Racial Discrimination and Adjustment Among Asian American Youth: Vulnerability and Protective Factors in the Face of "Chinks," "Dog-Eaters," and "Jackie Chan"

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We didn't do anything but they just started calling us vulgar names, stereotyping, telling us to go back to China (even though we were not all Chinese), and going "Ching-Chong-Ching-Chong, make me some eggrolls and fried rice. (Kiang, 2018)

People are under the impression that I'm passive. Beginning of high school there were a few kids who picked on me, just pushed me out of the way. Thought I was a quiet kid and you know, I just had to do something to display to them that I'm not somebody you just f**k with. (Niwa, Way, Okazaki, & Qin, 2011, p. 199)

Asian American youth experience racial discrimination, expressed clearly in the quotes above. In this chapter, we will review what we know about the prevalence of racial discrimination among Asian American children and adolescents and how these experiences are linked to social, emotional, physical, and academic adjustment. We will consider possible vulnerability factors (e.g., family conflict) that can exacerbate the discrimination-adjustment link as well as

protective factors (e.g., ethnic and racial identity, parental racial socialization) that can weaken the discrimination-adjustment link. We will describe how discrimination affects not just the child who is targeted but also the people whose lives are linked to the child. We will also review research suggesting that positive parental racial socialization could foster critical awareness, reflection, and activism. These are ways to promote stronger ethnic/racial identity, critical consciousness, and adaptive frameworks and coping strategies so youth can more effectively deal with discrimination. Because mixed race of Asian-heritage is one of the fastest growing ethnic/racial groups in the USA, we highlight this group as well as other understudied Asian-heritage populations concerning discrimination (e.g., Filipino, Korean American adoptees). To begin, we briefly review two perspectives that argue for attention to the important role of discrimination for Asian American adolescent development.

One of the earliest conceptual frameworks to pinpoint discrimination as having a central influence on the developmental competencies of ethnic minority and immigrant youth is García Coll et al.' (1996) integrative model. According to the model, experiences that are broadly related to social stratification and oppression (e.g., racism, prejudice, discrimination) can structure children's macrosystems as well as their more proximal

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environments and, ultimately, their developmental outcomes. Effects of social stratification are also incorporated in Mistry et al.'s (2016) integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth. More specifically, contextual influences and interactions among community, neighborhood, and school settings impact children's social networks, identity development, and key psychosocial and academic outcomes. Direct consequences of stratification and potential interpersonal bias can take the form of individuals being prevented from accessing resources, whereas indirect effects might be conveyed through more subtle messages of inferiority or microaggressions (Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016).

From the life-course literature, it is understood that negative effects of racial/ethnic discrimination should be examined at different developmental periods across the life span. As individuals move through age-patterned transitions and contexts, these changing contexts may expose individuals to different sources, types, and intensities of discrimination (Gee, Walsemann, & Brandolo, 2012). For instance, contexts afforded during adolescence are different from childhood, which have implications for adjustment, for better or worse. Such developmental shifts in context (e.g., engagement with extracurricular activities, new work settings) and other experiences that are particularly salient during adolescence (e.g., dating, autonomy-seeking) create new spaces for youth to encounter and cope with discrimination, as well as learn relevant messages in terms of their racial or ethnic understanding (Stein, Coard, Kiang, Mejia, & Smith, 2018). Taken together, developmental and life-course literature suggest that attention to racial discrimination across a broad age period provides important developmental information regarding the mental health and well-being for Asian American youth.

What Do We Know?

Asian American youth are typically not considered marginalized or at risk due to the model minority stereotype (Yoo, Miller, & Yip, 2015).

For example, Asian Americans are often presumed to fare well in all aspects of development because of their high academic achievement but, in actuality, could be suffering from poor mental health despite their academic success (Qin, 2008). Moreover, while aggregate data on Asian American youth show, on average, that they may fare better than other racial minority groups, when disaggregated, the wide variation across groups shows significant health and education disparities (Kiang et al., 2016). Although it is clear that there is wide variation among the specific Asian ethnic groups, they share the experience of being a racialized minority group, stereotyped in similar ways, with negative implications for health and well-being.

There is clear historical and contemporary evidence of systemic and interpersonal racism experienced by Asian Americans (E. Lee, 2015). Importantly, a recent meta-analysis shows a stronger link between racism and poorer mental health for Asian Americans compared to other racial groups (Paradies et al., 2015). And a recent meta-analysis with adolescents also found a stronger link between racism and poorer mental health for samples that included higher percentages of Asian American and Latinx adolescents (Benner, Wang, Shen, Boyle, Polk, & Cheng, 2018). It therefore is critical to understand how Asian American youth experience, learn, and cope with experiences of discrimination (in all of its manifestations), as it will have consequences on their development and well-being (Chang, 2016).

Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, Stereotypes, and Adjustment

Asian American adolescents report higher levels of racial discrimination by peers compared to other racial groups (e.g., Black and Latino) with community samples (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) as well as based on nationally representative data (Cooc & Gee, 2014). Similar to other racial groups, experiences of discrimination increase in age from early to late adolescence, and these general patterns have been found for both

Chinese and Korean Americans (Benner & Kim, 2009a; Seol, Yoo, Lee, Park, & Kyeong, 2016). A study of Chinese American adolescents found that a majority (78–84%) report experiencing some discrimination (Juang & Cookston, 2009).

