blatant may mask the association between MM-Achievement and Interracial Stress.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Interracial Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 277) = 3.04$ ,  $p <$



.05 (with MM-Mobility ( $\beta = .23, t = 2.53, p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .04, t = .59, p = .56$ ; see Figure 4). Consistent with hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Mobility and Interracial Stress.

***Within Group Stress.*** In Step 1, the covariates (nativity status and GPA) on Within Group Stress were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level ( $R^2 = .04$ ),  $F(2, 249) = 4.50$ ). Specifically, U.S.- born Asian American college students reported lower Within Group Stress than foreign-born Asian American college students ( $\beta = -.18, sr^2 = .03, p < .05$ ). GPA was not significant. In Step 2 the incremental main effect (e.g., MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege and CB-Institutional) on Within Group Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .16, \Delta R^2 = .12$ ),  $F(5, 244) = 6.50, p < .05$ . Specifically, higher CB-Privilege was associated with lower Within Group Stress ( $\beta = -.33, sr^2 = .07, p < .05$ ), controlling for nativity status, GPA, MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility. In Step 3, the effect of the hypothesized two-way interaction terms (e.g., MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege, MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional) on Within Group Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .20, \Delta R^2 = .04$ ),  $F(6, 238) = 4.64, p < .05$ . Specifically, the interaction terms MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = -.16, sr^2 = .01, p < .01$ ) and MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = .21, sr^2 = .02, p < .01$ ) were statistically significant.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Achievement on Within Group Stress was significantly different

from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 292) = 2.49$ ,  $p = .06$  (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = .16$ ,  $t = 2.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = .04$ ,  $t = .69$ ,  $p = .49$ ; see Figure 5). Consistent with hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Achievement and Within Group Stress.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Within Group Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 286) = 2.65$ ,  $p < .05$  (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .24$ ,  $t = 2.69$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .06$ ,  $t = .81$ ,  $p = .42$ ; see Figure 6). Consistent with the hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Mobility and Within Group Stress.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Within Group Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Privilege was low ( $R^2 = .12$ ,  $F(3, 285) = 12.19$ ,  $p < .05$  (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .36$ ,  $t = 4.29$ ,  $p < .05$ ; see Figure 7), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Privilege was high. Inconsistent with the hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Privilege may mask the association between MM-Mobility and Within Group Stress.

**Racism Stress.** In Step 1, the covariates (nativity status and GPA) on Racism Stress were not significant at the  $p < .05$  level ( $R^2 = .01$ ),  $F(2, 245) = .902$ . In Step 2 the incremental main effect (e.g., MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege and CB-Institutional) on Racism Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .13$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .12$ ),  $F(5, 240) = 4.94$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, higher CB-Privilege was associated with lower Racism Stress ( $\beta = -.36$ ,  $sr^2 = .07$ ,  $p < .05$ ), controlling for nativity status, GPA, MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility. In Step 3, the effect of the hypothesized two-way interaction terms (e.g., MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege, MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional) on Racism Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .18$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .06$ ),  $F(6, 234) = 3.98$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, the interaction terms MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = -.23$ ,  $sr^2 = .03$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were statistically significant.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Achievement on Racism Stress was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 286) = 3.30$ ,  $p < .05$  (with MM-Achievement ( $\beta = -.11$ ,  $t = -2.14$ ,  $p = .21$ ), but it was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high (with MM-Achievement  $\beta = .16$ ,  $t = 2.10$ ,  $p < .05$ ; see Figure 8). Inconsistent with the hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may buffer the association between MM-Achievement and Racism Stress.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Racism Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 279) = 2.69$ ,  $p < .05$  (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .19$ ,  $t = 2.04$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = -.28$ ,  $t = -.37$ ,  $p = .71$ ; see Figure 9). Consistent with the hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Mobility and Racism Stress.

**Achievement Stress.** In Step 1, the covariates (nativity status and GPA) on Achievement Stress were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level ( $R^2 = .05$ ),  $F(2, 247) = 5.93$ ). Specifically, U.S.- born Asian American college students reported lower achievement stress than foreign-born Asian American college students ( $\beta = -.24$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In Step 2, the incremental main effect (e.g., MM-Achievement, MM-Mobility, CB-Blatant, CB-Privilege and CB-Institutional) on Achievement Stress was statistically significant ( $R^2 = .14$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .09$ ),  $F(5, 242) = 3.87$ ,  $p < .05$ . Specifically, higher CB-Privilege was associated with lower Achievement Stress ( $\beta = -.17$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$ ,  $p < .05$ ), controlling for nativity status, GPA, MM-Achievement and MM-Mobility. In Step 3, the effect of the hypothesized two-way interaction terms (e.g., MM-Achievement x CB-Blatant, MM-Achievement x CB-Privilege, MM-Achievement x CB-Institutional, MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant, MM-Mobility x CB-Privilege, MM-Mobility x CB-Institutional) on Achievement Stress was not statistically significant ( $R^2 = .18$ ,  $\Delta R^2 =$

.04),  $F(6, 236) = 3.86, p < .05$ . Specifically, the interaction term MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant ( $\beta = .22, sr^2 = .03, p < .01$ ) was statistically significant.

