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A Mixed-Methods Study of Filipino American Adolescents' Schooling Experiences:

Model Minority or Minority at Risk?

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Victoria Calip Rodriguez-Operana

2017

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Mixed-Methods Study of Filipino American Adolescents' Schooling Experiences:  
Model Minority or Minority at Risk?

by

Victoria Calip Rodriguez-Operana

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Rashmita S. Mistry, Chair

This mixed-methods dissertation examined Filipino American adolescents' experiences in high school. Study 1 examined Filipino American adolescents' experiences of model minority stereotypes (MMS), including their internalization of MMS, the extent to which they believe that others stereotype them as model minorities, and how their experiences of the MMS relate to their racial-ethnic identity and quality of relationships at home and school. Study 2 examined how experiences of the MMS were associated with Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement (i.e., GPA and educational expectations) and psychological maladjustment, and what individual (e.g., attributions for success/failure), family (e.g., parent-child relationship quality, family cohesion and conflict) and school-level (e.g., teacher and peer relationship quality) factors moderated this relationship. Finally, Study 3 focused on describing the



experiences of students exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox (i.e., high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment) to shed light on the consequences of pervasive MMS. Guided by the integrated conceptual framework for understanding the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016), overall results from this dissertation suggested that Filipino American adolescents' developmental outcomes are influenced by their experiences of the MMS and social relationships within home and school contexts. To support the positive development of Filipino American adolescents, efforts should be aimed at combatting pervasive MMS and fostering positive family, peer, and school-based relationships.

The dissertation of Victoria Calip Rodriguez-Operana is approved.

Sandra Graham

Anna S. Lau

Carola Suárez-Orozco

Rashmita S. Mistry, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

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### MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLICATIONS

---

**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, Special Issue: Moving Beyond the Model Minority*, 8(1), 56-71.

**Rodriguez, V. C., Gillen-O'Neel, C., Mistry, R. S., Brown, C. S., Chow, K., & White, E. (2016).** National and racial-ethnic identification: What it means to be American among early adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 36(6), 807-839.

Gillen-O'Neel, C., Mistry, R. S., Brown, C. S., **Rodriguez, V. C., White, E., & Chow, K. (2015).** Not excluded from analyses: Ethnic and racial meanings among multiethnic/racial early adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30(2), 143-179.

### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

---

**Rodriguez-Operana, V. C., Mistry, R. S., & Feliciano, D. K. (2017).** I vs. We: The Role of Individualism and Collectivism in Filipin@-American Adolescents' Aspirations. Poster presented at the SRCD Biennial Meeting, Austin, TX.

**Rodriguez, V. C., & Mistry, R. S. (2016).** A mixed-methods investigation of the achievement-adjustment paradox among Filipino American adolescents. Poster presented at the "Adolescence in Diverse Contexts" special poster session at the Society for Research on Adolescence (SRA) Biennial Meeting, Baltimore, MD.

**Rodriguez, V. C., & Graham, S. (2015).** Achievement-adjustment paradox among Filipino American adolescents: The social and physical costs of doing well. Poster presented at the SRCD Biennial Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

**Rodriguez, V. C., Gillen-O'Neel, C., Mistry, R. S., Brown, C. S., Chow, K., & White, E. (2014).** National and racial-ethnic identification among early adolescents: What does it mean to be American?. Received recognition for Outstanding Poster Presentation. Poster presented at

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Pizzolato, J. E., Martin, L., Phan-Ho, M., **Rodriguez, V. C.**, Tsang, T. (2013). *Persistence in CalWORKs students: For whom? Under what circumstances? For whose good?*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

**Rodriguez, V. C.**, Gillen-O'Neel, C., Mistry, R. S., & Brown, C. S. (April 2013). *American identity development in middle childhood*. Poster presented at the SRCD Biennial Meeting, Seattle, WA.

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

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Faculty Advisor/Dissertation Committee Chair: Rashmita S. Mistry, Ph.D.  
Conducted a mixed-methods study on the schooling experiences of Filipino American adolescents, including their academic achievement, psychological adjustment, experiences of the model minority stereotype and relationships with their family, teachers, and peers

**Editorial Assistant** October 2013-September 2016  
*Journal of Adolescent Research (JAR)*  
Editor: Carola Suárez-Orozco, Ph.D.  
Assisted in managing the peer review process, including manuscript reviews, assignment of manuscripts to action editors, and production of JAR's bi-monthly issues

**Graduate Student Researcher** August 2013-September 2014  
*UCLA Middle and High School Diversity Project*  
Principal Investigators: Sandra Graham, Ph.D., Jaana Juvonen, Ph.D.  
Co-managed a team of research assistants to enter and clean school records data (e.g., attendance, transcripts, test scores); recruited participants and led data collection at schools

**Graduate Student Researcher** April 2012-December 2014  
*Social Identity Project: Racial meanings and identification among multiracial early adolescents*  
Principal Investigator: Rashmita S. Mistry, Ph.D.  
Coded qualitative interview data and performed basic data analysis in SPSS; assisted with writing for professional publications and conference presentations

**Graduate Student Researcher** April 2012-June 2014  
*UCLA Lab School: Learning in Two Languages Program (LTL)*  
Principal Investigators: Alison Bailey, Ph.D., Rashmita S. Mistry, Ph.D.  
Conducted interviews and collected survey data to investigate the effects of the LTL Program on children's educational and social outcomes

**Graduate Student Researcher** October 2011-June 2012  
*Investigating the persistence of CALWORKS participants*  
Principal Investigator: Jane Pizzolato, Ph.D.  
Conducted interviews with CALWORKS participants; transcribed audio recordings of interviews; helped prepare for and participated in conference presentations

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Filipino Americans are often the targets of model minority stereotypes (MMS) similar to their pan-ethnic Asian American peers (Nadal, Wong, Sriken, Griffin, & Fujii-Doe, 2015; Rodriguez-Operana, Mistry & Chen, 2017). And while they constitute a large segment of the Asian American population, Filipino Americans continue to lack adequate representation in the social science literature at large (Kiang, Huynh, Cheah, Wang & Yoshikawa, 2017; Nadal, 2013). The purpose of this mixed-methods dissertation is to address these gaps in the literature and better understand the schooling experiences of Filipino American adolescents. More specifically, the current dissertation aimed to understand the degree to which Filipino American adolescents internalize and contend with the MMS, its relation to their academic achievement and psychological adjustment, and the individual, family, and school-level factors that moderate these relationships. With an overarching goal of understanding how to support positive outcomes among Filipino American youth and to underscore the potential risks of MMS, this dissertation also sheds light on the experiences of those who appear to be doing well academically, but also struggle with their mental well-being (i.e., achievement-adjustment paradox).

MMS, abound in US society, are assumptions about the intellectual abilities and academic success of Asian Americans which often detract from addressing important issues within the community (Lee, 2009; Kim et al., 2015). In the aggregate, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) demonstrate high academic performance rates on average (Pew Research Center, 2013; Teranishi, Lok, & Nguyen, 2013), including higher overall grade point averages compared to their peers of other racial-ethnic backgrounds (Tseng, Chao, & Padmawidjaja, 2007). However, studies have shown that Filipino Americans are oftentimes outperformed by their East Asian and South Asian peers (Fuligni, 1997; Fuligni & Witkow, 2004; Sue & Abe, 1988; Tseng et al., 2007), and second-generation Filipino Americans, in

particular, have lower levels of educational attainment compared to East Asian Americans given higher high school dropout rates and lower rates of college admission and retention (Okamura, 1998; Okamura & Agbayani, 1997). In addition to ignoring the variability of academic achievement among subgroups within the Asian American community, MMS are problematic in that the mental health needs of AAPIs are often neglected amidst the pervasive stereotype of AAPIs as “model minorities” who appear to be doing well based on their academic achievement (Okazaki & Lim, 2011). Depression, anxiety, and suicide ideation are critical issues within the AAPI population (Africa & Carrasco, 2011), and suicide is the second leading cause of death among AAPI adolescents and young adults (15-24 years old; Hijioka & Wong, 2012). Addressing the potential dangers of MMS and the issues it may conceal is an especially important endeavor as Filipino American youth are at greater risk for maladaptive psychological adjustment, including increased depressive symptoms and suicide ideation as compared with their peers of different racial and ethnic backgrounds (Javier Lahiff, Ferrer, & Huffman, 2010; Wolf, 1997). This includes higher rates of depression among Filipino Americans compared to their peers of East Asian descent (i.e., Chinese, Korean and Japanese Americans; Kim, Park, Storr, Tran, & Juon, 2015).

The “achievement-adjustment paradox” is defined as the presence of significant psychological adjustment difficulties (e.g., anxiety, depression, psychological distress, low self-esteem, etc.) among high-achieving youth (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Qin, 2008; Qin, Rak, Rana, Donnellan, 2012; Rumbaut, 1994). For example, recent research has shown that Chinese American adolescents reported significantly higher levels of stress as compared with their European American peers despite demonstrating high academic achievement (Qin et al., 2012). This association is considered paradoxical because research typically shows a strong positive

link between high academic achievement and adaptive social and psychological adjustment (Hishinuma et al., 2001; Langram, 1997). Though not specifically identified as the “achievement-adjustment paradox,” other researchers have similarly found psychological adjustment difficulties (e.g., anxiety, depression, low self-esteem) among gifted, high-achieving students (Langram, 1997).

Researchers often point to factors within the home and school contexts that put AAPI youth at greater risk for poorer psychological outcomes even though youth may be thriving academically. For example, past studies have shown that family conflict (Qin, 2008), peer discrimination, and bullying (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) are negatively linked to psychological health. Research on the paradoxical association between academic achievement and psychological adjustment among AAPIs, however, is still in its infancy. To date, extant research on the achievement-adjustment paradox has primarily focused on samples of Chinese-heritage adolescents (Kim, Wang, Shen, & Hou, 2015; Qin, 2008; Qin et al., 2012) with few studies documenting the paradoxical association between academic achievement and psychological adjustment among youth of Filipino heritage (Rumbaut, 1994). As such, in addition to understanding Filipino American adolescents’ experiences of MMS and its influence on their academic achievement and psychological adjustment, another goal of this dissertation was to examine the extent to which Filipino American adolescents exhibit evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox and better understand how their experiences differ from their peers.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This dissertation was guided by the integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016) which builds upon previous models of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Garcia Coll et al., 1996) by

underscoring the interconnected nature of youths' meaning-making processes, developmental contexts and outcomes, and the shared influence on developmental processes. With an emphasis on "cultural interpretive processes as the integration of context and development," the three major components of the integrated conceptual framework (i.e., specification of contexts, culture as meaning-making processes, domains/nuances of development relevant in the context of immigrant and ethnic minority status; J. Mistry et al., 2016) allow for a more nuanced understanding of the development of Filipino American youth by accounting for multiple influences on developmental outcomes, including the influence of broad societal stereotypes (i.e., MMS) and those within proximal contexts (e.g., parents, teachers, peers). More specifically, the integrated conceptual framework (J. Mistry et al., 2016) recognizes culture as meaning-making processes that shape Filipino American youths' unique schooling experiences in relation to the broader, dominant metanarrative of Asians as a model minority, and the role of socialization agents (i.e., parents, teachers, peers) in their interpretations and experiences of MMS. From this perspective, youths' experiences of MMS may be influenced by specific contexts, such as the racial and ethnic diversity of their school (i.e., What are Filipino American adolescents' experiences of MMS when Filipinos represent the largest Asian American subgroup in their school contexts?). Moreover, their experiences contending with and internalizing MMS may also influence important developmental outcomes, such as academic achievement and psychological adjustment.

### **Paper Organization**

This dissertation comprised three studies investigating the experiences of Filipino American adolescents in high school. Study 1 focuses on Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS, including the extent to which they perceive being MMS targets and their own internalization of the MMS (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017). Study 2 extends these findings by

examining the extent to which youths' experiences of MMS predict their academic achievement and psychological adjustment, and the extent to which individual, family, and school-level factors moderate this association. To further problematize the tenets of MMS, Study 3 documents the achievement-adjustment paradox among Filipino American adolescents in the current study, and demonstrates how ubiquitous MMS can be in obscuring pertinent issues that impact the well-being of youth within the Filipino American community. In the dissertation conclusion, I discuss overall findings, including overarching themes, study limitations and implications, as well as future directions for practice and research.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Study participants were recruited from Filipino language courses at three Southern California high schools. The course was open to all students (i.e., regardless of racial-ethnic heritage) but students of Filipino American heritage comprised the largest proportion of enrolled students. Students were enrolled in the course during normal school hours and it fulfilled the foreign language requirement for high school graduation. The high schools from which participants were recruited varied in terms of the percentage of Filipino American students at the school, students' family socioeconomic status, and Academic Performance Index (API) scores (as an indicator of school wide academic achievement). Latinx<sup>1</sup> students represented the largest racial-ethnic group at all three schools, with Filipinx students representing the largest group of Asian/Asian Americans.

Participants (N=148; 55% female) in the current study included 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> graders between the ages of 14 and 19 (*Mage*=15.89 years old, *SD*=0.50). Across the entire sample, participants'

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<sup>1</sup> Latinx is a gender-neutral term that is inclusive of all Latin American descendants, and is used here as an alternative to Latino, Latina, and Latin@ (Ramirez & Blay, 2016). Similarly, we have opted to use the term "Filipinx" here to be consistent in describing the school population from which the study sample was drawn. We recognize that there are many different terms used in the current literature (e.g., Filipina/o, Filipin@, Pilipina/o, Pilipin@), however, we use "Filipino" and "Filipino American" throughout this study for consistency.

median family household income was \$60,001 to \$80,000, and ranged from “Less than \$10,000” to “More than \$150,000.” Parents’ highest level of education completed ranged from elementary/junior high school to law, medical, or graduate school. On average, both mothers ( $M = 4.59$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) and fathers ( $M = 4.32$ ,  $SD = 0.95$ ) had attended some college or graduated from college. Most participants were second-generation Filipino American ( $n = 103$ ) with at least one foreign-born parent; relatively fewer were first-generation (i.e., foreign-born;  $n = 35$ ) or third generation (i.e., both parents born in the United States;  $n = 10$ ). English was the primary language spoken at home for most participants ( $n = 108$ ). For some participants, however, the primary language spoken at home was a Filipino dialect (i.e., mostly Tagalog, Ilocano, Ilonggo, Visayan, Kapampangan;  $n = 22$ ), or a combination of English and their respective Filipino dialect ( $n = 17$ ). Based on their responses to survey measures regarding the strength of their racial identification, most participants identified as Asian American ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) and/or Pacific Islander ( $M = 2.87$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ). A few identified as multiethnic/biracial ( $n = 5$ ;  $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.41$ ) including American/Filipino, Asian and White, Filipino/Bangladeshi, Filipino/Chamorro, Filipino/Spanish. A few participants most strongly identified as Filipino or Filipino American (vs. Asian American or Pacific Islander) ( $n = 7$ ;  $M = 5.00$ ,  $SD = 0$ ). Descriptives for the dissertation study sample are presented in Table 1.1.



Table 1.1

*Descriptive Statistics for the Overall Sample, Interview Sample, and by School Site.*

	Overall Sample (N = 148) <i>M (SD)</i>	Interview Sample (n = 44) <i>M (SD)</i>	School 1 (n = 78) <i>M (SD)</i>	School 2 (n = 37) <i>M (SD)</i>	School 3 (n = 33) <i>M (SD)</i>
Gender (% female)	55%	50%	51%	70%*	48%
Age	15.89 (1.31) Range: 14-19	16.20 <sup>†</sup> (1.21) Range: 14-19	15.04 <sub>b,c</sub> <sup>***</sup> (.87) Range: 14-17	16.81 <sub>a</sub> <sup>***</sup> (.81) Range: 16-19	16.88 <sub>a</sub> <sup>***</sup> (1.24) Range: 16-19
Years in the U.S.	13.74 (3.99) Range: 1-19	14.23 (4.00) Range: 2-19	14.45 <sub>b</sub> <sup>*</sup> (1.69) Range: 8-17	12.28 <sub>a</sub> <sup>*</sup> (5.11) Range: 2-18	13.76 (5.66) Range: 1-19
Mother's Level of Education	4.59 (1.03) Range: 1-6 (Elementary/Jr HS to Law, medical or graduate school)	4.27 <sup>*</sup> (1.14) Range: 1-6 (Elementary/Jr HS to Law, medical or graduate school)	4.92 <sub>b,c</sub> <sup>***</sup> (0.88) Range: 3-6 (Graduated from HS/GED to Law, medical or graduate school)	4.14 <sub>a</sub> <sup>**</sup> (1.10) Range: 1-5 (Elementary/Jr HS to Graduated from college)	4.27 <sub>a</sub> <sup>**</sup> (1.04) Range: 2.0-6.0 (Some HS to Law, medical or graduate school)
Father's Level of Education	4.32 (0.95) Range: 1-6	4.15 (1.10) Range: 1-6	4.51 <sub>b</sub> <sup>***</sup> (0.72) Range: 3-6	3.83 <sub>a,c</sub> <sup>***</sup> (1.12) Range: 1-5	4.41 <sub>b</sub> <sup>*</sup> (1.08) Range: 1-6
Family Household Income	6.48 (2.59) Range: 1-11 (< \$10k - >\$150k)	5.84 (2.67) Range: 1-11 (< \$10k - >\$150k)	8.02 <sub>b,c</sub> <sup>***</sup> (1.62) Range: 4-11 (\$30-40k - >\$150k)	4.24 <sub>a</sub> <sup>***</sup> (2.22) Range: 1-9 (< \$10k - \$100-125k)	5.19 <sub>a</sub> <sup>***</sup> (2.44) Range: 1-9 (< \$10k - \$100-125k)
Subjective Social Status Rating	5.81 (1.38) Range: 2-9	5.53 (1.42) Range: 3-9	6.16 <sub>b</sub> <sup>***</sup> (1.15) Range: 3-9	5.30 <sub>a</sub> <sup>**</sup> (1.44) Range: 2-7.5	5.58 (1.60) Range: 3-9

*Note:* Chi-square analyses and ANOVA were conducted to compare the sociodemographic characteristics of each subsample (e.g., interview, school 1, 2, 3). <sup>†</sup>Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . Subscript <sub>a</sub>. Indicates significant difference from School 1, <sub>b</sub>. Indicates significant difference from School 2, <sub>c</sub>. Indicates significant difference from School 3.

**School Sites.** As shown in Table 1.1, School 2 and 3 were similar in terms of most sociodemographic characteristics. School 1 participants differed from School 2 and 3 in terms of age, mother's level of education, family household income. Compared to participants from School 2 and 3, participants from School 1 were significantly younger ( $p < .001$ ) and were from families with significantly higher household incomes ( $p < .001$ ). Mother's level of education was also significantly higher among participants from School 1 compared to participants from School

2 ( $p < .001$ ) and School 3 ( $p < .01$ ). Father's level of education among participants at School 2 was significantly lower compared to students from School 1 ( $p < .001$ ) and School 3 ( $p < .05$ ). School 2 participants also differed from School 1 participants in terms of years in the U.S. and SSS ratings. Participants from School 2 included more first-generation Filipino American adolescents and thus reported spending less years in the U.S. compared to those from School 1 ( $p < .05$ ). In addition, School 2 participants rated their SSS significantly lower than students from School 1 ( $p < .01$ ). The sections below provide detailed descriptions of the participants across the three school sites.

**School 1.** A total of 78 Filipino American adolescents were recruited from a public high school in southern California whose student population encompasses the largest percentage of Filipinos in the school district. The school is racially and ethnically diverse with students from Latinx<sup>2</sup>(55%), Filipinx (20%), Multiracial (8%), White (8%), Black/African American (7%), and Asian/Asian American (2%) backgrounds. Less than one percent of students were American Indian/Alaska Native (0.1%) or Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.4%). The school-wide Academic Performance Index (API) score (3-year, unweighted) was 849 among all students and 904 among students of Filipino heritage. Participants included 9th-12th grade students ( $M_{age} = 15.04$  years old,  $SD = 0.87$ ) enrolled in a course on Filipino language (i.e., Tagalog) and culture. Of the 145 students enrolled in the Filipino courses, 55% received parent consent to participate in the study. There were approximately equal numbers of boys and girls (51% female) and all participants identified as Filipino-heritage based on parent or youth reports of race, ethnicity and birthplace. One participant was excluded from the current study analyses as he did not identify as

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<sup>2</sup> Latinx is a gender-neutral term that is inclusive of all Latin American descendants, and is used here as an alternative to Latino, Latina, and Latin@ (Ramirez & Blay, 2016). Similarly, we have opted to use the term "Filipinx" here to be consistent in describing the school population from which the study sample was drawn. We recognize that there are many different terms used in the current literature (e.g., Filipina/o, Filipin@, Pilipina/o, Pilipin@), however, we use "Filipino" and "Filipino American" throughout this study for consistency.

Filipino. Most participants were second-generation ( $n = 59$ ); the remainder were first ( $n = 10$ ) or third generation ( $n = 9$ ). Median family household income for participants was between \$80,000 - \$100,000 and ranged from \$30,000 - \$40,000 to more than \$150,000. Parents' highest level of education completed ranged from high school graduate/ GED to law, medical, or graduate school. On average, both mothers ( $M = 4.92$ ,  $SD = 0.88$ ) and fathers ( $M = 4.51$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ) had attended some college or graduated from college.

**School 2.** A quarter of the sample participants were recruited from the second school site ( $n = 37$ ) which had a smaller percentage of Filipino-heritage students. The majority of students at School 2 are Latinx (81%) with Filipinx (13%) students representing the next largest ethnic group. The remainder of the student body are Multiracial (2%), Black/African American (1%), White (1%), Asian/Asian American (0.3%), American Indian/Alaska Native (0.3%) and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.4%). The school-wide API score (3-year, unweighted) was 792 among all students and 856 among students of Filipino heritage. Study participants included 9th-12th grade students ( $M_{age} = 16.81$  years old,  $SD = 0.81$ ) enrolled in a course on Filipino language (i.e., Tagalog) and culture. Participants were first-generation ( $n = 21$ ) or second-generation ( $n = 16$ ). Median family household income for participants was between \$30,000 - 40,000 and ranged from less than \$10,000 to \$100,000-125,000. Parents' highest level of education ranged from completion of elementary/junior high school to graduation from college. On average, mothers had attended some college or graduated from college ( $M = 4.14$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ), while fathers had graduated from high school or completed some college coursework ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ).

**School 3.** Remaining participants were recruited from the third school site ( $n = 33$ ), which had the smallest representation of Filipino students (7%). Most students at School 3 were Latinx (88%) with students of Multiracial (3%), Black/African American (1%), White (1%),

Asian/Asian American (0.3%), Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.2%) and American Indian/Alaska Native (0.1%) backgrounds comprising the rest of the school population. The school-wide API score (3-year, unweighted) was 744 among all students and 829 among students of Filipino heritage. Participants included 9th-12th grade students ( $M_{age} = 16.88$  years old,  $SD = 1.24$ ) enrolled in a course on Filipino language (i.e., Tagalog) and culture. Most participants were second-generation ( $n = 28$ ); 4 students were first-generation and only 1 student reported being third generation. Median family household income for participants was between \$40,001 to \$50,000 and ranged from less than \$10,000 to \$100-125,000. Parents' highest level of education ranged from completion of elementary/junior high school to graduation from law, medical or graduate school. On average, both mothers ( $M = 4.27$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ) and fathers ( $M = 4.41$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ) had attended some college or graduated from college.

### **Procedures**

Upon obtaining parental consent and adolescent assent, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and survey comprised of established measures regarding psychological adjustment and well-being, racial and ethnic identity, and relationships with peers, teachers, and family members. Survey items were drawn from widely used measures with samples of racially and ethnically diverse youth and adolescents. In addition, I piloted the survey instrument with a sample of Filipino American adolescents prior to conducting the current study. Both of these steps increased confidence in the ecological validity of the measures included in the current study. Administered and monitored by at least one member of the research team, participants completed survey measures on their own in a classroom at the school. Students typically finished the survey within 30-35 minutes. As an incentive, all study participants were entered a raffle to win a \$50 gift card.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a subsample of participants (n = 44) from each school site to complement survey data. While the consent and assent procedures asked all participants about their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview, those who were invited were nevertheless given the opportunity to opt out prior to the start of the interviews. I employed a stratified random sampling procedure to ensure that the qualitative data were representative of the variability within the study sample (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Specifically, interviewees were chosen to represent a range of sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., gender, immigration and generational status, racial and ethnic identification). Interview participants included equal numbers of boys (n =22) and girls (n = 22), and consistent with the composition of our study sample, the majority were second-generation (n=32) with a few first (n = 10) and third (n = 2) generation participants. As shown in Table 1.1, participants in the interview subsample were comparable to the overall study sample across several key sociodemographic variables.

I conducted all the interviews in either a small conference room or office at each school site, offering a private and quiet space for one-on-one discussions. Youth were asked to reflect on their experiences of MMS, and family and peer relationships, including sources of support and conflict that may contribute to their academic achievement and psychological adjustment. Interviews, which averaged between 45-60 minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed by members of the research team. Upon completion, all interview participants received a \$10 gift card to a local restaurant.

## **Measures**

### **Survey Measures**

Descriptive statistics and correlations for quantitative survey measures for the entire sample and by school are presented in Table 1.2 and Table 1.3.

**Demographic Information.** Parents provided information regarding their child’s gender, family household income, parents’ highest level of education, and immigration and generational status based on the birthplace of the child, parents and grandparents. Youth provided similar information and indicated their subjective social status (SSS). The SSS measure, administered in previous research with adolescents (Goodman et al., 2001) and elementary school children (R. Mistry, Brown, White, Chow, & Gillen-O’Neel, 2015), uses an image of a 10-rung ladder to prompt participants to specify where they believe they rank in terms of their family income relative to others in society:

*Imagine that this ladder pictures how American Society is set up. At the top are the people that have the most money and at the bottom are the people who have the least money. Where do you think YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder? Mark an X on the step where YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder.*

Higher numbers on the ladder indicated families with the most money, while lower numbers on the ladder indicated families with the least money (R. Mistry et al., 2015).

**Racial and Ethnic Identification.** Participants’ racial and ethnic identification was based on responses to the following open-ended prompt (Gillen-O’Neel et al., 2015; Phinney, 1992; Rodriguez et al., 2016):

*Now, I’d like to know a little bit more about you. In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Latino, Mexican American, Black or African American, Asian American, American Indian and White. Every person belongs to an ethnic group, or more than one group. How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnic group or race? If you identify with more than one group, is there one that you identify with more strongly or is there one that is more important to you? Why/why not?*

**Strength of Racial Identification.** In addition to identifying their racial and ethnic group membership, participants were asked to rate the strength of their racial identification. Specifically, on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Very High), participants rated the extent

to which they identified with 8 different racial or panethnic identification labels derived from the U.S. Census (e.g., *To what extent do you identify as: American Indian/Alaska Native? Asian American? Black / African American? Hispanic/Latino? Pacific Islander? White/Caucasian? Multiethnic/Biracial? Other?*). The strength of racial identification measure was included to assess whether participants' self-identification as Asian American was related to their internalization or experiences of the model minority stereotype.

**Internalization of the MMS.** To assess participants' internalization of the model minority stereotype (MMS) or the extent to which they believe they live up to the MMS, we included 11 items adapted from the Attitude Toward Asian-Self scale (ATA-Self; i.e., internalized racialism; Gupta et al., 2011;  $\alpha = .90$ ). Students indicated their agreement, on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), with statements such as, "*Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am smart.*" Higher mean scores on the ATA-self scale indicate greater internalization of positive Asian stereotypes about the self.

**Perceptions of others' MMS.** To assess the extent to which youth believed others viewed them as model minorities, participants responded to 3 items adapted from the ATA-Self scale (Gupta et al., 2011;  $\alpha = .66$ ). Students indicated their level of agreement with statements such as, "*Others often assume that I am intellectually bright because I am Asian American,*" on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

**Quality of Parent-Child Relationships.** Parent relationship quality was assessed via participants' ratings of 6 items taken from the Add Health survey—Wave III (e.g., "*Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother.*"; scale: 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Three items assessed youths' perception of their relationship quality with their mothers ( $M = 4.19$ ,  $SD = .94$ ;  $\alpha = .90$ ), and three items assessed their relationship quality with their

fathers ( $M = 3.89$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ;  $\alpha = .75$ ). Scores were fairly correlated ( $r = .43$ ,  $p < .001$ ), thus we elected to combine ratings across both sets of items and compute an overall score of parent-child relationship quality (6-items;  $M = 4.04$ ,  $SD = .90$ ; Range: 1.33-5;  $\alpha = .60$ ).

**Family Cohesion.** Participants' perceptions of family cohesion were measured using a subscale from the Family Adaptation and Cohesion Evaluation Scales III (FACES–III; Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985;  $\alpha = .88$ ). The FACES–Cohesion subscale is comprised of 10 items and measures the extent to which members of the family are connected to one another. Participants rated statements such as “*Family members feel very close to each other,*” using a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *Almost Never* to 5 = *Almost Always*). Higher scores reflect greater perceptions of family cohesion.

**Family Conflict.** The Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS) Likelihood subscale (10-items; Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000;  $\alpha = .87$ ) was included to assess youths' reports of family conflict. FCS-Likelihood includes 10 family conflict scenarios (e.g., “*You have done well in school, but your parents' academic expectations always exceed your performance.*”) that are rated for likelihood of occurrence (i.e., “*How likely is this type of situation to occur in your family?*”) on a scale from 1 (*Almost Never*) to 5 (*Almost Always*). Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of conflict.

**Quality of School-Based Relationships.** Participants' perceptions of relationships with teachers was assessed using 11-items from the School-Based Supportive Relationships Scale (Suárez- Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009;  $\alpha = .87$ ). A sample item is “*Teachers care about me and what happens to me.*” Participants rated all items on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*Not at All*) to 5 (*All the Time*), with higher scores indicating greater perceived support from teachers.



To assess friendship quality (Furman, 1996), participants responded to 4 statements such as, “*I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.*” All items were rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*All the time*). Given the relatively high correlation between quality of relationship with teachers and friends ( $r = .62, p < .001$ ), these survey items were combined to create a variable measuring adolescents’ perceptions of school relationship quality.

**Bullying and Peer Harassment.** Adolescents’ experiences with peer harassment and intimidation at school (6-items; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000; Nishina & Juvonen, 1998) was measured based on their ratings of statements such as, “*I was made fun of by another student in front of others.*” Self-reports of the frequency of harassment experiences were measure on a scale from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*All of the time*).

**Attributions for School Success and Failure.** Attributional styles explaining success and failure were measured using the Multidimensional-Multiattributonal Causality Scale (Lefcourt, 1981). On a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*), study participants responded to 6-items attributing academic achievement and failure to one’s abilities (e.g., “*The most important ingredient in getting good grades is my academic ability.*”), and 6-items attributing academic achievement and failure to one’s effort (e.g., “*In my case, the good grades I receive are always the direct result of my efforts.*”). Causal attributions for success and failure were measured using the Multidimensional-Multiattributonal Causality Scale (Lefcourt, 1981). On a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*), study participants responded to 6-items attributing academic achievement and failure to one’s abilities (e.g., “*The most important ingredient in getting good grades is my academic ability.*”;  $M = 3.51, SD = 0.73; \alpha = .77$ ).

**Academic Achievement.** A composite score of academic achievement for each participant was created based on their overall grade point average and their educational

expectations. To measure youths' educational expectations, they responded to a single item (i.e., "How far do you think you will actually go in school?") on a scale from 1 (*Some High School*) to 6 (*Graduate or Professional School*). Participants' school transcripts were obtained to determine their academic grade point averages (GPA). Because we allowed for college weighted GPAs, participant GPAs ranged from failing to above a 4.0 (Range: 0.83-4.17).

**Psychological Maladjustment.** Psychological maladjustment was assessed using questions from three sources: (1) Children's Depression Inventory (CDI; Kovacs, 1985), (2) Perceived Stress Scale (PSS; Cohen et al., 1983), and (3) self-reports of physical or psychosomatic symptoms (Add Health—Wave III). A measure of psychosomatic symptoms was included given the cultural stigmatization of admitting psychological adjustment difficulties (Nadal, 2013) and that somatization (i.e., physical manifestations) is strongly linked to depressive symptoms in general and particularly among AAPIs (Inman & Tummala-Narra, 2010; Yang & Wonpat-Borja, 2007). Preceding the CDI and PSS participants were prompted: "Now, we have some questions about how you feel. These questions ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, please indicate how often during the last month did you have any of these feelings." All items were measured on a scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Almost every day). Adolescents' self-reports of depressive symptoms were measured using 10 items from the CDI-Short Form (Kovacs, 1985; e.g., "I felt depressed").

Ten items from the PSS (Cohen et al., 1983) were used to measure participants' perceptions of stress and coping with stressful situations. For example, using the 1-5 scale listed above, adolescents rated statements such as, "I felt nervous and 'stressed.'"

To measure participants' self-reports of physical health, they responded to eight questions regarding their experiences of various physical and psychosomatic symptoms such as, "In the

past month, how many times have you experienced stomachaches or pain?” (Add Health—Wave III). These items were measured on a scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Every day).