Asian American adolescents who experience racial and ethnic discrimination report greater anxiety, somatization, depressive symptoms, and lower self-esteem, school engagement, school belonging, and academic performance (Benner & Kim, 2009a; Benner & Graham, 2013; Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Juang & Cookston, 2009; Sangalang & Gee, 2015; Seol et al., 2016). These studies, along with several reviews and meta-analyses of discrimination literature that include diverse samples and methodologies spanning from adolescence to adulthood, show strong evidence that greater experiences of racial discrimination are detrimental to academic, physical, psychological, and social adjustment (Benner et al, 2018; Lee & Ahn, 2011; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, 2016). A longitudinal study found that greater discrimination predicted greater depressive symptoms (and vice versa) across adolescence and young adulthood for Chinese Americans (Hou, Kim, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2015). A recent meta-analysis of 214 studies that specifically focused on adolescents found that racial discrimination is hurtful in terms of how adolescents feel (i.e., depression, other internalizing symptoms, self-esteem, and positive well-being), how they do in school (i.e., achievement, engagement, motivation), and how they behave (i.e., externalizing behaviors, substance use, deviant peer associations, risky sex behaviors; Benner et al., 2018). Importantly, the effect sizes were comparable to or exceeded those found with studies of racial discrimination with adults, indicating that the strength of the effects of discrimination may vary across development and may be particularly harmful during adolescence. During adolescence, the expanding mobility and greater time spent outside the home with extracurricular activities, work experiences, and leisure time activities may expose adolescents to different types and sources of discrimination. This, combined with identity development, greater cogni-

tive understanding of concepts such as social inequity, histories of discrimination, along with a limited range of effective coping skills compared to during adulthood (Garnefski, Legerstee, Kraaij, van de Kommer, & Teerds, 2002), may converge during adolescence to make this a particularly vulnerable time.

In addition to assessing general racial discrimination, discrimination based on two specific Asian American stereotypes has also been studied. The two prevalent stereotypes are the perpetual foreigner and model minority. The perpetual foreigner stereotype is the racial representation of Asians in America as foreign, regardless of their citizenship, generational status, or length of residency in the USA (Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2002). Asian Americans have long been portrayed as the perpetual foreigner in the USA, stereotyped as the Yellow Peril that threatened White power and privilege. This image justified and normalized exclusionary and naturalization laws that limited Asian Americans from fully and equally participating in US society and culture (Wu, 2002). One of the more egregious historical examples of this stereotype can be found in the forced internment of Japanese Americans during WWII (Takaki, 1989). As a consequence, today, even if Asian Americans have been born and raised in the USA with US citizenship, they are consistently perceived to be less American compared to European Americans and African Americans when asked explicitly (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Implicit perceptions have also been supported; for example, Asian faces are less easily paired with American symbols compared to White faces, and Asian faces are more strongly associated with the concept "foreign" than White faces (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Interestingly, in these series of studies, even well-known Asian Americans (e.g., Lucy Liu) were considered less American when compared to well-known non-Americans (e.g., Europeans such as Hugh Grant).

The perpetual foreigner stereotype is the basis for foreigner objectification, a type of discrimination in which individuals may be questioned about their origin of birth or language skills by questions such as "Where are you from?" or

being told "You speak good English" even if they were born and raised in the USA or have family that have been here for generations. Foreigner objection is a form of "othering," reinforcing the exclusionary notion that Asian Americans do not belong in the USA or are not "truly" American. A wide range of consequences have been linked to foreigner-based experiences of discrimination, including low-quality relationships and social interactions; low self-esteem; heightened anger, anxiety, and stress; identity confusion; and threats to a sense of belonging (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Tran & Lee, 2014). Foreigner objectification is also related to greater depressive symptoms, anxiety, and aggression among Asian American college students and contributed unique variance to adjustment over and above experiencing blatant discrimination (Juang, Shen, Kim, & Wang, 2016). Importantly, foreigner-based discrimination and other forms of racial and ethnic stratification can be experienced directly as well as indirectly and interacted with the contexts of both emigration (e.g., one's ethnic group status in the home country prior to migration) and immigration (e.g., mainstream perceptions of "foreignness" in the receiving country) (Mistry et al., 2016). For instance, foreigner objectification may be experienced differently for someone emigrating from the Philippines versus China versus Vietnam. Each group has unique immigration patterns, marked by different reasons for emigrating and areas of settlement (to urban or suburban or small town) that can contribute to whether and how foreigner objectification is experienced.

Another prevalent stereotype is of the model minority—the representation of Asians in the USA as being more academically, economically, and socially successful compared to other racial minority groups because of their hard work and belief in the "American dream" (Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). The Asian American model minority stereotype has been used to contrast and set minority groups against one another (Wu, 2002). Asian Americans, for instance, are cited as examples of how hard work and "ethnic assimilation" make upward mobility possible (R.G. Lee, 1999). Encounters with the model minority stereotype

are common, with over 99% of a sample of ninth and tenth grade Asian Americans reporting having some experience with the stereotype, which can stem from both non-Asian peers as well as teachers (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Importantly, internalizing the model minority myth regarding academic achievement is related to greater academic expectation stress among Asian American high school students (Yoo et al., 2015).

These two forms of discrimination—foreigner objectification and model minority assumptions—reflect contemporary experiences of discrimination that are manifested in the form of microaggressions, defined as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). Microaggressions can be particularly difficult to deal with for several reasons. They are pervasive, and their subtle, ambiguous nature can be challenging to interpret and understand, which can lead to great inner turmoil. The source of these transgressions can often stem from a friend, coworker, family member, or familiar acquaintance, which can intensify the emotions involved and lead to further turmoil in terms of whether and how to respond. For instance, among those of mixed-heritage backgrounds, coping with microaggressions as communicated through unsolicited and aggressive comments from strangers and other family members can have consequences for both interracial parents and their mixed-race children that range from undue stress to negative emotions to family divisiveness and conflict (Chang, 2016). Asian Americans from both multi- and monoracial backgrounds have reported a variety of negative consequences related to microaggressions including anger, rage, frustration, and feeling invalidated, trapped, and alienated (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Much of these negative outcomes can be explained through "death by a thousand cuts" (Nadal et al., 2011, p. 234) or the idea that gradual, yet constant, experiences of marginalization can undermine well-being and pose repeated threats to self-concept, belonging, and social support.