A simple slope analysis for MM-Mobility x CB-Blatant interaction at  $\pm 1$  SD level indicated that MM-Mobility on Achievement Stress was significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was high ( $R^2 = .03, F(3, 281) = 3.00, p < .05$  (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .23, t = 2.48, p < .05$ ), but it was not significantly different from zero when the conditional value for CB-Blatant was low (with MM-Mobility  $\beta = .08, t = 1.19, p = .23$ ; see Figure 10). Consistent with the hypothesis, these results suggest that CB-Blatant may exacerbate the association between MM-Mobility and Achievement Stress.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

The present study examined the effects of color-blind racial ideology on the link between internalization of the model minority myth and psychological distress among Asian American college students. Color-blind racial ideology (i.e., blatant racial issues, racial privilege and institutional discrimination) was expected to exacerbate the relationship between internalizing the model minority myth (i.e., achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility) and race-related social stress (i.e., social climate stress, interracial stress, within group stress, racism stress and achievement stress) among Asian American college students—since they were more likely to believe any hardship encountered is a fault of their own denying the role that race and racism play in their daily lives generating higher levels of stress (Watts-Jones, 2002). Overall results however suggest mixed support for this hypothesis, and a differential moderation effect by the type of model minority myth internalized and relevance of specific color-blind racial ideology. Specifically, results primarily suggest the denial of blatant racism and racial issues (and not denial of white privilege and institutional racism) appear to exacerbate the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility, while it masks the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to achievement orientation on race-related social stress, social climate stress, interracial stress, racism stress, within group stress, and achievement stress. Also, denial of white privilege appears to buffer the effect of internalizing the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility and within group stress only. There are a number of possible reasons for this set of findings.

Consistent with the hypothesis, results suggest the link between internalizing the model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility in achieving the “American dream” and race-related distress (i.e., social climate stress, interracial stress, racism stress, within group stress, and achievement stress) is stronger for Asian American college students who reported higher levels of racial color-blindness (i.e., unawareness of blatant racial issues). This aligns with the color-blind racial ideology literature that argues, as form of internalized racism, people of color who deny and minimize the significance of systemic and structural racism relates to their increased belief that individuals are to blame for economic and social disparities, and in turn, more psychological distress (Carter, 2007; Neville, Coleman, Falconer & Holmes, 2005). Thus, racial colorblindness for Asian American college students validates the false narrative that Asian Americans are comparatively more successful than other groups because of their belief in the American dream who do not encounter racism and link with race-based social stress as it increases self-blame, burden, and pressure (Yoo et al., 2010; Keum, Miller, Lee & Chen, 2018).

However, inconsistent with the hypothesis, racial colorblindness appeared to mask the effects of internalizing the model minority myth related to belief in success because of stronger work ethics on social climate stress, interracial stress, racism stress, within group stress, and achievement stress of Asian American college students. It is possible when marginalized groups internalize white ideals designed to legitimize the status quo of white supremacy (i.e., color-blind racial ideologies), they are employing it as a defense mechanism to preserve their identity through a sense of increased personal control (Barr & Neville, 2014; Chou & Feagin, 2015). White culture ascribes Asian

Americans with stereotypes of model minority success strategically pitting them up against other marginalized groups, priming Asian Americans themselves to minimize and deny experiences of race-based stress (C. J. Kim, 1999). When marginalized groups internalize white ideals (i.e., color-blind racial ideologies) designed to legitimize the status quo of white supremacy, they are employing it as a defense mechanism to preserve their identity through a sense of increased personal control. In this context, Asian Americans' belief they are expected to live up to the unattainable narrative of comparative success due to stronger work ethic may promote a higher degree of controllability and perceived competence (i.e., the extent to which performance is up to the individual) (Barr & Neville, 2014; Neville, 2005). The model minority myth associated with achievement orientation reifies that one is in complete control of their circumstances due to the belief they have a stronger work ethic. Color-blind racial ideology may mask the link between this myth and race-based stress by providing a sense of hope that obstacles and discrimination can be overcome with hard work. Therefore, internalizing the false belief that Asian Americans should be more successful may encourage the belief that they are in complete control of their outcome and social barriers should be overcome through individual efforts.

Additionally, denial of white privilege appeared to mask the effects of internalizing the model minority of unrestricted mobility on within group stress only among Asian American college students. Denying the existence of white privilege and internalizing the belief of unrestricted mobility may explain how Asian Americans navigate the system of white supremacy and decrease potential within group stress. It is



possible that to survive the day to day challenges of white supremacy some individuals choose to align themselves with the system to mitigate short term stress because it feels safer to align oneself with white ideals than it does to lose what deliberate privilege has already been granted (Jost, 2017). For instance, white culture has crafted a narrative for Asian Americans to be seen as honorary Whites (Pyke & Dang, 2003) when it serves the system. It may be that Asian Americans understood the unawareness of white privilege subscale as racial privilege relative to one's racial positioning, rather than an orchestration by white supremacy. Alternatively, the unique interaction effect between denial of white privilege and model minority myth related to unrestricted mobility may not be meaningfully significant on race-based stress as the interaction effect was only significant on 1 of 5 outcomes (i.e., within group stress).