### **Qualitative Measures**

To highlight the complexities of participants’ lived experiences, semi-structured interview questions complemented survey questions regarding racial and ethnic identity, model minority stereotypes, peer relationships, and family relationships in an open-ended format. These questions were drawn primarily from existing research on academic achievement and psychological adjustment of immigrant youth (e.g., Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008) and the achievement-adjustment paradox (e.g., Qin, 2008), and required youth to reflect on their family and peer relationships, including sources of support and conflict that may contribute to their schooling experiences and manifestations of the achievement-adjustment paradox (see Appendix B: Semi-structured Interview Protocol). To better understand Filipino American adolescents’ experiences of the model minority stereotype, several interview questions were designed to gauge participants’ general perceptions of stereotypes about their ethnic group (e.g., *How do you think society perceives Filipinos, in general and in terms of expectations for your education and career?*), and to encourage them to reflect on their own experiences (e.g., *Tell me about a time recently when you or someone you know was treated differently because of your/their race or ethnicity. What was the experience like and how did it make you feel? How often does this happen? Does this ever happen to your friends?*).

Table 1.2  
*Descriptive Statistics for quantitative survey measures.*

Variable	Overall (N = 148) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 1 (n = 78) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 2 (n = 37) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 3 (n = 33) <i>M(SD)</i>
Strength of Asian American ID	4.06 (1.25) Range: 1-5	4.32* (1.02) Range: 1-5	4.11 (1.19) Range: 1-5	3.42** (1.56) Range: 1-5
Strength of Pacific Islander ID	2.87(1.59) Range: 1-5	3.44*** (1.51) Range: 1-5	2.14*** (1.34) Range: 1-5	2.48 (1.63) Range: 1-5
Internalization of MMS (11-items; $\alpha = .90$ )	3.46 (0.72) Range: 1.64-5.00	3.52 (0.70) Range: 1.82-5.00	3.41 (0.75) Range: 1.64-4.91	3.37 (0.75) Range: 1.91-5.00
Perceptions of Others' MMS (3-items; $\alpha = .66$ )	3.65 (0.86) Range: 1-5	3.61(0.92) Range:1-5	3.71(0.68) Range: 2.33-5	3.67(0.91) Range: 1-5
Family Cohesion (10-items; $\alpha = .88$ )	3.54 (0.76) Range: 1.20-5.00	3.60 (0.76) Range: 1.20-5.00	3.36(0.80) Range: 1.50-4.80	3.61(0.69) Range: 2.20-5.00
Family Conflict (10-items; $\alpha = .87$ )	2.93(0.96) Range: 1.00-4.80	2.93(0.97) Range: 1.30-4.80	3.00(0.99) Range: 1.00-4.50	2.85(0.91) Range: 1.40-4.50
Quality of Parent-Child Relationships (6-items; $\alpha = .60$ )	4.04 (0.90) Range: 1.33-5	4.13 (0.87) Range: 1.33-5	3.91 (0.96) Range: 1.67-5	3.96 (0.89) Range: 2.17-5
Experiences of Bullying/Peer Harassment at School (6-items; $\alpha = .83$ )	1.66(0.66) Range: 1.00-4.33	1.68 (0.65) Range: 1.00-4.33	1.67(0.67) Range: 1-3.40	1.59(0.68) Range: 1.00-4.00
Quality of School-based Relationships (15-items; $\alpha = .87$ )	3.93(0.73) Range: 2.23-5	3.96 (0.73) Range: 2.23-5	3.80, SD =0.70) Range: 2.41-5	(M=3.99, SD =0.76) Range: 2.26-4.91

(table continues)

Variable	Overall (N = 148) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 1 (n = 78) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 2 (n = 37) <i>M(SD)</i>	School 3 (n = 33) <i>M(SD)</i>
Overall GPA	3.40 (0.57) Range: 0.83-4.17	3.43(0.49) Range: 1.86-4.11	3.42 (0.68) Range: 0.83-4.15	3.31(0.63) Range: 2.03-4.17
Educational Expectations	5.07(0.77) Range: Finish HS- Graduate or Professional School	5.10(0.72) Range: Finish HS- Graduate or Professional School	5.01(0.90) Range: Finish HS- Graduate or Professional School	5.09 (0.77) Range: Finish HS- Graduate or Professional School
Academic Achievement (Composite Variable) (2-items; $r = .81^{***}$ )	0.00 (0.81) Range: -3.01-1.26	0.04 (0.73) Range: -2.78-1.22	-0.02 (0.89) Range: -2.34-1.22	-0.07(0.90) Range: -3.01-1.26
Depressive Symptoms (SUM) (10-items; $\alpha = .59$ )	7.46(2.89) Range: 3-16	7.77 (3.03) Range: 3-16	7.57(2.84) Range: 3-13	6.56* (2.49) Range: 3-13
Perceived Stress (10-items; $\alpha = .74$ )	2.91(0.64) Range: 1.40-4.40	2.88 (0.71) Range: 1.40-4.40	3.03(0.53) Range: 2.10-4.00	2.83(0.58) Range: 1.70-4.10
Psychosomatic Symptoms (8-items; $\alpha = .78$ )	1.96(0.63) Range: 1.00-3.88	1.87 <sup>†</sup> (0.60) Range: 1.00-3.50	2.22 <sup>**</sup> (0.67) Range: 1.13-3.88	1.89(0.60) Range: 1.13-3.86
Psychological Maladjustment (Composite Variable) (3-items; $\alpha = .77$ )	0.00 (0.83) Range: -1.40-2.26	0.03 (0.88) Range: -1.40-2.13	0.21 <sup>†</sup> (0.77) Range: -1.38-2.17	-0.19 (0.72) Range: -1.34-2.26

Note: ANOVAs were conducted to compare the means of each subsample (e.g., School 1, 2, 3). <sup>†</sup>Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 1.3

*Correlations for Social Context Variables with Filipino American Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype, Academic Achievement, and Psychological Adjustment*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Gender	1											
2. Strength of Asian American ID	.09	1										
3. Strength of Pacific Islander ID	-.17*	-.24**	1									
4. Internalization of MMS	-.06	.16†	.05	1								
5. Perceived MMS discrimination	.21*	.15†	.08	.46**	1							
6. Family Cohesion	-.14	.08	.05	.55**	.17*	1						
7. Family Conflict	.15	.16†	-.03	-.04	.29**	-.18*	1					
8. Parent-Child Relationship Quality	-.24**	.10	.08	.46**	.09	.65**	-.34***	1				
9. School Relationship Quality	.01	.10	.11	.36**	.25**	.40**	.02	.29***	1			
10. Bullying/ Peer Harassment	.07	.06	-.02	-.06	.24**	-.27*	.26**	-.22**	-.17*	1		
11. Academic Achievement	.25**	.12	-.11	.30**	.15†	.19*	-.04	.12	.22**	-.04	1	
12. Psychological Maladjustment	.22**	.07	-.11	-.11	.23**	-.32***	.53***	-.26***	-.11	.34***	-.01	1

Note. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

## **STUDY 1: Disentangling the Myth: Social Relationships and Filipino American Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype**

The first of the three studies in this dissertation focused on Filipino American adolescents' experiences and internalization of the model minority stereotype (MMS) at School 1. Results from Study 1 were published in the *Asian American Journal of Psychology* in March 2017 as part of a special issue underscoring the dangers of MMS and pushing the field beyond the confines and constraints of the MMS (See Kiang et al., 2017). Because mixed-methods data from Schools 2 and 3 were not entered and ready for analysis at the time of the initial submission deadline (June 2016), Study 1 analyses were based on participant data from School 1. Analyses conducted with the overall dissertation sample revealed a similar pattern of findings. The article (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017) is reprinted below in its published format.

## Disentangling the Myth: Social Relationships and Filipino American Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype

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Few researchers have examined how Filipino Americans contend with model minority stereotypes. Thus, the current mixed-methods study explored Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the model minority stereotype and its relation to their racial identification, and perceived quality of home and school-based relationships. Participants ( $N = 78$ ; 51% female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 15.04$  years old,  $SD = 0.87$ ) were 9th–12th graders enrolled in a Filipino language (i.e., Tagalog) and culture course at an ethnically diverse high school in Southern California. Most students were second generation (76%) Filipino Americans from middle to upper-middle class families (median household income = \$80,000–100,000; 75% of parents had a college degree or higher). Youth demonstrated various patterns of racial-ethnic identification and most identified as Filipino, Filipino American, Asian American (AA) or Pacific Islander (PI). Adolescents' strength of identity significantly predicted their experiences of the model minority stereotype in nuanced ways. While a strong AA identity was associated with internalization of the model minority stereotype, a strong PI identity was associated with the belief that they were often the target of others' model minority stereotypes. Perceived quality of relationships with parents, teachers, and peers significantly predicted youths' internalization of the stereotype. In contrast, quality of school-based (but not family-based) relationships were associated with being stereotyped as a model minority by others. Results suggest that understanding the model minority phenomenon as it applies to Filipino American youth is critical as this is an integral part of their schooling experiences.

### What is the public significance of this article?

Results from the current study suggest that Filipino American adolescents contend in multiple ways and from multiple sources with the model minority stereotype in their school contexts. By focusing on Filipino Americans' distinct experiences of the model minority stereotype and understanding how these experiences are influenced by factors such as racial identification, and perceived quality of home and school relationships, these findings are a significant contribution to the journal's mission of advancing the psychological well-being of Asian American communities through affecting research.

**Keywords:** Filipino American, racial-ethnic identification, model minority stereotype, adolescence

When I get 100% on tests, sometimes they [other students] say it's because you're Asian. I guess it's stereotypical. It just feels wrong. (Grace, second generation Filipina)

The model minority myth, while seemingly positive, can have negative implications for those on the receiving end of such sweeping stereotypes. The broad generalization of Asian Ameri-

cans as model minorities can be traced back to William Petersen's 1966 *New York Times* article "Success Story: Japanese-American Style" (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008). Petersen described the extraordinary ability of Japanese Americans to achieve success relative to other racial-ethnic minorities in the U.S., despite being the targets of discrimination. Since then, numerous authors have devised similar works: *U.S. News and World Report's* article "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S." (1966), *Time Magazine's* 1987 cover story, "Those Asian-American Whiz Kids" (Brand, 1987), and most recently "The Asian Advantage" in October 2015 in *The New York Times* (Kristof, 2015). At its core, these popular press articles follow the same fundamental argument citing strong families and the significance of education and hard work embedded in cultural values and practices as the primary reason for Asian Americans' success in the U.S.

These assumptions are problematic in several ways. First, such preconceived notions ignore the heterogeneity within the Asian American population, and second, assumptions about the universal

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success of all Asian Americans obscures the challenges faced by subgroups within the Asian American community (Yoshikawa, Mistry, & Wang, 2016). Moreover, rather than attending to the complexities of systemic discrimination faced by racial-ethnic minorities in the U.S., the model minority stereotype pits communities of color against each other by using Asian Americans as the scapegoat and “proof” that the American dream is attainable. As “model minorities,” Asian Americans serve as a counterexample and prototype of what can be achieved when you have a strong family, work hard, and value education despite contending with discrimination (Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016). Depicting Asian Americans as a monolithic portrait of success, without acknowledging the incredible diversity within and challenges faced by some segments of the community, illustrates the deeply rooted notion of the Asian American model minority (Teranishi, Lok, & Nguyen, 2013).

Employing a mixed-methods research approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), the current study examined Filipino American adolescents’ experiences of the model minority stereotype, including how it relates to their racial-ethnic identification and quality of their home- and school-based relationships. We drew on survey and semistructured interview data to understand whether Filipino American adolescents believed that others viewed them through the lens of the model minority stereotype and the extent to which they internalized assumptions inherent in the stereotype. While much of the extant research has focused on others’ tendency to stereotype Asian Americans as model minorities, we also assessed Filipino American adolescents’ self-characterization as smart and hardworking (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Lee, 1994, 2009). By focusing on a specific ethnic group within the larger Asian American population, we sought to elucidate Filipino Americans’ distinct experiences of the model minority stereotype and the variability of experiences within the Filipino American community itself (Yoshikawa et al., 2016).

### Model Minority Stereotype

Filipino Americans, like many other Asian Americans, are often typecast as model minorities who are hardworking, well-adjusted, highly intelligent, and academically successful despite their status as racial-ethnic minorities and experiences of discrimination in the U.S. (Lee, 2009; Nadal, Pituc, Johnston, & Esparrago, 2010; Okazaki & Lim, 2011). The pervasive metanarrative of Asian Americans as model minorities may be traced back to the mid to late 1960s, following the passage of the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965, which gave preference to middle class professionals including doctors, nurses, and engineers (see Kiang et al., 2016). This wave of migration fundamentally skewed the composition of the Asian American population as a group of highly skilled and educated individuals that, in turn, promoted the spread of the Asian American model minority stereotype. These model minority stereotypes are perpetuated by the media (e.g., *New York Times*, *Time Magazine*) as well as developmental science research that aggregates individuals from different Asian ethnic groups into a single “Asian/Asian American” pan-ethnic category (Yoshikawa et al., 2016). While it is the case that Asian American students, in the aggregate, often have higher grade point averages and better academic performance rates than their peers of other racial-ethnic backgrounds (Tseng, Chao, & Padmawidjaja, 2007), research ex-

amining the variability in academic achievement within the Asian American community challenges the model minority stereotype. For example, studies have documented that although Filipino American youth are doing well, their East Asian and South Asian peers oftentimes outperform them (Fuligni, 1997; Fuligni & Witkow, 2004; S. Sue & Abe, 1988; Tseng et al., 2007). Because the academic performance of Filipino Americans does not necessarily align with the “model minority” reputation of the broader Asian American population, examining Filipino American adolescents’ experiences and internalization of the model minority stereotype can provide insight into how the widespread metanarrative of the Asian model minority impacts the well-being of a particular subgroup of Asian American youth.

### Theoretical Framework: An Integrated Conceptual Framework for the Development of Asian American Children and Youth

To realize the influence of the model minority stereotype in the lives of Filipino American adolescents, the current study was guided by the integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016). The integrated conceptual framework builds on earlier theories of development, including the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (Coll et al., 1996), which incorporates bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and social stratification theory (e.g., Attewell & Fitzgerald, 1980). Collectively, these frameworks have important bearing on the current study given their focus on the daily experiences of diverse youth (e.g., immigrants and ethnic minorities), including experiences of discrimination. Bioecological theory posits that human development occurs within multiple levels of an interactive ecological system, and while distal-level processes (e.g., societal-level inequities) indirectly impact development, the stereotypes inherently tied to institutional and structural forms of discrimination are reproduced in the proximal contexts (e.g., family, school) of youth and have direct impacts on human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Gershoff, Mistry, & Crosby, 2014). The integrative model for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016) calls for greater consideration of the simultaneous influences of proximal contexts and the sociohistorical, political, and economic position of minority youth (e.g., socioeconomic status, immigrant and generational status) as determinants of their well-being.

The integrated conceptual framework (J. Mistry et al., 2016) is especially relevant for Filipino American youth as it considers the sociohistorical position of Filipinos in the U.S., (e.g., colonization of the Philippines/colonial mentality; Kiang et al., 2016; Yoshikawa et al., 2016). Furthermore, the integrated conceptual framework considers how the experiences of living in a socially stratified society influences youths’ developmental outcomes (Coll et al., 1996), including immigrant-related (e.g., learning multiple languages, developing multiple identities as members of their respective ethnic group(s) and mainstream American culture; Gershoff et al., 2014) and discrimination experiences. Guided by the integrated conceptual framework, the goal of the current study was to shed light on Filipino American adolescents’ experiences and interactions with those in their proximal contexts (i.e., parents, peers, teachers), specifically in relation to the socially and cultur-



ally constructed metanarrative of “Asians as the successful model minority” in the U.S. (J. Mistry et al., 2016).

### The Developmental Contexts of Filipino American Adolescents

A central focus on Filipino American adolescents is warranted as Filipinos currently make up a significant proportion of the Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) population. Recent estimates are that there are approximately 3.4 million individuals with Filipino roots in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Filipino Americans are also the largest ethnic group within California’s AAPI community (roughly 1.5 million; Asian American Center for Advancing Justice, 2013), where the current study was conducted. Furthermore, school-aged Filipino American children and adolescents represent about 21% of all AAPIOs, approximately 727,106 students, enrolled in California’s K-12 schools.

Overall, Filipino Americans are doing fairly well. Their annual median household income of \$75,000 exceeds the national average of \$49,800, and 47% of Filipinos in the U.S. have a bachelor’s degree or higher as compared with only 28% of the general U.S. population (Pew Research Center, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Higher levels of educational attainment among Filipino Americans is due in part to the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which gave preference to professionals such as doctors, nurses, and engineers who intended to work for American companies (Kiang et al., 2016). Additionally, the Filipino American population itself is largely a community of immigrants (Pew Research Center, 2013), and similar to many other Asian American immigrants, education is highly valued and a primary motivator for many Filipinos migrating to the U.S. (Espiritu, 2003; Louie, 2001).

Despite doing well on average, Filipino Americans exhibit tremendous within group variability and present a distinct set of racialized experiences in the U.S. that may impact youths’ experiences of the model minority stereotype (Nadal, Escobar, Prado, David, & Haynes, 2012; Nadal & Monzones, 2010). Few researchers have investigated Filipino Americans’ experiences of the model minority stereotype (Nadal & Monzones, 2010); most of the extant research has focused on East Asian groups (David & Okazaki, 2006). Thus, it is important to draw on relevant research such as the identities and racialized experiences of Filipino Americans, to inform our understanding of how youth of Filipino heritage experience the model minority stereotype. Consistent with the integrated conceptual framework (J. Mistry et al., 2016), the identities and racialized experiences of Filipino American adolescents are shaped by both proximal (e.g., social interactions) and distal-level contexts (e.g., government forms), and their sociohistorical position.

The process of racial-ethnic identification and identity development may be particularly complex for Filipino Americans given the different ways in which numerous social institutions have categorized Filipino Americans (Nadal, 2011). For example, whereas the U.S. Census recognizes Filipino Americans as “Asian American,” the U.S. Department of Education has, at times, classified Filipino Americans as “Pacific Islander” (Horn & National Center for Education Statistics, 1995). And in California Filipinos are distinguished from other Asian American, Pacific Islander, and

Hispanic groups following the passage of California Senate Bill 1813 (Espiritu, 1992). In recent research, Ocampo (2016), observed that for some Filipinos, presenting “Filipino” as separate from “Asian American” on forms contributed to their racial-ethnic identification as Filipino rather than Asian American. Additionally, some individuals with Filipino roots recognize their Filipino heritage as distinct from other Asian Americans due to the influences of American and Spanish colonization on Filipino culture (e.g., widespread use of English as a dominant language, influence of Catholicism, and overlap between Spanish and Filipino languages such as Tagalog), and thus self-identify as Filipino American as opposed to Asian American (Nadal, 2004, 2011, 2013).

The various racial-ethnic identification patterns of Filipino Americans provide evidence of this distinction from other Asian Americans. For example, research examining Filipino American identity development showed that many tend to switch between identifying as Asian, Pacific Islander, and Filipino (Nadal, 2004). Although members of other Asian American subgroups similarly switch between racial-ethnic labels (e.g., Chinese vs. Chinese American vs. Asian; Fuligni, Kiang, Witkow, & Baldelomar, 2008), Filipino Americans are unique in that some do not identify as Asian or Asian American at all, choosing instead to identify specifically as Filipino, Filipino American, or Pacific Islander (Nadal, 2004, 2011).

Filipino Americans’ distinct identification patterns are also linked to their experiences with racism in the U.S. Due to vast differences in their phenotypic or physical appearance, Filipinos sometimes find themselves mistakenly identified as members of a different racial-ethnic group (i.e., Latinx, Pacific Islander, or multiracial), and their experiences with discrimination are quite different from that of other Asian Americans (Nadal, 2004; Rumbaut, 1994; Uba, 1994). For example, research has shown that Filipino Americans tend to experience racism and microaggressions more frequently than do other Asian Americans (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). And while Filipino Americans are often stereotyped as “model minorities who are smart and good at math and science” or “perpetual foreigners” like their Asian American peers (D. W. Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009), they are also targets of racism comparable to that experienced by their Latinx and African American peers (e.g., others sometimes assume that they are criminals or intellectually inferior; Nadal, 2008; Nadal et al., 2012). In describing their experiences with microaggressions, some Filipino Americans have linked these negative Filipino stereotypes to the ways in which the media portrays Filipinos—often holding low status jobs (e.g., line cooks, domestic laborers) or implying the second-rate status of medical degrees received in the Philippines (Nadal et al., 2012). Furthermore, there is some evidence that Asian Americans with darker skin tones (e.g., Southeast Asians and South Asians), including Filipinos, are perceived as “less Asian” or “not Asian enough,” contributing to further marginalization of Filipino Americans within the Asian American hierarchy (Nadal, 2011).

Research also emphasizes the gendered experiences of race and racism among immigrant youth, including Filipino adolescents. For example, Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, and Qin (2006) posit that there are important gender-related differences in negative social mirroring particularly for immigrant youth. Filipino boys, for example, are more often stereotyped as gang members or violent, whereas Filipinas are stereotyped as sexually promiscuous



“hoochie mamas” or submissive “mail-order brides” (Mayeda, Chesney-Lind, & Koo, 2001). Gendered experiences of race were also apparent in the narratives of Filipino Americans described in recent research by Ocampo (2016). Specifically, whereas Filipinas in Ocampo’s study encountered model minority stereotypes and assumptions made about their intelligence in school, Filipino boys stated that others sometimes negatively stereotyped them as “troublemakers.”

With the unique experiences of race and racial identification patterns of Filipino American youth in the U.S., investigating their lived experiences and internalization of the model minority stereotype is essential. Although there are some commonalities with the broader AAPI community, exploring how Filipino American adolescents contend with the model minority stereotype is important because their racial experiences are distinct from that of other Asian American adolescents. The distinct racialized experiences of Filipino Americans may include encounters with the model minority stereotype alongside experiences of discrimination more similar to those of their African American or Latino peers (Nadal, 2011; Ocampo, 2016).

### Social Contexts of Development: Focusing on Relationships at Home and School

The integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016) stresses the importance of examining the role of proximal contexts (i.e., family, peer, and student–teacher relationships) in shaping development, including how Filipino American youth encounter and internalize the model minority stereotype. Similar to many other cultural groups, family is a fundamental part of Filipino culture (Espiritu, 2003; Fuligni & Masten, 2010). The importance of family is part of the Filipino value of *kapwa* (fellow being), which refers to the collectivist nature of Filipino culture and the desire to be closely connected to others (David, Sharma, & Petalio, in press; Nadal, 2013).

Family relationships likely have significant implications for Filipino American youths’ experiences of and internalization of the model minority stereotype given the prominence of family in Filipino culture (Cimmarusti, 1996; Fuligni & Masten, 2010; Nadal, 2013). As Filipino parents tend to hold high educational expectations for their children, academic achievement and educational attainment remains a significant priority in the lives of Filipino American youth (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Wolf, 1997). While Filipino American and other Asian American families similarly value education, their academic behaviors tend to be somewhat different (Ocampo, 2016). In a recent study, Ocampo found that Filipino Americans felt pressured both to do well academically and to stay close to their family by not traveling too far away for college. This combination of push and pull factors can sometimes limit the educational opportunities for Filipino American youth, especially Filipinas. A study of the children of Filipino-immigrant parents underscored the delicate balance between meeting high parental expectations for education and maintaining family responsibilities, particularly for Filipina Americans (Wolf, 1997). Along with high expectations for academic achievement and educational attainment, Filipina adolescents are often expected to take on household responsibilities, maintain religious and cultural traditions, and be under strict

parental control (Dion & Dion, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006; Wolf, 1997). The (sometimes) competing values of education and family obligation may have implications for Filipino American adolescents’ internalization of the model minority stereotype as well as their experiences of and responses to being stereotyped as model minorities.

With the pervasiveness of the model minority myth and the assumed academic success of Asian American students, school contexts are also an important setting for understanding Filipino American adolescents’ stereotyped experiences as model minorities. Teachers, for example, can magnify Filipino American adolescents’ encounters with the model minority stereotype by placing increased psychological pressure on Filipino American students to strive for high academic achievement. Various studies have demonstrated the detrimental impacts of dealing with the model minority stereotype, including increased stress, lower levels of academic achievement, and, in some extreme cases, suicide (Qin, Han, & Chang, 2011). Moreover, teachers who make assumptions about their students’ intelligence or understanding of subject matter may overlook the needs of struggling AAPI students. Researchers also suggest that AAPI students’ experiences of peer harassment may result from teachers’ differential treatment of AAPIs as model minorities (Qin et al., 2011). Treating AAPIs differently than their peers may only further alienate them, especially in school contexts where they are already being ostracized and subjected to peer harassment for being smart (Niwa, Way, Qin, & Okazaki, 2011). Whereas other ethnic peers may be a substantial source of the pressures to conform to the model minority stereotype, Filipino cultural values such as *kapwa*, which encourage connectedness with others, suggest that friendships within the school context may be particularly important for understanding Filipino American adolescents’ shared experiences of the model minority stereotype (David et al., in press; Nadal, 2013). For example, supportive friendships or knowing that friends face similar struggles and stereotypes may foster greater awareness of model minority stereotypes that impact the experiences of Filipinos and Asian Americans alike.

### The Current Study

To summarize, the goal of this concurrent mixed-methods study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) was to use complementary quantitative and qualitative data to investigate Filipino American adolescents’ internalization and experiences of the model minority stereotype. Because few researchers have investigated Filipino Americans’ experiences of the model minority stereotype, our study was exploratory in nature. Both quantitative (i.e., survey) and qualitative (i.e., semistructured interview) data strands were given equal priority and combined during the data analysis and interpretation phase to inform our study findings. Specifically, we addressed the following research questions:

- (1) Drawing upon both open-ended and close-ended survey assessments, how do Filipino American adolescents describe their racial and ethnic identity?
- (2) To what extent do Filipino American adolescents internalize the model minority stereotype, and believe that others stereotype them as model minorities? How do their experiences of the model minority stereotype relate



to their racial-ethnic identity and quality of relationships at home and school?

- (3) Finally, drawing on semistructured interview data, how do Filipino American adolescents describe their racialized experiences of the model minority stereotype?

## Method

### Participants

A total of 78 Filipino American adolescents were recruited from a public high school in southern California whose student population encompasses the largest percentage of Filipinos in the school district. The school is racially and ethnically diverse with students from Latinx<sup>1</sup> (55%), Filipinx (20%), multiracial (8%), White (8%), Black/African American (7%), and Asian/Asian American (2%) backgrounds. Less than one percent of students were American Indian/Alaska Native (0.1%) or Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.4%). Participants included 9th–12th grade students ( $M_{age} = 15.04$  years old,  $SD = 0.87$ ) enrolled in a course on Filipino language (i.e., Tagalog) and culture. The course was open to all students (i.e., regardless of racial-ethnic heritage), taken during normal school hours and fulfilling the foreign language requirement. Of the 145 students enrolled in the Filipino courses, 55% received parent consent to participate in the study. There were approximately equal numbers of boys and girls (51% female), and all participants identified as Filipino-heritage based on parent or youth reports of race, ethnicity, and birthplace. One participant was excluded from the current study analyses as he did not identify as Filipino. A majority of participants were second generation ( $n = 59$ ); the remainder were first ( $n = 10$ ) or third generation ( $n = 9$ ) adolescents. Median family household income for participants was between \$80,000 and \$100,000 and ranged from \$30–40,000 to more than \$150,000. Parents' highest level of education completed ranged from high school graduate/GED to law, medical, or graduate school. On average, both mothers ( $M = 4.92$ ,  $SD = 0.88$ ) and fathers ( $M = 4.51$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ) had attended some college or graduated from college. Table 2 provides a summary of the sample descriptive statistics.

### Procedures

Upon obtaining parental consent and adolescent assent, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and survey composed of established measures regarding their psychological adjustment, racial-ethnic identity, and relationships with peers, teachers, and family members. Survey items were drawn from widely used measures with samples of racially and ethnically diverse youth and adolescents. In addition, we piloted the survey instrument with a sample of Filipino American adolescents prior to conducting the current study. Both of these steps increase our confidence in the ecological validity of the measures included in the current study. Administered and monitored by at least one member of the research team, participants completed survey measures on their own in a classroom at the school. Students typically finished the survey within 30–35 min. As an incentive, all study participants were entered into a raffle to win a \$50 gift card.

Semistructured interviews were conducted with a subsample of participants ( $n = 15$ ) to complement survey data. While the consent and assent procedures asked all participants about their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview, those who were invited were nevertheless given the opportunity to opt out prior to the start of the interviews. We employed a stratified random sampling procedure to ensure that the qualitative data were representative of the variability within the study sample (Teddle & Yu, 2007). Specifically, interviewees were chosen to represent a range of sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., gender, immigration, and generational status, racial-ethnic identification). Interview participants included approximately equal numbers of boys ( $n = 7$ ) and girls ( $n = 8$ ), and consistent with the composition of our study sample, the majority were second generation ( $n = 12$ ) with a few first ( $n = 2$ ) and third ( $n = 1$ ) generation Filipino Americans. Participants in our subsample were comparable to our overall study sample across several key variables (see Table 1).

All interviews were conducted in a small conference room of the main office at the school site, offering a private and quiet space for the one-on-one discussions. Youth were asked to reflect on their family and peer relationships, including sources of support and conflict that may contribute to their academic achievement and psychological adjustment. Interviews, which lasted around 45–60 min on average, were audio-recorded and transcribed by members of the research team. Upon completion, all interview participants received a \$10 gift card to a local restaurant.

### Measures

**Demographic information.** Parents provided information regarding their child's gender, family household income, parents' highest level of education, and immigration and generational status based on the birthplace of the child, parents, and grandparents. Youth provided similar information and indicated their subjective social status (SSS). The SSS measure, administered in previous research with adolescents (Goodman et al., 2001) and elementary schoolchildren (R. S. Mistry, Brown, White, Chow, & Gillen-O'Neel, 2015), uses an image of a 10-rung ladder to prompt participants to specify where they believe they rank in terms of their family income relative to others in society:

Imagine that this ladder pictures how American Society is set up. At the top are the people that have the most money and at the bottom are the people who have the least money. Where do you think YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder? Mark an X on the step where YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder.

Higher numbers on the ladder indicated families with the most money, while lower numbers on the ladder indicated families with the least money (R. S. Mistry et al., 2015).

**Racial-ethnic identification.** Participants' racial-ethnic identification was based on responses to the following open-ended

<sup>1</sup> Latinx is a gender-neutral term that is inclusive of all Latin American descendants, and is used here as an alternative to Latino, Latina, and Latin (Ramirez & Blay, 2016). Similarly, we have opted to use the term "Filipinx" here to be consistent in describing the school population from which the study sample was drawn. We recognize that there are many different terms used in the current literature (e.g., Filipina/o, Filipin, Pilipina/o, Pilipin), however, we use "Filipino" and "Filipino American" throughout this study for consistency.



Table 1  
Descriptive Statistics for the Overall Sample and Interview Subsample

Variable	Overall sample ( <i>N</i> = 78) <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Interview subsample ( <i>n</i> = 15) <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Age	14.98 (.87)	15.27 (.88)	-1.13	76
Generational status	2.00 (.51)	1.93 (.46)	.46	76
Mother's level of education	4.98 (.83)	4.67 (1.05)	1.26	74
Father's level of education	4.54 (.71)	4.36 (.74)	.86	75
Family household income	8.02 (1.58)	8.00 (1.81)	.04	52
Strength of Asian American identification	4.32 (.98)	4.33 (1.18)	-.06	73
Strength of Pacific Islander identification	3.41 (1.52)	3.54 (1.51)	-.27	67
Internalization of the model minority stereotype	3.51 (.71)	3.53 (.69)	-.10	70
Perceptions of others' model minority stereotype	3.55 (.90)	3.85 (.98)	-1.12	70
Quality of family relationships	4.12 (.87)	4.16 (.90)	-.17	76
Quality of school-based relationships	4.00 (.71)	3.75 (.78)	1.21	76

prompt (see Table 3; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2015; Phinney, 1992; Rodriguez et al., 2016):

Now, I'd like to know a little bit more about you. In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Latino, Mexican American, Black or African American, Asian American, American Indian and White. Every person belongs to an ethnic group, or more than one group. How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnic group or race?

If you identify with more than one group, is there one that you identify with more strongly or is there one that is more important to you? Why/why not?

**Strength of racial identification.** In addition to identifying their racial and ethnic group membership, participants were asked to rate the strength of their racial identification. Specifically, on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at All*) to 5 (*Very High*), participants rated the extent to which they identified with 8 different racial or panethnic identification labels derived from the U.S. Census (e.g., "To what extent do you identify as: American Indian/Alaska Native? Asian American? Black/African American? Hispanic/Latino? Pacific Islander? White/Caucasian? Multiethnic/Biracial? Other?"). The strength of racial identification measure was included to assess whether participants' self-identification as Asian American was related to their internalization or experiences of the model minority stereotype.