Mechanisms to Explain Why Discrimination Is Linked to Adjustment

While it is clear that discrimination, in all of its forms, is intricately related to adjustment, the precise mechanisms to explain these associations are less clear. Conceptual models and empirical support for such models are only beginning to scratch the surface of understanding the implications and trajectories of discrimination. Multiple pathways likely exist, and it is also possible that specific mechanisms could depend on developmental stage, individual differences, contextual factors, and the form of discrimination that is experienced.

One mechanism that has gained traction in recent years is the concept of John Henryism or the idea that one needs to work harder than others to succeed due to experiences like discrimination. Although, in principal, the idea of combatting inequities and perseverance might seem positive and empowering, some work has shown that the effort involved in John Henryism can be psychologically and physiologically debilitating (James, 1994). Moreover, the perception of having to expend extra effort to work against negative views about one's race increased over time among African American adolescents as they transitioned into emerging adulthood (Gutman, Peck, Malanchuk, Sameroff, & Eccles, 2017). For Asian American families, there is a similar strong emphasis on working hard through education to overcome the lack of opportunities for success without education (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Yet, a recent nationally representative survey of Asian American adults reported that one out of four experienced work-related discrimination while applying for jobs, negotiating pay, or being considered for promotions (NPR/Robert Wood Johnson Foundation/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017) These trends suggest that individuals' risk for developing maladaptive outcomes could increase longitudinally as they move through work-related contexts.

Similarly, research in the area of stereotype threat suggests that the activation of negative stereotypes and related anticipation of discrimination can increase stress, arousal, and vigilance which, in turn, can disrupt self-regulation and executive functioning (Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008). Hence, encountering racial stress can take a physiological toll by monopolizing cognitive resources that are used to make sense of the negative interactions, as well as in relation to coping with the stressful interactions themselves (Kiang, Blumenthal, Carlson, Lawson, & Shell, 2009). For example, detrimental effects of discrimination can be seen through outcomes such as headaches, nausea, lethargy, the stress response system (e.g., HPA axis), and broader biological systems (e.g., inflammation and immune response, allostatic load) (Benner, 2017). More broadly related to stress response mechanisms, the stress-coping model suggests that discrimination and other stressors can impact psychological outcomes by depleting coping resources (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999).

Notably, the somatic consequences and cognitive depletion that might be associated with discrimination can be found in terms of any encounters with racial stress, either real or imagined or whether experienced personally or vicariously (Ford, Woodzicka, Triplett, Kochersberger, & Holden, 2014; Mistry et al., 2016). Vicarious experiences of discrimination are prevalent and widespread and might be witnessed online, through stereotypes in the media, or through the experiences of family members (Benner and Kim 2009; Priest et al., 2014; Tynes, Giang, Williams, & Thompson, 2008).

Discrimination can also interact with other negative experiences in people's lives and increase their vulnerability to non-race-related stressors (Murry, Brown, Brody, Cutrona, & Simons, 2001; Myers, 2009). For example, experiences with discrimination could result in different patterns of stress responses, and, together, these circumstances can exacerbate other stressors and negative effects in one's lives, such as low-quality sleep (Dunbar, Mirpuri, & Yip, 2017; Yip, 2015). Other indirect effects of discrimination include its implications for social isolation and feelings of mistrust in others, which then undermine support and belonging and contribute to diverse indicators of negative psychological adjustment.

Indeed, some of these indirect effects can be explained through perspectives from symbolic interactionism, which have long argued that self-evaluations are created through interactions with others (Harter, 1999; Mead, 1934). Based on these conceptual views, discrimination can be linked to adjustment when adolescents internalize the oppression that they face and begin to see themselves negatively as a result of negative treatment and exclusion (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Spencer, 1999).

Taken together, theory and research increasingly point to the multitude of ways in which inherently demeaning messages that are transmitted through discrimination can disrupt adolescents' identity process and thwart mental health (Clark et al., 1999; Schmader et al., 2008; Thoits, 1991). Yet, the precise mechanisms to explain why discrimination has such an adverse effect on development are still being uncovered, perhaps due to the multiple direct and indirect pathways that are likely to exist. Perspectives stemming from stereotype threat, stress and coping models, symbolic interactionism, and intersections with biobehavioral health and contemporary research on microaggressions have led to some critical understanding of the processes that might be involved and represent key areas to continue to target in future work.

Linked Lives

A majority of the research on the psychological and health consequences of discrimination has focused primarily on the target of discrimination (Gee et al., 2012). Discrimination, however, affects not just the person who is targeted but also the important people in that person's life. Evidence for linked consequences regarding discrimination from parent to child is seen in studies of the intergenerational transmission of racial stress. African American mothers who report lifetime exposure to racism in at least one of five domains (at work, getting a job, at school, getting medical care, getting service at a restaurant or store) are more likely to give birth to low birthweight babies compared to mothers who report no lifetime exposure to racism in one of the domains (Collins, David, Handler, Wall, & Andes, 2004).