The differential interaction effects on the model minority types and race-based stress may also be due to the unique role of racial color-blindness type, specifically relevance and significance of unawareness of blatant racial issues ideology as opposed to unawareness of racial privilege and unawareness of institutional racism. Unawareness of blatant racial issues may uniquely tap into the belief in individual efforts for Asian Americans and reinforce the message of the model minority myth (Yoo et al., 2010). Those that specifically have an unawareness of blatant racial issues may be more likely to engage in self-blame when encountering racial stressors rather than acknowledge systematic barriers. This in turn moderates the internal consequences of reinforcing the belief in model minority belief associated with increased race-based stress (Chen et al., 2006; Yoo et al., 2010) and external consequences (i.e., intergroup stress) (Chao, 2006).

Another explanation for these differential interaction effects may be that those who experience race-based stress may be more susceptible to internalizing the model minority myth and use color-blind racial ideology as a coping mechanism in dealing with dueling realities of race-related stress experiences and racial-color blindness (Keum, Miller, Lee & Chen, 2018). Individuals that experience more race-based stress may be more susceptible to internalize the belief in achievement orientation in attempt to bolster their self-esteem and reduce cognitive dissonance of experiencing race-based stress while internalizing the ideology that race and racism are not associated with the realities of racial disparities. Whereas those who experience more race-based stress may be more susceptible to internalize the belief in unrestricted mobility in attempt to assuage the discomfort of racial realities. However, maintaining the belief in unrestricted mobility in the face of racial disparities may become too burdensome thus increasing the likelihood one may internalize color-blind racial ideologies (Keum, Miller, Lee & Chen, 2018).

### **Limitations and Clinical Implications**

The findings of the present study should be considered in the context of the following limitations. The use of a convenience sample should be interpreted with caution regarding the generalizability of the present study's findings to the broader Asian American community. Due to limited sampling, ethnic group differences were not tested. Future studies should examine how different Asian ethnic group understand and react to internalizing the model minority myth based on their unique socio-historical and socio-economic contexts. Additionally, future studies would benefit from studying nativity status and generational differences among Asian Americans. First generation Asian

Americans may exhibit differences in their awareness level of race and racism than 1.5 generation and beyond, which could influence the interaction effect on psychological distress.

Still, the overall findings of this study suggest that internalization of the model minority myth and the unawareness of race and racism needs to be considered when looking at adjustment of Asian American college students. It is important to note the nuances between the types of model minority myth. Specifically, the belief in unrestricted mobility and color-blindness may increase the belief that individuals are to blame for economic and social disparities, and in turn, experience more psychological distress. In contrast, belief in achievement orientation and color-blindness may encourage the belief that one is in complete control of their outcome and social barriers should be overcome through individual efforts. It is important to note that although racial colorblindness appeared to mask the effects of internalizing the model minority myth related to achievement orientation on race-based stress, this does not imply adopting a color-blind racial ideology is protective. The unique interaction between model minority related to success because of stronger work ethics and color-blindness (i.e., denial of blatant racism) may encourage the belief that Asian Americans are in complete control of their outcome and social barriers should be overcome through individual efforts, thus producing other stressful and long-term consequences (e.g., lower self-image and self-esteem).

If Asian American students experience increased race-based stress adopting higher levels of color-blind racial ideology and internalizing the model minority myth

(particularly believing in comparative success based on unrestricted mobility), then the field should consider how best to help Asian American students develop appropriate coping skills. Counselors may have a unique position to facilitate an understanding of the sociopolitical history and context of the model minority myth as an ascribed stereotype used to maintain and reinforce racism to ultimately help manage race-based stress (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Increased awareness around the context of Asian Americans' sociopolitical position in the U.S. could be empowering and may help alleviate the feelings of personal responsibility in the face of racism. Counselors should work collaboratively with Asian American students to explore ways to dismantle the model minority myth internalized, which could lead to psychological and social health.

In addition to continued efforts to highlight racial ideology variables in the context of adjustment for Asian Americans, researchers may find it helpful to continue to build up the evidence for the differential effects of color-blind racial ideology types and model minority myth subtypes. Specifically, these findings imply that unawareness of blatant racial issues has a differential effect on the model minority types and stress. That is, unawareness of blatant racial issues may intersect with belief in unrestricted mobility in ways that increase stress due to self-blame, while the intersection with achievement orientation decreases stress due to heightened sense of personal control. Future studies should examine more closely the role of personal control.

These findings also suggest that previous differential findings associated with model minority myth and adjustment warrant a closer look at the differences between belief in unrestricted mobility and achievement orientation. Mental health professionals

can work with Asian Americans who are experiencing race-related stress by acknowledging racial ideologies are often used as a way to navigate white supremacy. These findings should also encourage White practitioners to educate themselves on the effects of internalizing modern racial ideologies and stereotypes. Counselors should educate themselves on white racial ideals and not automatically assume that ascribed stereotypes are the fault of the client rather a by-product of white supremacy and a survival mechanism. Counselors have the unique opportunity to validate racial realities that are often stressful for clients' and help clients moved through the burdensome pressure of self-blame that is associated with living up to ascribed stereotypes into critically consciousness ideologies.