**Internalization of the model minority stereotype.** To assess participants' endorsement or internalization of the model minority stereotype, we included 11 items adapted from the Attitude Toward Asian-Self Scale (ATA-Self; i.e., internalized racialism; Gupta et al., 2011). Students indicated their agreement, on a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*), with statements such as, "Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am smart," ( $M = 3.52$ ,  $SD = .70$ ;  $\alpha = .88$ ). Higher mean scores on the ATA-Self scale indicates greater endorsement or internalization of positive Asian stereotypes about the self.

**Perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes.** To assess the extent to which youth believed others viewed them as model minorities, participants responded to 3 items adapted from the ATA-Self scale (Gupta et al., 2011). Students indicated their level of agreement, on a scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*), with statements such as, "Others often

assume that I am intellectually bright because I am Asian American," ( $M = 3.61$ ,  $SD = .92$ ;  $\alpha = .69$ ).

**Quality of family relationships.** Parent relationship quality was assessed via participants' ratings of 6 items taken from the Add Health Survey—Wave III (e.g., "Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother"; scale: 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Three items assessed youths' perception of their relationship quality with their mothers ( $M = 4.23$ ,  $SD = .95$ ;  $\alpha = .92$ ), and three items assessed their relationship quality with their fathers ( $M = 4.04$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ;  $\alpha = .92$ ; see Table 4). Scores were fairly highly correlated,  $r = .56$ ,  $p < .001$ , so we elected to combine ratings across both sets of items and compute an overall home relationship quality score for analysis purposes (6 items;  $M = 4.13$ ,  $SD = .87$ ;  $\alpha = .90$ ).

**Quality of school-based relationships.** Participants' perceptions of relationships with teachers were assessed using 11 items from the School-Based Supportive Relationships Scale (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009;  $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = .42$ ;  $\alpha = .81$ ). A sample item is "Teachers care about me and what happens to me." Participants rated all items on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*Not at All*) to 5 (*All the Time*), with higher scores indicating greater perceived support from teachers. To assess friendship quality (Furman, 1996), participants responded to 4 statements such as, "I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows." All items were rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*All the time*) ( $M = 3.94$ ,  $SD = .90$ ;  $\alpha = .89$ ). Given the high correlation between quality of relationship with teachers and friends,  $r = .71$ ,  $p < .001$ , these survey items were combined to create a variable measuring adolescents' perceptions of school relationship quality (15 items;  $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .62$ ;  $\alpha = .87$ ).

**Racialized experiences related to the model minority stereotype.** To better understand Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the model minority stereotype, a subsample of participants was individually interviewed using a semistructured interview format. Questions were designed to gauge participants' general perceptions of stereotypes about their ethnic group (e.g., "How do you think society perceives Filipinos, in general and in terms of expectations for your education and career?") and to encourage them to reflect on their own experiences (e.g., "Tell me about a time recently when you or someone you know was treated differently because

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**Table 2**  
*Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Sociodemographic Variables With Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype*

Variable	M	SD	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender	—	—	—	1									
2. Mother's level of education	4.92	.88	3-6	-.21	1								
3. Father's level of education	4.51	.72	"Some College" to "Law, medical, or graduate school" 3-6	-.08	.33**	1							
4. Family household income	8.02	1.62	4-11	-.01	.27	.26	1						
5. Subjective social status (SSS)	\$80k-100k	6.16	\$30-40k-\$150k 3-9	-.20	.11	-.13	.11	1					
6. Generational status	2.18	.43	1.5-3rd generation	-.01	-.25*	-.04	-.12	-.21	1				
7. Strength of Asian American identification	4.32	1.02	1-5	.18	.20	-.15	.14	.05	-.29*	1			
8. Strength of Pacific Islander identification	3.44	1.51	1-5	-.21	-.09	-.07	-.13	.11	.23	-.30*	1		
9. Internalization of model minority stereotype	3.52	.70	2-5	-.06	-.13	-.16	.07	.15	-.06	.22	.13	1	
10. Perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes	3.61	.92	1-5	.28*	-.18	-.12	-.18	-.11	.02	.22	.52**	.22	1

\* Correlation is significant at the .05 level. \*\* Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

**Table 3**  
*Filipino American Adolescents' Use of Racial-Ethnic Identification Labels*

Type of racial-ethnic label(s)	N	Example
Filipino/Filipino American	28	<i>I am Filipino. I was born in the Philippines but moved to the U.S. when I was 3.</i>
Asian/Asian American	20	<i>In terms of my race, I would describe myself as a Filipino-American because I am Filipino, but I was raised America.</i>
Filipino AND Asian American	8	<i>My ethnic group is Asian American since my parents are Asian and I was born as an American citizen.</i>
Filipino AND Other non-Asian ethnicity	8	<i>Asian-American, more specifically Filipino-American because most of my family did come from the Philippines.</i>
Filipino AND Other Asian ethnicity	4	<i>I am German (white), Mexican, and Filipino.</i>
Asian/Asian American AND Pacific Islander	4	<i>In terms of ethnic group and race, I would be considered to be Filipino-Chinese. I am also an American citizen.</i>
Filipino AND Pacific Islander	3	<i>I describe myself as a half Bangladeshi/half Filipino teenager.</i>
Asian/Asian American AND Other non-Asian ethnicity	2	<i>I would describe myself as an Asian-American and Pacific Islander.</i>
Pacific Islander	1	<i>I would describe myself as an American Pacific Islander as I am full Filipino but grew up in the American culture. I'm Filipino and Guamanian but to be specific I'm Ilocano and Chamorro.</i>
		<i>I would identify myself as Pacific Islander.</i>



**Table 4**  
*Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Social Context Variables With Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender	—	—	—	1						
2. Quality of relationship with mother	4.23	.95	1–5	-.22*	1					
3. Quality of relationship with father	4.04	1.04	1–5	-.22*	.56**	1				
4. Quality of relationship with friends	3.94	.90	2–5	.18	.30**	.31**	1			
5. Quality of relationship with teachers	3.35	.42	2–4	-.07	.45**	.45**	.71**	1		
6. Internalization of model minority stereotype	3.52	.70	2–5	-.06	.48**	.50**	.40**	.44**	1	
7. Perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes	3.61	.92	1–5	.28*	.08	.10	.29*	.18	.52**	1

\* Correlation is significant at the .05 level. \*\* Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

of your/their race or ethnicity. What was the experience like and how did it make you feel? How often does this happen? Does this ever happen to your friends?").

## Results

### Racial-Ethnic Identification of Filipino American Adolescents

To comprehensively investigate the racial-ethnic identification of the Filipino American participants in our study, we examined their responses to an open-ended question regarding their racial and ethnic group membership and quantitatively assessed the strength of their identification with a predetermined set of different racial labels.

**Qualitative findings: Spontaneous racial-ethnic identification patterns.** When prompted to identify their racial and ethnic group membership, participants responded in a variety of ways, including nine unique combinations of racial-ethnic identification labels (See Table 3). Whereas many identified themselves based on country of origin or their specific ethnic group (i.e., "Filipino or Filipino American";  $n = 28$ ), others identified with a broader racial or panethnic label (i.e., "Asian or Asian American";  $n = 20$ ). Several others identified as "Filipino AND Asian or Asian American" ( $n = 8$ ), or multiethnic (e.g., "Filipino AND Other Asian ethnicity" or "Filipino AND Other non-Asian ethnicity" or "Asian, Asian American AND Other non-Asian ethnicity";  $n = 14$ ). Finally, a few described themselves as Pacific Islander ( $n = 8$ ), using the label either on its own ( $n = 1$ ) or in combination with Filipino ( $n = 3$ ) or Asian American ( $n = 4$ ).

**Quantitative findings: Strength of racial identification.** When asked to rate the extent to which they identified with specific racial identification labels, participants most strongly identified as Asian American ( $M = 4.32$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ) or Pacific Islander ( $M = 3.44$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ). Results of a paired samples  $t$  test indicated that youth more strongly identified as Asian American rather than Pacific Islander,  $t(65) = 3.22$ ,  $p = .002$ .

### Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype

We assessed the extent to which youth internalized the model minority stereotype and believed that others viewed them through the lens of the model minority stereotype. Bivariate correlations between adolescents' experiences of the model minority stereotype and sociodemographic variables are presented in Table 2. Partic-

ipants' internalization of the model minority stereotype was significantly and positively correlated with their perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes,  $r = .52$ ,  $p < .01$ . However, internalization of the model minority stereotype was unrelated to sociodemographic variables (see Table 2). Being the target of others' model minority stereotypes was significantly related to gender, such that Filipina adolescents were more likely to endorse the belief that others made assumptions about their intelligence or academic abilities (see Table 2).

### Filipino American Adolescents' Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype and its Relation to Their Racial Identification and Relationships at Home and School

Next, we examined the relationship between Filipino American adolescents' strength of racial identification and their experiences of the model minority stereotype. Given our sample size, we conducted two separate multiple regressions predicting (1) participants' internalization of the model minority stereotype and (2) their experiences of being stereotyped as model minorities. Five statistical tests were conducted using Bonferroni adjusted alpha levels of .01 per test ( $.05/5 = .01$ ). Participant gender was carried forward in all subsequent analyses as this was the only sociodemographic variable significantly correlated with experiences of the model minority stereotype.

**Strength of racial identification and experiences of the model minority stereotype.** As shown in Table 5, 12% of the variance in participants' internalization of the model minority stereotype was accounted for by the strength of their racial identification,  $F(3, 58) = 2.75$ ,  $p = .05$ . In particular, adolescents who more strongly identified as Asian American ( $\beta = .34$ ,  $p < .01$ ), but not as Pacific Islander ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $p = .12$ ), were more likely to internalize the model minority stereotype. Filipino adolescents, regardless of gender, were equally likely to internalize the stereotype ( $\beta = -.09$ ,  $p = .47$ ). A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = 0.14$  indicates moderate practical significance (Cohen, 1988).

As shown in Table 5, gender and strength of racial identification accounted for 17% of the variance in participants' perceptions that others stereotyped them as model minorities,  $F(3, 58) = 3.11$ ,  $p < .01$ . Filipina adolescents ( $\beta = .35$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and youth who strongly identified as Pacific Islander ( $\beta = .29$ ,  $p < .05$ ) were more likely to report that they were the targets of model minority stereotypes. Only gender remained a significant predictor of model minority stereotype experiences after using the Bonferroni ad-

**Table 5**  
*Multiple Regression Analysis for Strength of Racial Identification Predicting Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Predicting internalization of the model minority stereotype									
Gender	-.063	.178	-.045	-.130	.178	-.094	-.133	.179	-.097
Asian American				.256	.097	.343*	.234	.104	.313*
Pacific Islander				.090	.058	.200	.081	.060	.179
Asian American × Pacific Islander							.043	.071	.081
R <sup>2</sup>		.002			.124			.130	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		.124			4.055*			.361	
Predicting perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes									
Gender	.569	.236	.297*	.674	.241	.352**	.667	.241	.348**
Asian American				.011	.131	.010	-.040	.141	-.039
Pacific Islander				.179	.078	.286*	.157	.081	.251†
Asian American × Pacific Islander							.097	.096	.133
R <sup>2</sup>		.088			.165			.180	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		5.790*			2.689†			1.022	

† Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

justed alpha level. A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = 0.20$  indicates this to be of moderate to high practical significance.

In addition to examining the associations between Filipino American adolescents' racial identification and experiences of the model minority stereotype, we investigated how these experiences were related to participants' social relationships at home and school. Correlations between participants' experiences of the model minority stereotype and the quality of family (i.e., mother and father) and school-based (i.e., friends, teachers, peers) relationships are reported in Table 4. We conducted separate multiple regression analyses to examine whether quality of relationships at home and school were related to Filipino American high school students' internalization and perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes.

**Quality of relationships at home.** As reported in Table 6, 31% of the variance in youths' internalization of the model minority stereotype was accounted for by quality of relationships at home,  $F(2, 69) = 15.24, p < .001$ . Specifically, adolescents who reported high quality relationships with their parents ( $\beta = .57, p < .01$ ) were more likely to internalize the model minority stereotype.

Cohen's effect size value ( $f^2 = 0.44$ ) suggested high practical significance. Results indicated that 8% of the variance in youths' reports of being stereotyped as model minorities was explained by gender and quality of relationships at home,  $F(2, 69) = 3.22, p < .05$ , but individual predictors were not significant after the Bonferroni adjustment was accounted for.

**Quality of relationships at school.** Results of the multiple regression analysis testing whether quality of school-based relationships significantly predicted Filipino American adolescents' internalization and experiences of the model minority stereotype are summarized in Table 7. Results indicated that overall, youth reporting higher quality school-based relationships ( $\beta = .45, p < .01$ ) were more likely to internalize the model minority stereotype,  $F(2, 69) = 8.67, p < .01$ , with Cohen's effect size value of  $f^2 = 0.25$  indicating this to be of moderate to high practical significance. In addition, both gender and the quality of school-based relationships accounted for 14% of the variance in youths' experiences of being stereotyped as a model minority,  $F(2, 69) = 5.51, p < .01$ . Gender ( $\beta = .26, p < .05$ ) and school-based relationships ( $\beta = .25, p < .05$ ) as predictors of experiences of the model

**Table 6**  
*Multiple Regression Analysis for Quality of Family Relationships Predicting Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Predicting internalization of the model minority stereotype									
Gender	-.09	.17	-.06	.10	.14	.08	.11	.15	.08
Home relationship quality				.44	.08	.57**	.46	.09	.59**
Gender × Home Relationship Quality							.11	.17	.07
R <sup>2</sup>		.004			.306			.557	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		.261			30.111**			.415	
Predicting perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes									
Gender	.50	.21	.28*	.58	.21	.32**	.60	.22	.33**
Home relationship quality				.19	.12	.18	.23	.13	.22
Gender × Home Relationship Quality							.23	.26	.11
R <sup>2</sup>		.076			.107			.118	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		5.75*			2.433			.807	

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .



Table 7  
Multiple Regression Analysis for Quality of School-Based Relationships Predicting Experiences of the Model Minority Stereotype

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Predicting internalization of the model minority stereotype									
Gender	-.09	.17	-.06	-.13	.15	-.09	-.12	.15	-.09
School relationship quality				.50	.12	.45**	.49	.12	.44**
Gender × School Relationship Quality							-.08	.24	-.04
R <sup>2</sup>		.004				.201			.202
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		.261				17.023**			.105
Predicting perceptions of others' model minority stereotypes									
Gender	.50	.21	.28	.47	.21	.26*	.46	.20	.25*
School relationship quality				.36	.16	.25*	.39	.16	.26*
Gender × School Relationship Quality							.46	.33	.16
R <sup>2</sup>		.08				.138			.16
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		5.76*				4.94*			1.97

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

minority stereotype were no longer significant after the Bonferroni adjustment.

### Racialized Experiences in the School Context: Confronting Model Minority Stereotypes

To incorporate the voices and lived experiences of Filipino American adolescents in our sample and to complement findings from our survey data, we qualitatively analyzed semistructured interview data. We open-coded the data for emerging themes based on participant responses to specific interview questions regarding their experiences of being treated differently due to their race and ethnicity and societal expectations of their racial-ethnic group (see Measures section). Taking an inductive thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006), two independent coders identified several themes evident in the data: (a) denial of a racial reality, (b) contending with model minority stereotypes, including sources of and affective responses to model minority stereotypes, and (c) the role of family and school-based relationships in the internalization of the model minority stereotype. We allowed coding for as many themes as were present in participants' responses, and independently agreed on 96% of the codes and resolved the remaining disagreements by consensus. While some participants described their school environment as a place where race-related matters were not major issues faced by themselves or other students at school, several students described experiences of racial microaggressions (e.g., invalidation of interethnic differences, ascriptions of intelligence; Nadal, Wong, Sriken, Griffin, & Fujii-Doe, 2015) including contending with model minority stereotypes at school. We coded youths' experiences of racial microaggressions for sources of model minority stereotypes (e.g., teachers, peers), and participants' affective responses (neutral/positive/negative valence) to being stereotyped as "model minorities." Finally, we focused on the role of social contexts in Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the model minority stereotype.

**Denial of a racial reality.** Although offered the opportunity to describe their personal race-related experiences, some participants maintained that race was unimportant and that they had never experienced being treated differently by others based on their race or ethnicity ( $n = 6$ ). For example, Jeremiah, a second generation

Filipino who identified as both Filipino and Chamorro and Guamanian, talked about how he did not think that race was a relevant issue at his school: "Honestly, I don't think it's anything big at this school. I don't see anyone being judged because of their race." Leila, a 10th Grade Filipina, who identified as German (white), Mexican, and Filipino, insisted, "I've never been treated differently. And neither have my friends. I think they've been treated right also." Jae, a Filipina who identified as Asian American, attributed the absence of racism or discrimination to the school environment and racial-ethnic composition of the school, "No that doesn't really happen a lot, because most of the people are the same here . . . a lot are the same ethnicity groups, so it's not a problem."

Filipino American adolescents denying a racial reality commonly contended that references to race were never truly malicious and were more often jokes exchanged between friends. Ryan, a 10th grader and third generation Filipino, described his frequent encounters with friends: "Well, sometimes people say some racist things at times like as a joke or something, but other than that, it's not anything harsh or anything that offends them." When prompted to describe who usually makes jokes, and how often the jokes occur, he said the jokes typically happened between friends of different ethnicities and occurred almost every day. Michael, a first generation Filipino in 10th grade, similarly described these types of race-related experiences with friends:

I haven't really noticed that, except for around my friends when we're joking around. But it's not hurtful or anything . . . maybe joke-wise that's about it. But any actual hurtful things about race, I haven't really noticed. But I'm pretty sure it's happened in a few of my classes. But you know, I try to stay out of it.

To better understand the contexts in which these types of jokes occurred, participants were asked to describe the friends who exchanged jokes and how the jokes were perceived.

**MICHAEL:** I do not really remember much because I have a few Asian friends, a few African American, a few Mexican, and I think a few European American. But when we



joke around, it's not all about that. Most of the time stereotypes are fake, sometimes stereotypes are true. That's our deal.

INTERVIEWER: When this happens between friends are they usually of the same race and ethnicity, or are they different?

MICHAEL: Sometimes different, sometimes the same.

INTERVIEWER: Is it perceived differently if it's someone of the same race or ethnicity versus someone of a different race and ethnicity?

MICHAEL: Well, I do not really notice 'cuz we just do it as like a joke, so we do not really mean it in a hurtful way. That kind of a deal.

As illustrated by these examples, Filipino American adolescents that perceived their school as a social environment free from racism and discrimination still acknowledged that racist and derogatory jokes were still the norm. These adolescents insisted, however, that these jokes about their own and their friends' ethnic groups were not intended to be hurtful, and they were not perceived as such.

**Contending with model minority stereotypes at school.** Many adolescents in our sample reported being stereotyped by others as smart, good at math, or overachievers ( $n = 10$ ). Both students and teachers were perpetrators of racial microaggressions regarding ascriptions of intelligence (i.e., assuming a student was smart because they're Asian; Nadal et al., 2015).

Cheryl, a second generation Filipina who identified as both Asian and White but asserted a stronger connection to Filipino culture, recounted how she believed others perceived members of her racial group: "I think that people think that just because you're Asian and they expect you to be super smart or be a doctor or a nurse." Michael similarly stated, "I'm pretty sure society they think Filipinos . . . they think oh Asians . . . they're the guys that overachieve and all that stuff. They're the ones that become doctors, and nurses." A 9th Grade Filipina, Chanel, who identified herself as Asian American, detailed her interaction with a classmate:

In my math class a boy went up to me and . . . he thought I was good at math 'cuz I was Asian and it kind of offended me because like not all Asians are known for being smart. . . . I do not know him. And he came up to me and he said, "Oh, can I be your partner 'cuz I know you're good at this." And I'm like, "No, I'm not." . . . I told him, "I don't really understand this," and he said, "Oh, you'll probably get it."

Chanel went on to describe her frustration with being stereotyped by one of her peers as being good at math. This assumption was in stark contrast to how she felt about her own math abilities, and her actual progress in the class. She was struggling to understand the material, and did not feel like she was doing well in the class at all. Such interactions with other students seemed to be commonplace for some of the participants in our sample. Grace, a first generation Filipina, similarly described her experience in a math class:

And it was my math class . . . so a freshman, Asian girl . . . they obviously expected me to be . . . they expected my capability to be a lot higher standard. But I guess to them . . . they were like, "Oh, she's the typical Asian kid who is just smart as hell, and will do stuff." And they'll do stuff that's completely beyond my capabilities. And they just picked on me for it. And it was just so annoying.

Despite being one of the youngest students in a class of mostly upperclassmen, other students relentlessly assumed that, because of her race and ethnicity, Grace was smart and could easily master new concepts. She openly expressed her irritation with her classmates' assumptions, and felt that it was unfair to be held to such a high standard just because of her race and ethnicity.

Model minority stereotypes were not limited to peers and classmates. Some participants acknowledged the stereotypes present at the broader societal level. Jacob, a second generation multiethnic Filipino who identified himself as American with Bangladeshi and Filipino heritage, said, "In general, they [society] think Asians should always get A+'s and stuff but that's not necessarily true." Teachers were also sometimes guilty of making assumptions about the academic abilities of Filipino American students, as exemplified in the following interview:

GRACE: I have four teachers that are female, and two teachers that are male, and my two teachers that are male pick on me the most.

INTERVIEWER: And why do you think that is?

GRACE: I do not know. I think it's partially because they do not understand me, and also they think that because I'm Asian, they consider me Asian . . . they just are like, "You should be doing a lot better." And those are the classes that I have B's in.

Later in the interview, she went on to discuss encounters with the model minority stereotype in her science class:

. . . I'm number one in my class for bio, and I have a B. And he looks at me sometimes and he goes, "Dang Grace, you got a B. You're disappointing the Asians." And I'm just like, "But, why does that have to apply to me?" Because I mean a lot of people say like, "Filipinos aren't really that Asian." And I mean . . . I'm just like, "Well, technically we are, but that doesn't mean you should associate us with that type of stereotype. Because that's not how all of us are. We all have our difficulties." Like I have friends who are Korean, who everyone expects to be a genius, and he has like a 3.5. And people are just like, "What? You have B's? I thought you were Asian." And it just makes me so mad.

**Affective responses to model minority stereotypes.** Filipino American high school students in our sample expressed a range of affective responses to being stereotyped as model minorities ( $n = 6$ ). A few recognized the negative repercussions of being typecast as a smart Asian who is expected to do well in school. Grace recounted her experience after receiving exam grades in class: "When I get 100% on tests, sometimes they [other students] say it's because you're Asian. I guess it's stereotypical. It just feels

wrong.” Some Filipino American adolescents were more neutral in their responses to being stereotyped as smart:

CHANEL: I feel like there’s a lot of . . . they expect that Filipinos are smart because they’re Asian or they’re loud, but we’re just like everyone else.

INTERVIEWER: How does that make you feel to know that others’ have these expectations of you?

CHANEL: I do not really make it a big issue.

Other participants saw the model minority myth in a more positive light: “. . . sometimes other people might say that, like, Asians have to be smarter. . . . I feel fine about it. It just shows that I’m smart or something.”

**Internalization of the model minority stereotype: The role of school and family relationships.** Finally, based on findings from our interviews, the social contexts of Filipino American adolescents seemed to play an important role in their internalization of the model minority stereotype ( $n = 15$ ). For example, Michael described himself: “I’m quiet. I’m usually a guy in the corner of the class. I’m usually the smart one.” When prompted to describe what kind of student he was he said,

I would like to say average, but I’m leaning over toward above average. Because I take my schoolwork seriously like above all else before I do anything, I make sure that all my schoolwork is done. If there’s a project, I try to get it done right away. That’s the type of student that I am, and I try not to procrastinate too much.

While Michael did not recognize others’ as making assumptions about his intelligence, he did acknowledge his own identity as “the smart one” in most of his classes, and an internal and personal desire to prioritize schoolwork. A first generation Filipina, Joy who identified as Asian American and Filipino American, similarly described herself as a slightly above average student:

I’m a very hardworking student, and I try to keep my grade up usually . . . I would say [as a student I’m] around average, because I do not think I’m the greatest person per se in academics, but I do think that because I try to strive to be above average that I’m in that average range where I kind of try to but I’m not necessarily as great as other students. . . . So I would say I guess in the middle between average and above average.

Joy went on to acknowledge others’ perceptions and expectations of Filipinos as smart and hardworking students: “. . . I feel like they think we’re [Filipinos] really hardworking cuz if you see our grades, we’re really hardworking as a whole.” Citing the good grades of Filipino students in general as evidence, Joy insinuated that there was some truth to these stereotypes, and asserted her affinity with the group (i.e., “our grades,” “we’re really hardworking”).

Parents’ high expectations appeared to play an important role in youths’ internalization of the model minority stereotypes ( $n = 14$ ). On top of expectations from peers and teachers, Filipino youth were subjected to academic pressures at home to be the very best students. David, a second generation Filipino who identified as an “average Asian male,” discussed his experiences with what he described as “an Asian expectation parent thing.” He explained

that his parents would accept nothing less than an A or B, and extracurricular activities were restricted if his grades fell to a C or C+, “Cuz my mom, she’s always been, like, the top of everything, valedictorian, like all that stuff. And she kind of pushes a tiny bit of that responsibility on me.” This was an experience that he shared in common with his Filipino-heritage friends: “. . . we just kind of make jokes about it . . . after a test, if one of us got, an A—we’ll be like, ‘Oh, dude, you’re going to get your butt beat because it’s not an A+.’ . . . but it’s just a joke.”

Grace described how the pressure she felt from her parents’ high expectations motivated her to become a hardworking, high-achieving student:

The pressure has affected me by . . . it makes me really stressed. Sometimes I get really panicked. Sometimes I get anxiety about failure. Failure is just not an option for me. I do not want . . . I’m afraid of failure. I’m afraid of not being good enough. And so it just makes me really stressed out. It makes me stressed out, but at the same time, it makes me really determined. Because the stress kinda fuels me. But it’s just really, really hard to deal with. . . . I like to motivate myself. I write little sticky notes in my journal, and I’ll write things like, “You can do this. You can get an A on that test.”

Throughout the duration of the interview, Grace contested and voiced her aggravation with constantly being labeled as a smart Asian:

I think the main reason people do it is because of the way I act. . . . I’m pretty good at a lot of stuff academically. . . . I’m pretty reserved in class so they just expect to be amazing at everything. And I’m just like, “That’s not how it works.” I mean you could do all of your classwork and all of your stuff, but you could still be not amazing at it. It also depends on who you are as a person if it interests you. But they’re just like, “Oh, you’re Asian.” And I’m like, “But that’s not how it’s supposed to work. That’s like a racist stereotype.”

At the same time, she admitted her own aspirations to get A’s on her exams, partly as a means to avoid the failure she so deeply feared.

Our interviews with Filipino American adolescents indicated that model minority stereotypes were clearly an important part of their schooling experiences. However, the nuanced ways in which youth experienced and perceived model minority stereotypes is worth noting. Participants reported a range of affective responses to model minority stereotypes and although racism was not deemed a serious issue for most participants, even these students recognized that model minority stereotypes existed—sometimes manifested as jokes told by well-intentioned friends.

## Discussion

The aim of this mixed-methods study was to shed light on Filipino American adolescents’ internalization and experiences of the model minority stereotype, including its relation to their racial identification and social relationships. Our results replicated and extended findings from previous studies on the model minority stereotype (e.g., Lee, 1994, 2009). We also observed important differences based on participants’ gender, racial identification, and perceived quality of home and school-based relationships. Findings provide insights into Filipino American high school students’ lived experiences and the impact of model minority stereotypes.



### **Patterns of Racial-Ethnic Identification: Filipino, Asian, or Pacific Islander?**

To understand the pervasiveness of the model minority stereotype in the lives of Filipino American adolescents, it is vital to recognize the many complex ways in which they identify their racial and ethnic group membership. When assessed in an open-ended format, youth in our sample identified with labels like those identified in previous research (e.g., Filipino, Asian, & Pacific Islander; Nadal, 2004) with the caveat that participants also frequently included the term American. Students in our study most often identified as Filipino or Filipino American. This is consistent with past research that established that individuals of Filipino backgrounds in the U.S. tend to privilege their Filipino American identity more so than their Asian American identity to distinguish themselves from their Asian American peers (Nadal, 2004; 2011). In line with the current U.S. Census categorization of Filipinos, Asian American was the most common racial panethnic identification label mentioned by Filipino adolescents in our sample, while only a few identified as Pacific Islander. Quantitative findings regarding strength of Asian American and Pacific Islander identification among Filipino-heritage youth matched these qualitative results and were related to the model minority stereotype in nuanced ways. For instance, while a strong Asian American identity was related to internalization of the model minority stereotype, it was not related to an increased perception that others treated them with respect to the stereotype. Instead, a stronger Pacific Islander identity predicted youths' experiences of being stereotyped as a model minority by others.

### **Confronting the Model Minority Stereotype at School**

Findings from both quantitative and qualitative data revealed that Filipino American adolescents are confronted with the assumptions of the model minority stereotype at school. Survey results indicated that Filipina adolescents were more likely to endorse the belief that others made assumptions about their intelligence or academic abilities. Results from our participant interviews further supported these findings, suggesting that Filipinas tend to have more negative affective responses to model minority stereotypes as compared with their male peers, who tended to express more neutral or positive affect toward others' model minority stereotypes. Similar to previous studies with immigrant youth Suárez-Orozco et al., (2006), this variability in the extent to which Filipino boys and girls contend with the model minority may result from gender differences in the racialized experiences of Filipino Americans. Our findings are also consistent with recent research that indicates that Filipina girls more often encounter model minority stereotypes at school (Ocampo, 2016). Drawing upon the narratives of Filipino Americans from previous studies (Ocampo, 2016), it could be that Filipino boys in our sample were also subjected to such negative "troublemaker" stereotypes, and therefore were not as likely as their Filipina peers to be seen as model minorities.

That a strong identification as Pacific Islander (but not Asian American) was significantly related to greater perceptions that others made assumptions about their status as model minorities is especially interesting. Upon closer examination of the qualitative interview data, it could be that youth in our sample that recognized

themselves as targets of model minority stereotypes chose to identify more strongly as a Pacific Islander in a deliberate attempt to reject or distance themselves from the Asian American label that is so closely associated with model minority stereotypes. Grace, a Filipina who identified as Asian American but more strongly as Pacific Islander, demonstrated some support for this notion. She stipulated that the unreasonably high expectations from her teachers and peers were unwarranted given that others recognize "Filipinos aren't really that Asian," and although they are "technically" Asian, not all Filipinos fit the model minority stereotype. Grace's rejection of the idea that all Filipinos and Asians are smart, combined with her own work ethic and achievement goals, is somewhat consistent with previous research on the model minority stereotype that found that some Asian American students who were openly critical of model minority stereotypes still embodied characteristics of the stereotype themselves (i.e., high-achieving, college-bound students; Lee, 2009).

Similar to previous research examining the model minority stereotype among other Asian American subgroups, both teachers and students were responsible for directing these ascriptions of intelligence toward Filipino students (Lee, 2009; Nadal et al., 2015). While quantitative data showed that being stereotyped as a model minority was positively associated with high quality school-based relationships, findings from qualitative interviews with a subsample of participants illustrate a more complicated story about how relationships within the school context are related to Filipino American adolescents' encounters with the model minority stereotype. Whereas some had positive or neutral reactions to being typecast as model minorities, others shared negative experiences in their classrooms (most commonly in math and science). Model minority stereotypes seemed to be most detrimental to those who felt that they were struggling in their class(es). For these students, having classmates approach them for help or not living up to the expectations of their teachers was especially stressful. Evidence of positive, negative, and neutral reactions to model minority stereotypes among Filipino American youth are similar to previous studies on Asian American adolescents (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Thompson, Kiang, & Witkow, 2016). While seemingly counterintuitive, our quantitative findings illustrating that high quality relationships within the school context are linked with internalization of the model minority stereotype converges with previous research showing positive associations between experiences of the model minority stereotype and positive outcomes. For example, a recent study by Thompson and colleagues (2016) demonstrated positive links between Asian American adolescents' reactions to model minority stereotypes and their ethnic identity development such that positive responses to the stereotype were concurrently associated with greater ethnic identity exploration and a greater sense of belonging.

### **Filipino American Adolescents' Internalization of the Model Minority Stereotype**

Results from the current study demonstrated that Filipino American adolescent boys and girls similarly internalized the model minority stereotype, and in contrast to our findings regarding their encounters with the model minority stereotype, this internalization was positively linked with a strong Asian American identity. Our finding was consistent with Asian-identified students in Lee's



(2009) study of the model minority stereotype who supported the assumptions of the stereotype without critique. Because model minority stereotypes are so closely intertwined with those identified as Asian American, it makes sense that a stronger Asian American identity would be related to greater endorsement and internalization of model minority behaviors and attributes.