Studies in adolescence also show a link between parent discrimination and adolescent discrimination. From a family stress perspective, the challenges that parents face (such as experiencing economic hardship) and resultant stress can and do negatively affect their children indirectly through undermining parenting behavior (Mistry, Benner, Tan, & Kim, 2009). One important challenge for ethnic minority parents is dealing with racial discrimination and stress (Hughes et al., 2006). One study of African American adolescents found that parents' experiences with discrimination shaped parents' racial socialization practices which then influenced children's perceptions of discrimination (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2003). Studies of Chinese American families find that parents who report experiencing higher levels of discrimination also had adolescents reporting higher levels (Benner & Kim, 2009b; Juang & Alvarez, 2010). Benner & Kim (2009b) found that this link between parents' and adolescents' discrimination was mediated by parent stress. Although there is a robust literature on adult experiences of discrimination and a growing literature on adolescent experiences of discrimination, there are still few studies examining how discrimination may be linked within members of the same family.

Children are not only affected by the racism that their parents experience, but their own racism experiences may also affect their relationships with their parents. For instance, in a daily study, greater family engagement was reported by Asian American adolescents on days in which they also reported something bad happening due to their race or ethnicity (e.g., teased, picked on, called names) or something positive occurring (e.g., complimented for an outfit, participating in a cultural activity) (Kiang & Witkow, 2017). African American adolescents who reported higher levels of discrimination reported poorer quality relationships in terms of greater conflict and less warmth with parents (Riina & McHale, 2012). One mechanism through which this may occur is emotional mood. Discrimination is a potent stressor that elicits negative emotional responses, which then can expand beyond the person targeted to affect their family relationships and family functioning (Nelson, O'Brien,

Blankson, Calkins, & Keane, 2009). This suggests that discrimination experienced in one setting (e.g., school) can have consequences or relationships in another (e.g., home). Riina and McHale argued that their findings support the "emotional spillover hypothesis," whereby negative emotions resulting from discrimination experiences spill over to interactions with others in a different setting (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989). Thus, experiences of racial discrimination outside the home takes an emotional toll on the adolescent, and this in turn is brought home, potentially negatively affecting relationships with parents. Nonetheless, protective factors such as adolescents' ethnic identity and mothers' (but not fathers') racial socialization partially deflected emotional spillover (i.e., the discrimination-relationship quality link was weakened) (Riina & McHale, 2012). More specifically, the relation between adolescent discrimination and greater conflict with parents was weaker for adolescents who reported stronger ethnic identities and whose mothers engaged in greater cultural socialization and preparation for bias. While this study offers evidence that discrimination experiences outside the home are linked to relationships within the home, the study was cross-sectional and could not establish the direction of effects. Future studies could focus on how adolescent experiences of discrimination are brought home and how parents may either help diffuse or exacerbate those negative emotions. Future studies could also focus on how parents who vicariously experience their children's discrimination are affected negatively (e.g., by causing parental psychological distress) and potentially positively (e.g., by increasing their resolve to prepare and equip their children to cope with discrimination).

Vulnerability Factors that Can Exacerbate the Discrimination-Adjustment Link

Family conflict Family conflict is a vulnerability factor given that a negative family climate contributes to a variety of psychological problems for children and adolescents of immigrant families (Lui, 2015). One study found that family conflict exacerbated the effects of discrimination on loneliness and anxiety (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). Adolescents who feel lonely because their sense of self is being denigrated by people outside the family do worse when, at home, they are also engaged in conflict with parents. In the language that Luthar, Cichetti, and Becker (2000) suggested to more precisely label vulnerability factors, family conflict appears to be a vulnerable-reactive factor—a factor that heightens the disadvantages associated with increasing levels of risk/stress.

Ethnic composition Another possible vulnerability factor is the ethnic composition of the community in which families live. We may expect that in emerging immigrant communities with few same-ethnic members and thus fewer same-ethnic institutional networks and resources (e.g., ethnic churches, stores, media, language schools), experiencing discrimination is perhaps more consequential than in more traditional immigrant-receiving areas that tend to be more ethnically diverse overall (Kiang & Supple, 2016). A study of Filipino American adults living in San Francisco and Honolulu found that everyday discrimination was related to poorer health (a composite score of ten health conditions including high blood pressure, heart conditions, diabetes) in Honolulu but not in San Francisco. Filipinos living in Honolulu make up 5% of the population and in San Francisco 12% of the population. Perhaps the higher density of same-ethnic members in San Francisco is protective against the negative effects of discrimination.

Other studies that have examined community ethnic density, however, offer different findings. A study with a nationally representative sample of Asian American adults (using the NLAAS, National Latino and Asian American Study data), including Vietnamese-, Chinese-, and Filipino-heritage Americans, found that the proportion of same-ethnic members in the community (county-level) was related to discrimination and psychological distress differently by ethnic group (Syed & Juan, 2012). The findings showed that discrimination was consistently associated

with more psychological distress for all three ethnic groups, but the strength of association depended on the specific ethnic group, ethnic density of the community, and level of social cohesion, in sometimes unexpected ways. For Vietnamese-heritage and Filipino-heritage individuals, discrimination was linked to greater psychological distress, and ethnic density did not moderate that association. For Chinese-heritage individuals, those living with many other Chinese-heritage individuals (high ethnic density), and who also reported high social cohesion within their neighborhood, also showed the *strongest* association between discrimination and psychological distress. Along similar lines, a study of diverse sixth grade students in Los Angeles found that the negative effects of peer victimization were stronger in classrooms with higher proportions of same-ethnic members (Bellmore, Witkow, Graham, & Juvonen, 2004). Perhaps the dissonance of experiencing discrimination in a supposedly safe environment may be even more detrimental (Syed & Juan, 2012). Or, differential attributions could explain these effects. In contexts where there are few same-ethnic individuals, adolescents who experience peer victimization may attribute being targeted to their ethnicity. However, in contexts with many same-ethnics, adolescent attributions may focus more on themselves as individuals, leading to greater psychological distress (Bellmore et al., 2004). Nonetheless, too few studies preclude definitive conclusions regarding how some communities and contexts may be a potential vulnerability factor regarding discrimination and adjustment. More systematic attention to the particular setting, such as whether objective or subjective perceptions are used to measure ethnic density, the way ethnic members are differentiated and grouped, the diversity of the density (e.g., number and proportion of ethnic groups), and the proximity of measurement (e.g., from smaller spaces such as classrooms to larger such as neighborhoods and city level), will be necessary to better understand how the ethnic/racial setting contributes to children and adolescents' experiences of discrimination (Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018).