## REFERENCES

- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Ajzen, I. (2002). Perceived behavioral control, self-efficacy, locus of control, and the theory of planned behavior 1. *Journal of applied social psychology*, 32(4), 665-683.
- Aronowitz, S., (2014). Where is the Outrage? *Situations*, 2, 19-48.  
<https://radicalimagination.institute/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/aronowitz-2014.pdf>
- Awad, G. H., Cokley, K., & Ravitch, J. (2005). Attitudes toward affirmative action: A comparison of color-blind versus modern racist attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(7), 1384-1399. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02175.x>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without racists*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Chan, W., & Mendoza-Denton, R. (2008). Status-Based Rejection Sensitivity Among Asian Americans: Implications for Psychological Distress. *Journal of Personality*, 76, 1317-1346.
- Chen, G. A., Lephuoc, P., Guzmán, M. R., Rude, S. S., & Dodd, B. G. (2006). Exploring Asian American racial identity. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12, 461–476. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.3.461>
- Cheryan, S., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000). When positive stereotypes threaten intellectual performance: The psychological hazards of “model minority” status. *Psychological Science*, 11, 399-402.
- Chu, S. P. (2002). Internalization of the model minority stereotype and its relationship to psychological. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 62, 10B.
- Cokley, K., McClain, S., Enciso, A., & Martinez, M. (2013). An examination of the impact of minority status stress and impostor feelings on the mental health of diverse ethnic minority college students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 41, doi 82-95. 10.1002/j.2161-1912.2013.00029
- Espiritu, L.Y. (2008). *Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love*. Rowman & Littlefield.

- Feagin, J.R., (1999) Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Fair Housing Act. *Cityscape*, 4, 79-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20868476>
- Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of race*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Frazier, P. A., Tix, A. P., & Barron, K. E. (2004). Testing moderator and mediator effects in counseling psychology research. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 51, 115.
- Greer, T. M., & Chwalisz, K. (2007). Minority-related stressors and coping processes among African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 48(4), 388-404. doi 10.1353/csd.2007.0037
- Gupta, A., Szymanski, D. M., & Leong, F. T. (2011). The “model minority myth”: Internalized racialism of positive stereotypes as correlates of psychological distress, and attitudes toward help-seeking. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 2, 101–114. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0024183>
- Iwamoto, D., Lejuez, C. W., Hamilton, B. E., & Grivel, M. (2015). Model minority stereotype, psychological distress, substance use among Asian-American young adults. *Drug & Alcohol Dependence*, 146, e146.
- Junn, J. (2007). From coolie to model minority: US immigration policy and the construction of racial identity. *Du Bois review: Social science research on race*, 4, 355-373.
- Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27, 105–138. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329299027001005>
- Kim, P. Y., & Lee, D. (2014). Internalized model minority myth, Asian values, and help-seeking attitudes among Asian American students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20, 98–106. [http:// dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0033351](http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0033351)
- Lee, E. (2015). *The making of Asian America: A history*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks
- Lee, S. J. (1996). *Unraveling the “model minority” stereotype: Listening to the Asian American youth*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Lee, S. J. (2009). *Unraveling the “model minority” stereotype: Listening to the Asian American youth*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

- Lee, S. J. (1994). Behind the model-minority stereotype: Voices of high-and low-achieving Asian American students. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 25, 413-429.
- Lee, S. J., Wong, N. A., & Alvarez, A. N. (2008). The model minority and the perpetual foreigner: Stereotypes of Asian Americans. In N. Tewari & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 69–84). New York, NY: Erlbaum.
- 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. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.1.103>
- Loewen, J. W. (1988). *The Mississippi Chinese: between black and white*. Waveland Press.
- McGee, E. O., Thakore, B. K., & LaBlance, S. S. (2017). The burden of being “model”: Racialized experiences of Asian STEM college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 10(3), 253.
- Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 68, 455–466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0033282>
- Neville, H. A., Coleman, M. N., Falconer, J. W., & Holmes, D. (2005). Color-blind racial ideology and psychological false consciousness among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 31, 27-45.
- Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the Color-blind racial attitudes scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47, 59–70. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.47.1.59>
- O’Brien, L. T., & Major, B. (2005). System-justifying beliefs and psychological well-being: The roles of group status and identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1718-1729.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge
- Ong, A. D., Burrow, A. L., Fuller-Rowell, T. E., Ja, N. M., & Sue, D. W. (2013). Racial microaggressions and daily well-being among Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 60, 188.



- Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2008). The other side of the model minority story: The familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American adolescents. *Youth & Society*, 39, 480-506.
- Qin, D. B. (2006). "Our child doesn't talk to us anymore": Alienation in immigrant Chinese families. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 37, 162-179. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3805064>
- Rodriguez-Operana, V. C., Mistry, R. S., & Chen, Y. J. (2017). Disentangling the myth: Social relationships and Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the model minority stereotype. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 8, 56-71. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000071>
- Smedley, B. D., Myers, H. F., & Harrell, S. P. (1993). Minority-status stresses and the college adjustment of ethnic minority freshmen. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 64, 434-452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.1993.11778438>
- Spanierman, L. B., Neville, H. A., Liao, H., Hammer, J. H., & Wang, Y. (2008). Participation in formal and informal campus diversity experiences: Effects on students' racial democratic beliefs. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 1, 108-125.
- Speight, S. L. (2007). Internalized racism: One more piece of the puzzle. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(1), 126-134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006295119>
- Siy, J. O., & Cheryan, S. (2013). When compliments fail to flatter: American individualism and responses to positive stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104, 87-102.
- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (1996). Analysis of covariance. Using multivariate statistics, 8, 321-374.
- Takaki, R. (2012). Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans. (Revised edition). Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Tawa, J., Suyemoto, K. L., & Roemer, L. (2012). Implications of perceived interpersonal and structural racism for Asian Americans' self-esteem. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 34, 349-358.
- Thompson, S. C. (2002). The role of personal control in adaptive functioning. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 202-213.

- Thompson, C. E., & Neville, H. A. (1999). Racism, mental health, and mental health practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 27, 155-223.
- Thompson, T. L., & Kiang, L. (2010). The model minority stereotype: Adolescent experiences and links with adjustment. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1, 119–128. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0019966>
- Thompson, T. L., Kiang, L., & Witkow, M. R. (2016). “You’re Asian, you’re supposed to be smart”: Adolescents’ experiences with the model minority stereotype and longitudinal links with identity. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 7, 108 – 119. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000038>
- Tran, N. (2010). Using color-blindness to understand the effects of discrimination on the well-being of Asian Americans. Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (814800669). Retrieved from <http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/docview/814800669?accountid=4485>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2016) American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2007). Asian American and Pacific Islander work group report to the chair of the equal employment opportunity commission. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/federal/report/aapi.html>
- Watts-Jones, D. (2002). Healing internalized racism: The role of a within-group sanctuary among people of African descent. *Family Process*, 41(4), 591-601. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2002.00591.x>
- Wei, M., Ku, T. Y., & Liao, K. Y. H. (2011). Minority stress and college persistence attitudes among African American, Asian American, and Latino students: Perception of university environment as a mediator. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17, 195.
- Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The “model minority,” bane or blessing for Asian Americans? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 34, 38–49. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2006.tb00025.x>
- Wong, Y. J., Koo, K., Tran, K. K., Chiu, Y. C., & Mok, Y. (2011). Asian American college students' suicide ideation: A mixed-methods study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58, 197.
- Wu, E. D. (2013). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wu, F. H. (2002). *Yellow: Race in America beyond black and white*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Yoo, H. C., Burrola, K. S., & Steger, M. F. (2010). A preliminary report on a new measure: Internalization of the model minority myth measure (IM-4) and its psychological correlates among Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 37*, 114–127.

Yoo, H. C., Miller, M. J., & Yip, P. (2015). Validation of the Internalization of Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4) and its link to academic performance and psychological adjustment among Asian American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 21*, 237–246.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1  
*Scale Means, Standard Deviations, Internal Reliability, and Intercorrelations*

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. MM-Achievement	-									
2. MM-Mobility	.33*	-								
3. CB-Blatant	-.08	.35*	-							
4. CB-Privilege	-.13	.12	.21*	-						
5. CB-Institutional	.19*	.39*	.40*	-.11	-					
6. Social Climate Stress	-.07	.13*	.09	-.25*	.19*	-				
7. Interracial Stress	-.016	.07*	.08	-.33*	.15*	.92*	-			
8. Within Group Stress	.03	.06	.05	-.25*	.18*	.83*	.83*	-		
9. Racism Stress	.05	-.03	-.11	-.28*	.04	.84*	.83*	.79*	-	
10. Achievement Stress	.13*	.05	-.07	-.18*	.10	.61*	.60*	.67*	.64*	-
<i>M</i>	4.84	3.60	2.66	3.51	3.31	1.25	1.27	1.74	1.45	1.96
<i>SD</i>	1.07	1.13	.82	.82	.75	1.11	1.13	1.25	1.18	1.22
<i>A</i>	.92	.83	.74	.76	.65	.94	.92	.87	.82	.83

*Note.* MM-Achievement = Model Minority Myth Achievement Orientation MM-Mobility = Model Minority Myth Unrestricted Mobility; CB-Blatant = Unawareness of Blatant Racism; CB-Privilege = Unawareness of Racial Privilege; CB-Institutional = Unawareness of Institutional Racism.

\* $p < .05$ .