Quantitative results established that high quality relationships both at home and school were associated with internalization of the model minority stereotype, suggesting that parents, teachers, and friends alike supported Filipino American adolescents' personal acceptance and internalization of these positive in-group stereotypes. High quality family relationships were particularly important to the internalization of the model minority stereotype, but not to their perceptions of others' stereotypes. Qualitative findings also provided more in-depth evidence for the significance of relationships within home and school contexts in Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the model minority stereotype. For example, interviews with participants illustrated how youths' internalization of the model minority stereotype may be partly due to the high academic expectations from parents, teachers, and peers, and eventually developing a personal desire to meet and/or exceed others' educational expectations. Joy, a 1st generation Filipina, established her internalization of the model minority stereotype by describing and self-identifying with the academic achievement (i.e., good grades) and scholastic behaviors (i.e., working hard) of Filipino students as a whole.

### Limitations and Future Research

It should be noted that although the correlational design of our study prohibits conclusions about causation, the goal of our study was to explore and describe experiences of the model minority stereotype and its relation to racial-ethnic identity and social relationships within family and school contexts for an understudied population—Filipino American adolescents. With additional research examining potential predictors and with larger samples of Filipino American youth, future research will be better poised to systematically investigate the causes and consequences of internalization of the model minority stereotype. Given that our study sample primarily comprised second generation Filipino American youth at a middle to upper-middle class high school with a substantial Filipino population, the results for the current study should be read with these caveats in mind. Findings regarding the internalization and experiences of the model minority stereotype may be different for Filipino American youth of varying backgrounds. For example, 1st generation immigrants may more strongly identify as Asian American and in turn rate greater internalization of the model minority stereotype. Or perhaps, students in different school contexts wherein Filipinos do not constitute a critical mass of the Asian American population may be less susceptible to being pinned a model minority. Future analyses based on data from the larger study from which the current data are drawn will examine academic achievement and experiences of the model minority stereotype across different school sites that vary in terms of generational status, racial and ethnic composition, and family socioeconomic status. In light of our findings, future research should further investigate the role of the model minority stereotype in the academic achievement and well-being of Filipino adolescents.

### Conclusion

The findings from the current mixed methods study suggest that Filipino American adolescents contend in multiple ways and from multiple sources with the model minority stereotype in their school contexts. Their internalization and experiences of the model minority stereotype are influenced by factors such as racial identification and perceived quality of home and school relationships. This is a significant contribution to the broader literature on the model minority stereotype, which tends to focus on other subgroups within the AAPI community (e.g., Lee, 2009). Similar to past research, Filipino American youth in this study demonstrated several patterns of racial and ethnic identification. Specific racial identification choices were linked to the model minority stereotype in various ways, such that a strong Asian American identity was related to strong internalization of the model minority stereotype, whereas a strong Pacific Islander identity was related to increased beliefs that others made assumptions about their intelligence and work ethic based on race. In addition, while adolescents' perceived quality of relationships at home and school were related to internalization of the model minority stereotype, only gender and quality of school-based relationships were significantly related to experiences of the model minority stereotype in general. Given that gender was a significant predictor of experiences of the model minority stereotype, Filipina girls may be more susceptible or perhaps just more aware of model minority stereotypes. With a growing population of Filipino American youth and a society rampant with stereotypes, active efforts toward a better understanding of the model minority myth and how positive group stereotypes may have negative implications for important developmental outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, mental health, etc.) is essential.

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## **STUDY 2: Model Minority or Minority at Risk? A Mixed-Methods Study of Filipino American Adolescents' Achievement and Psychological Adjustment**

Because Filipino American adolescents commonly contend with MMS, both as targets of MMS in school and through their own internalization of the stereotype (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017), it is important to investigate the developmental implications of their experiences with such positive forms of racism. More specifically, how are Filipino American youths' academic and psychological outcomes influenced by experiences of the MMS? As with the broader Asian American population, Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS likely have significant bearing on their development (Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016). For example, previous studies have shown that MMS experiences are linked to adjustment across academic and psychological domains (Thompson & Kiang, 2010).

Filipino Americans are an especially interesting group to study MMS, because they are targets of stereotypes comparable to their Asian American peers (e.g., MMS and perpetual foreigner stereotypes) and at the same time are susceptible to stereotypes faced by their Latinx and African American peers (e.g., criminality or intellectually inferior; Nadal, 2008; Nadal et al., 2012). Filipinos are marginalized even within the Asian American community, sometimes seen as "not Asian enough" due to phenotypical differences, such as darker skin tones, that distinguish them from East Asians (Nadal, 2011). Very few scholars, however, have focused on experiences of the MMS among Asian Americans of Filipino heritage (see Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017 for exception). Limited research on the MMS for this subgroup within the broader Asian American population suggests that while confronting MMS is a normative part of Filipino Americans' lives, within group variation is also evident in terms of how much the youth experience, internalize, and affectively respond to MMS (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017). Thus,



there is a vital need for continued efforts to deepen our understanding of how youth of Filipino heritage are impacted by pervasive notions of the MMS.

### **MMS and Implications for Filipino American Adolescents' Adjustment**

Filipino American youth tend to demonstrate positive academic adjustment outcomes overall, however, their levels of academic achievement tend to be lower than that of their peers of East Asian and South Asian backgrounds (Fuligni, 1997; Fuligni & Witkow, 2004; Sue & Abe, 1988; Tseng et al., 2007). Theoretically, experiences of the MMS have the potential to positively or negatively impact academic achievement outcomes of Filipino American adolescents. Based on findings from research on stereotype threat (e.g., Steele, 1998; Steele & Aronson, 1995), the fear of not being able to live up to stereotypes about their intelligence and academic abilities in combination with the constant burden of academic pressures to excel may be detrimental to the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents (Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita, & Gray, 2002; Wong & Halgin, 2006). On the other hand, attribution theory indicates that academic achievement may be bolstered by a combination of attributing positive behaviors like academic achievement to internal, stable traits such as one's racial-ethnic group membership or ability, along with positive attitudes toward Asian Americans in academic domains (Reyna, 2000).

Previous studies on MMS including diverse samples of Asian American adolescents have demonstrated that MMS experiences are associated with positive (Thompson & Kiang, 2010) and negative (Toupin & Son, 1991) academic adjustment outcomes. For example, a study conducted with Asian American high school students of Hmong, multiethnic (primarily multiple Asian heritages), South Asian, and Chinese backgrounds found that MMS experiences were linked to several indicators of positive academic adjustment, including educational aspirations

and expectations, school self-concept, and value of academic success (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Other studies, in contrast, have found that pressures to live up to MMS contribute to significant academic achievement challenges among Asian American college students (Toupin & Son, 1991). The present study aimed to examine whether confronting and internalizing MMS was linked to the academic achievement outcomes of Filipino American adolescents.

Similar to their academic achievement outcomes, MMS may have positive or negative implications for Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment. According to symbolic interactionism (Harter, 1999), it could be that such positive attitudes about and corresponding positive behaviors towards Asian Americans results in the internalization of positive self-perceptions and in turn positive psychological adjustment outcomes (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). From an attributional perspective, positive psychological adjustment may result as a consequence of experiences of MMS which convey positive messages that one's intelligence or ability to do well in school can be attributed to an internal, stable cause (e.g., race/ethnicity). However, other youth may suffer psychologically because of such academic pressures (Cocchiara & Quick, 2004; Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009; Lee, 1994). Research has shown that Asian Americans, including Filipino American adolescents, have a diverse range of reactions to MMS (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). While some have quite favorable feelings about being labeled a "model minority", others are neutral or express negative emotions with respect to being targets of MMS (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). In some cases, experiences of MMS have been shown to be unrelated to the well-being of Asian Americans. For example, MMS experiences were not related to participants' self-reports of emotional well-being in a study with Asian American college students (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Based on these mixed findings regarding MMS and

psychological adjustment outcomes, it is unclear whether Filipino American adolescents' perceptions of others' MMS and internalization of MMS would be related to more positive psychological adjustment outcomes or possibly put them at risk for psychological maladjustment.

Across multiple studies, social relationships have been shown to play a key role in Asian Americans' MMS experiences (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). A study of Asian American undergraduate students demonstrated a modest yet positive association between MMS experiences and positive relationships, even after controlling for multiple factors (e.g., gender, grade, socioeconomic status, etc.; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Likewise, findings from Study 1 of this dissertation indicated that high quality relationships at home and school predict Filipino American adolescents' internalization of MMS (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017).

### **The Current Study**

Stereotypes about intelligence based on racial group membership, though seemingly positive, may have unintended negative developmental consequences for those that are the targets of such assumptions, including Filipino American adolescents who are often subjected to pervasive Asian MMS in the United States. Building upon findings from Study 1 which investigated Filipino American adolescents' experiences of MMS, Study 2 employed a mixed-methods approach to examine whether internalization of and experiences confronting MMS were associated with Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes, and how they report dealing with this aspect of their schooling experiences. Consistent with the theoretical framework guiding Study 1 (Rodriguez-Operana, et al., 2017), Study 2 takes an integrative approach to Asian American children and adolescents' development (J. Mistry et al., 2016) by examining proximal influences (i.e., family and school)

on participants' school success and mental health outcomes. Specifically, Study 2 investigated how individual (i.e., attributions for success/failure), family (i.e., parent-child relationship quality, cohesion, conflict) and school-level (i.e., teacher and peer relationship quality, experiences of bullying) factors moderated the association between Filipino American youths' experiences of MMS and their academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes.

The following research questions guided Study 2:

- (1) Based on survey data, what is the relationship between Filipino American adolescents' internalization of MMS, perceptions of others' MMS, and academic achievement outcomes?
  - a. Are these associations moderated by individual, family or school contextual factors?
- (2) Based on survey data, what is the relationship between Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the MMS, perceptions of others' MMS, and psychological maladjustment outcomes?
  - a. Are these associations moderated by individual, family or school contextual factors?
- (3) Drawing on semi-structured interview data, what are Filipino American adolescents' perceptions of MMS, and how do they believe MMS contribute to their academic and psychological well-being? How do social relationships within home and school contexts (i.e., family, peers, and teachers) influence this process?

## **Methods**

Study 2 draws on the full study sample. Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction (see Table 1.1 for a description of the study sample).

## **Measures**

Study 2 measures are briefly described here. For full details regarding study measures, please see the Measures section of the Introduction (Table 1.2).

**Model minority stereotypes (MMS).** Measures of the MMS included an adapted version of the Attitude Toward Asian-Self scale (Gupta et al., 2011) to assess Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the MMS (i.e., the extent to which they believe they live up to the MMS) and perceptions of others' MMS. On a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), internalization of the MMS was based on participant responses to statements such as, "*Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am smart,*" and "*Similar to many other Asian Americans I tend to be hardworking and diligent, and I should be admired for my willingness to work hard,*" (11-items;  $\alpha = .90$ ). Youths' reports of others' MMS were based on their agreement with statements such as, "*Others often assume that I am intellectually bright because I am Asian American,*" (3-items;  $\alpha = .66$ ).

**Academic Achievement.** A standardized composite score of academic achievement (see Table 1.2) was computed for each participant based on their overall weighted grade point average (GPA) and response to an item about their educational expectations ("*How far do you think you will actually go in school?*"; Range: 2 (*Finish High School*) - 6 (*Graduate or Professional School*)). The decision to do so was based on the strong inter-item correlation across these two items ( $r = .81, p < .001$ ).

**Psychological Maladjustment.** A standardized composite score of psychological maladjustment (see Table 1.2;  $\alpha = .77$ ) was created based on participants' self-reported frequency of experiencing depressive symptoms (10 items;  $\alpha = .59$ ), perceived stress (10 items;  $\alpha = .74$ ), and psychosomatic symptoms (8 items;  $\alpha = .78$ ) in the past month on a scale from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Almost every day*).

**Individual-level factors.** On a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*), study participants responded to 6-items attributing academic achievement and failure to one's abilities (e.g., "*The most important ingredient in getting good grades is my academic ability.*"; Lefcourt, 1981;  $\alpha = .77$ ;  $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = 0.73$ ).

**Family-level factors.** Drawing on measures of family cohesion and conflict (see Table 1.2), I examined whether family-level factors were related to youths' academic achievement and psychological maladjustment. For analysis purposes, I created a standardized composite variable of overall family relationship quality ( $M = 0.00$ ,  $SD = 0.40$ ; Range: -1.01-1.13;  $\alpha = 0.74$ ) due to a robust inter-item correlation (see Table 1.3;  $r = .65$ ,  $p < .01$ ) between parent-child relationship quality (6-items; e.g., "*Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother/father.*";  $\alpha = .90$ ) and adolescent reports of family cohesion (10-items; e.g., "*Family members feel very close to each other.*";  $\alpha = .88$ ; Olson et al., 1985).

To measure the frequency of family conflict experiences, participants responded to questions from the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS) Likelihood subscale (10-items; e.g., "*You have done well in school, but your parents' academic expectations always exceed your performance...How likely is this type of situation to occur in your family?*";  $\alpha = .87$ ; Lee et al., 2000).

**School-level factors.** Using participants' reports of school-based relationships, friendship quality, and experiences of bullying at school, I examined whether school-level factors were associated with Filipino American adolescents' academic and psychological adjustment outcomes. I created a standardized composite score (15-items;  $\alpha = .87$ ) measuring youths' perceptions of relationships at school based on their evaluations of relationships with teachers and classmates (11-items; "*Teachers care about me and what happens to me.*" Suárez- Orozco et

al., 2009), and overall friendship quality (4-items; e.g., “*I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.*”; Furman, 1996) for analysis purposes.

Adolescents’ experiences with peer harassment and intimidation at school were measured based on their ratings of statements such as, “*I was made fun of by another student in front of others.*” (6-items;  $\alpha = .83$ ; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000; Nishina & Juvonen, 1998).’

**MMS in the lives of Filipino American high schoolers.** For the subset of participants included in the qualitative component of the study, I conducted semi-structured interviews consisting of open-ended questions designed to complement the survey questions regarding model minority stereotypes, and peer and family relationships.

## Results

### Descriptive Findings

Descriptive statistics, including the means, standard deviations, and range of participant responses to the survey measures relevant to Study 2 are presented in Table 1.2 (see page 18). The extent to which Filipino American adolescents internalized the MMS and experienced being a target of the MMS was comparable across all three school sites. Overall, Filipino American youth in my sample showed moderate levels of MMS internalization ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ) and perceptions of others’ MMS ( $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ).

Correlations among all Study 2 variables are shown in Table 1.3 (see page 20). MMS internalization and perceptions of others’ MMS were positively correlated ( $r = .46$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and significantly correlated with several individual, family, school-level variables (see Table 1.3). Both internalization of the MMS and perceptions of others’ MMS were correlated with participants’ academic achievement, however, only experiences of being stereotyped as a model minority was correlated with participants’ psychological maladjustment (see Table 1.3).

## Overview of Multivariate Analyses

Based on initial descriptive statistics, additional analyses examined the extent to which MMS internalization and perceptions of others' MMS predicted academic achievement and psychological maladjustment outcomes, and the moderating role of individual, family, school-level variables. The conceptual model guiding quantitative analyses for this study is presented in Figure 2.1. I ran separate multiple regressions predicting (1) participants' academic achievement and (2) psychological maladjustment outcomes. For each dependent variable, a total of 3 separate hierarchical regression models were run: for internalization of MMS and perceptions of others' MMS separately as moderated by success/failure attributions (individual), family, and school level factors. All analyses controlled for school site (reference group = School 1), and participant gender given significant covariation with experiences of the model minority stereotype, academic achievement, and psychological maladjustment (see Table 1.3). To adjust for the multiple tests conducted (6 in total), I used a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test ( $.05/6 = .008$ ;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables.

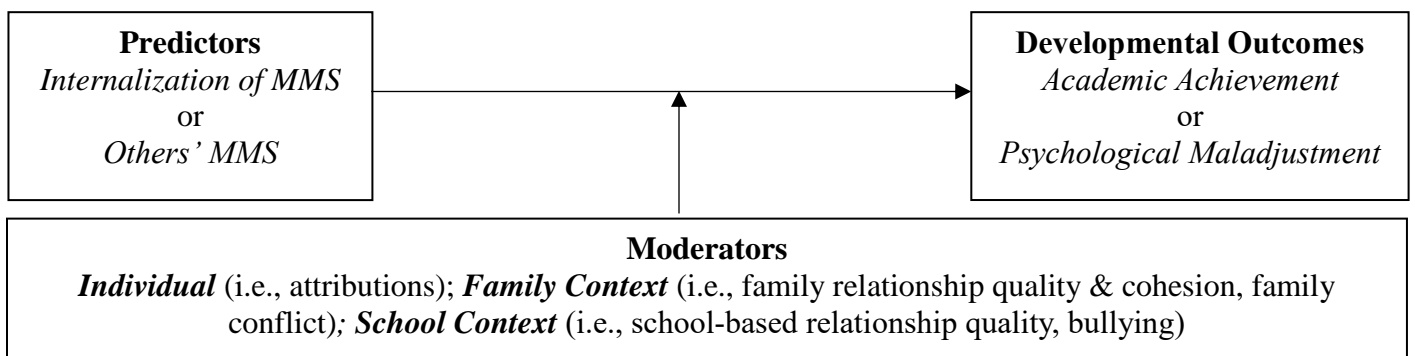


Figure 2.1 The conceptual model presented above guided the current study analyses with MMS internalization or perceptions of others' MMS as predictors of developmental outcomes (i.e., academic achievement or psychological maladjustment), and individual, family and school context moderators.



### **RQ1: Do MMS internalization and perceptions of others' MMS predict academic achievement outcomes among Filipino American youth?**

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis results assessing whether Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the MMS predicted their academic achievement outcomes indicated that 19% of the variance in participants' academic achievement outcomes was accounted for by MMS internalization,  $F(4, 130) = 7.49, p < .001$ , and further that those who more strongly internalized the MMS demonstrated higher levels of academic achievement as compared with those who internalized the MMS less strongly ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ). A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = 0.23$  indicates that this finding is of moderate to high practical significance. Results of the hierarchical multiple regression model predicting Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS accounted for 10% of the variance in participants' academic achievement outcomes,  $F(4, 130) = 3.68, p < .01$ . In this case, however, perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .10, p = .25$ ), did not significantly predict of Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement outcomes.

#### **RQ1a: Are these associations moderated by individual, family or school factors?**

Tests of moderation were conducted to determine whether associations between experiences of MMS and academic achievement differed based on individual, family and school-related factors. Due to the limited sample size, and with consideration to the difficulties in interpreting higher-order interactions, tests of moderation were conducted for individual, family, and school factors, separately.

#### **Analysis Plan**

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted consistently for all moderators. Participant gender, school attended, and MMS internalization or perceptions of others' MMS were entered in Step 1. The moderator(s) (i.e., ability attributions, family context variables, or

school context variables) were entered in Step 2. Two-way interactions among participant gender, moderator(s), and MMS internalization or perceptions of others' MMS were entered in Step 3; and the 3-way interaction(s) (moderator x gender x MMS internalization or perceptions of others' MMS) was entered in Step 4.

### **Summary of Results: Individual, Family and School-Level Moderators**

Overall, results from hierarchical multiple regression analyses demonstrated that gender and MMS internalization significantly and consistently predicted Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement, whereas perceptions of others' MMS did not. Specifically, I found that Filipina American girls and those who more strongly internalized the MMS showed higher levels of academic achievement. In addition, ability attributions were shown to moderate the relationship between MMS internalization and academic achievement such that among those who more strongly internalized the MMS, attributing academic outcomes to one's ability was associated with higher levels of academic achievement. Ability attributions did not play the same moderating role of the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement. However, adolescents' experiences of bullying at school moderated the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement. Specifically, perceptions of others' MMS were positively associated with academic achievement, but only among those who reported fewer incidents of bullying at school. Finally, significant 3-way interactions between MMS experiences (i.e., internalization and perceptions of others' MMS), gender, and the quality of family relationships, illustrated the importance of family relationships when considering the association between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement. Results also indicated that the moderating role of family relationships differed based on the participants' gender. High quality relationships with family members seem to be

particularly important for supporting positive academic outcomes in the face of the MMS, especially among Filipino American boys in the current sample. For Filipinas, however, MMS internalization was only related to better academic achievement among those who reported low quality, less cohesive family relationships. Regression results across all moderators are presented in detail below, and I conclude the quantitative section with a summary of significant results (see Figure 2.8).

### **Internalization of MMS and academic achievement: Moderators.**

*MMS internalization and ability attributions.* First, I examined whether attributing school achievement to one's ability moderated the relationship between internalization of the MMS and academic achievement. Model 3, including all 2-way interactions between participant gender, ability attributions, and MMS internalization, explained 25% of the cumulative variance in Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement. As before, I observed a significant main effect of MMS internalization ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ) and gender ( $\beta = .29, p < .001$ ). However, these significant main effects were subsumed by a significant 2-way interaction between MMS internalization and ability attributions ( $\beta = .21, p < .01$ ),  $F(8, 126) = 5.16, p < .001$  (see Table 2.1). A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = .33$  indicates moderately high practical significance. The interaction between MMS internalization and gender, and between ability attributions and gender were not significant. Likewise, the 3-way interaction between ability attributions, gender and MMS internalization was not statistically significant ( $\beta = .15, p = .07$ ),  $F(9, 125) = 5.04, p < .001$ .

Table 2.1

*Multiple Regression Analysis for Ability Attributions as a Moderator of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Academic Achievement*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with MMS Internalization												
School 2	-.21	.16	-.11	-.17	.16	-.09	-.17	.16	-.09	-.14	.16	-.07
School 3	-.02	.16	-.01	.02	.16	.01	.06	.16	.03	.06	.16	.03
Gender	.51	.13	.32***	.49	.13	.30***	.47	.13	.29***	.41	.13	.25**
MMS Internalization	.35	.09	.31***	.33	.09	.29***	.35	.09	.31***	.33	.09	.29***
Ability Attribution				.12	.09	.11	.26	.12	.24*	.29	.12	.27*
MMS Internalization x Gender							-.18	.18	-.08	-.14	.18	-.06
Ability Attribution x Gender							.24	.18	.14	.29	.18	.17
MMS Internalization x Ability Attribution							.32	.13	.21**	.27	.13	.17*
MMS Internalization x Gender x Ability Attribution										.46	.25	.15
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.19			.20			.25			.27	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		7.49***			1.62			2.76*			3.28	
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	-.24	.17	-.13	-.19	.17	-.10	-.19	.17	-.10	-.19	.17	-.10
School 3	-.07	.17	-.04	-.02	.17	-.01	-.002	.17	-.001	.02	.18	.01
Gender	.45	.14	.28**	.43	.14	.26**	.43	.14	.26**	.41	.14	.25**
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.09	.08	.10	.07	.08	.07	.11	.11	.11	.11	.11	.12
Ability Attribution				-.17	.10	-.15	-.23	.12	-.21	-.23	.12	-.21
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender							.03	.17	.02	.07	.17	.05
Ability Attribution x Gender							.17	.19	.10	.18	.19	.10
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Ability Attribution							.09	.10	.07	.05	.11	.04
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Ability Attribution										.20	.21	.09
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.10			.12			.14			.14	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		3.68**			3.05†			0.64			0.84	

Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Simple slopes for the association between internalization of the MMS and academic achievement were tested for low (-1 SD below the mean) and high (+1 SD above the mean) levels of ability attributions. The simple slope tests revealed that, controlling for gender and school site, there was a significant positive association between MMS internalization and academic achievement among Filipino American participants who report an increased tendency to attribute academic outcomes to one's ability ( $t = 4.14, p < .001$ ) but not for those with a decreased tendency to attribute academic outcomes to one's ability ( $t = 0.64, p = 0.53$ ; see Figure 2.2). These findings confirm that attributions for academic success and failure are important in understanding how MMS experiences are related to achievement outcomes (Reyna, 2000; Thompson & Kiang, 2010). More specifically, strong internalization of the MMS combined with a tendency to attribute academic outcomes to internal, stable causes (i.e., ability) promotes positive academic achievement among Filipino American adolescents.

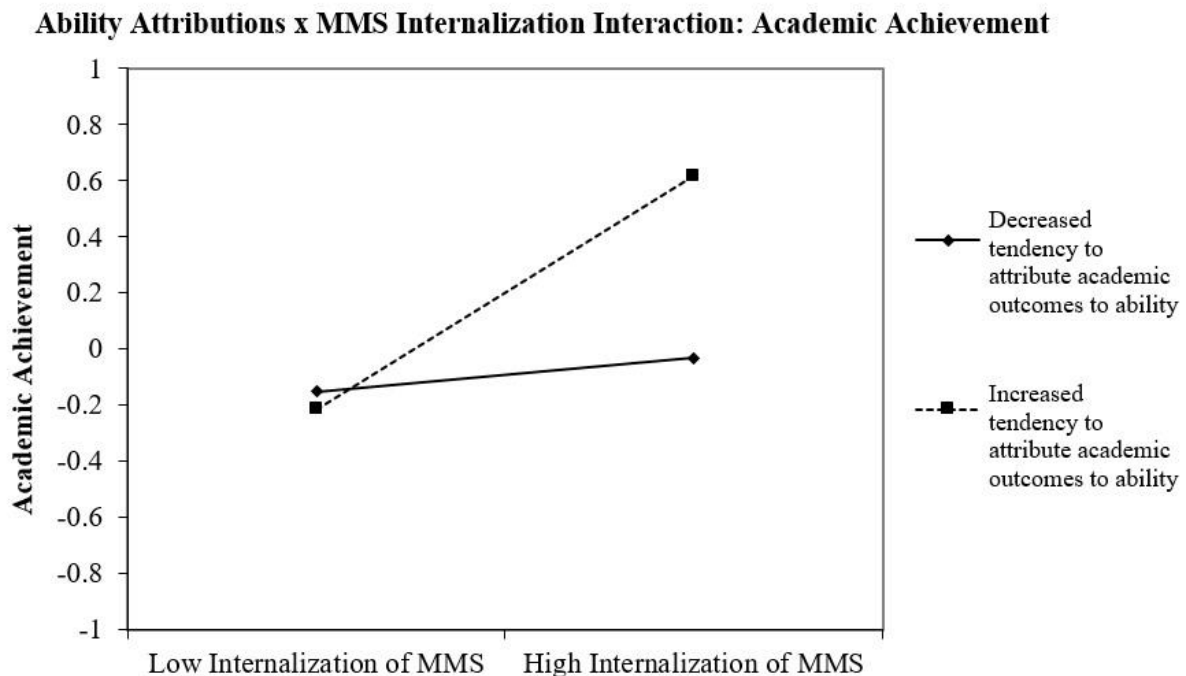


Figure 2.2. Attributing academic success and failure to ability significantly moderated the relationship between MMS internalization and academic achievement outcomes among Filipino American adolescents.

*MMS internalization and family context.* Next, I examined whether factors within the family context (i.e., quality of family relationships, family conflict) moderated the relationship between internalization of the MMS and the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents. As shown in Table 2.2, Model 4 indicated a significant 3-way interaction between family relationship quality, gender, and MMS internalization ( $\beta = .24, p < .01$ ),  $F(14, 120) = 3.34, p < .001$ . A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = .39$  indicates high practical significance. More specifically, Figure 2.3 shows that high internalization of MMS was positively associated with academic achievement among Filipino boys who reported high levels (+1 SD above the mean) of family relationship quality and cohesion ( $t = 3.85, p < .001$ ), whereas there was no association between MMS internalization and academic achievement among Filipino boys who reported low levels (-1 SD below the mean) of family relationship quality and cohesion ( $t = -0.15, p = .88$ ). The opposite was true for Filipina girls in the current study sample. Strong MMS internalization was linked to better academic achievement outcomes, but only among Filipina girls who reported low levels (-1 SD below the mean) of family relationship quality and cohesion (Figure 2.4;  $t = 3.51, p < .001$ ). Internalization of MMS was not associated with academic achievement among Filipina girls who reported high levels (+1 SD above the mean) of family relationship quality ( $t = 1.05, p = .30$ ).

Table 2.2

*Multiple Regression Analysis for Family Context Variables as Moderators of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Academic Achievement*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with MMS Internalization												
School 2	-.21	.16	-.11	-.20	.16	-.11	-.23	.16	-.12	-.27	.16	-.14
School 3	-.02	.16	-.01	-.02	.16	-.01	-.01	.17	-.004	.003	.16	.001
Gender	.51	.13	.32***	.52	.13	.32***	.60	.14	.37***	.68	.14	.42***
MMS Internalization	.35	.09	.31***	.35	.09	.31***	.33	.10	.30***	.38	.10	.34***
Family Relationship Qual.				.02	.18	.01	-.03	.18	-.01	-.10	.18	-.05
Family Conflict				-.05	.07	-.05	-.06	.07	-.08	-.06	.07	-.08
MMS Internalization x Gender							.17	.21	.08	.19	.21	.08
Family Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.81	.37	-.19*	-.86	.36	-.20*
Family Conflict x Gender							.03	.14	.02	.03	.14	.02
MMS Internalization x Family Relationship Qual.							-.004	.26	-.001	.23	.27	.08
MMS Internalization x Family Conflict							.19	.12	.15	.17	.12	.14
Family Relationship Qual. x Family Conflict							-.03	.18	-.02	-.04	.18	-.02
MMS Internalization x Gender x Family Relationship Qual.										1.48	.55	.24**
MMS Internalization x Gender x Family Conflict										.01	.23	.002
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.19			.19			.24			.28	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		7.49***			0.22			1.19			3.80*	

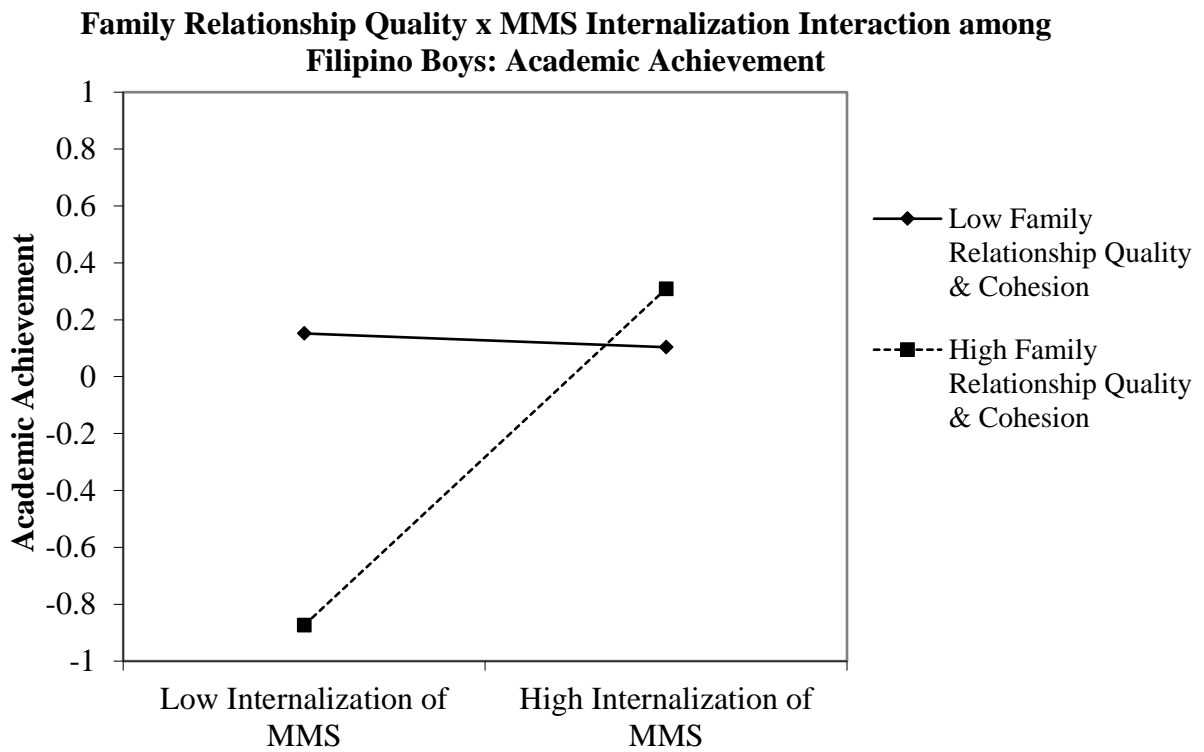
(table continues)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	-.24	.17	-.13	-.22	.17	-.12	-.26	.17	-.18	-.24	.17	-.13
School 3	-.07	.17	-.04	-.09	.17	-.05	-.08	.17	-.04	-.08	.17	-.04
Gender	.45	.14	.28**	.45	.14	.28**	.48	.14	.30***	.49	.14	.30
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.09	.08	.10	.12	.08	.12	.20	.12	.21	.23	.13	.24
Family Relationship Qual.				.13	.18	.06	.13	.18	.06	.23	.19	.11
Family Conflict				-.09	.07	-.11	-.10	.08	-.12	-.12	.08	-.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender							.17	.18	.12	.16	.18	.11
Family Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.67	.38	-.16	-.53	.38	-.13
Family Conflict x Gender							.12	.15	.07	.15	.15	.09
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Family Relationship Qual.							.32	.26	.11	.42	.26	.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Family Conflict							.10	.10	.10	.11	.10	.11
Family Relationship Qual. x Family Conflict							-.09	.19	-.04	-.05	.19	-.03
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Family Relationship Qual.										1.33	.52	.24*
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Family Conflict										-.08	.20	-.04
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.10			.11			.16			.21	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		3.68**			0.87			1.21			3.36*	

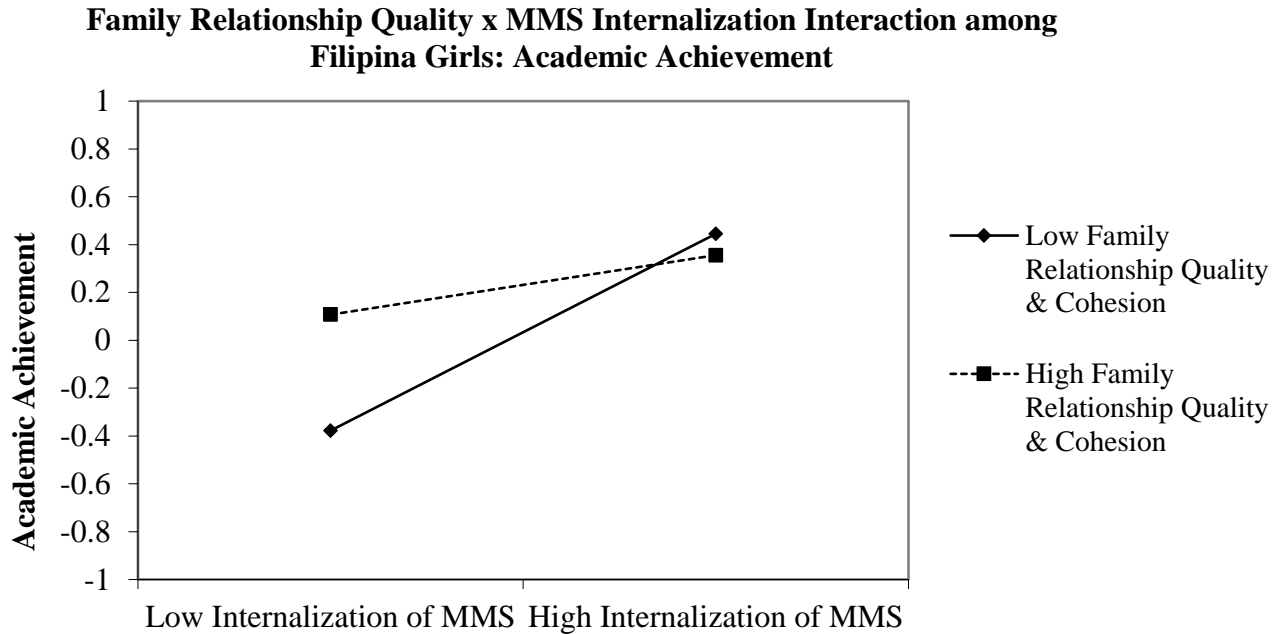
Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .



Varied results based on gender demonstrate how MMS may distinctly impact Filipina/o youth. For Filipino boys in the current study sample, MMS internalization had pronounced associations with academic achievement for those with high quality family relationships and cohesion. For Filipinas, MMS internalization seemed to support their academic achievement in the face of low quality family relationships and cohesion, however MMS internalization did not have the same effects on academic outcomes of Filipina American youth when they have positive perceptions of their relationships at home. These results further emphasize that family relationships are critical to Filipino American adolescents' internalization of MMS and academic achievement in nuanced ways.



*Figure 2.3.* Family relationship quality (i.e., parent-child relationship quality, family cohesion) significantly moderated the relationship between MMS internalization and academic achievement outcomes among Filipino boys.



*Figure 2.4.* Family relationship quality (i.e., parent-child relationship quality, family cohesion) significantly moderated the relationship between MMS internalization and academic achievement outcomes among Filipina girls.

***Internalization of MMS and school context.*** The next set of analyses examined whether factors within the school context (i.e., quality of school-based relationships, bullying) moderated the relationship between internalization of the MMS and the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents. Model 2 demonstrated a significant main effect of MMS internalization ( $\beta = .27, p < .01$ ) and gender ( $\beta = .32, p < .001$ ) on academic achievement,  $F(6, 128) = 5.38, p < .001$  (see Table 2.3). A Cohen's effect size of  $f^2 = .25$  indicates moderate to high practical significance. School context variables, including quality of school based relationships ( $\beta = -.12, p = .18$ ) and school bullying experiences ( $\beta = -.04, p = .62$ ) did not significantly predict differences in academic achievement. Models 3 and 4 showed no significant interactions. These findings suggest that school-based relationships are perhaps not as important to Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the MMS and academic achievement outcomes.

Instead, these results further underscore the role of families in the process of MMS internalization and associated academic outcomes.

Table 2.3

*Multiple Regression Analysis for School Context Variables as Moderators of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Academic Achievement*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>
with MMS Internalization												
School 2	-.21	.16	-.11	-.19	.16	-.10	-.14	.17	-.07	-.15	.17	-.08
School 3	-.02	.16	-.01	-.03	.16	-.02	-.08	.17	-.04	-.09	.17	-.05
Gender	.51	.13	.32***	.52	.13	.32***	.51	.13	.32***	.52	.14	.32***
MMS Internalization	.35	.09	.31***	.30	.10	.27**	.29	.10	.26**	.31	.10	.27**
School Relationship Qual.				-.13	.10	-.12	-.12	.10	-.11	-.12	.10	-.11
Bullying				-.03	.07	-.04	-.04	.07	-.05	-.03	.07	-.04
MMS Internalization x Gender							.003	.20	.001	.03	.21	.01
School Relationship Qual. x Gender							.02	.20	.01	.02	.20	.01
Bullying x Gender							-.17	.14	-.10	-.17	.15	-.10
MMS Internalization x School Relationship Qual.							.19	.14	.12	.21	.15	.12
MMS Internalization x Bullying							.004	.10	.003	.02	.11	.02
School Relationship Qual. x Bullying							-.07	.10	-.06	-.06	.10	-.06
MMS Internalization x Gender x School Relationship Qual.										-.04	.30	-.01
MMS Internalization x Gender x Bullying										.13	.22	.06
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.19			.20			.23			.23	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		7.49***			1.13			0.72			0.18	

(table continues)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	-.24	.17	-.13	-.20	.17	-.10	-.12	.17	-.06	-.09	.17	-.05
School 3	-.07	.17	-.04	-.08	.17	-.04	-.08	.17	-.04	-.06	.17	-.03
Gender	.45	.14	.28**	.47	.14	.29***	.47	.14	.29***	.46	.15	.28**
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.09	.08	.10	.06	.09	.06	.04	.13	.05	-.02	.15	-.02
School Relationship Qual. Bullying				-.21	.10	-.19*	-.20	.10	-.18*	-.19	.10	-.17
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender				-.05	.07	-.06	.05	.08	.06	.04	.09	.05
School Relationship Qual. x Gender							.10	.18	.07	.03	.19	.02
Bullying x Gender							.19	.20	.08	.19	.21	.08
Perceptions of Others' MMS x School Relationship Qual.							-.37	.16	-.22*	-.33	.17	-.20
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Bullying							.04	.14	.025	.03	.15	.02
School Relationship Qual. x Bullying							-.28	.10	-.30**	-.30	.10	-.32**
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x School Relationship Qual.							-.16	.10	-.15	-.16	.10	-.14
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Bullying										-.06	.28	-.02
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.10			.14			.22			.22	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		3.68**			3.12*			1.84†			0.36	

Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

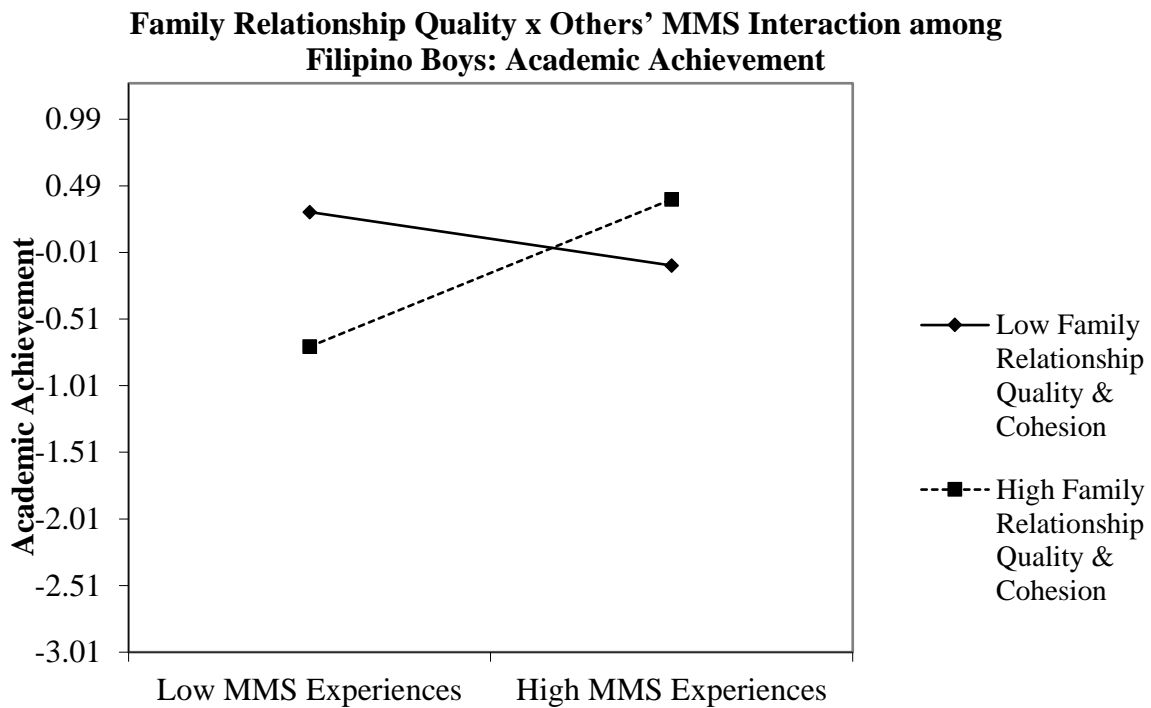
**Perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement: Moderators.**

*Perceptions of others' MMS and ability attributions.* Results of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis demonstrated a significant main effect of gender ( $\beta = .26, p < .01$ ), but no significant main effects of perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .07, p = .39$ ) or ability attributions ( $\beta = -.15, p = .08$ ) on academic achievement,  $F(5, 129) = 3.60, p < .01$  (see Table 2.1). Further, non-significant interaction terms demonstrated that ability attributions did not moderate the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement.

*Perceptions of others' MMS and family context.* Hierarchical multiple regression analyses, consistent with those presented above, were conducted to examine whether factors within the family context (i.e., quality of family relationships, family conflict) moderated the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents. Model 4 indicated a significant 3-way interaction between family relationship quality, gender, and perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .24, p = .01$ ),  $F(14, 120) = 2.25, p < .01$  (Table 2.2). Follow-up analyses showed a significant 2-way interaction between perceptions of others' MMS and quality of family relationships ( $\beta = .36, p < .01$ ) among Filipino boys,  $F(8, 52) = 2.66, p = .02$ , but not Filipina girls ( $\beta = -.09, p = .52$ ),  $F(8, 65) = 0.96, p = .47$ .

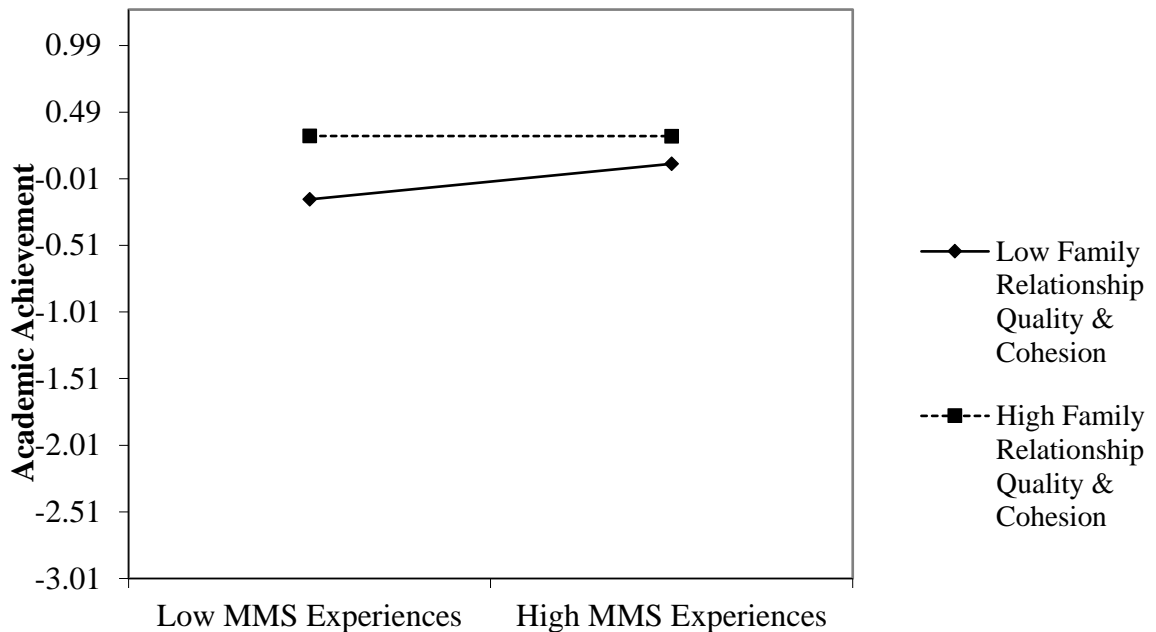
Simple slopes for the association between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement were tested for low (-1 SD below the mean) and high (+1 SD above the mean) levels of family relationship quality and cohesion among boys and girls separately. The simple slope tests revealed that, controlling for school site, there was a significant positive association between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement among Filipino American boys who reported high quality family relationships and cohesion ( $t = 3.35, p < .001$ ) but not among those who reported low levels of family relationship quality and cohesion ( $t = -1.12, p = 0.27$ ). That is, believing that others frequently stereotyped them as model minorities was beneficial for

Filipino American boys' academic achievement outcomes, but only when they simultaneously reported having good quality relationships with their parents and high levels of family cohesion (Figure 2.5). Among Filipina American girls, there was no significant association between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement for either high levels ( $t = -.003, p = .998$ ) or low levels ( $t = 0.92, p = .36$ ) of family relationship quality and cohesion (Figure 2.6).



*Figure 2.5.* Family relationship quality (i.e., parent-child relationship quality, family cohesion) significantly moderated the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement outcomes among Filipino boys.

**Family Relationship Quality x Others' MMS Interaction among  
Filipina Girls: Academic Achievement**



*Figure 2.6.* Family relationship quality (i.e., parent-child relationship quality, family cohesion) did not moderate the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement outcomes among Filipina girls.

**Perceptions of others' MMS and school context.** Next, I explored whether school context variables (i.e., quality of school-based relationships, experiences of bullying) moderate the association between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement. Results from hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed a significant interaction effect,  $F(12, 122) = 2.78, p < .01$  (see Table 2.3). Experiences of bullying ( $\beta = -.30, p < .01$ ) significantly moderated the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement, such that more frequent reports of being stereotyped as a model minority were positively associated with academic achievement among those who reported few experiences of bullying at school ( $t = 2.26, p = .025$ ). This association did not hold, however, for youth who reported more frequent experiences of bullying at school ( $t = -1.30, p = .20$ ; Figure 2.7). These results demonstrate that while perceptions of others' MMS had positive implications for academic achievement among



those who did not report frequent experiences of bullying at school, these positive stereotypes did not necessarily benefit those students who were vulnerable to being bullied at school.

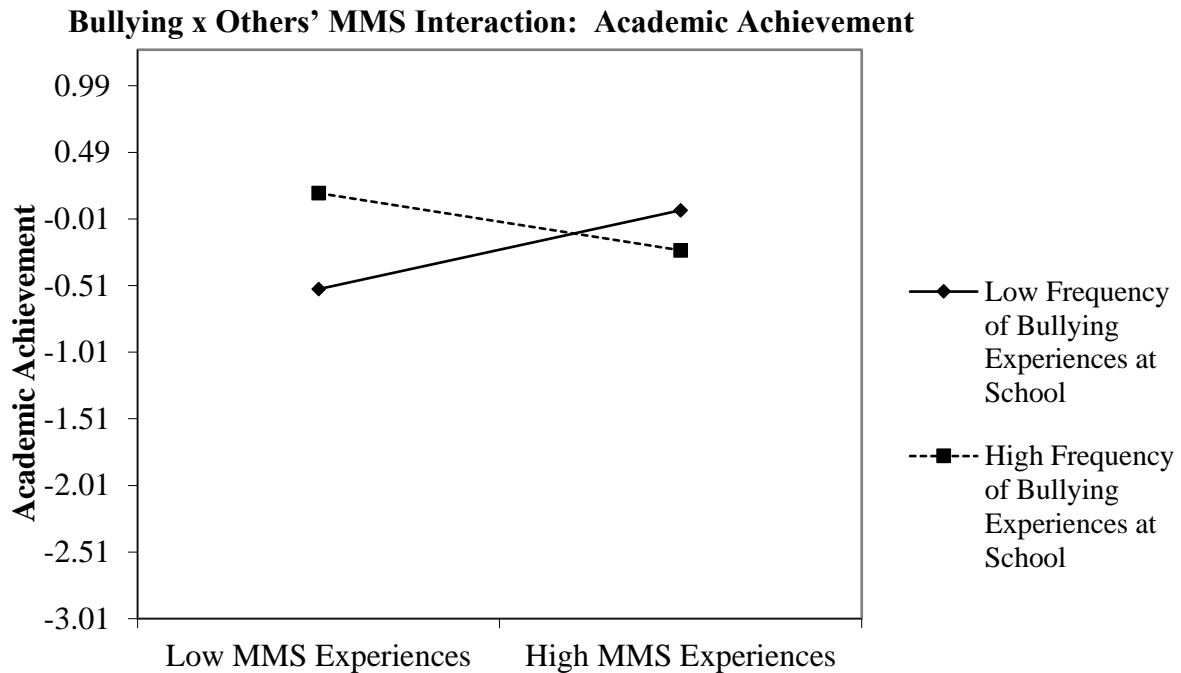


Figure 2.7. Experiences of bullying at school significantly moderated the relationship between perceptions of others' MMS and academic achievement outcomes.

**RQ2: Do MMS internalization and experiences predict psychological maladjustment?**

Following the statistical tests examining the role of MMS in academic achievement, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to test whether Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment was predicted by internalization of the MMS and perceptions of others' MMS. Consistent with the first set of analyses predicting academic achievement, MMS internalization or perceptions of others' MMS were entered in Step 1 with participant gender and school attended entered as covariates. Moderators were entered in Step 2, all 2-way interactions were entered in Step 3, and 3-way interactions were entered in Step 4. Internalization of the MMS was not significantly related to participants' psychological maladjustment ( $\beta = -.11, p = .26$ ), and accounted for only 8% of the variance in participants'

psychological maladjustment outcomes,  $F(4, 130) = 2.78, p = .03$ . Likewise, perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .19, p = .02$ ) explained only 11% of the variance in Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment, and did not significantly predict their psychological outcomes,  $F(4, 130) = 3.89, p < .001$ .

### **RQ2a: Are these associations moderated by individual, family or school factors?**

Due to reasons discussed above (i.e., sample size and associated power issues), tests of moderation were conducted separately to determine whether associations between MMS internalization and perceptions of others' MMS and psychological maladjustment differed based on individual, family and school-related factors. Results for moderation analyses are discussed in the sections below.

### **Summary of Results: Individual, Family and School-Level Moderators**

Results from hierarchical multiple regression analyses demonstrated that individual factors, and factors within family and school contexts did not moderate the relationship between MMS experiences (i.e., MMS internalization and perceptions of others' MMS) and psychological maladjustment. This contrasts with findings regarding the role of individual, family, and school-level moderators for Filipino American adolescents' MMS experiences and academic achievement outcomes. Nonetheless, quality of family relationships, family conflict, and experiences of bullying were significant predictors of Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment. These results underscore the importance of social relationships within family and school contexts, above and beyond experiences of the MMS, especially with respect to the psychological well-being of Filipino American adolescents. The sections below provide the specific results showing tests of moderation.

### **Internalization of MMS and psychological maladjustment: Moderators.**

*MMS internalization and ability attributions.* The next set of analyses explored whether ability attributions moderated the relationship between internalization of the MMS and psychological maladjustment. Results from hierarchical multiple regression analyses showed no significant main effects of MMS internalization ( $\beta = -.13$ ,  $p = .13$ ) and ability attributions ( $\beta = -.17$ ,  $p = .05$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment outcomes,  $F(5, 129) = 3.07$ ,  $p = .01$  (see Table 2.4). There were also no significant interaction effects suggesting that ability attributions (MMS internalization x ability attributions;  $\beta = -.04$ ,  $p = .63$ ) did not moderate the relationship between MMS internalization and Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment.

Table 2.4

*Multiple Regression Analysis for Ability Attributions as a Moderator of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Psychological Maladjustment*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$
with MMS Internalization												
School 2	.20	.17	.10	.26	.18	.14	.29	.17	.15	.29	.18	.15
School 3	-.15	.18	-.07	-.09	.18	-.05	-.13	.18	-.06	-.13	.18	-.06
Gender	.33	.14	.20*	.29	.14	.17*	.29	.14	.17*	.28	.15	.17
MMS Internalization	-.11	.10	-.10	-.15	.10	-.13	-.15	.10	-.13	-.15	.10	-.13
Ability Attribution				-.20	.10	-.17*	-.16	.13	-.14	-.17	.13	-.15
MMS Internalization x Gender							.44	.20	.19*	.45	.20	.19*
Ability Attribution x Gender							-.03	.20	-.02	-.02	.20	-.01
MMS Internalization x Ability Attribution							-.07	.14	-.04	-.08	.14	-.05
MMS Internalization x Gender x Ability Attribution										.09	.28	.03
R <sup>2</sup>		.08			.11			.14			.14	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		2.78*			3.97*			1.67			1.11	
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	.21	.17	.11	.25	.17	.13	.24	.18	.12	.24	.18	.12
School 3	-.14	.18	-.07	-.10	.18	-.05	-.11	.18	-.05	-.11	.18	-.06
Gender	.27	.15	.16	.25	.15	.15	.25	.15	.15	.26	.15	.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.19	.08	.20*	.17	.08	.18*	.26	.12	.26*	.25	.12	.26*
Ability Attribution				-.13	.10	-.12	-.16	.13	-.15	-.17	.13	-.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender							.18	.17	.12	.16	.18	.11
Ability Attribution x Gender							.06	.20	.03	.06	.20	.03
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Ability Attribution							-.004	.11	-.003	.01	.11	.01
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Ability Attribution										-.10	.22	-.04
R <sup>2</sup>		.11			.12			.13			.13	
F for change in R <sup>2</sup>		3.89**			1.87			0.46			0.20	

Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

***MMS internalization and family context.*** Hierarchical multiple regression analyses investigating the moderating role of factors within the family context demonstrated that while there was no main effect of MMS internalization ( $\beta = -.04, p = .55$ ), there were significant main effects of family relationship quality and cohesion ( $\beta = -2.65, p < .01$ ) and family conflict ( $\beta = .53, p < .001$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment,  $F(6,128) = 11.43, p < .001$  (see Table 2.5). Family relationship quality ( $\beta = -.06, p = .47$ ) and family conflict ( $\beta = -.04, p = .66$ ), however, did not moderate the relationship between MMS internalization and participants' psychological maladjustment.

Table 2.5

*Multiple Regression Analysis for Family Context Variables as Moderators of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Psychological Maladjustment*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
<b>with MMS Internalization</b>												
School 2	.20	.17	.10	.13	.15	.07	.18	.15	.09	.17	.15	.09
School 3	-.15	.18	-.07	-.09	.15	-.04	-.08	.16	-.04	-.09	.16	-.04
Gender	.33	.14	.20*	.25	.12	.15*	.24	.13	.14	.24	.13	.15
MMS Internalization	-.11	.10	-.10	-.05	.09	-.04	-.03	.09	-.03	-.04	.10	-.03
Family Relationship Qual.				-.43	.16	-.20**	-.44	.17	-.20**	-.43	.17	-.20*
Family Conflict				.45	.06	.53***	.44	.07	.51***	.44	.07	.51***
MMS Internalization x Gender							.20	.20	.08	.20	.20	.09
Family Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.22	.34	-.05	-.22	.35	-.05
Family Conflict x Gender							-.10	.13	-.06	-.10	.13	-.06
Family Relationship Qual. x Family Conflict							-.16	.17	-.07	-.16	.17	-.07
MMS Internalization x Family Relationship Qual.							-.17	.24	-.06	-.17	.26	-.05
MMS Internalization x Family Conflict							-.05	.11	-.04	-.05	.11	-.04
MMS Internalization x Gender x Family Relationship Qual.										.04	.53	.01
MMS Internalization x Gender x Family Conflict										-.05	.22	-.02
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.08			.35			.38			.38	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		2.78*			26.53***			0.88			.03	

(table continues)

Variable	Model 1		Model 2				Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	.21	.17	.11	.14	.15	.07	.15	.15	.08	.15	.15	.08
School 3	-.14	.18	-.07	-.08	.15	-.04	-.09	.15	-.05	-.09	.16	-.05
Gender	.27	.15	.16	.24	.13	.14	.24	.13	.14	.25	.13	.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.19	.08	.20*	.07	.07	.08	.17	.11	.18	.18	.12	.19
Family Relationship Qual.				-.45	.16	-.21**	-.44	.16	-.21**	-.46	.17	-.21**
Family Conflict				.44	.07	.52***	.43	.07	.50***	.44	.07	.51***
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender							.19	.16	.13	.20	.16	.13
Family Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.22	.34	-.05	-.22	.35	-.05
Family Conflict x Gender							-.16	.14	-.09	-.17	.14	-.10
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Family Relationship Qual.							-.10	.23	-.03	-.10	.24	-.03
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Family Conflict							.03	.09	.03	.02	.10	.02
Family Relationship Qual. x Family Conflict							-.16	.17	-.08	-.16	.17	-.07
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Family Relationship Qual.										-.14	.48	-.02
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Family Conflict										.07	.18	.04
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.11			.35			.37			.37	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		3.89**			24.22***			0.69			0.10	

Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

***MMS internalization and school context.*** Results from hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed that there were no main effects of gender ( $\beta = .17, p = .04$ ), MMS internalization ( $\beta = -.07, p = .39$ ), and quality of school-based relationships ( $\beta = .01, p = .95$ ), however, there was a significant main effect of bullying ( $\beta = .35, p < .001$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment,  $F(6,128) = 5.28, p < .001$  (see Table 2.6). School-based relationship quality ( $\beta = -.03, p = .74$ ) and bullying ( $\beta = .06, p = .50$ ) did not moderate the relationship between MMS internalization and participants' psychological maladjustment.

**Perceptions of others' MMS and psychological maladjustment: Moderators.**

***Perceptions of others' MMS and ability attributions.*** Results from hierarchical regression analyses showed that there were no significant main effects of perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .18, p = .04$ ) or ability attributions ( $\beta = -.12, p = .17$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment,  $F(5, 129) = 3.51, p < .01$  (see Table 2.4). Two- and three-way interaction effects were also non-significant.

***Perceptions of others' MMS and family context.*** Hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed significant main effects of family relationship quality ( $\beta = -.21, p < .01$ ) and family conflicts ( $\beta = .52, p < .001$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment,  $F(6,128) = 11.59, p < .001$  (see Table 2.5). Additionally, there was no significant main effect of perceptions of others' MMS ( $\beta = .08, p = .32$ ), and no significant interaction effects.

***Perceptions of others' MMS and school context.*** Results from regression analyses showed a significant main effect of bullying ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ) on Filipino American adolescents' psychological maladjustment,  $F(6, 128) = 5.70, p < .001$ , and no significant interaction effects (see Table 2.6). These findings reinforce the notion that experiences of bullying at school are important contributions to Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment.



Table 2.6

*Multiple Regression Analysis for School Context Variables as Moderators of the Relationship between Model Minority Stereotype Experiences and Psychological Maladjustment*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with MMS Internalization												
School 2	.20	.17	.10	.19	.17	.10	.25	.17	.13	.26	.17	.13
School 3	-.15	.18	-.07	-.11	.17	-.06	-.17	.17	-.08	-.13	.17	-.07
Gender	.33	.14	.20*	.29	.14	.17*	.28	.14	.16*	.33	.14	.20*
MMS Internalization	-.11	.10	-.10	-.09	.10	-.07	-.08	.10	-.07	-.13	.10	-.11
School Relationship Qual.				.01	.10	.01	-.01	.10	-.01	.02	.10	.01
Bullying				.29	.07	.35***	.28	.07	.34***	.27	.07	.33***
MMS Internalization x Gender							.44	.21	.19*	.35	.21	.15
School Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.12	.20	-.05	-.11	.20	-.05
Bullying x Gender							-.09	.15	-.05	-.09	.15	-.05
MMS Internalization x School Relationship Qual.							-.05	.15	-.03	-.12	.15	-.07
MMS Internalization x Bullying							.07	.10	.06	-.002	.11	-.002
School Relationship Qual. x Bullying							-.03	.10	-.03	-.06	.10	-.05
MMS Internalization x Gender x School Relationship Qual.										-.24	.30	-.07
MMS Internalization x Gender x Bullying										-.37	.22	-.15
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.08			.20			.25			.27	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		2.78*			9.53***			1.29			1.90	

(table continues)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
with Perceptions of Others' MMS												
School 2	.21	.17	.11	.18	.16	.09	.23	.17	.12	.27	.17	.14
School 3	-.14	.18	-.07	-.11	.17	-.06	-.17	.17	-.08	-.14	.17	-.07
Gender	.27	.15	.16	.25	.14	.15	.21	.14	.12	.28	.15	.17
Perceptions of Others' MMS	.19	.08	.20*	.14	.09	.15	.31	.13	.31*	.24	.15	.24
School Relationship Qual. Bullying				.09	.10	.08	.10	.10	.09	.07	.10	.06
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender							.30	.18	.20	.24	.19	.17
School Relationship Qual. x Gender							-.11	.20	-.05	-.16	.21	-.07
Bullying x Gender							-.19	.16	-.11	-.13	.17	-.08
Perceptions of Others' MMS x School Relationship Qual.							.20	.15	.12	.22	.15	.13
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Bullying							.04	.10	.04	.01	.10	.01
School Relationship Qual. x Bullying							-.09	.10	-.08	-.10	.10	-.09
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x School Relationship Qual.										-.48	.28	-.15
Perceptions of Others' MMS x Gender x Bullying										-.07	.21	-.03
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.11			.21			.25			.27	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		3.89**			8.43***			1.12			1.42	

Note: Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .01 per test (.05/10 = .005;  $p < .01$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. †Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

## Summary of Quantitative Findings

Academic Achievement	Psychological Maladjustment
<p><b>Significant main effects:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>MMS internalization (+)</i></li> <li>▪ <i>Gender (+)</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Moderators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Ability Attributions</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ MMS internalization was positively related to academic achievement among Filipino Americans who attributed academic outcomes to ability.</li> </ul> </li> <li>▪ <i>Experiences of Bullying at School</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Perceptions of others' MMS was positively related to academic achievement among Filipino Americans who reported infrequent encounters with bullying at school.</li> </ul> </li> <li>▪ <i>Quality of Family Relationships and Cohesion (3-way interaction)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ MMS internalization was positively related to academic achievement among Filipina Americans who reported low levels of family relationship quality and cohesion.</li> <li>➤ Internalization and Perceptions of others' MMS was positively related to academic achievement among Filipino American boys who reported high quality family relationships and cohesion.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>Significant main effects:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Quality of Family Relationships and Cohesion (-)</i></li> <li>▪ <i>Family Conflict (+)</i></li> <li>▪ <i>Experiences of Bullying at School (+)</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Moderators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ None</li> </ul>

Figure 2.8. The figure above provides a summary of the quantitative results for the analyses examining experiences of MMS as predictors of developmental outcomes (i.e., academic achievement or psychological maladjustment), and individual, family and school context.

### **RQ3: Understanding MMS and developmental outcomes: Filipino American adolescents' affective responses to MMS, social relationships, and coping with the pressures to do well.**

While quantitative results from the current study demonstrated that Filipino American adolescents' experiences of MMS were associated with their academic achievement outcomes, null quantitative findings suggested that experiences of MMS mattered less so for youths' psychological adjustment. Employing a mixed-methods approach, I analyzed semi-structured

interview data to more deeply understand the quantitative findings, including how Filipino American youth respond to MMS, the potential academic and psychological consequences of pervasive MMS and the role of family, peers, and teachers. Like Study 1, youth indicated an array of affective responses including positive, negative, and neutral responses to MMS. As results from quantitative survey data demonstrated that family conflict and cohesion mattered for youths' psychological adjustment (above and beyond their experiences of MMS), I examined participant interviews to better understand their relationships with family members and experiences of family conflict. Qualitative interview data indicated that participants' experiences of family conflict often involved coping with various types of academic pressures, including a lack of cohesion and agreement about acceptable academic performance and future educational and occupational goals. Complementary to quantitative findings, interviews with youth also further emphasized the importance of social relationships, including the role of families, teachers, and peers in supporting Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement and psychological adjustment. Detailed results of the qualitative analyses are presented below.