Protective Factors that Can Weaken the Discrimination-Adjustment Link

Ethnic identity Given that discrimination involves threats to one's social group, a strong sense of group identity and solidarity can provide individuals with the strength and perceived resources to withstand such threats (Tajfel & Forgas, 2000). According to social identity perspectives, individuals are protected from group threat when they have a strong sense of connection to and pride in their group and are aware of the positive features of their group (Tajfel, 1981). Indeed, one of the very functions of racial or ethnic identity could be to protect against group threat that is racially charged (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1998), and such functions of identity are enacted in individuals' daily interactions (Cross et al., 2017).

Conceptual models of ethnic minority youth development posit that cultural factors, such as ethnic identity, constitute protective resources, and promote developmental competences (García Coll et al., 1996; Mistry et al., 2016). A large body of empirical work simultaneously supports the idea that a strong sense of ethnic/racial identity buffers the negative impact of multiple forms of stressors, both race-related and otherwise, on a range of outcomes including externalizing and internalizing behaviors (Benner & Kim, 2009a; Chae et al., 2008). More specifically, discrimination has been linked with poor academic outcomes and psychological distress, but individuals with a positive sense of ethnic/racial identity appear protected from these negative effects (Mossakowski, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). In a daily diary study with Mexican and Chinese adolescents, normative stressors were associated with lower levels of happiness but only for those who had low and even moderate levels of ethnic identity; those with high levels of ethnic pride did not report these negative effects of stress (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006).

However, it is important to note that consistent buffering effects with respect to ethnic identity have not always been found (e.g., Yoo & Lee,

2008). Moreover, it is possible that specific protective effects could vary based on individual or demographic differences. For instance, using national epidemiological survey data, Yip, Gee, and Takeuchi (2008) found that ethnic identity buffered against the negative effect of discrimination on psychological distress for middle-aged adults between the ages of 41 and 50, but ethnic identity exacerbated these associations among both older and younger adults. Differences have been also found based on the specific dimensions of ethnic identity that are targeted as possible moderators. While positive views about one's race and ethnic/racial pride could serve to buffer negative effects of discrimination, other aspects of identity (e.g., exploration in crisis) could exacerbate the negative effects of discrimination on well-being (Mistry et al., 2016; Umaña-Taylor, 2016).

Parental ethnic and racial socialization and family cohesion Yet, considering the possible benefits of ethnic identity, an additional cultural resource includes the ethnic/racial socialization messages that are communicated to youth from parents and other people in individuals' lives (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Szalacha et al., 2003). Ethnic/racial socialization is the process by which youth develop a sense of racial identity, and, in communicating messages related to race and ethnicity, parents often also transmit messages and strategies on how to cope with discrimination (Hughes, 2003). Ethnic/racial socialization messages that encourage youth to be aware of discrimination and to respond proactively to such experiences have been linked to positive outcomes such as self-esteem and self-efficacy (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Specific messages related to boosting ethnic/racial pride, self-esteem, egalitarianism, acknowledging racial barriers, and preparing children for possible bias have been widely found to be beneficial and protective against actual experiences of race-related bias (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008).

More broadly, nurturing parenting practices, which includes emotional and instrumental support and high-quality communication, can promote a positive sense of self as well as positive coping responses (Luthar et al., 2000). Brody et al. (2006) also found support for the buffering role of positive parenting, as well as for positive school experiences, as significant moderators of discrimination-adjustment links.

Family cohesion, defined as having a close, connected relationship with family members, can be a protective factor. Family cohesion buffered the effects of discrimination on anxiety for Chinese American adolescents (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). Adolescents who are able to rely on their parents for support, communication, and comfort, report less distress even when facing higher levels of discrimination. Indeed, their levels of anxiety were as low as those who experienced less discrimination. Thus, family cohesion appears to be a protective-stabilizing factor—protecting against (some) disadvantages despite increasing levels of risk and stress (Luthar et al., 2000).

Some of the purported mechanisms that have been used to explain the links between discrimination and adjustment can be targeted as additional intervention points to improve well-being. For example, given that discrimination can potentially hinder social relationships, it follows that strong relationships might also help individuals withstand initial experiences of discrimination. A strong social support network, including peers, friends, family, educators, and mentors can help adolescents directly withstand negative experiences of discrimination as well as indirectly strengthen their ethnic/racial identity to help them face such group threats (Benner, 2017). Same-ethnic friendships in particular have been related to positive outcomes (Schneider, Dixon, & Udvarim 2007).