Table 2

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Testing Color-blind Racial Ideology as a Moderator on Model Minority Myth on Psychological Distress*

Variable	Social Climate Stress			Interracial Stress			Within Group Stress					
	B	SE B	$\beta$	sr <sup>2</sup>	B	SE B	$\beta$	sr <sup>2</sup>	B	SE B	$\beta$	sr <sup>2</sup>
Constant	1.40	.09			1.42	.09			1.54	.10		
Nativity	-.53*	.14	-.24	.05	-.46*	.14	-.20	.04	-.37*	.15	-.15	.02
GPA	-.05	.06	-.04	.00	-.04	.07	-.03	.00	-.08	.07	-.06	.00
MM-Achieve	-.04	.07	-.04	.00	-.02	.07	-.02	.00	.05	.08	.04	.00
MM-Mobility	.13	.08	.12	.01	.11	.08	.10	.00	.10	.09	.09	.00
CB-Blatant	.01	.08	.01	.00	.06	.08	.05	.00	-.05	.08	-.05	.00
CB-Privilege	-.32*	.07	-.28	.07	-.41*	.07	-.36	.10	-.29*	.08	-.24	.05
CB-Institutional	.12	.07	.11	.01	.06	.08	.06	.00	-.16*	.08	.14	.01
Achieve x Blatant	-.20*	.08	-.20	.04	-.18*	.08	-.18	.02	-.17*	.08	-.16	.01
Achieve x Privilege	.06	.07	.05	.00	.03	.07	.03	.00	.07	.08	.06	.00
Achieve x Institution	.14	.08	.15	.02	.09	.08	.09	.00	.07	.08	.07	.00
Mobility x Blatant	.19*	.08	.19	.03	.19*	.08	.19	.02	.22*	.08	.21	.03
Mobility x Privilege	-.08	.07	-.08	.00	-.08	.07	-.08	.00	-.16*	.08	-.15	.01
Mobility x Institution	-.04	.06	-.04	.00	-.04	.06	-.04	.00	-.00	.07	-.00	.00

Table 3

*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Testing Color-blind Racial Ideology as a Moderator on Model Minority Myth on Psychological Distress*

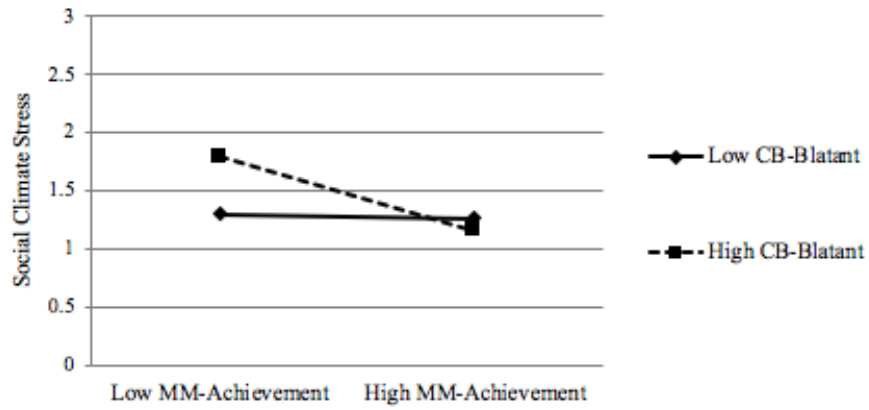
Variable	Racism Stress			Achievement Stress			
	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	sr <sup>2</sup>
Constant	1.73	.10		1.89	.10		
Nativity	-.26*	.16	-.10	.03	.16	.01	.00
GPA	-.04	.07	-.03	-.25*	.07	-.21	.04
MM-Achieve	.06	.08	.05	.20*	.08	.17	.02
MM-Mobility	.02	.09	.02	.12	.09	.10	.01
CB-Blatant	-.13	.09	-.11	-.13	.09	-.11	.01
CB-Privilege	-.32*	.08	-.25	-.17	.08	-.14	.02
CB-Institutional	.08	.09	.06	.10	.09	.08	.00
Achieve x Blatant	-.25*	.09	-.23	-.16	.08	-.14	.01
Achieve x Privilege	.12	.08	.10	-.00	.08	.00	.00
Achieve x Institution	.13	.09	.12	.12	.09	.11	.01
Mobility x Blatant	.21*	.09	.19	.23*	.08	.22	.03
Mobility x Privilege	-.07	.08	-.06	-.15	.08	-.13	.01
Mobility x Institution	.04	.07	.04	-.07	.07	-.08	.00

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

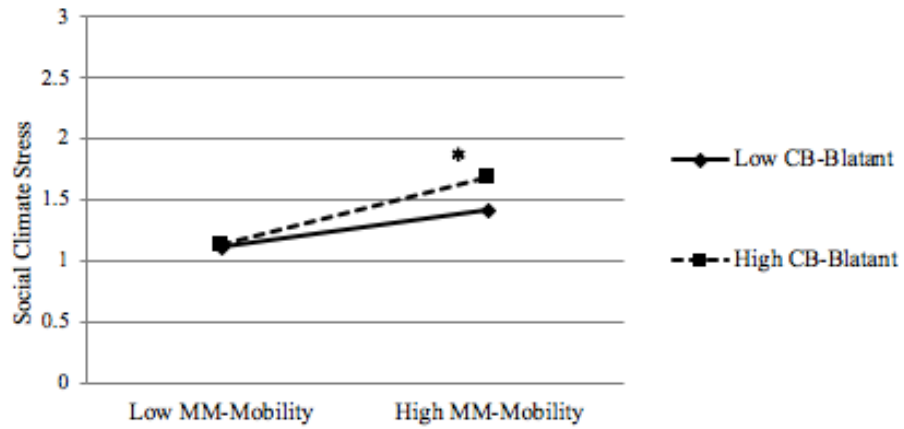


Figure 1. Interaction effect between MM-Achievement and CB-Blatant on Social Climate Stress.