**Affective responses to MMS.** To understand how being perceived as a model minority may potentially impact the academic and psychological adjustment of Filipino American youth, I coded for participants' affective responses to MMS. Many of the students interviewed, such as Alina, a second-generation Filipina American were neutral or had no affective response to encounters with MMS (n = 21). She stated, "I don't really take into notice. I don't really care." However, quite a few participants articulated either positive or negative affective responses to others' MMS.

***Positive perceptions of MMS and motivation towards academic achievement.*** Some Filipino American youth reacted positively to the MMS of peers and society (n = 12; 8 males, 4

females), noting that these positive perceptions of their group motivated them to do well in school. Joel, a first-generation Filipino American, stated that MMS were a source of motivation, “It makes me feel like I can achieve things.” Jester similarly conveyed a positive affective response to MMS:

I mean some people just say, “Oh, because you’re Asian, you’re good at school.” It’s not a bad thing. It’s just a stereotype thing. Like I said it doesn’t make me feel bad, it’s more of a compliment than an insult...I see it as a positive thing for me.

Charlie, a second-generation Filipino American also communicated positive reactions to MMS, “Well, it makes me feel good seeing that other people see me like that. It just makes me feel good... ‘cuz I don’t see that negative. If they think you’re smart, why would you feel bad about that?” Christian, another participant who also responded positively to MMS, still rejected the stereotype as he felt that it was not an accurate representation of his abilities, “I think it’s funny ‘cuz I’m not all that smart.”

*Negative perceptions of MMS and potential psychological consequences.* Several interview participants, most of whom reported greater than average psychological adjustment difficulties based on survey data (n =5), indicated negative affective responses to being typecast as model minorities (n = 7; 3 males and 4 females). For example, Kathy, a second-generation Filipina American recounted her own experiences with peers’ MMS:

[Kathy]: Me and my friends are always going to be treated differently because of our race. Like usually because we’re Asian we’re just expected to be smart and have straight A’s and know everything about everything.

[Interviewer]: How does that make you feel when you encounter these stereotypes?

[Kathy]: It kinda makes me feel disappointed with myself. You guys have a good expectation of me...like you don’t have a bad expectation...like if you expect an “A” from me, then that’s good, but I’m not reaching that so I’m like...I feel like I’m not doing something right.

[Interviewer]: So you kinda feel like you need to live up to that expectation?

[Kathy]: Yeah. It's not a bad stereotype per se. It's just a hard one to live up to.

Kathy admitted that although MMS about Filipinos and Asians in general had positive connotations, these positive stereotypes elicited a negative reaction because she felt that she was not living up to the expectations of the stereotype. Jay similarly expressed a negative affective response to MMS noting that, "No one's gonna be perfect at what they're labeled as..." He mentioned that others' assumptions that he was smart because of his race made him feel, "sort of sad a bit...[because] nobody should be labeled...they're just saying you're Asian you should be smart. Like they say, 'Why aren't you smart or anything?' And I'm just sad." Beyond the sadness and disappointment in oneself for failure to meet the expectations of the MMS expressed by some participants, Julia also described her frustration with classmates who teased her for not knowing how to answer a question in class because she is Asian, "...it upset me. It's annoying...It was just like I don't understand. I'm sorry that I don't fit your standard. And I was like alright thank you and just walked away to another person." Common among youth who had negative reactions to MMS was the shared awareness that what may be perceived as a positive stereotype on the surface can have negative emotional consequences for those who do not fit the specifications of the stereotype. While students varied in their affective responses to the MMS (neutral, positive, or negative valence), these findings emphasize the potentially damaging consequences of racial discrimination, even when the racism is seemingly positive.

**Beyond MMS: Role of social relationships.** As quantitative data analyses established the importance of social relationships in understanding Filipino American youths' academic achievement and psychological adjustment (sometimes above and beyond MMS experiences), qualitative analyses aimed to address the role of family, peers, and teachers in either supporting or impeding academic achievement and psychological adjustment among Filipino American

adolescents. Youth participants reported various sources and types of support with respect to their academic achievement and psychological well-being.

*Family: Sources of support and conflict.* Interviews with participants revealed that family relationships served as important sources of support and motivation for academic achievement. At the same, Filipino American adolescents in my study sample reported conflict with parents and family members that often centered around academic pressures. For some, adaptive responses to academic pressure were evident when they felt supported by parents and other family members. In this respect, qualitative data seemed to support quantitative findings which illustrated the importance of cohesion and supportive family relationships for positive adjustment. Support from family members included psychological support (e.g., encouragement, motivation; n = 31) and concrete forms of help from family (e.g., parental monitoring of grades, homework help; n = 21).

*Support from family.* Most Filipino American adolescents that we interviewed reported receiving ample support for their academic achievement from family members. This included receiving concrete forms of help from parents, “They’re just helping me. Like if I need help with something, they try their best to help me like exactly if they can...They sit down, talk to me; they go over my work with me.” Some students like Diana, a second-generation Filipina American, felt supported by her parents psychologically, through their encouragement of the goals that she set for herself, and through tangible forms of help. She believed that her parents supported her occupational goals, “Well, part of my want has always been to be a doctor, so I feel that they’ve kind of taken that on as well as their way of supporting me, so a doctorate.” Diana emphasized that her parents were supportive of her goals in multiple ways and did everything in their power to help her achieve those goals,

My parents are extremely supportive. They are probably as supportive as you can get. If I say I need anything for school it's done. They even go out of their way to try to find more ways to help me. ... Sometimes I leave for school at 6:30 when I have morning meetings and my mom already has breakfast and lunch made for me so I don't have to worry about that. Also, they told me to go and research whatever SAT prep course I want, and if I can show them stats that it works then no matter how much it costs, they'll pay for it.

Joy, a first-generation student who identified as Asian American/Filipino American, acknowledged that encouraging her to do her best instead of pressuring her to maintain a certain GPA was an effective means of support from her parents and family.

They try to support me in the way that sometimes if I have a low grade in something, or if I feel like I have a horrible class, or I'm struggling in a class, they're the type of people to say, 'Well, it's just one class and I really hope that you're trying your best because that's all that matters.' In that kind of supportive way, and emotions kind of, because they try to build my self-esteem up. And that's the thing about them that I really like, so I think that's really supportive.

Realizing that his peers and extended family members were subjected to rather persistent forms of pressures to do well in school, another second-generation Filipino American student, William, recognized that supportive parents were not necessarily the norm.

I feel like I have more lenience with time... Some parents... like my friends told me they wanna just go to college, get it done as fast as they can, but with my parents it's just like whenever you can, when you're ready... My cousins, they're expected to be top of class. With me, it's like as long as you try your best... I feel like my mom trusts me.

As expressed by several participants, families seem to play an important role in supporting the academic achievement and psychological adjustment of Filipino American adolescents. The support provided to youth took on multiple forms, including help with homework and monitoring of grades and assignments, as well as encouragement and motivation to pursue their goals and to do their best.

*Family conflict and coping with the pressures to do well in school.* Building upon quantitative findings which illustrated the impact of family conflict and cohesion on Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment, qualitative analyses showed that for many



youth, family conflict often involved coping with various types of academic pressures from parents and other family members. Youth wanted to maintain family cohesion and felt pressured to compromise their own personal goals in an effort to do so. Demands for academic success among Filipino American adolescents were experienced on multiple levels. While some were expected to ace their exams, and maintain competitive GPAs (i.e., 4.0 and above; n =21), others were expected to adhere to the specific long-term goals set by their parents and other extended family members (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles; n = 20). This included pressures to attend specific colleges (n = 14), and pursue specific majors and careers (e.g., jobs in the medical field or the military; n = 16).

*Pressures to be straight-A students.* Many interview participants reported feeling pressured to maintain high grade point averages (i.e., 4.0 and above; n =21). For most, parents were the primary source of the pressures to do well in school. Grace recounted how her parents' academic achievement pressures were tied to her long-term goals. "I was definitely pressured by my parents February up until even now. They're just like, 'You have to have a 4.0. Otherwise you're not gonna get scholarships.'" Cheryl, a high school junior and second-generation Filipina American, claimed that her mother urged her to do well in school for two reasons, "...she wants me to have all A's...It makes her look good...Also I think that she wants the best for me, yeah." Jacob, a second-generation Filipino American who was ashamed of receiving any grade lower than a B, similarly expressed that maintaining a high GPA was related to a sense of pride, "...my parents expected me to keep my grades at an A+ or just an A...I don't tell them unless it's an A or B...[because] I don't want to be ashamed."

Some participants, on the other hand, expressed an internalized pressure and desire to be straight-A students. Nikki, a first-generation Filipina American 10<sup>th</sup> grader, acknowledged that

she was “pretty competitive when it comes to grades.” Diana, a second-generation Filipina American in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade, confessed that she was much more “self-critical in terms of education” compared to her friends and peers. When asked to describe a time when she felt pressured to do well in school Diana stated:

Every day is pressure...yesterday I had a final for my Psychology class and the final determines whether that grade helps me or hurts me and in terms of GPA every little point counts, so literally every point in the grade book is pressure to me because what if that is the one point that makes the difference in my future?

As expressed in the quotes above, participants internalized academic pressure and wished to achieve perfect or near-perfect GPAs for numerous reasons. Some were simply competitive and wanted to do their best. Others were focused on maintaining eligibility for extra-curricular activities, or wanted to remain competitive for college admissions.

*Predetermined aspirations: Family influences on educational and occupational goals.*

For most youth in the interview sample, family clearly played a key role in their educational and occupational aspirations. This included many students whose discussions about the future were collective processes that oftentimes occurred at family gatherings with parents and other extended family members (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles; n = 20). For example, Ray, a sophomore who identified as Filipino/ Pacific Islander and Chamorro (third-generation) said that conversations about going to college were not just limited to discussions with his parents:

I talk about it every so often when the type of occasion arises during a family gathering...especially with the extended family when we're all together for something. My relatives all ask me questions about that type of subject on what I'm planning on doing after high school.

Nick, an 11<sup>th</sup> grader and self-described “White-washed Filipino” who also strongly identified as Asian American, similarly stated that family gatherings with extended family members sparked conversations about his plans for the future:

...every time in a Filipino party one of the aunties or my cousins they're like (to his mother), "Oh, college...what's your son doing?" And she says, "Oh, he's gonna go to college too. He's gonna go to a major and stuff." I'm like, "Oh, okay mom. That's not the college I'm gonna go to."

As described above by Nick, parents were often compelled to have discussions about their educational and occupational goals because family members were comparing the goals and accomplishments of their children. Another student similarly recounted the constant comparison between family members.

Usually it's brought up if we're, like, in a family reunion. They talk about their own kids and then my mom starts talking about me. And then sometimes I'm there, she's like "Right, you want to go to college and become this." – Rose, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipina American

Filipino American adolescent interviewees also described pressures to attend specific colleges (n = 14). Christian, a first-generation Filipino American whose mother insisted that he attend a local college even though he preferred to leave his hometown after high school explained, "...she doesn't want me to leave. I've been in [this city] my whole life. I kinda want to move past that. I want to move and travel around the United States." Lauren, a first-generation Filipina American, experienced similar pressures to stay close to her family.

...they said well if you don't stay in [this city], we're not going to be able to take care of you. ...They just don't have this understanding that it's time for me to leave and experience things on my own. ...I don't know if I was too young to make the actual decision, or if they were going to be the ones that were right. But it just made me question if I'm mature enough to make these decisions or if I really do need help.

These arguments with her parents, which threatened removal of support both psychologically and financially, made Lauren question her ability to make these decisions about college on her own without guidance from her parents.

Along with pressures to stay close to home for college, many participants in the current subsample were often told by their parents and other family members that they should pursue

specific majors and careers (n = 16). Demands from parents to seek careers in the medical field (e.g., “They want me to go to a good college and become a doctor or a nurse.”) or in the military were the most common (e.g., “...college and either medical field or go straight into the military.”). Pressure from parents and other family members to pursue a career in the medical field were evident among our interview participants, and this was fairly robust across our entire sample. Based on youths’ responses to an open-ended question regarding their future occupational goals, 61% reported that their parents wanted them to pursue careers as either doctors or nurses (n = 91), and of these students only 50% shared the same career goals. These recommendations from family members did not always align with the goals youth had in mind themselves. This misalignment between parent and child aspirations was apparent for Beth, a second-generation Filipina American who also identified as Asian American and Pacific Islander:

They want me to go be a doctor or a surgeon...I want to do things like law or just like being a lawyer but they said that it would take too long that it wouldn't get sufficient money and it wasn't what the family would want...I just agree to it, because with my mom, I don't have any choice in what I want to do...When I suggested becoming a lawyer or something that I wanted to do, they'd say no that's not good. Just be a nurse—it gets more money...I wanna make my mom proud, especially since she lost her mom. I just wanted to make her happy.

Beth’s decision to comply with her mother’s goals instead of pursuing her own interests was not uncommon among Filipino American adolescents in our sample. For these youth, complying with predetermined aspirations set by parents and other family members was to maintain a sense of family cohesion—to make them happy and proud of them.

Some students like Isabel, a second-generation Filipina American, explained that her parents’ desire for her to either join the military or to pursue a career in the medical field was due

to the fact that they had little experience with or exposure to other careers as new immigrants from the Philippines.

I just think they're not open to other things cuz I am their eldest, and since in the Philippines it's always like medical field is the only thing at like the top. So, I just think they're kind of against it [a career in media] because it's new and they haven't really seen anyone else do it successfully I guess...as they've seen people in the medical field...oh they're a nurse or they're a surgeon and they see all those accomplishments...they're biased kind of...but I feel like if they had friends or someone that they know in the entertainment business, they'd be like yeah, go for it. Cuz that's the environment that they grew up in. But since it was always pushing them to be in the medical field and the military, that's all they kind of know.

Although her parents seemed to oppose Isabel's own aspirations of a career in media, she justified the constant pressures that her parents placed on her stating:

...they've always told me the medical field will always be the best path you should take because they're never going to run out of jobs and their salaries always going to be pretty good. They always tell me that. But I'm pretty sure they tell me that not because they want me to but because they just want me to have a great future.

From her perspective, her parents were just concerned about her future and made these recommendations based on the careers they believed were in demand and would pay well.

Likewise, another participant reasoned that his mother encouraged a career as a doctor or in the military for financial security, "It's probably cuz she thinks these places these jobs pay really well and we usually have trouble in like making money, so she thinks that's an easy way but it's not really fun for me."

Other youth grappled with their decisions to either pursue majors and careers that they were truly interested in or to simply comply with their parents' goals for them. Grace, a second-generation Filipina American, revealed her desire to choose an occupation that made her parents proud (e.g., a nurse, a pediatrician or a lawyer) and eventually realizing that she wanted to pursue her own dreams of going into film and television, "[my parents] sorta doubt that there's anything besides being a doctor or a lawyer...and yeah, I know they have good intentions, but sometimes

it's not for the best. It's not for my benefit." Christian, a second-generation Filipino American similarly struggled to combine his dream of becoming a musician with his mother's plans for his future, which involved either a career as a doctor or in the military.

I talked to my mom how the marines had this marine core band. It's in the military and it's in music and I might try to do that. I mean, I would love to incorporate that. I wouldn't say it's important but if it makes her happy that I can do that, and what I want then that's really important.

Still, some students internalized the educational and occupational aspirations of their parents and adopted these goals as their own. For example, Mark, a second-generation Filipino American adolescent explained how he originally wanted to major in music but eventually changed his mind and decided to pursue computer science instead:

...I wanted to major in music but [my mom] told me...computer science would be a good thing for me in terms of my future. Because she said that musicians won't make that much money compared to a computer science major. So yeah, over the years I've agreed...it just got to me that you need a good job to have a good future, so I just realized that I was good at math and that was the perfect move for me.

Francisco, a second-generation Filipino American in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade, similarly looked to his parents for guidance about prospective careers and embraced their suggestions as a potential goal of his own.

[Francisco]: They said I should become a nurse.

[Interviewer]: And why do they say that you should become a nurse.

[Francisco]: They said they have more job opportunities like they get accepted a lot more.

[Interviewer]: And what do you think? Do you think there are more job opportunities for nurses?

[Francisco]: I think so. It's what I want to become.

[Interviewer]: So, you do want to become a nurse eventually?

[Francisco]: Well, it's one of the options.

Whereas some participants perceived pressures from parents and family members to pursue particular schools and career goals, for some participants like Francisco and Mark, these external pressures were internalized and reinterpreted as personal aspirations.

*Peers: Sources of support for academic success and well-being.* Findings from qualitative data diverged from quantitative data in terms of the role that peers play in Filipino American youths' academic achievement and psychological adjustment. While quantitative results suggested that bullying contributed to psychological maladjustment, few interviewees described bullying as relevant to their schooling experiences. Instead, several mentioned the importance of friends in providing concrete forms of academic help (e.g., studying for exams, homework help; n = 11), and supporting their psychological well-being (n = 17). Oftentimes participants turned to friends as a source of psychological support during stressful times of the school year (e.g., final exams or AP exams, project deadlines, following disagreements with parents).

In addition to feeling supported by family members, some Filipino American adolescents discussed the importance of psychological and concrete forms of help from their friends. Concrete forms of academic support from friends included asking friends for help with homework (e.g., "I had a friend help me out in a math problem that was really difficult for me," OR "...go to each other and talk about it and ask each other for help."). Participants also mentioned collaborating with friends and classmates by studying in groups to prepare for stressful exams (e.g., "Sometimes I form...I'm in a study group to study for practice AP exams which are going on our grade and could kill me, but that's why I'm forming study groups.").

Support from friends went beyond academics as well. Kelly Rae, a second-generation Filipina American who also described herself as Asian American and "Americanized," talked about how her friends help her alleviate her stress when she is upset for many reasons: "...usually academics, family problems...mostly family problems." Diana, another interviewee, also reported feeling supported by friends through "positive reinforcement" and by boosting her

“ego” or self-esteem. These social supports were a part of her daily experiences at school, “Well I’m lucky enough that my main friend group I have the majority of my classes with and we’re also in the same extracurriculars.” Lauren further emphasized the importance of support from her friends especially in the face of opposition from her parents who did not support her goals of attending a college outside of her hometown:

Okay, I talked to a few other people cuz this is a really big dilemma for me. Do I stay or do I leave? And a lot of them told me that I should leave and I got of influence from that cuz there were opinions of people that I do care about. So it was them and myself too. Cuz I’m 100% sure that I’m the one that should be picking the school to go to cuz that’s like the door to my future so yeah.

For Lauren, being able to openly discuss her parental conflicts with her closest friends was a useful outlet and helped her muster the confidence she needed to independently decide on which college to attend. Communicating with friends about conflict at home was a familiar practice for Lauren as well as other student participants:

Yeah, we [my friends] all talk about that. We’re on the same boat, obviously because we have extra-curricular activities and then we have school. And so, if they are dealing with problems at home with their parents saying, ‘I want you to get like an A in a certain class.’ Then I’m very open with them, and they’re very open with me about their problems. And we kind of share out support with each other...The only people close that I talk to are my parents and my friends. And my friends they’re supportive in the way as well as my parents how they say that everyone’s different and everyone has different ways of learning. So even though I don’t do well in certain classes, that doesn’t make me worse than what I am right now. And so that kind of support really helps me.

As illustrated by the narratives shared by the participants above, close supportive friendships were also essential in fostering positive academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes among Filipino American adolescents. Like the support received from family members, friends promoted participant well-being in many ways. When coping with tension at home, the encouragement and mutual support youth received from their friends and peers was vital.



*Teachers: Sources of support for academic success.* Several interviewees discussed the importance of teachers, counselors or other adult mentors at school as sources of support for their academic achievement (n = 14) in addition to the help that they received from parents, siblings, and friends. For example, one student Nellie described how she often seeks out multiple forms of support at home and school when she is having trouble with an assignment or subject in school:

I've gone to the teacher and I've asked my parents about it too and, um, because the, like, curriculum this year is really, like, group based so I have my group [of friends and classmates] that I can ask questions and everything...

Another participant, Nikki, expressed how helpful it was to talk to one of her mentors about her educational and occupational goals and plans for the future,

I think I tried talking to my [ROTC] instructor. Like he asked me what I wanted to be and then I answered him. And then he suggested and everything because he thought I could do it. So I look into it and I'm like oh, maybe I should do this ya know. So that turned into a shift in timing.

As a first-generation Filipina American, Nikki felt that her parents were often unengaged in her academic life and planning for the future because (from her perspective) as immigrants they simply did not understand the American educational system. With a lack of understanding and enthusiasm from her parents, support for and validation of her aspirations from an adult mentor at school was crucial.

Still, most students relied on teachers and other adults at school for concrete forms of academic support. For example, Derek described his strategy for coping with academic pressures at school, "I'm actually asking the teacher for help." Jessica further emphasized the importance of teachers as a source of concrete academic support:

My AP Bio teacher gives us study guides to help prepare, [and] tells us to go to Saturday school to review the material more. But I don't necessarily go to my teacher for encouragement or anything like that. Mostly just for help with material.

Some students also discussed how institutional supports, such as school-provided tutoring centers were helpful when they were struggling in school. William, a second-generation Filipino American student recounted his experience, “If I needed help with my academics, they [teachers] got me into [school’s tutoring center]. They told me if I needed help then I could go there, and [school’s tutoring center] Center helped a lot.” As evidenced by the participant reports above, teachers also seemed to serve a critical role in supporting the adjustment of Filipino American students in the current study sample. However, whereas relationships with families and friends were supportive of both academic and psychological adjustment, teachers seemed to play more of a direct role in supporting their academic outcomes.

### **Discussion**

Results from quantitative analyses revealed that MMS internalization and perceptions of others’ MMS were predictive of youths’ outcomes in distinct ways. Several factors across various contexts predicted and moderated the associations between MMS internalization, perceptions of others’ MMS and academic adjustment outcomes. Overall, findings from Study 2 showed that Filipino American adolescents' internalization of the MMS and perceptions of others’ MMS have important significance for their academic achievement. However, MMS experiences mattered less so for psychological maladjustment outcomes.

First, gender and internalization of the MMS were salient predictors of academic achievement among Filipino American youth in our sample, with girls and those who more strongly internalize MMS demonstrating better academic adjustment. In addition, while individual (i.e., ability attributions), family and school contextual factors were important moderators of the association between experiences and internalization of MMS, and academic achievement, these factors did not moderate the links between MMS and psychological maladjustment. Quality of family relationships and a sense of family cohesion were key in

supporting adjustment across both domains of achievement and well-being. Family conflict, on the other hand, had negative consequences for youths' psychological adjustment, whereas quality of school-based relationships, such as those with teachers and peers, mattered less so. As expected, bullying was linked to poor adjustment, including reduced academic achievement and psychological well-being. Considering both quantitative and qualitative data strands, family relationships were essential in supporting the academic achievement and psychological adjustment of Filipino American adolescents. Based on qualitative findings from participant interviews, though parents and other family members were often the primary sources of the constant academic pressure youth encountered, many students internalized these academic pressures to do well and described their family as key sources of support and motivation. Interviews with Filipino American adolescents also suggested the importance of school-based relationships, including supportive relationships with friends and teachers. While quantitative data showed that these school-based relationships mattered more for academic outcomes rather than psychological adjustment, qualitative data demonstrated that close and mutually supportive friendships were essential sources of psychological support when youth were dealing with conflict at home.

Because MMS are essentially grounded in notions of Asian Americans' intelligence and ability to do well in school, it is not surprising that internalization and experiences of MMS mattered more for Filipino Americans' academic (rather than psychological) adjustment. Findings from the current study which reveal a positive relationship between internalization of the MMS and academic achievement among Filipino American adolescents are consistent with previous research which has demonstrated that frequent encounters with MMS are sometimes associated with adaptive outcomes among Asian American adolescents and college students

(Kiang, Huynh, Cheah, Wang, & Yoshikawa, 2017; Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017; Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Whaley & Noel, 2013).

Furthermore, observing that MMS experiences are not related to psychological maladjustment (i.e., more depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and psychosomatic symptoms) among Filipino American adolescents in my sample is consistent with previous research which have revealed Asian Americans' mixed reactions to the MMS. Some research indicates that the MMS can be promotive of positive adjustment and emotional well-being (e.g., Thompson & Kiang, 2010), while other studies have shown that Asian Americans sometimes have negative reactions to the MMS, and feel constrained by such assumptions about them because of their racial group membership (Kiang et al., 2017; Lee, 1994; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Wang, Siy, & Cheryan, 2011). Qualitative findings from the present study provided further evidence of youths' diverse range of affective responses to MMS. Perhaps the expression of positive, negative, and neutral impressions of MMS among Filipino American adolescents meant variations in the psychological consequences of being positively stereotyped, thus making it difficult to decipher a specific trend in the link between MMS experiences and psychological adjustment.

**MMS experiences and youth outcomes: Moderators within individual, family and school contexts.** Several factors within individual, family, and school contexts moderated the relationship between the MMS (i.e., internalization and experiences) and academic achievement outcomes. Results from the current study suggest that an individuals' attributions play an important role in the relationship between MMS internalization and academic achievement outcomes among Filipino American youth. Specifically, the positive association between MMS internalization and academic achievement is especially pronounced among those who tend to

attribute academic achievement and failure to ability. That ability attributions moderated the association between experiences of MMS and academic achievement outcomes makes sense given that the core premise of MMS internalization is that the individual believes that academic achievement is due to stable, internal causes (i.e., race/ethnicity). This finding is consistent with attributional models which point to the positive behaviors and outcomes (i.e., high levels of academic achievement) that may result from positive stereotypes (i.e., MMS) that attribute favorable performance to internal/stable, uncontrollable causes (Reyna, 2000). These results further corroborate recent findings from a study on attributional styles and academic achievement among high school students in the UK which demonstrated that ability attributions can be associated with positive performance in certain achievement contexts, and cautions researchers about the risks of overly simplistic attribution retraining interventions which teach youth to attribute failure to external and unstable causes (Houston, 2016).

That family relationship quality and cohesion moderated the associations between the MMS (i.e., internalization and experiences) and academic achievement outcomes in distinct ways for boys and girls, further emphasizes the gendered experiences of Filipino American youth (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017). Specifically, results indicated that stronger MMS internalization and frequent perceptions of others' MMS were associated with higher levels of academic achievement among Filipino American boys who also reported high quality and cohesive family relationships. In contrast to previous research which points to the negative stereotyped experiences of young immigrant (Suarez-Orozco, Tordova, & Qin, 2006) and Filipino boys (Mayeda et al., 2001; Ocampo, 2016) in comparison to their female peers, the positive and cohesive family relationships of Filipino boys seemed to bolster the positive effects of perceptions of others' MMS on academic achievement outcomes. Conversely, while

perceptions of others' MMS were not linked to Filipina American girls' achievement, stronger internalization of MMS was linked to positive academic achievement outcomes among Filipina American girls who reported lower levels of family relationship quality and cohesion. These results suggest that MMS internalization may provide support for achievement among Filipina American girls with less positive perceptions of their family relationships while MMS internalization did not matter for those who expressed positive perceptions of family relationships. The positive effect of cohesive family ties among Filipino American boys was consistent with findings from Study 1 which revealed positive links between internalization of MMS and family relationship quality (Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017).

While individual, family, and school context variables did not moderate associations between MMS experiences (i.e., internalization and perceptions of others' MMS) and psychological outcomes, findings emphasize the prominence of social relationships for psychological well-being. More specifically, while family conflict and experiences of bullying at school are linked to worse psychological adjustment outcomes among Filipino American adolescents, family relationship quality is linked to positive psychological adjustment (i.e., less depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and psychosomatic symptoms). In addition, results illustrating the role of bullying as a moderator of the relationship between perceiving others' MMS and academic achievement further underscores the damaging consequences of being victimized within the school context even in the face of positive group stereotypes. Specifically, perceiving others' MMS can help to promote academic achievement among Filipino American youth who do not encounter bullying often within their school context whereas perceptions of others' MMS do not have the same benefits for those who frequently experience bullying at school. Although interview participants rarely described personal instances of being bullied at

school, qualitative findings helped to underscore the ways in which social relationships at home may impact the psychological well-being of Filipino American adolescents. More specifically, interviews with students demonstrated that family conflict often involves multiple types of academic pressure, and the divergent goals of Filipino American students and their parents may contribute to the lack of cohesion which impacts psychological adjustment. Many of the youth interviewed described how they adjusted their own personal goals to maintain cohesion with their parents and families. It may be that these students internalize these conflicts to avoid direct confrontations with their parents and other family members. However, further research is needed to confirm whether Filipino American adolescents' use of conflict avoidance strategies contributes to their psychological maladjustment.

### **Conclusion**

Continuing to build upon the research examining the role of MMS in the lives of Filipino American adolescents, the present mixed-methods study further emphasized the pervasiveness of MMS, how youth experience and internalize MMS in nuanced ways, and its relation to key developmental outcomes. Above all, the current study findings call attention to the role of stereotypes and social relationships at home and school in shaping Filipino American adolescent's academic achievement outcomes. Given that only social relationships (i.e., family, peers/bullying) mattered for psychological adjustment, and the associations between MMS (internalization and experiences) and academic achievement varied based on social relationships (family and school-based relationships as moderators), further emphasizes the importance of considering how social contexts (i.e., home and school) support positive adjustment among Filipino American youth. Strong, cohesive family relationships seem to play an especially



critical role in supporting youths' academic and psychological well-being, underscoring the importance of family in Filipino culture.

### **STUDY 3: The Achievement-Adjustment Paradox: Understanding the Experiences of Filipino American Adolescents Who Are “Doing Well but Not Feeling Well”**

Study 1 and 2 of this dissertation confirmed the pervasiveness of the model minority stereotype (MMS) in the schooling experiences of Filipino American adolescents and underscored the implications of MMS for youths’ academic outcomes. However, it is still unclear in what ways MMS may be detrimental for Filipino American adolescents exhibiting poor psychological well-being. For example, what are the experiences of Filipino American students who appear to confirm model minority stereotypes based on their academic performance, but are fraught with psychological adjustment issues? The present study aims to address this matter by investigating the extent to which Filipino American adolescents exhibit evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox, and identifying how social relationships impact the psychological maladjustment of some high achieving Filipino American adolescents.

#### **Achievement-adjustment Paradox**

The “achievement-adjustment paradox” is a phenomenon first observed among high-achieving Chinese-immigrant adolescents who reported psychological adjustment difficulties (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Qin, 2008; Qin, Rak, Rana, Donnellan, 2012; Rumbaut, 1994). As previous studies tend to show positive associations between academic achievement and positive social and psychological well-being (Hishinuma et al., 2001; Langram, 1997), this finding of psychological maladjustment among academically successful Asian Americans is considered paradoxical. Documenting the extent to which Filipino American adolescents exhibit evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox is a critical area for research given that youth of Filipino-heritage have been shown to be at risk for including depressive symptoms and suicide ideation (Javier Lahiff, Ferrer, & Huffman, 2010; Wolf, 1997).

## **Social Contexts of Development: Family and Peer Relationships**

The integrative developmental framework (Mistry et al., 2016) and previous work has demonstrated the importance of proximal social contexts (i.e., family and school) for youths' developmental outcomes, including their psychological adjustment. Because of the collectivist nature of Filipino culture (Nadal, 2013), family relationships are particularly important to youth of Filipino-heritage (Espiritu, 2003; Fuligni & Masten, 2010). More specifically, family cohesion and supportive relationships with parents are linked to psychological well-being among Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) youth (Hijioka & Wong, 2012; Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Qin, 2008), while family conflict is linked to maladaptive outcomes among AAPIs (Cheng et al., 2010; Kuroki & Tilley, 2012; Qin, 2008; Wong, Brownson, & Schwing, 2011; Wong, Koo, Tran, Chiu, Mok, 2011). As adolescence is a developmental period when youth are spending much of their time in school and with peers (e.g., Arnett, 2007), relationships with friends, peers, and teachers, and friends are also important social contexts which may differ among Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox compared to their peers. Previous research has shown that negative aspects of peer relations such as bullying (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) or racial microaggressions (e.g., Nadal, 2015) are associated with maladaptive psychological outcomes, while positive school-based relationships with friends, peers, and teachers are often associated with psychological well-being (Okazaki & Lim, 2011).

### **The Current Study**

Extending findings from Study 1 and 2 which demonstrated the ubiquity of the MMS in the lives of Filipino American adolescents and its association with academic achievement, Study 3 aims to document the achievement-adjustment paradox – youth who are doing well academically but struggle in terms of their psychological adjustment. Employing an integrative

approach (J. Mistry et al., 2016), the present study investigates how relationships within proximal family and school contexts may impact the psychological maladjustment of some high achieving Filipino American adolescents.