Coping and resistance It could be that healthy coping practices also mitigate the negative effect of discrimination on adjustment. For example, individuals' appraisals of a racially charged experience as stressful or difficult to handle could play a role in how well the individual is able to manage the stressful experience and adapt in the

face of such stress (Benner, 2017). Although this area of research is still largely understudied, some work suggests that active coping styles are more beneficial than ones that are less active (Alvarez & Juang, 2010; Garnett et al., 2015). It is important to note that Asian American adolescents sometimes do actively resist when discrimination happens, such as by organizing, staging walkouts, and petitioning and writing letters to school administrators to address frequent discrimination targeting Asian American students in schools (in Massachusetts, Kiang, 1996; in Philadelphia, Miller, 2009). These events focused on raising awareness regarding the frequent and harmful experiences of racial discrimination in schools and promoting a stronger and more positive ethnic identity. More research focusing on how Asian American adolescents resist is needed, particularly in light of the model minority stereotype that casts Asian Americans as passive and meek. Other protective factors such as self-efficacy and considering what youth attribute as the source of unfair treatment (e.g., do they see discrimination as stemming from ethnic/racial background) are also key factors that have been implicated as ways to minimize the effects of discrimination (Szalacha et al., 2003).

Clearly, discrimination can be debilitating in socially, psychologically, and physiologically negative ways, and yet some Asian American adolescents do resist and actively cope. The next step is to better understand and identify possibilities for intervention and ways to prevent such discrimination from occurring at the outset (Benner, 2017). Resilience can take the form of buffering or protection, with positive factors in individuals' lives counteracting the negative experiences of threat (Zimmerman et al., 2013). Alternatively, there could be compensatory processes whereby positive resources promote well-being more independently from the stressor itself (Cooper, Brown, Metzger, Clinton & Guthrie, 2013). More work to uncover directly promotive factors to compensate for negative race-related experiences or to identify resources to protect healthy adjustment from race-related challenges is vital.

Variations Among Asian-Heritage Groups that Are Less Studied

As noted in reviews of the Asian American psychological literature, there are far more studies including East Asian populations compared to other Asian subgroups (Kim, Shen, Hu Tilton, Juang, & Wang, 2015). Notably, although Filipinos are the second largest Asian ethnic group in the USA, there are still far fewer studies of youth discrimination with this group. As the demographics of the USA continue to change, researchers will also need to closely consider shifts (such as the sharp increase in number of Bangladeshi Americans) (Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014) and devote more attention to groups that have been considered less often.

Filipino Some Filipino Americans report that they are sometimes misidentified as being members of other racial groups (such as Latinx) (Nadal, 2011). Thus, their discrimination experiences may be somewhat different from that of other Asian Americans. Filipinos report experiencing phenotypic bias against having darker skin (Kiang & Takeuchi, 2009), and Asian Americans with darker skin are sometimes perceived as "less Asian" or "not Asian enough" (Nadal, 2011; Rodriguez-Operana, Mistry, & Chen, 2017). Despite these variations, they are subjected to the same Asian stereotypes as other Asian ethnic groups, such as the model minority stereotype. In a study of Filipino youth, one way they dealt with such discriminatory stereotypes was to brush off those that were perceived to be applicable to other Asian-heritage groups (Chinese, Korean) but not Filipino (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017). Those who identified more with Pacific Islander identity (and not with Asian American identity) may be using this identification as a strategy to distance from the Asian American label that is so closely tied with the model minority stereotype. For instance, in this study, Filipinos who identified as Asian American were more likely to have internalized the model minority myth, while those who identified as Pacific Islander were more likely to believe that others made unfavorable assumptions about them regarding intelligence

and work ethic based on race. In other words, their different ethnic identities were related to their interpretation of the specific stereotypes and discrimination they perceived and sometimes internalized. These findings suggest that coping with discrimination may vary depending on ethnic identity orientation.

For Filipino American adolescents, the legacy of Spanish and US colonization, internalized oppression, and colonial mentality will have implications for how they deal with race-related issues (David & Nadal, 2013). Colonial mentality is defined as "an automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an automatic and uncritical preference for anything American" (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 241). Filipinos with higher colonial mentality also have higher depressive symptoms and less collective self-esteem (David, 2010; David & Okazaki, 2006). While internalization of the model minority myth has been studied much more, this form of internalized racism in the form of colonial mentality is equally as relevant and should also be a focus of attention for Filipino American youth. The histories of each Asian ethnic group need to be understood within the broader history and experiences of each particular group to contextualize discrimination experiences. Doing so provides a more differentiated understanding of discrimination for each Asian ethnic group, necessary for developing more precise knowledge on how adolescents and their families can best confront stereotyping, discrimination, and internalized racism.

Mixed race In 2015, one in seven children are multiethnic or multiracial, and these numbers are only expected to grow (Pew, 2016). Compared to monoracial youth, multiracial youth report higher internalizing and externalizing problems such as lower self-esteem, higher depression, and more substance use and problem behaviors (Choi, Harachi, Gillmore, & Catalano, 2006; Chong & Kuo, 2015; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Root (1992) argued that multiracial individuals face unique challenges that monoracial individuals are less likely to face, such as possible rejection from both majority and different minority groups

because they are not easily "classified" into one particular group. This may be because of our historical classifications of racial groups as monoracial, where racial groups are "exclusive, essentialized, and hierarchical" (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003). Multiracial Asian-heritage children sometimes experience racial discrimination from their own non-Asian family members, which can be particularly hurtful (Chang, 2016). Some scholars propose that multiracial individuals have a greater awareness of the social construct of race (Shih, Bonam, Sanchez, & Peck, 2007). For instance, they are less likely than monoracial college students to endorse the belief that race has biological roots and that race is tied to individuals' abilities and characteristics (Shih et al., 2007). This more critical understanding of race may be protective in understanding and coping with discrimination.