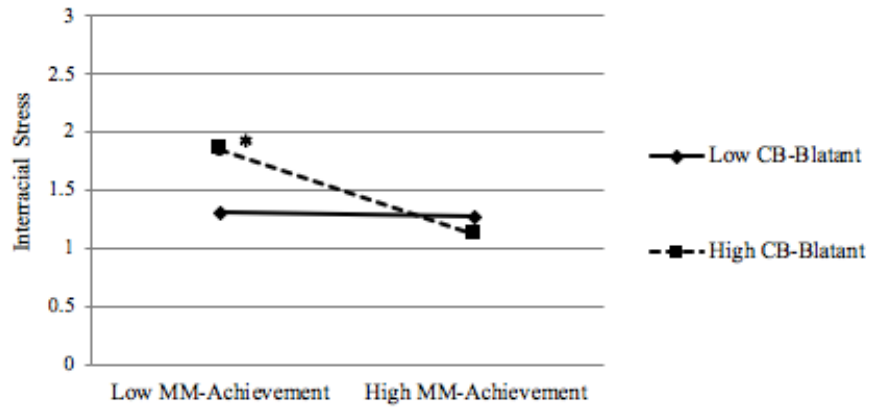
Note.  $*p < .05$

Figure 2. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Blatant on Social Climate Stress



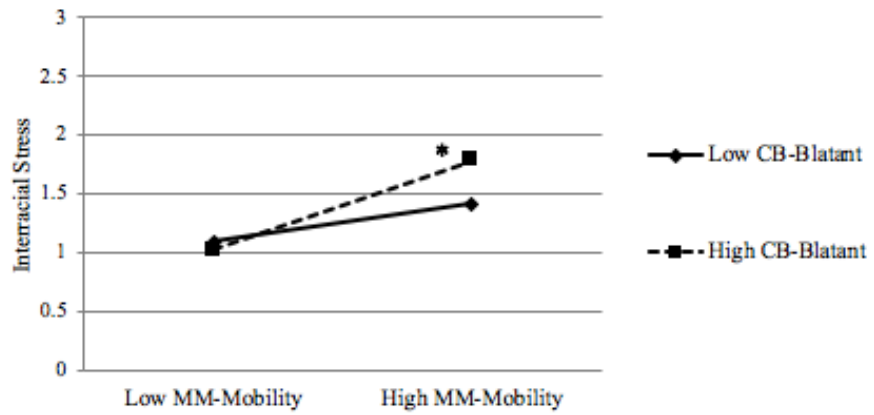
Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 3. Interaction effect between MM-Achievement and CB-Blatant on Interracial Stress.



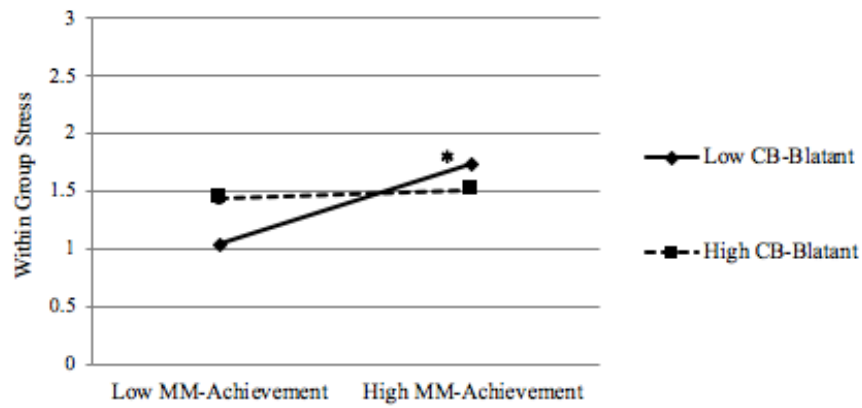
Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 4. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Blatant on Interracial Stress



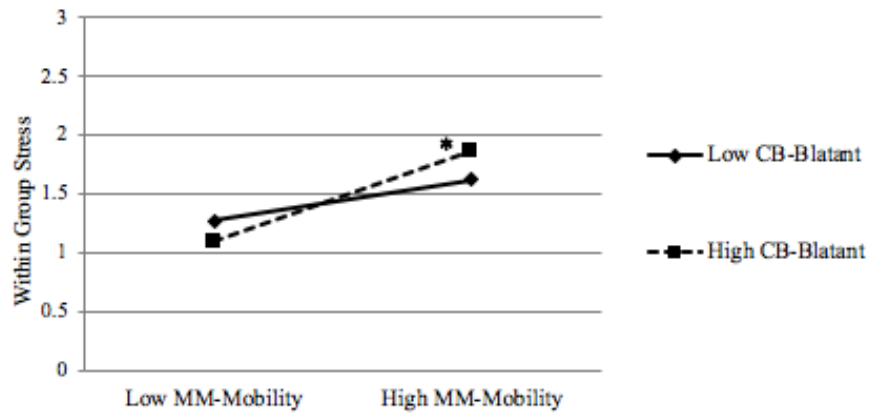
Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 5. Interaction effect between MM-Achievement and CB-Blatant on Within Group Stress.