The following research questions guided Study 3:

- (1) To what extent do Filipino American adolescents exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox (i.e., high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment)?
- (2) In what ways do Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox differ from their peers in terms of family (e.g., cohesion, conflict) and school-level (e.g., teacher and peer relationship quality) factors?
- (3) What are the lived experiences of Filipino American adolescents who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox? What aspects of their social contexts may contribute to the co-occurrence of high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment?

### **Methods**

Study 3 draws on the full study sample. Descriptions of study participants and procedures are included in the Introduction (see Table 1.1 for a description of the study sample).

### **Measures**

Study 3 measures are briefly described here. For full details regarding study measures, please see the Measures section of the Introduction (Table 1.2).

**Achievement-adjustment Profile.** To document the achievement-adjustment paradox, profiles were created based on academic achievement and psychological maladjustment standardized composite scores. Academic achievement composite scores (see Table 1.2) were derived from youths' overall weighted grade point average (GPA;  $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 0.57$ ) and educational expectations ("*How far do you think you will actually go in school?*"  $r = .81$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $M = 5.07$ ,  $SD = 0.77$ ). Psychological maladjustment composite scores (see Table 1.2;  $\alpha =$

.77) were based on youths' reports of depressive symptoms (10 items;  $\alpha = .59$ ), perceived stress (10 items;  $\alpha = .74$ ), and psychosomatic symptoms (8 items;  $\alpha = .78$ ) in the past month on a scale from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Almost every day*).

**Individual-level factors.** Participants rated the extent to which they internalize the MMS (i.e., the extent to which they believe they live up to the MMS) by reporting their agreement (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree) with statements that associate being Asian American with intelligence and hard work (e.g., "*Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am smart,*" 11-items;  $\alpha = .90$ ). Using the same response scale, youth indicated the extent to which they were targets of others' MMS (e.g., "*Others often assume that I am intellectually bright because I am Asian American,*" 3-items;  $\alpha = .66$ ). Participants also reported their tendencies to attribute academic outcomes to one's ability (e.g., "*The most important ingredient in getting good grades is my academic ability.*";  $\alpha = .77$ ; Lefcourt, 1981).

**Family-level factors.** Adolescent reports of family cohesion and conflict (see Table 1.2) were measured to investigate how family-level factors differ among adolescents who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox compared to their peers. A standardized composite variable of overall family relationship quality ( $M = 0.00$ ,  $SD = 0.40$ ; Range: -1.01-1.13;  $\alpha = 0.74$ ) was created due to a robust inter-item correlation (see Table 1.3;  $r = .65$ ,  $p < .01$ ) between parent-child relationship quality (6-items; e.g., "*Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother/father.*";  $\alpha = .90$ ) and family cohesion (10-items; e.g., "*Family members feel very close to each other.*";  $\alpha = .88$ ; Olson et al., 1985). Participants' experiences of family conflict were also measured based on questions from the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS) Likelihood subscale (10-items; e.g., "*You have done well in school, but your parents' academic expectations*

*always exceed your performance...How likely is this type of situation to occur in your family?”*;  $\alpha = .87$ ; Lee et al., 2000).

**School-level factors.** Adolescent reports of school-based relationships, friendship quality, and experiences of bullying at school were measured to investigate how school-level factors differ among Filipino American adolescents who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox compared to their peers. Standardized composite scores (15-items;  $\alpha = .87$ ) of youths' relationships with teachers and classmates (11-items; “*Teachers care about me and what happens to me.*” Suárez- Orozco et al., 2009), and overall friendship quality (4-items; e.g., “*I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.*”; Furman, 1996) were created for analysis purposes. Youths' experiences with school bullying were also measured (6-items; “*I was made fun of by another student in front of others.*”  $\alpha = .83$ ; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000; Nishina & Juvonen, 1998).

**Qualitative interview data.** To hone in on the lived experiences of Filipino American adolescent high school students who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox, I drew on qualitative data from semi-structured interviews. As described in previous chapters, the semi-structured interviews consisted of open-ended questions regarding youths' schooling experiences as well as peer and family relationships.

## Results

Findings from Study 3 address the experiences of Filipino American students who appear to be thriving academically, but who grapple with stress, depressive and psychosomatic symptoms. By focusing on this particular group of high-achieving students, I hope to further emphasize the potential consequences of pervasive MMS which may mask important issues within Filipino and (more broadly) Asian American communities. As a first step in understanding this phenomenon, I document the achievement-adjustment paradox among

Filipino American adolescents. Next, I examine the ways in which individual (e.g., attributions, MMS experiences), family (e.g., cohesion, conflict) and school-level (e.g., teacher and peer relationship quality) factors differ among adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox as compared with their peers. Finally, I draw on data from participant interviews to detail the lived experiences of Filipino American adolescents who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox, and to bring to light the various aspects of their social contexts that may contribute to the co-occurrence of high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment.

### **RQ1: Documenting the achievement-adjustment paradox**

Profiles of academic achievement and psychological adjustment were created to determine the extent to which Filipino American adolescents in my sample exhibited the achievement-adjustment paradox (i.e., high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment). To create achievement-adjustment paradox profiles, participants' standardized composite scores of academic achievement and psychological maladjustment were dummy coded. If the participant's academic achievement composite score was above the mean, then they were assigned a value of 1, and if the participant's psychological maladjustment composite score was above the mean, then they were assigned a value of 1. Youth exhibiting evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox Profile 1 were those with above average academic achievement and psychological maladjustment outcomes (i.e., assigned a dummy code of 1 across both variables).

**Achievement-adjustment paradox: Profile 1.** Overall, about 30% of Filipino American adolescents in this study met criteria for exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox, defined as having above average academic achievement and psychological maladjustment outcomes ( $n = 45$ ). Youth demonstrating the achievement-adjustment paradox were overwhelmingly female ( $n = 33$ ); 41% of Filipina American adolescents in the current study sample exhibited the paradox



as compared with only 18% of their male peers. Among those students who exhibited the achievement-adjustment paradox, most were from Schools 1 ( $n = 22$ ) and 2 ( $n = 16$ ); with very few from School 3 ( $n = 7$ ). Compared to youth at other schools, participants from School 2 had significantly higher proportions of students simultaneously reporting above average academic achievement and psychological adjustment problems,  $X^2 = 3.84$ ,  $p < .05$ . All participants demonstrating the achievement-adjustment paradox came from immigrant families; 69% were second-generation Filipino Americans (69%) and 31% were first-generation. Based on parents' reports of family household income, more than one third were from families with an annual household income between \$40,001-100,000, 18% were from families with an annual household income above \$100,001, and 13% were from families with an annual household income between less than \$10,000 - \$40,000. Several participants ( $n = 15$ ) were missing family household income data because they were unsure or refused to report the information, or simply skipped the demographic question regarding their family household income.

**Achievement-adjustment paradox: Profile 2.** Based on a more stringent definition of the achievement-adjustment paradox, I also created a second achievement-adjustment paradox profile characterized by Filipino American adolescents who had an overall weighted GPA of 4.0 or higher (i.e., straight A/A+ students who have grades comparable to those admitted to competitive colleges and universities), and reported above average psychological maladjustment outcomes. I created this profile to examine the experiences of the highest-achieving students and understand what may contribute to their psychological maladjustment despite their demonstrated ability to excel in school. About 20% of the entire dissertation study sample had a GPA of 4.0 or higher ( $n = 28$ ), and psychological adjustment difficulties were common: ~61% of Filipino American high school students with a 4.0 or higher GPA reported more frequent psychological

maladjustment problems in the past month. Students with all A's were significantly more likely to be female (75%),  $X^2(1, 148) = 5.37, p = .02$ .

Fewer students met the criteria for the second, more stringent achievement-adjustment paradox profile ( $n = 17$ ); only about 11% of the overall sample had a GPA that was 4.0 or higher, and greater than average reports of depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and psychosomatic symptoms. All three schools were similar in terms of the proportion of students exhibiting evidence of the paradox based on these more stringent criteria: School 1 ( $n = 7$ ), School 2 ( $n = 7$ ), and School 3 ( $n = 3$ ). Like the less stringent achievement-adjustment paradox profile (i.e., Profile 1), 76% were Filipina Americans ( $n = 13$ ), and most were either second (59%) or first-generation Filipino Americans (41%). Parents' reports of family household income indicated that about 50% were from families with an annual household income between \$40,001-100,000, about 29% were from families with an annual household income above \$100,001, while 21% were from families with an annual household income between less than \$10,000 - \$40,000.

## **RQ2: Understanding the role of family and school-based relationships**

In addition to documenting the achievement-adjustment paradox, another goal of Study 3 was to understand the ways in which Filipino American adolescents who demonstrate evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox differ from their peers in terms of individual (e.g., MMS), family (e.g., cohesion, conflict) and school-level (e.g., teacher and peer relationship quality) factors. A series of Multivariate Analysis of Covariances (MANCOVAs) were conducted. Participant gender and school attended (reference group = School 1) were entered as covariates; participant profile (Profile 1 – yes or no; Profile 2 – yes or no) as the independent variable; and individual (e.g., attributions, MMS), family (e.g., quality and cohesion, conflict) and school-level (e.g., teacher and peer relationship quality, friendship quality) factors as the

dependent variables. To adjust for the multiple tests conducted (3 in total), I used a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .02 per test ( $.05/3 = .017$ ;  $p < .02$ ) to assess significance of observed associations among the study variables. Descriptives statistics are presented in Table 3.1. Correlations among all the Study 3 variables are presented in Table 3.2, and show that Paradox Profile 1 was positively correlated with gender, perceptions of others' MMS, family conflict, and experiences of being bullied at school. Paradox Profile 2 was only correlated with school bullying.

**Paradox Profile 1.** Filipino American adolescents' exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox, based on above average academic achievement and psychological maladjustment outcomes, reported significant mean level differences in family-level factors,  $F(2, 142) = 6.24, p < .01$ . Tests of between-subjects effects showed that participants exhibiting the paradox reported more frequent family conflict ( $M = 3.37, SD = .84$ ) than their peers ( $M = 2.74, SD = .94$ ),  $F(1, 143) = 12.23, p < .001$ . There were no significant differences in individual-level factors (i.e., ability attributions, MMS),  $F(3, 128) = 2.26, p = .09$ , or school-level factors (i.e., school-based relationship quality, bullying),  $F(2, 142) = 3.35, p = .04$ , between those exhibiting (versus not) the achievement-adjustment paradox (Table 3.1).

**Paradox Profile 2.** Compared to their peers, there were no significant mean level differences in individual,  $F(3, 128) = .188, p = .91$ , family,  $F(2, 142) = .28, p = .76$ , or school-level factors,  $F(2, 142) = 2.17, p = .12$ , among Filipino American adolescents who met the more stringent criteria for the achievement-adjustment paradox as overall weighted GPAs of 4.0 or higher and above average psychological maladjustment outcomes (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1  
*Descriptive Statistics for Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-  
 adjustment paradox compared to the overall sample*

Variable	Overall <i>M (SD)</i>	Paradox Profile 1 <i>M (SD)</i>	Paradox Profile 2 <i>M (SD)</i>
Achievement – Ability Attribution	3.51 (0.73)	3.69 (0.64)	3.55 (0.50)
MMS Internalization	3.46 (0.72)	3.51 (0.73)	3.54 (0.62)
Perceptions of Others’ MMS	3.65 (0.86)	3.93 (0.70)	3.73 (0.68)
Family Relationship Quality & Cohesion	4.04 (0.90)	3.68 (0.70)	3.66 (0.69)
Family Conflict	2.93 (0.96)	3.37 (0.84)	2.93 (0.88)
Quality of School-based Relationships	3.93 (0.73)	4.02 (0.76)	4.00 (0.77)
Bullying/Victimization	1.66 (0.66)	1.84 (0.63)	1.95 (1.00)

Table 3.2

*Correlations between achievement-adjustment paradox profiles and individual, family, and school-level variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender	1									
2. Paradox Profile 1	.24**	1								
3. Paradox Profile 2	.16 <sup>†</sup>	.45***	1							
4. MMS Internalization	-.06	.05	.04	1						
5. Perceptions of Others' MMS	.21*	.22*	.04	.46**	1					
6. Ability Attributions	.09	.16 <sup>†</sup>	.02	.20*	.18*	1				
7. Family Cohesion & Relationship Quality	-.21*	-.09	-.06	.55**	.14	.28**	1			
8. Family Conflict	.15 <sup>†</sup>	.31**	.00	-.04	.29**	.19*	-.29***	1		
9. School-based Relationship Quality	.01	.08	.04	.36**	.25**	.13	.38***	.02	1	
10. Bullying/ Peer Harassment	.07	.18*	.16*	-.06	.24**	-.11	-.27**	.26**	-.17*	1

Note. <sup>†</sup>Indicates marginal significance  $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

### **RQ3: Qualitative findings**

The current study analyses also aimed to understand the lived experiences of Filipino American adolescents who exhibited the achievement-adjustment paradox using data from semi-structured interviews. Given that previous study results underscored the impacts of social relationships on Filipino American adolescents' developmental outcomes, particular attention was given to aspects of the youths' social contexts which may contribute to the co-occurrence of high levels of academic achievement and psychological maladjustment among Filipino American adolescents who demonstrate evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox.

**Paradox Profile 1.** Several interview participants met criteria for Paradox Profile 1 (n = 14). Of these participants, 11 were Filipina American adolescents. All three schools had a few students who met the criteria for Paradox Profile 1 (School 1 (n = 6), School 2 (n = 5), School 3 (n = 3)). The majority were children of immigrants (i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; n = 12), and two were first-generation Filipina Americans.

*Understanding conflict in Filipino American families.* To follow-up on quantitative findings which point to family conflict as a significant contribution to the achievement-adjustment paradox (i.e., Paradox Profile 1), coding of qualitative data from semi-structured interviews focused on the reasons for family conflict. In line with the overall goals of my dissertation, this study aimed to highlight the voices of Filipino American adolescents, particularly those who appear to be doing well on the surface based on their academic achievements, but who struggle with psychological adjustment difficulties. Coding of the semi-structured interview data revealed that family conflict among Filipino American adolescents who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox centered on: education (n = 7), autonomy (n = 7),

and time management or organization (n = 3). Several the study participants also mentioned that they avoided family conflict because it was perceived as disrespectful (n = 6).

*Education-related disagreements.* Family conflict regarding adolescents' grades and future educational goals and aspirations were described by 50% of interviewees (n =7) who exemplified Paradox Profile 1. Nick, a Filipino American in 11<sup>th</sup> grade, said that disagreements with parents were typically focused on grades:

Disagreement with my parents? The grade thing...she usually will say something in Tagalog...she would probably say like you have to do better in order to go to college, and if you don't do better take off the power or just talk about how that's going to affect me in life and stuff.

For Nick, arguments with his mother were about bringing up his grades from B's to A's, and even though he thought that his grades were acceptable he said he understood her perspective "...it's like it's not even that bad mom and stuff. But I really think it's serious, serious." Grace, a second-generation Filipina American, had similar disagreements with her parents about maintaining a 4.0 GPA, and expressed her frustration at these constant disagreements:

... I mean, they don't understand how hard it is at this time. If they were alive as a teenager in this time, they probably wouldn't handle it. I told them this, and they're just like, "Oh, I can't handle that." And I'm just like, "Mom, Dad, if you had my workload right now you'd go berserk."

Derek, a second-generation Filipino American, described arguments with his parents about getting straight A's and how they did not understand the difficulty of taking Advanced Placement (AP) courses.

[Derek]: I think the most recent one [disagreement] is that when I showed them my transcript, they were like, "How can you have C's in your classes?" Just the rigor of classes, like I said before...Then they were like, "Why aren't you trying harder?" I'm taking three AP and two honors, so it's kind of hard to find balance between all of them...I'm still trying to figure that out.

[Interviewer]: How does that make you feel when they say, "Oh, you shouldn't really be getting C's,"?

[Derek]: I feel like they're only saying that because they studied in the Philippines and then studying in the Philippines is obviously different than studying in America... When they were born, I don't think they had AP or honors classes, so they just think, "Oh, AP is just short for" ... It's just a course and it's just regular psychology, for an example... I don't think they understand the American education system yet.

As illustrated through participant quotes above, education-related disagreements were commonplace and notably contributed to family conflict among Filipino American adolescents in our interview sample and their parents.

*Strict parental control and disagreements about adolescent autonomy.* In addition to education-related disagreements, family conflict among interviewees often centered on strict parental control and disagreements about autonomy (n = 7). For example, Julia argued with her parents about attending a different high school because she was interested in pursuing an arts program:

[Julia]: ...And they were just like it's too far for an education that's just like the same as [her home school]... And I took their side. I was like okay I don't need to move schools because [her home school] has the same expectations and things like that.

[Interviewer]: What was your first reaction when they told you, "Oh no, we don't want you to go there?"

[Julia]: Well, it made me really sad. I was like, "Why? It's a better environment, it's new people." And I thought that would be good for me, but I realized I already have friends here. I have classes already set out for me. I don't need a new plan. I don't need a new school. I'm okay here.

Several students like Kelly Rae, explained that conflict in her family focused on her decision to engage extra-curricular activities:

They don't want me to do color guard again cuz they said, "Oh you shouldn't do that anymore because you come home late then you're affecting your grades. You should focus on your grades only." I'm like, "No, I should be well-rounded. I should be outgoing." I'm trying to convince them of that. That's in the process.

While Kelly Rae strived for autonomy and the ability to participate in extra-curricular activities as a way to complement her academic outcomes, family conflict regarding her decisions



challenged her sense of autonomy. In the end, though she felt upset, she accepted that she differed from her parents' strict views about education, "Really I'm sad, but you know some people just have different viewpoints so you just have to understand." Another participant, Joy, also had parents who were strict about her involvement in extra-curricular activities. For her parents, however, disagreements arose because they felt that her participation may be harmful to her overall well-being:

... at one point I had to balance my classes out with academic decathlon. And they said, "Do you want to keep continuing to do it, because I think that it's making you more stressed out than ever?" And I kinda disagreed and said, "Well, for me, the reason why I take academic decathlon is because I really love team work, and I really love working with other people, and so even if it does stress me out I really do think that it's important to find that certain extra-curricular activity for you to like." And so, my parents were in disagreement about that.

As explained by Joy and other interviewees, while they were eager to assert their autonomy, some parents were strict in terms of allowing youth to make independent decisions that conflicted with parents' own perspectives and priorities.

*Disagreements about time management and organization.* A few interview participants exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox ( $n = 3$ ) mentioned that family conflict and arguments were typically due to disagreements about time management and organization. Sometimes parents were upset because participants' rooms were not clean or organized. Other times parents were upset because youth had difficulty waking up and getting to school on time. For Nellie, a second-generation Filipina American, the roles were reversed in that she argued with both of her parents quite often about how their actions caused her to be late to church and school.

I've tried with my mom one time but she said I, like, shouldn't be talking to her that way... that I'm lucky that she's taking me to school so I don't usually bring it up. I just kind of try and tell her earlier so she'll maybe calm down earlier...I mean, I agreed with

it but I also thought that there should be a sense of urgency, especially if I'm going to be running late to school, so...

Though a less common theme, family conflict for some focused on adolescents' and parents' opposing views about how to best manage one's time and to remain organized.

*Avoidance of family conflict.* Similar to previous research with Filipino Americans (Bjorck et al., 2001; Fuligni, 1998), some interviewees expressed that they intentionally avoided family conflict by remaining silent and/or accepting fault for conflict. Isabel, a second-generation Filipina American, stated:

I guess with Asian families, they'll always work it out and resolve it...the daughter or son will always say sorry but they'll resolve it in the end...I guess it's because in the Philippines they think older is wiser. They'll have so many experiences that they're the ones that are right because they've been living on this earth for so long, and that we're so young. I guess they don't want someone who's younger to outsmart them. So maybe that's why it's always the daughter or the son.

She described how this was a very different cultural difference between families portrayed in mainstream media:

In the movies, with White families...they'll be the ones that sympathize with the child and that's just so alien to me. It would be weird if my mom sympathized with me. Sometimes I'll be like, Mom I'm sorry. I'm sorry, I'm sorry, even though I know it was part of her fault too. Because I know she won't come up to me and say sorry.

Another participant mentioned that when she tried to resolve a disagreement with her mother she was reprimanded for being disrespectful, "...I've tried with my mom one time but she said I, like, shouldn't be talking to her that way." Similarly, Julia said that when she encounters conflict with her parents she avoids talking to them for a while, "I just wait it out, or it just blows over."

**Paradox Profile 2.** Only two Filipina American interviewees met the most stringent criteria for showing evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox. The first participant, Nikki, was a first-generation Filipina American from School 2. She identified as a "pretty

good...above average” student who is “pretty competitive when it comes to grades.” Nikki attributed her academic competitiveness to her focus on future opportunities, and enjoyed the praise she received for her successes in school. When asked to describe herself in general, Nikki stated:

I’m Filipino. I migrated here when I was in 4th grade. I moved back beginning of 8th grade to the Philippines because I thought it was going to be like better but then I realized I had more opportunities here. So, I came back half way through second semester of 8th grade.

The second participant, Beth, was a second-generation Filipina American from School 3. Beth described herself as an average student based on her grades, but also recognized that her teachers most likely think she is a great or above average student. She said, “I’m just a typical Filipino American that dances in [the school’s Filipino dance club] with Ginang (Filipino word for “Mrs.”), and I’m joining [the community’s Filipino dance club] next month.”

Discussions with Nikki and Beth shed light on several key issues. Similar to Filipino American adolescents who met criteria for Paradox Profile 1, Nikki’s family conflict centered on daily disagreements with her father regarding organization and keeping her room clean, while Beth showed evidence of family conflict with respect to education and autonomy as well as an overall tendency to actively avoid parental disagreements. For example, Beth explained how she had succumb to her mother’s plans for her even though she disagreed with her mother regarding future educational and occupational goals, “I just agree to it, because with my mom, I don’t have any choice in what I want to do...When I suggested becoming a lawyer or something that I wanted to do, they’d say no that’s not good.” Beth’s mother also exercised strict parental control and limited her autonomy by fighting with her each time she planned to visit her father and half-brother. While they lived in the same county as Beth, she was seldom allowed to interact with them due to arguments with her mother. Interviews with Nikki and Beth revealed themes similar

to other adolescents who demonstrated evidence of Paradox Profile 1, however, I also sought to call attention to what was unique about the experiences and narratives of these two Filipina American adolescents who show evidence of the much more narrowly defined Paradox Profile 2. The paragraphs below describe how Nikki and Beth dealt with issues related to family separation, parents' lack of empathy, and encountering racial microaggressions in their school contexts.

***Family separation.*** Both Nikki and Beth expressed their struggles with family separation. As a first-generation immigrant, Nikki, was living in the United States with her father while her mother and sister continued to reside in the Philippines. Beth experienced separation from her father because of her parents' divorce. Interviews with Nikki and Beth conveyed that they were part of families that were simultaneously rife with support and conflict due, in part to a difference in the relationship qualities with their mothers as compared with their fathers. Each described how one parent was extremely supportive, while their relationship with their other parent often felt strained. These family separations were particularly difficult because they experienced frequent conflict with the parent that they lived with while they were separated from their more supportive parent. Nikki explained that she was constantly taking care of or arguing with her father, and though she spoke to and sought out support from her mother and sister often via Skype, she had not seen them in person for years. She commented, "I wouldn't really say I'm close to like anyone at home right now. I mean my mom and my sister I'm really close to, but they're in the Philippines."

In contrast to the supportive relationship she experienced with her mother and sister, Nikki characterized her relationship with her father as combative, "...we always have one [disagreements] like all the time...Like there's so many it's hard to pick." She noted that these

arguments happen on a daily basis with her father and that they tend to ignore their disagreements, “Oh, we just don’t talk for a while and then it all goes back to normal.” Nikki explained that because both she and her father get angry (“I argue a lot cuz I don’t like losing”), she felt it best not to have explicit conversations about their conflicting perspectives, “...cuz if we’re both angry and we would try to like talk it out, it just becomes worse... We just cool it down first. We don’t talk about it.” Later in the interview she made further distinctions between her relationship with her mother compared to her father:

See my mom...I wouldn’t really argue with her more of like have a mature talk with her, she would like try to understand me and we would give opinions toward each other and try to work it out. My dad is just like, “I’m paying for you right now, so you better listen to me.”

On the other hand, Beth had a somewhat contentious relationship with her mother, one that she labelled a “love/hate relationship.” Beyond disagreements about grades, Beth mentioned that she often fights with her mom regarding visits with her father, “Usually when I want to go over to my dad’s, she argues with me...why should I go? Why do I have to be with him?” When asked about how often these arguments occur, she stated, “It’s usually just when I want to go over...once a month.” When asked about her reactions to these arguments, Beth remarked:

I just argue that he’s my dad and I should at least just see him or hang out with my younger brother...It stresses me out. I should be able to see him, especially since he’s my dad...[my dad] just says that my mom’s crazy and it’s my choice whether or not I wanna go or not.

Meanwhile, Beth noted that she rarely sees her father who she described as generally supportive of her decisions and someone who motivates her to do well without subjecting her to unreasonable educational expectations. Unlike her mother who constantly pressured her to do well in school, Beth’s father would “...just say to do the best that I can do. It doesn’t matter what grades that I get. It’s the effort that I put into it...It actually pushes me to do what I can do.”

**Parents' lack of empathy.** Nikki and Beth also expressed a sense of frustration with their parents' general lack of understanding of their educational experiences. Nikki described her parents as relatively uninvolved in her academic life. She believed that because her father is an immigrant and her mother is still in the Philippines they lack a complete understanding of the American educational system and have little empathy for her experiences in school.

[Nikki]: Actually, I don't think they're that supportive cuz like since they live their lives in the Philippines, they don't really understand the educational system here. And even though I try to explain it to them, it's like they don't really understand it that much. But I don't think they have any problems with me because they know that I'll do good. So yeah it was never like a problem for them.

[Interviewer]: Okay and what do you think they don't understand about the education system here or your experiences as a student?

[Nikki]: Oh, I don't think that they understand the intensity of what I had to do to get all these good grades. Sometimes they'll be like, "you're a bad kid and like a bad daughter." And I'm like, "I'm actually not that much of a bad daughter. You don't know how it is in school and yeah." ...they're just grounded by that Filipino logic that everything...like you need to do everything that your parents tell you to do like stuff like that. But in reality I feel like you should like learn from me because I'm like the younger the new generation, and I like know the world here more so we can balance it out.

Similarly, Beth expressed that her mother was constantly pressuring her to adhere to her academic achievement standards without regard for or even a willingness to understand the rigor of AP courses. When asked whether she had ever discussed with her mother the challenges of taking AP classes and its rigor in comparison to a regular course, she responded, "When I try talking to her about it, she's just like you can do it, you can do better...like it's not that hard...I kinda try showing her what we're doing, but she kinda ignores me at that point."

**Racial microaggressions.** On top of their parents' lack of understanding of the American educational system and their less than empathic reactions to the pressures they feel to academically perform, interviews with Beth and Nikki revealed that they were commonly targets of racial microaggressions (Nadal, 2011; Sue et al., 2007) in the school context. Like most study

participants, Nikki and Beth frequently encountered MMS or assumptions regarding their intelligence due to their racial group membership (Nadal et al., 2015). When asked about how society perceives Filipinos Nikki said, “A lot of people would probably be like you’re Asian so you should be hella smart.” She did state, however, that these expectations were somewhat nuanced for her because she was not native-born.

[Nikki]: Because I started out as a migrant, I would say that it feels like the expectation is actually lowered. Because they expect you to relearn everything, and they think that you won’t be able to excel that fast. So, it’s kinda good but bad at the same time...I think for those people who are not too hyperactive, then I would say it’s a good thing. Cuz they’re like oh...the expectation is lowered so even if I don’t do that good, in your eyes it’s still doing good. But for some people it’s like, well why do you think so low of me when I can do so much better.

[Interviewer]: How do you feel about it...knowing that others might have these lowered expectations of you because you’re a migrant?

[Nikki]: I’ll just prove them wrong.

Nikki noted that while most have high expectations for Filipinos doing well in school because of Asian model minority stereotypes, this is also combined with lowered expectations because of her immigrant status.

Both Nikki and Beth were also subjected to other types of racial microaggressions. For example, although Beth was born in the United States, she recounted that her peers referred to her as a “fob,” because she would speak to her friends in Tagalog. This “perpetual foreigner” racial microaggression or assumption that she is foreign-born is a microaggression has been shown to be a common experience among Asian Americans and Latinos (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Nadal et al., 2015). Beth stated, “People are usually saying stuff to either the group of Filipinos...They're always like, ‘Oh my gosh. You guys are FOBs. Oh, you better speak from Chinese language.’” Beth’s interaction with her classmates, which she described as occurring as often as “every other week, generally,” is also an example of a racial

microaggression which involves the invalidation of interethnic differences (Nadal et al., 2015) by implying that Tagalog, a Filipino dialect, is the same as a “Chinese language.” Nikki also noted that her peers often subjected her to racial microaggressions which invalidated interethnic differences (e.g., all Asians look the same; Nadal et al., 2015):

[Nikki]: ...some people think that Filipinos and Chinese people are the same and they would make jokes that you eat dog or whatever... They're just like I don't see a difference between Chinese people and Filipino people. I'm like they're different ethnicities brah...they're like still, what's the difference?

Nikki stated that she eventually gave up on trying to explain each ethnic group's uniqueness as she was frustrated with her peers' inability to understand Filipinos as distinct from those of Chinese-descent.

### **Discussion**

Findings from Study 3 documenting evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox among 30% of Filipino American participants in the current sample ( $n = 45$ ; Profile 1) show that while many academically successful students appear to be well-adjusted, academic achievement may come at a cost to the psychological well-being of some Filipina/o youth. Similar to previous research which indicate that Filipina adolescents and other AAPI females report greater instances of psychological maladjustment compared to their male peers (Dion & Dion, 2001; Javier et al., 2010; Juang & Nguyen, 2011; Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Qin, 2006), Filipina American youth in my study were also more likely to exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox. The lack of differences in individual- and school-level factors observed between Filipino American youth exhibiting Paradox Profile 2 and their peers is likely due to the small number of participants who met the more stringent criteria. Results from quantitative findings, which revealed that the likelihood of family conflict was significantly greater among Filipino American adolescents exhibiting Paradox Profile 1, further emphasized the importance of family for youth of Filipino



heritage (Espiritu, 2003; Fuligni & Masten, 2010; Nadal, 2013). And although family conflict is typically associated with less adaptive outcomes (e.g., Fuligni & Masten, 2010; Kuroki, 2015), Study 3 findings suggest that perhaps there is something about family conflict within Filipino American families which allows for the co-occurrence of high academic achievement and psychological maladjustment.

Qualitative analyses from Study 3 expanded upon quantitative findings which underscore the potential influence of family conflict on Filipino American adolescents' developmental outcomes. Analysis of participant interview data revealed that family conflict often revolved around education-related disagreements ( $n = 7$ ; e.g., parents' academic pressures and lack of understanding of the rigor of courses and nature of the U.S. education system) for Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox. Even some participants who mentioned family conflict regarding strict parental control and autonomy remarked that these conflicts were also linked to their parents' concerns about their ability to balance school work with other responsibilities and extra-curricular activities. That family conflict so often centered around concerns about education may help explain why this subgroup of Filipino American youth were doing well academically while at the same time struggling with stress, and depressive and psychosomatic symptoms. Perhaps the parental academic pressures that youth experienced supported their academic achievement, and given the robust negative consequences of family conflict for Asian American youths' adjustment (Fuligni & Masten, 2010), simultaneously resulted in psychological adjustment difficulties.

Interviews with participants also revealed that Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox actively avoided family conflict. This is comparable to previous research which indicated that Filipino-heritage youth tend to avoid family conflict by

engaging in passive behaviors, like accepting responsibility and escape-avoidance coping strategies, and adhering to traditional values such as being respectful of parental authority (Bjorck, Cuthbertson, Thurman, & Lee, 2001; Fuligni, 1998). Perhaps by silencing their opinions when they disagreed with their parents and avoiding difficult conversations, Filipino American youth internalized family conflict and this resulted in internalizing problems such as depressive symptoms, stress as well as physical manifestations of these psychological adjustment difficulties.

Qualitative investigation of Beth's and Nikki's lived experiences provided further evidence of how social relationships within proximal contexts (e.g., family and peers; J. Mistry, 2016) and experiences of discrimination shape developmental outcomes among Filipino American adolescents. More specifically, Beth and Nikki dealt with issues related to family separation, and as targets of racial microaggressions. Family separations, which are unfortunately part of the experiences of many immigrants, have negative psycho-social consequences for youth and their families (Suárez-Orozco, Bang, & Kim, 2010; Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, & Tseng, 2015). Their complicated family relationships, separated from their supportive parent while living with a parent with whom they constantly argued, may help to explain why Nikki and Beth evidenced the achievement-adjustment paradox. Their experiences of racial microaggressions may also contribute to their psychological maladjustment as previous research has demonstrated that these subtle forms of racial discrimination are harmful to the psychological well-being of Filipino Americans and other youth of color who are targeted (Nadal et al., 2015). While racial microaggressions regarding ascriptions of intelligence (i.e., MMS) likely played a role in their high levels of academic achievement, perhaps their reports of psychological maladjustment resulted from their experiences as targets of microaggressions at school that went beyond MMS,

including assumptions about nativity status (i.e., “perpetual foreigner” stereotype) and invalidation of interethnic differences (i.e., assumption that all Asians/Asian Americans are the same).