One type of discrimination that multiracial Asians may be likely to face is racial identity invalidation—the misperception or denial by others of one's racial identity (Franco & O'Brien, 2017; Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009). A multiracial Asian adolescent may racially self-identify in a way that is not aligned with how others perceive them. One can experience invalidation by others' lack of acceptance of how one self identifies racially or by imposing an alternate racial identity. Three types of racial invalidation have been distinguished: behavioral invalidation (e.g., when others deny one's racial group membership because of the way one behaves, speaks, or thinks), phenotype invalidation (when others deny or misjudge racial membership because of the way one looks), and identity incongruent discrimination (when others use racial stereotypes and discrimination of other groups that a person does not self-identify with). These three dimensions were related to greater loneliness and racial homelessness (feeling like one does not belong to any particular racial group). Furthermore, behavioral and identity incongruent discrimination was related to greater depressive symptoms (Franco & O'Brien, 2017). Thus, understanding that multiracial Asian adolescents may experience qualitatively different

types of discrimination from monoracial adolescents (but with similar negative consequences) is important.

A study of multiracial and monoracial early adolescents that included African American and Asian American adolescents from the nationally representative Add Health dataset found that the relation between experiencing discrimination in school was related to greater problem behaviors (e.g., threatening to beat someone up), and this relation was stronger for multiracial versus monoracial adolescents (Choi et al., 2006). The authors postulate that because multiracial youth are more aware of racial issues at an earlier age (Brown, 1990), they may also experience marginalization at an earlier age, thus exacerbating the negative effects of discrimination (Choi et al., 2006).

A study of multiracial adults found that those who reported greater multiracial identity integration (i.e., low racial conflict where different racial identities are compatible, Cheng & Lee, 2009) was a protective factor that buffered the link between perceived racial discrimination and distress and negative affect (Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra, & Harrington, 2012). More research focusing on the unique discrimination experiences as well as possible protective factors for mixed-race Asian adolescents is needed. On the one hand, having access to multiple identity options could serve to expose multiracial youth to greater possibilities of both inter- and intra-group discrimination. On the other hand, the multiple identities that multiracial youth might claim could serve protective functions rather than pose as risks. Moreover, the unique identification of "multiracial" in and of itself carries its own set of experiences that have implications for understanding discrimination-adjustment links.

Korean American adoptees Most transracial adoptee families are comprised of White parents and ethnic minority children (Seol et al., 2016). Adoptees in the USA from Korea are one of the largest adoption groups. As with nonadopted Asian American children and adolescents, they report being teased and verbally attacked for their appearance (Docan-Morgan, 2010). But unlike nonadopted Asian American children, they more likely to consider themselves as White and report lower Asian ethnic identity (Lee, Yun, Yoo, & Nelson, 2010). The experience of being phenotypically different from their parents can be stressful, and those who wish to be White and wish to have been born into their adoptive family are more likely to have greater behavioral problems (Juffer, 2006; Juffer & Tieman, 2009).

Korean American immigrant parents engage in more ethnic/racial socialization practices compared to White parents raising Korean American children adopted internationally as infants (Seol et al., 2016). Those who engaged in racial socialization too little (e.g., rarely talked about discrimination and bias) or too much (e.g., often frequently talked about discrimination, stereotyping, and bias) had adolescents who reported lower school engagement. Interestingly, ethnic socialization (promoting Korean cultural pride and knowledge of Korean cultural heritage) acted as a protective factor for nonadopted Korean American adolescents by weakening the link between discrimination and school belonging. In contrast, ethnic socialization acted as a vulnerability factor for adopted Korean American adolescents by strengthening the link between discrimination and lack of school belonging. The authors suggest that some ethnic socialization practices may be seen by adopted Korean American adolescents as superficial and, rather than connecting to their heritage culture, highlight more differences between themselves and their White family that may increase feelings of exclusion and create more emotional and psychological distance (Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013). Attending to further work among this particular population, as well as possible variations with specific Asian adoptees from other ethnic groups is important.

Southeast Asian For some Southeast Asian adolescents, such as Cambodian-, Hmong-, or Vietnamese-heritage, they may experience stereotyping and discrimination that is based not only on race but also on refugee status and/or socioeconomic status (Chung & Bemak, 2007).

In contrast to the model minority stereotype, if they live in lower SES neighborhoods, they may also be seen as delinquent, a school dropout, or associated with a gang (Chhuon, 2013; Ngo & Lee, 2007). Southeast Asian adolescents may thus be exposed to contrasting "positive" and negative stereotypes (Sangalang, Chen, Kulis, & Yabiku, 2015). To address the need for ethnic-specific experiences of discrimination, a recent measure for Cambodian American adolescents included questions about police-related discrimination (Sangalang et al., 2015), items that are not usually included in other Asian-heritage measures of discrimination that have focused primarily on discrimination based on othering and the model minority stereotype (e.g., Internalization of the Model Minority Scale, Yoo et al., 2010; Subtle and Blatant discrimination scale, Yoo, Steger, & Lee, 2010).

Experiences of discrimination are important conditions to pay attention to for refugee resettlement and adjustment. A study comparing mother-adolescent dyads who were of immigrant or refugee background (including Vietnamese-heritage) in Canada shows the importance of considering discrimination experiences for refugee adolescents specifically (Beiser & Hou, 2016). The study found that refugee adolescents reported higher levels of post-migration discrimination in Canada compared to immigrant adolescents as well as higher levels of pre-migration trauma, emotional problems, and aggressive behaviors (Beiser & Hou, 2016). Importantly, higher levels of discrimination were related to higher levels of emotional problems and aggressive behaviors and accounted for why refugee adolescents showed poorer mental health than voluntary immigrant adolescents. The findings controlled for parental education, parental language fluency (English or French), family poverty, and quality of neighborhood, suggesting that anti-refugee discrimination, above and beyond being perceived as an immigrant or being a visible minority, predicted poorer mental health. Notably, forced migration has increased dramatically around the world, with over half of those fleeing under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2016). Post-

migration conditions are more important for refugee adolescent adjustment compared to pre-migration conditions (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). Thus, understanding how immigrant versus refugee Asian American adolescent discrimination and consequences may differ will be an important issue to tackle in future research.