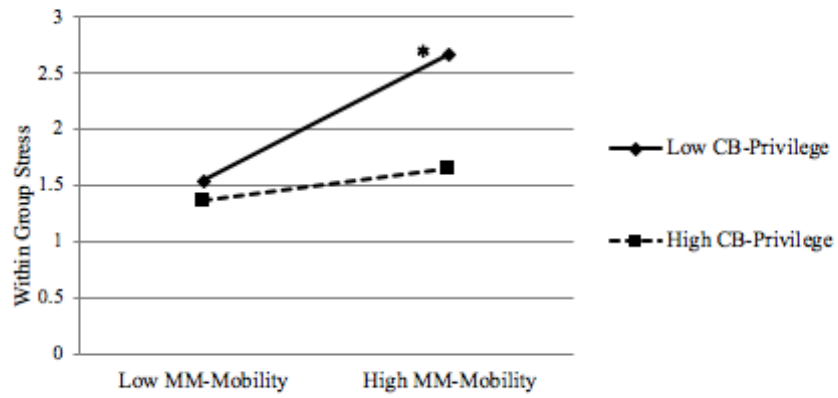
Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 6. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Blatant on Within Group Stress



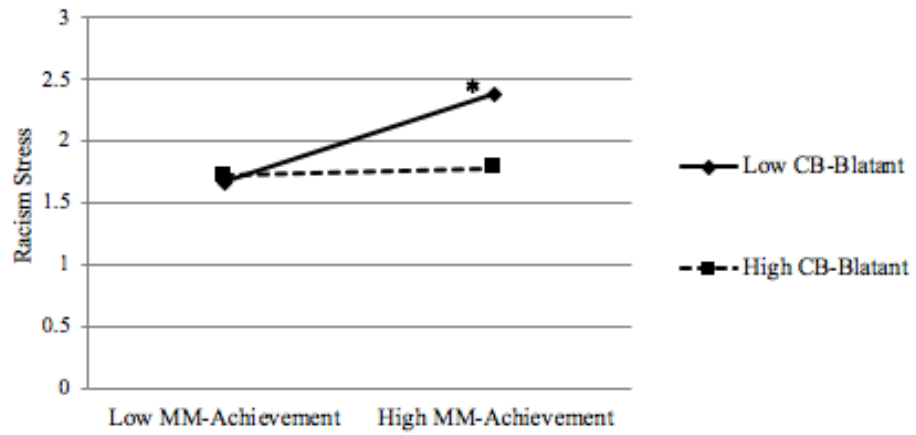
Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 7. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Privilege on Within Group Stress



Note. \* $p < .05$

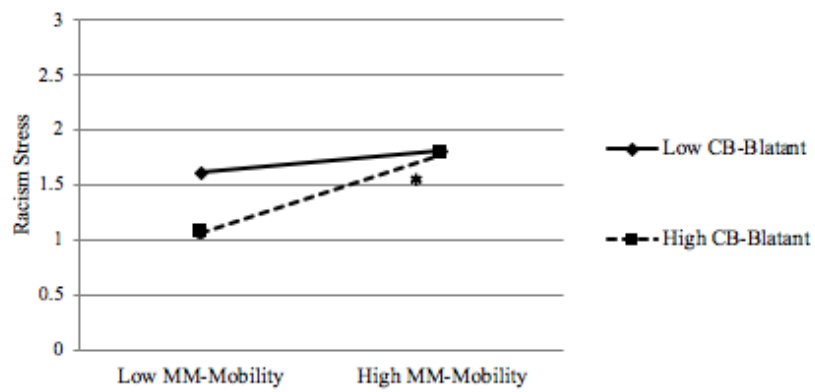
Figure 8. Interaction effect between MM-Achievement and CB-Blatant on Racism Stress



Note. \* $p < .05$

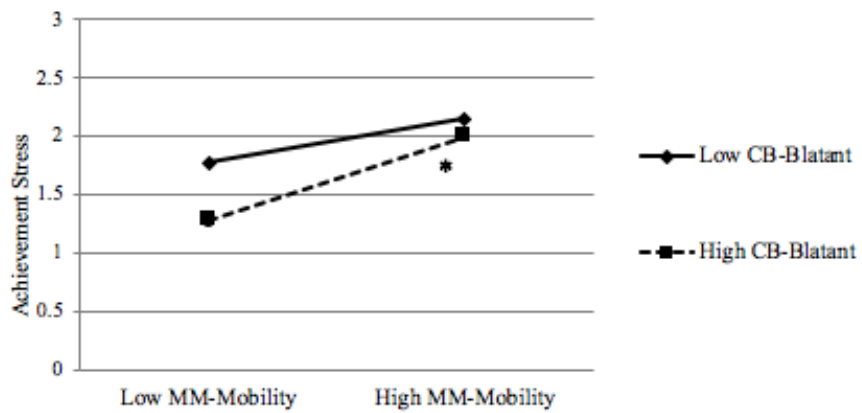


Figure 9. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Blatant on Racism Stress



Note. \* $p < .05$

Figure 10. Interaction effect between MM-Mobility and CB-Blatant on Achievement Stress



Note. \* $p < .05$