Practical Implications of What We Know About Discrimination Among Asian American Children and Adolescents

Although there is still much to be done to better understand discrimination experiences for Asian American children and adolescents, our review suggests that we know some things, at least enough to suggest some practical implications for parents, educators, and those working with this population.

Talk to children at young ages about discrimination In Chang's (2016) ethnographic study of parenting Asian-heritage mixed-race children, over half of her sample (43 of 68 families) reported that they did not talk to their young children about racial issues. She found that even parents who believed their children were too young to be aware of race told stories where their children were aware of race-related issues, such as being the recipient of comments concerning racial categorization and phenotypic appearance, e.g., being told that they look Asian, White, or mixed. Chang's study shows that parental racial socialization starts early, even if the messages are indirect and parents themselves are not aware of it. Importantly, young children observe, learn, and actively form beliefs about race based on the interactions with their parents, family members, and the world around them (Brown & Bigler, 2005). These opportunities for racial or ethnic socialization begin early in development, and, ideally, the socialization messages themselves should be continuously adapted and shaped due to the changing developmental demands of children as they move through middle childhood and adolescence (Stein et al., 2018). For example,

recognizing developmentally relevant contexts, such as dating relationships, extracurricular activities, work settings, and social media influences, as opportunities for ethnic/racial socialization could be beneficial in enhancing adolescents' cultural understanding and tools to withstand discrimination.

Encourage awareness, reflection, and activism Drawing from sociopolitical and civic engagement literature, positive parental racial socialization could foster critical awareness, reflection, and activism as ways to promote stronger racial and ethnic identity, critical consciousness, and adaptive frameworks and coping strategies so youth can more effectively deal with discrimination (Juang, Yoo, & Atkins, 2017).Critical awareness refers to how parents create awareness of Asian American history and heritage culture, awareness of racial inequity in institutions and society, and awareness of how racism is intertwined with, for instance, gender, class, and sexual orientation (Chang, 2016; Feagin, 2009). In general, critical awareness provides children with a broader context in which to consider their own racial experiences and to understand the sources of injustices beyond an individual and interpersonal understanding of racism. Reflection refers to how parents help their children understand what this critical awareness means for themselves personally in order to concretely make sense of discrimination experiences. Encouraging reflection can lead to feelings of efficacy—the perceived capacity to affect racial and social inequities by individual and/or collective action (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). Studies have found that adolescents whose parents and family members supported and actively modeled resisting injustice were also more likely to believe they could initiate change in their sociopolitical environments (Diemer, Kauffman, Koenig, Trahan, & Hsieh, 2006). Critical awareness and reflection can lead to activism—actively resisting inequitable systems (Watts et al., 2011). Parents who promote critical awareness and reflection are more likely to have children who will resist and stand up to racial inequities, engage in polit-

ical actions, and participate in their communities. Studies of African American youth show that parents and family members, both implicitly and explicitly, engage their children in various forms of activism, including role modeling, sharing knowledge, and discussing and building relationships with others to fight for social justice (Watts et al., 2011).

Family cohesion also helps If it is difficult for some parents to openly and directly discuss discrimination and how to cope with it, at least promoting family cohesion helps (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). For intervention and prevention programs geared toward Asian American families, emphasizing alternate strategies in addition to verbally discussing how to cope with experiences of racism and discrimination may be useful. How willing parents are in talking about discrimination with their children may depend on immigration status. One study found that one key difference that some second-generation parents noticed between themselves and their own first-generation immigrant parents was that, in contrast to their parents, they were very open about and initiated conversations on racism, discrimination, and social injustices (Juang et al., 2018). That is, they were very actively engaged in racial socialization. Contrary to the stereotype of the silent Asian who does not stir up trouble or fight back if being harassed (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008) or who is unwilling to discuss difficult topics such as race (Hwang, 2011), these second-generation parents were vocal, upfront, and made strong efforts to push their children to understand racial injustice and inequality. They also provided their children with specific strategies on what to say and how to respond when discrimination happened. In contrast to their immigrant parents and as other research has found (e.g., Kim et al., 2013), it was a priority for some second-generation parents to establish an openness in communication with their children, especially regarding difficult topics. Notably, family cohesion could play a direct role in eliciting proactive conversations about race and discrimination, and it could also help facilitate adolescents' openness

to receive and absorb their parents' messages about race, identity, and culture more broadly speaking and at the outset.

Summary and Key Points

Asian American children and adolescents experience discrimination, which is consistently linked to a wide variety of negative adjustment outcomes. Nonetheless, protective factors such as a positive ethnic identity, parental racial socialization, and active coping strategies equip adolescents to resist and deal with these negative experiences. Parents who encourage their children to be critically aware and understand not only the interpersonal but institutional, systemic aspects of discrimination may better prepare their children for when discrimination is encountered. Our chapter also highlights that, while Asian American youth share common experiences of discrimination, specific groups are stereotyped and targeted for different reasons. As such, understanding how specific groups experience discrimination will be necessary to advance current knowledge and better understand what may be the most effective ways to cope with and make meaning of discrimination when it happens.

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