### **Conclusion**

Study 3’s mixed-methods approach to investigating the achievement-adjustment paradox deepens our understanding of the academic achievement and psychological adjustment of Filipino American adolescents, and draws attention to the fact that while some youth may be doing well in school, they may not be feeling well. Given that I found evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox among some youth demonstrates that this phenomenon should be of concern for those trying to understand the experiences of Filipino American adolescents, and underscore the potential risks of MMS which may result in the neglect of critical issues encountered by some Filipino American youth. Findings regarding the role of peer relations, family conflict and the dynamic relationships between youth and their parents provide additional evidence of the significance of family for Filipinos, and highlight that understanding Filipino American adolescents’ social relationships is essential to understanding their developmental outcomes.

## **GENERAL DISSERTATION DISCUSSION**

The purpose of my dissertation was to examine Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS, and understand its impact on their academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes. I also aimed to understand the experiences of those most vulnerable to the dangers of the MMS; that is those showing evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox. Guided by the integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asia American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016), the findings from this dissertation demonstrated that the dominant metanarrative of Asians as model minorities permeated Filipino American adolescents' lived high school experiences, and in conjunction with important aspects of youths' proximal environments, such as social relationships at home and school (i.e., family and peers) were essential to understanding their developmental outcomes (i.e., academic achievement and psychological adjustment). A discussion of study themes and practical implications follows.

### **MMS in the Lives of Filipino American Adolescents**

Consistent with the integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016) which underscores the importance of understanding diverse youths' experiences of discrimination, the current dissertation findings demonstrated that MMS are a key part of the schooling experiences for many Filipino American adolescents. Study 1 illuminated the nuances of MMS in the lives of Filipino American high school students. This is an important contribution to the literature as research on MMS often focuses on the experiences of East Asian adolescents (David & Okazaki, 2006; see Rodriguez-Operana et al., 2017 for exception). Results showed that youth of Filipino-heritage encountered MMS in their schools and oftentimes endorsed and internalized MMS. Their experiences of the

MMS varied as a function of their racial or panethnic identification with stronger internalization of MMS among participants who strongly identified as Asian American. On the other hand, those who strongly identified as Pacific Islander were more likely to perceive that they were targeted as model minorities by others. Study results also shed light on the gendered experiences of MMS. Filipina Americans were more likely to perceive that others stereotyped them as model minorities and negatively responded to such assumptions about their intelligence, whereas Filipino American were more likely to react positively to MMS. Findings underscoring differences in experiences of MMS based on gender are comparable to previous research with immigrant youth which show variations in the racialized experiences of immigrant boys and girls (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006), and corroborate results from recent research showing that Filipina girls as compared with their male peers are more likely to report experiences of MMS (Ocampo, 2016). Overall, key findings from Study 1 indicate that MMS are important aspects of Filipino American adolescents' lived experiences.

### **MMS and Social Relationships Matter for Filipino American Adolescents' Developmental Outcomes**

Study 2 expanded upon findings from Study 1 and the results highlighted the importance of understanding MMS in the lives of Filipino American adolescents. More specifically, I examined the extent to which internalization of MMS and perceptions of being targeted as a model minority were related to Filipino American youths' academic and psychological adjustment. In this study, I observed that youths' experiences of MMS along with social relationships were related to their academic achievement outcomes. While Filipino American adolescents' experiences of MMS did not predict their psychological adjustment outcomes, instead suggesting the importance of family and peer relations, qualitative results regarding their affective responses to MMS and coping with the pressures to do well in school shed light on the

potentially stressful nature of pervasive MMS. This further validates the relevance of the integrated conceptual framework (J. Mistry et al., 2016) which calls attention to the developmental implications of discrimination experiences among Asian Americans and other youth of color and the influence of social relationships within proximal developmental contexts (e.g., relationships with parents, teachers, peers).

**MMS and academic achievement.** The quantitative results provided evidence that MMS mattered for the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents more so than their psychological adjustment. That youths' experiences of MMS were quantitatively related to their academic more so than their psychological adjustment make sense given that MMS inherently involve assumptions about intellect and academic performance. Quantitative results showing multiple moderators of the relationships between MMS and academic achievement across individual, family, and school levels (i.e., ability attributions, family relationship quality and cohesion, and experiences of bullying at school) demonstrated the complexity of MMS and how experiences of the stereotype are related to Filipino American adolescents' outcomes. More specifically, positive associations between MMS and academic achievement were found among youth who: (1) strongly internalized MMS and attributed academic outcomes to ability (i.e., significant interaction: MMS internalization x ability attributions), and (2) believed that they were often stereotyped as model minorities, but reported infrequent experiences of school bullying (i.e., significant interaction: perceptions of others' MMS x bullying). The role of family relationship quality and cohesion as a moderator of the relationship between MMS experiences and academic achievement was more complicated as indicated by significant three-way interactions. While MMS experiences (i.e., internalization and perceptions of other's MMS) were positively related to academic achievement among Filipino American boys who reported

high quality family relationships and cohesion, MMS internalization was positively related academic achievement among Filipina American girls who reported *lower* levels of family relationship quality and cohesion. While it is clear that experiences of MMS have important implications for Filipino American adolescents' academic achievement outcomes, *how* the stereotypes impact their outcomes depends on the attributions that they make about academic success and failure, their gender and ratings of family relationship quality and cohesion, as well as their experiences of being bullied by peers at school.

**MMS and psychological adjustment.** Qualitative results regarding Filipino American adolescents' affective responses to MMS provided some insight and a potential explanation for why quantitative data did not indicate a clear positive or negative relationship between MMS experiences and psychological adjustment. More specifically, qualitative data from participants in the interview subsample showed a range of affective responses to encounters with MMS. While some Filipino American youth expressed strong negative affective responses to being the targets of MMS, many others' reactions to MMS were positive or neutral in valence. The range of youths' affective responses (i.e., neutral, positive, negative) to seemingly positive MMS aligns with previous studies demonstrating Asian American adolescents' positive, negative, and neutral reactions to MMS (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Thompson et al., 2016). Some perceived MMS in a positive light which in turn has the potential to support positive adjustment and emotional well-being (Thompson & Kiang, 2010) whereas others perceived MMS in negative ways which elicited feelings of disappointment and stress about the pressures to live up to others' assumptions about them based on their race (Kiang et al., 2017). Perhaps these mixed affective responses to MMS among Filipino American adolescents muddled a clear positive or negative relationship between their experiences of MMS and psychological adjustment outcomes. Still, it

is evident from participant interviews that experiences of MMS may be stressful for some Filipino American youth – particularly those who struggle academically or feel that their academic performance in school is not on par with the expectations set by pervasive MMS.

**Psychological adjustment and the importance of family and peer relationships.** Mixed-methods findings from Study’s 2 and 3 further substantiated that family and peer relationships have a strong influence on Filipino American adolescents’ psychological well-being above and beyond their experiences of MMS. Overall, high quality family relationships and cohesion were associated with adaptive psychological adjustment outcomes among participants while family conflict was associated with psychological maladjustment (e.g., more depressive and psychosomatic symptoms, perceived stress). Family conflict was also pronounced among the few Filipino American youth in the current sample who exhibited the achievement-adjustment paradox. These findings are consistent with previous research demonstrating the importance of family within Filipino culture (Espiritu, 2003; Fuligni & Masten, 2010; Nadal, 2013) with family cohesion supporting positive psychological adjustment (Kuroki, 2015) and family conflict contributing to psychological maladjustment (Fuligni & Masten, 2010; Rumbaut, 1994). Qualitative results based on semi-structured interviews with participants provided additional insight regarding quantitative findings which showed that family conflict and cohesion are key in understanding Filipino American adolescents’ psychological well-being. More specifically, family conflict and a lack of family cohesion seemed to center around pressures to perform well academically and pursue specific educational and career goals set by parents and other family members. When parents were supportive either in terms of their encouragement and through concrete forms of academic support, however, youth seemed to respond more adaptively to academic pressures.



In addition to the importance of family relationships in supporting or impeding Filipino American adolescents' psychological adjustment, mixed-methods results also elucidated the role of peer relationships. Findings from survey data suggested that reporting more frequent experiences of being bullied at school was positively linked to psychological maladjustment. Because participants rarely mentioned personal experiences being bullied at school, qualitative findings did not confirm quantitative study results connecting psychological adjustment outcomes to bullying. Instead, interviewees brought attention to the importance of peer relationships at school in supporting their overall well-being. For example, friends were an important source of concrete academic support (e.g., studying for exams, homework help). Oftentimes, participants turned to friends as a source of psychological support during stressful times of the school year (e.g., final exams or AP exams, project deadlines, following disagreements with parents).

### **Understanding the Potential Risks of MMS and Achievement-Adjustment Paradox**

A final goal of my dissertation was to underscore the potential harm that may result from the assumptions of MMS by documenting the experiences of Filipino American adolescents exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox – youth who embodied characteristics of MMS based on their high levels of academic achievement, but simultaneously reported poor psychological adjustment outcomes. Study 3 documented evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox (i.e., Paradox Profile 1 – above average academic achievement and psychological maladjustment) among 30% of Filipino American youth in the overall study sample, comparable to previous research with youth from Chinese-immigrant families of whom 25% exhibited evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox (Qin, 2008). It is worth noting, however, that the academic achievement of Filipino American adolescents in the current study sample was slightly lower based on GPA ( $M = 3.40$ ) as compared with Chinese adolescents

whose average GPA was 3.76. Lower levels of academic achievement among Filipino youth may help explain why evidence of the achievement-adjustment paradox using more stringent criteria (i.e., Paradox Profile 2 – GPA of 4.0+ and above average psychological maladjustment) was demonstrated by a smaller proportion of participants (11%).

Findings showed significant positive correlations between exhibiting the achievement-adjustment paradox and perceptions of others' MMS. In other words, high-achieving students who reported greater than average psychological maladjustment outcomes were more likely to believe that they were the targets of MMS. Results also emphasized the importance of social relationships, including how family conflict and school bullying experiences contributed to the psychological maladjustment of some high-achieving Filipino American adolescents. By underscoring the multiple and dynamic influences of discrimination (e.g., experiences of MMS) and social relationships within proximal family and school contexts on youths' academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes, these findings provided further support for employing the integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children and youth (J. Mistry et al., 2016) as a useful theoretical lens to understand Filipino American adolescents' developmental outcomes.

### **Broad Contributions to the Literature**

In addition to the specific contributions of each study described above, very broadly, my dissertation research contributes to our understanding of the heterogeneity of the AAPI population (Yoshikawa, Mistry, & Wang, 2016) by focusing on the variability of experiences of one understudied subgroup within the AAPI community: Filipino American adolescents. More specifically, by demonstrating their range of experiences with and internalization of MMS, social relationships, and academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes, my

dissertation complexifies our understanding of Filipino Americans' schooling experiences and challenges society's assumptions about Filipinos and other AAPIs as being a homogenous group of model minorities. My dissertation also demonstrated the benefits of employing a mixed-methods approach. Integration of findings from both quantitative and qualitative data in all three studies allowed for a deeper understanding of Filipina/o American adolescents' lived experiences of the MMS, the complexities of their social relationships with family and peers, and how these simultaneously influence their developmental outcomes.

### **Study Limitations and Future Directions**

As with all research, findings from this dissertation should be considered in the context of certain study limitations. First, given Filipino American adolescents' mixed reactions to MMS during interviews and that survey items did not directly address their affective responses to MMS, may help explain why there was no significant association between their psychological adjustment outcomes and their internalization or perceptions of others' MMS. Second, while quantitative analyses examined what predicts Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS (i.e., internalization and perceptions of others' MMS), and their academic achievement and psychological maladjustment outcomes, the correlational design of my dissertation study constrains any statements that can be made about causation. Along with limitations regarding causal inferences, there are a few issues regarding the dissertation study sample that limit the generalizability of the findings presented here. More specifically, all data were collected in Southern California public schools that offered Filipino as an option to fulfill the foreign language requirement and where the Asian American student population was comprised primarily of youth from Filipino families. Because students of Filipino heritage represented the largest Asian/Asian American group of students at all three school sites and their levels of

academic achievement (based on API scores) were higher than their peers of different racial-ethnic backgrounds, they may have been more susceptible to MMS compared to Filipino American high school students in different school contexts with larger, more diverse populations wherein Filipino students do not constitute a critical mass of the Asian/Asian American student population.

In addition to developing quantitative measures which directly assess youths' reactions to MMS, research moving forward should incorporate longitudinal study designs with a larger sample of Filipino American youth to address current study limitations. Survey items designed to examine the psychological consequences of MMS should draw upon qualitative findings from the present dissertation to quantify youths' affective responses to MMS and measure the extent to which they feel academically pressured or motivated by MMS. Future longitudinal research involving data collection at multiple time points is necessary to further understand the causal relationships between Filipino American adolescents' experiences of the MMS, their social relationships, and developmental outcomes. Moreover, longitudinal research with a larger sample of Filipino American youth across different regions and school contexts that vary in diversity may also shed light on important developmental implications, such as their changing perceptions of MMS (e.g., when do youth become aware of MMS?), and how those of Filipino heritage internalize and contend with MMS across the lifespan and in differing social contexts (i.e., contexts wherein Filipinos do not comprise a critical mass of the Asian American population). Longitudinal research would also allow for a better understanding of the potential impacts of youths' changing perceptions of the MMS on their developmental outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, psychological adjustment) later in life and in more diverse contexts. As some research indicates that Filipinos may be targets of racism more comparable to their Latinx

and African American peers (Nadal, 2008; Nadal et al., 2012; Ocampo, 2016), it may be worthwhile to examine Filipino American adolescents' MMS experiences in schools with more diverse Asian American student populations in order to examine differences in the racialization of Filipino Americans versus other Asian Americans (e.g., East Asians, South Asians, etc.). Longitudinal data would also allow researchers to examine the stability of the achievement-adjustment paradox, and how its occurrence might change amidst shifting social dynamics between Filipino American adolescents and their parents and/or peers throughout development.

### **Implications for Home and School Contexts**

Several implications for Filipino American adolescents' home and school contexts are evident based on key findings across Studies 1-3. First, the findings suggest that although MMS are positively associated with Filipino American youths' academic outcomes, these academic advantages may come at a cost to their psychological well-being. MMS may be especially detrimental to Filipino American youth who exhibit the achievement-adjustment paradox, those who feel pressured to meet incredible academic standards, and those who feel like they do not fit the stereotype despite recognizing that others often view them through the lens of the MMS. Consequently, parents and teachers should work in concert and make conscious efforts to disentangle and combat these MMS to avoid confining Filipino American adolescents to MMS and to avoid putting additional academic pressures on Filipino American adolescents.

Results consistently indicated that family relationships were vital to the well-being of Filipino American adolescents. Family conflict and lack of family cohesion or parental empathy towards youths' schooling experiences, in particular, were detrimental to their psychological adjustment. Thus, parents should be cognizant of how family conflict, oftentimes sparked by differences in parent-child educational and occupational expectations and academic pressures,

have significant bearing on their children's mental health outcomes. Instead, parents and families of youth should try to be understanding and supportive of their child's goals and aspirations, and encourage them to do their best by acknowledging their efforts versus constantly focusing on meeting academic performance standards.

In terms of practical implications for Filipino American adolescents' school contexts, results point to the importance of providing students with safe school environments and opportunities to cultivate supportive relationships with their peers. As evidenced through interviews with participants, close relationships with friends helped support their academic achievement, and also allowed youth an outlet for venting and coping with family conflict as well as the daily struggles of being a high school student. Bullying, on the other hand, had negative consequences for youths' academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes. Accordingly, school officials should make explicit efforts to address existing issues with bullying at school and take measures to prevent bullying in the future. This would involve engaging parents and youth in promoting bullying prevention efforts, educating teachers and students about bullying (i.e., providing youth with opportunities to understand what bullying is, and discuss its negative impacts), and establishing school rules and policies that encourage positive social interactions and create safe school environments (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2017).

### **Conclusion**

Most of the research on the schooling experiences of Asian Americans, including the role of the MMS and its implications for academic achievement and psychological adjustment outcomes, has focused on adolescents and adults of East Asian heritage (e.g., Chinese; see Kiang, Cheah, Huynh, Wang & Yoshikawa, 2015). The results presented here, however, provide

evidence that experiences of MMS are an important and normative part of Filipino American adolescents' high school experiences starting as early as 9th grade (and possibly sooner among some students given their astute awareness of MMS). Because youth experience and internalize MMS in varied ways, teachers and parents should be mindful of the potential negative implications of MMS. Furthermore, social relationships within home and school contexts matter for youths' psychological adjustment. Thus, it is important to maintain positive and supportive social relationships within these most proximal contexts. To better understand the developmental implications of MMS and social relationships within home and school contexts, future longitudinal research investigating how Filipino Americans' internalization and perceptions of others' MMS changes and develops throughout the lifespan (from early childhood to adulthood) is warranted. While results from the current study are informative and have called attention to the pervasiveness of MMS in the lives of Filipino American adolescents and the significance of relationships within home and school contexts, future research is needed to fully understand their schooling experiences.

**APPENDIX A: Parent Demographics Questionnaire**

UCLA Survey 1

**PARENT DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE**

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

Your relationship to child: \_\_\_\_\_ (i.e., Mother, Father, Legal Guardian, Other)

Child's Grade: \_\_\_\_\_ Child's Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Child's Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

How would you describe YOURSELF in terms of your ethnic group or race?

\_\_\_\_\_

How would you describe YOUR CHILD'S ethnic group or race?

\_\_\_\_\_

What is your native language? \_\_\_\_\_

What language do you speak most often at home with your child? \_\_\_\_\_

*The next set of questions are about each of the child's parents. The first set of questions are about the child's mother followed by the same questions about the child's father.*

**Please answer the following questions regarding your CHILD'S MOTHER first.**

Birthplace of child's mother: \_\_\_\_\_

Where was her mother (i.e., child's maternal grandmother) born?

\_\_\_\_\_

Where was her father (i.e., child's maternal grandfather) born?

\_\_\_\_\_

**Please indicate the *highest* level of education completed by child's mother (circle one):**

1	Elementary/Junior High School	4	Some college
2	Some High School	5	Graduated from college
3	Graduated from High School/ GED	6	Law, medical, or graduate school

What is the current occupation of child's mother?

\_\_\_\_\_

UCLA IRB Approved #15-000309



**PARENT DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE**

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

Now we'd like to know a little more about your **CHILD'S FATHER**.

Birthplace of child's father:Where was his mother (i.e., child's paternal grandmother) born?Where was his father (i.e., child's paternal grandfather) born?

Please indicate the *highest* level of education completed by child's father (circle one):

1	Elementary/Junior High School	4	Some college
2	Some High School	5	Graduated from college
3	Graduated from High School/ GED	6	Law, medical, or graduate school

What is the current occupation of child's father?Using the list below, circle the number (1-13) that best reflects your **FAMILY'S HOUSEHOLD** income for the last year.

1	Less than \$10,000	8	\$80,001 to \$100,000
2	\$10,001 to \$20,000	9	\$100,001 to \$125,000
3	\$20,001 to \$30,000	10	\$125,001 to \$150,000
4	\$30,001 to \$40,000	11	More than \$150,000
5	\$40,001 to \$50,000	12	I prefer not to answer
6	\$50,001 to \$60,000	13	I don't know
7	\$60,001 to \$80,000		

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE OUR  
PARENT DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE!**

## APPENDIX B: Survey Questionnaire

UCLA Survey 1

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

### UCLA STUDY ON THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Thank you for participating in our study! We are interested in finding out what your experiences are like at home and at school. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions that we are going to ask you. No one in your school will know how you answered these questions, and your answers will not affect you or anyone in your class.

Your opinion is important to us. The information you give us now will help students just like you in the future. Please be honest and answer as you really think and feel. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability, and feel free to ask me for clarification if you are unsure about any of the questions.

As a reminder, your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If there are any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering, skip that question and move on to the next. Thanks again for helping us with this important project!

Please circle the number that corresponds with your response for each of the questions in the survey.



Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Before we begin, please fill out the DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Grade: \_\_\_\_\_ Birthdate: \_\_\_\_\_ Gender (circle one): Male / Female

Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

If born somewhere other than the U.S., at what age did you first come to the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your native language? \_\_\_\_\_

What language do you speak most often at home? \_\_\_\_\_  
 at school? \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Do you currently have a job? YES / NO (circle one)</b>	
<b>If YES, where do you work?</b>	<b>How many hours per week?</b>
<b>Are you currently involved in extra-curricular activities? YES / NO (circle one)</b>	
<p><b>If YES, please list your extra-curricular activities in the spaces below and indicate how many hours per week you spend doing each activity.</b></p> <p><b>If NO, please skip to the next page.</b></p>	
<b>Name of Club / Activity</b> (e.g., ASB, Band, Chorus, Dance, Football, Tennis, Yearbook, etc.)	<b>Hours per week</b>

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

**MY ETHNIC GROUP**



Now, I'd like to know a little bit more about you. In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Latino, Mexican American, Black or African American, Asian American, American Indian and White. Every person belongs to an ethnic group, or more than one group.

**How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnic group or race?**

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**If you identify with more than one group, is there one that you identify with more strongly or is there one that is more important to you? Why/why not?**

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DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Continue thinking about your ethnic group or race. To what extent do you identify as....</b>					
	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Small Degree</b>	<b>Moderate Degree</b>	<b>High Degree</b>	<b>Very High Degree</b>
<b>American Indian / Alaska Native</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Asian American</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Black / African American</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Hispanic/Latino</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Pacific Islander</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>White/Caucasian</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Multiethnic/Biracial</b> Please specify:	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Other</b> Please specify:	1	2	3	4	5

**Most students in my school think I am... (circle one)**

**American Indian / Alaska Native**

**Pacific Islander**

**Asian American**

**White/Caucasian**

**Black/African-American**

**Multiethnic/Biracial**

Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Hispanic/Latino**

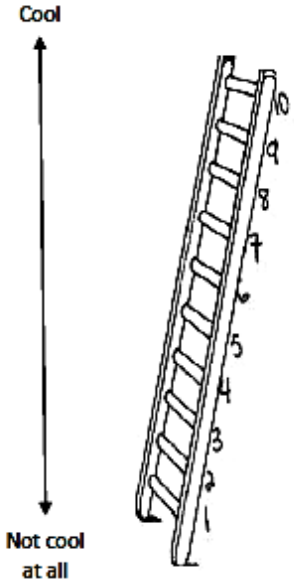
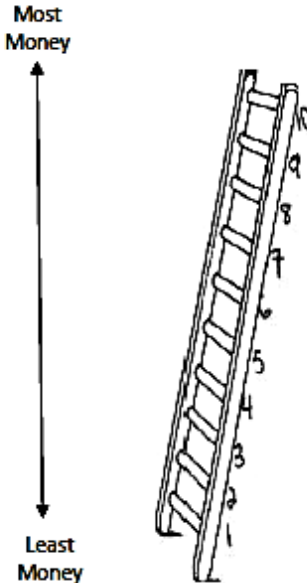
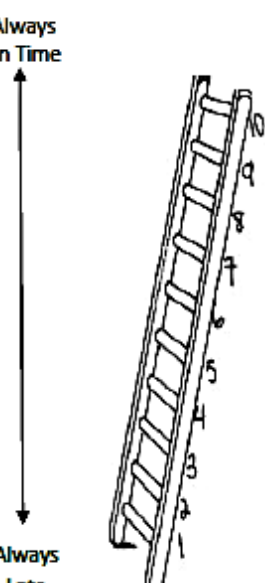
**Other**

Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

**IMAGINE A LADDER**

<p>Imagine that this ladder pictures all the kids in America who are in high school.</p> <p>At the top are the coolest kids and at the bottom are the kids who are not cool at all.</p> <p>Where do you think YOU would be on this ladder?</p> <p>Cool</p>  <p>Not cool at all</p> <p>Mark an X on the step where YOU would be on this ladder.</p>	<p>Imagine that this ladder pictures how American Society is set up.</p> <p>At the top are the people that have the most money and at the bottom are the people who have the least money.</p> <p>Where do you think YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder?</p> <p>Most Money</p>  <p>Least Money</p> <p>Mark an X on the step where YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder.</p>	<p>Imagine that this ladder pictures all the kids in America who are in high school.</p> <p>At the top are the kids who always do their homework and at the bottom are the kids who always finish their homework late.</p> <p>Where do you think YOU would be on this ladder?</p> <p>Always on Time</p>  <p>Always Late</p> <p>Mark an X on the step where YOU would be on this ladder.</p>
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Version A


DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**MY PARENTS**

Now I want you to think about your family. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements about your PARENTS.  
(Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree)

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Most of the time my mother is warm and loving toward me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I feel close to my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my father.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Most of the time my father is warm and loving toward me.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel close to my father.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My parents are enthusiastic about my education.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My parents have much patience with me when it comes to my education.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My parents are making sacrifices for my education.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My parents are proud of me when I get good grades.	1	2	3	4	5
11. My parents are never satisfied with my grades.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am afraid to come home with a poor grade.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My parents are pleased only when I get 100% on a test.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A


DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Please continue to rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements about your parents. (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree)					
	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
14. I am happy when I get good marks because I know it pleases my parents.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My parents will be very upset if I don't make the top of the class.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My parents take a big interest in my schoolwork.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My parents don't believe me when I say "I have no homework."	1	2	3	4	5
18. My parents do not feel that I am doing my best in school.	1	2	3	4	5
19. My parents put pressure on me if I don't do well in school.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My parents expect too much of me.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My parents think I can do better in school.	1	2	3	4	5
22. My parents expect me to go to a good college.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A



DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

 <b>MY FAMILY</b> Continue thinking about your family. Please rate how likely the following situations are to occur in your family. (Scale: 1 = Almost never to 5 = Almost always)					
	Almost never	Once in a while	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
1. Family members ask each other for help.	1	2	3	4	5
2. We approve of each other's friends.	1	2	3	4	5
3. We like to do things with just our immediate family.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Family members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Family members like to spend free time with each other.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Family members feel very close to each other.	1	2	3	4	5
7. When our family gets together for activities, everybody is present.	1	2	3	4	5
8. We can easily think of things to do together as a family.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Family members consult other family members on their decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Family togetherness is very important.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Please rate how likely the following situations are to occur in your family. (Scale: 1 = Almost never to 5 = Almost always)					
	Almost never	Once in a while	Some- times	Frequently	Almost Always
12. Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is.	1	2	3	4	5
13. You have done well in school, but your parents' academic expectations always exceed your performance.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Your parents always compare you to others, but you want them to accept you for being yourself.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal signs of affection.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your parents are too concerned with saving face or maintaining your family's reputation.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Your parents expect you to behave like a proper male or female, but you feel your parents are being too traditional.	1	2	3	4	5
19. You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it to be disrespectful to talk back.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**My Daily Activities**

On school days, what time do you usually wake up? \_\_\_\_\_

On school nights, what time do you usually go to sleep? \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Think about a <i>typical school night</i>, how many hours do you usually spend...</b>					
	0 hrs.	1-2 hrs.	3-4 hrs.	5-6 hrs.	7+ hrs.
Taking care of siblings or other family members?	0	1	2	3	4
Doing chores?	0	1	2	3	4
Engaging in leisure activities (e.g., watching TV, listening to music, shopping, playing sports, etc.) with your family?	0	1	2	3	4
Sharing a meal with your family?	0	1	2	3	4
Talking on the phone, texting, emailing or communicating on social media with family members?	0	1	2	3	4
Hanging out with friends?	0	1	2	3	4
Working in a job?	0	1	2	3	4
Studying or doing homework?	0	1	2	3	4
Participating in extra-curricular activities (e.g., clubs, sports, etc.)?	0	1	2	3	4
Doing things you enjoy?	0	1	2	3	4
On the internet (i.e., social media, blogging, playing games)?	0	1	2	3	4

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**ABOUT MY SUCCESS AT SCHOOL**

Now I want you to think about your experiences at school. For each of the following statements, please rate the extent to which each of the following is true about you and your experiences at school. (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. The most important ingredient in getting good grades is my academic ability.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that my good grades reflect directly on my academic ability.	1	2	3	4	5
3. When I get good grades, it is because of my academic competence.	1	2	3	4	5
4. If I were to receive low marks it would cause me to question my academic ability.	1	2	3	4	5
5. If I were to fail a course it would probably be because I lacked skill in that area.	1	2	3	4	5
6. If I were to get poor grades I would assume that I lacked ability to succeed in those courses.	1	2	3	4	5
7. In my case, the good grades I receive are always the direct result of my efforts.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Whenever I receive good grades, it is always because I have studied hard for that course.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I can overcome all obstacles in the path of academic success if I work hard enough.	1	2	3	4	5
10. When I receive a poor grade, I usually feel that the main reason is that I haven't studied enough for that course.	1	2	3	4	5
11. When I fail to do as well as expected in school, it is often due to a lack of effort on my part.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Poor grades inform me that I haven't worked hard enough.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

For each of the following statements, please rate the extent to which each of the following is true about you and your experiences at school. (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)					
	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13. Some of the times that I have gotten a good grade in a course, it was due to the teacher's easy grading scheme.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Some of my good grades may simply reflect that these were easier courses than most.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sometimes I get good grades only because the course material was easy to learn.	1	2	3	4	5
16. In my experience, once a teacher gets the idea you're a poor student, your work is much more likely to receive poor grades than if someone else handed it in.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Often my poorer grades are obtained in courses that the teacher has failed to make interesting.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Some low grades I've received seem to me to reflect the fact that some teachers are just stingy with marks.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Sometimes my success on exams depends on some luck.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I feel that some Of my good grades depend to a considerable extent on chance factors, such as having the right questions show up on an exam.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Sometimes I feel that I have to consider myself lucky for the good grades I get.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Some of my lower grades have seemed to be partially due to bad breaks.	1	2	3	4	5
23. My academic low points sometimes make me think I was just unlucky.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Some of my bad grades may have been a function of bad luck, being in the wrong course at the wrong time.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A


DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

**STUDENTS AT SCHOOL:** Please rate how often you have had the following experiences with friends and classmates at your school since the beginning of the school year. (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = All the time)

	Never	Rarely	Some- times	Often	All the time
1. I can count on my friends when things go wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My friends really try to help me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I was threatened by another student at school.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I was made fun of by another student in front of others.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Another student called me bad names.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Another student spread nasty rumors about me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I can talk about my problems with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I was hit, kicked, or pushed by another student at school.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Someone at school tried to keep me out of the group.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

 Please continue to rate how often you have had the following experiences with other students at your school since the beginning of the school year. (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = All the time)					
	Never	Rarely	Some- times	Often	All the time
11. Other students in school treat me with less respect because of my race and ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I was called names by other students because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Other students threatened or harassed me because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Other students assumed I was smart because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Other students acted as if they were afraid of me because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Other students acted as if I was dishonest because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Other students acted as if they're better than me because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Other students assumed I was physically weak because of my race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**TEACHERS AND CLASSMATES**

Think about your teachers and classmates at school. Since the beginning of the school year, rate how often the following situations have happened to you.  
(Scale: 1 = Not at all to 5 = All the time)

	Not at all	Once or twice	A few times	Almost every week	All the time
1. I can count on at least one adult in school.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Teachers do not care about my future.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I have at least one friend at school to help me with homework.	1	2	3	4	5
4. No one in school can help me.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Teachers care about me and what happens to me.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Teachers do not treat me with respect.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I can count on someone if I have problems at school.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Someone at school makes me feel successful.	1	2	3	4	5
9. School is lonely where no one cares about me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I can count on someone in school to help me with my schoolwork.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I can talk about troubles with people at school.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A



DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**HOW I FEEL**

Now, we have some questions about how you feel. These questions ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, please indicate how often during the last month did you have any of these feelings. (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = Almost every day)

	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Almost every week	Almost every day
1. I was happy.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I felt sad.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I felt that everything I did was an effort.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I felt hopeful about the future.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I felt depressed.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I was excited.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I could not "get going."	1	2	3	4	5
10. I was calm, and felt content with life.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I felt afraid.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I was determined.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My sleep was restless.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I felt well-rested and energetic.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I was upset because of something that happened unexpectedly.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Continue to think about how you feel. Please indicate how often during the last month did you have any of these feelings. (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = Almost every day)					
	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Almost every week	Almost every day
16. I felt that I was unable to control the important things in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I felt nervous and "stressed."	1	2	3	4	5
18. I felt confident about my ability to handle my personal problems.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I felt that things were going my way.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I found that I could not cope with all the things that I had to do.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I have been able to control irritations in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I felt that I was on top of things.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I was angered because of things that were outside of my control.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I felt difficulties were piling up so high that I could not overcome them.	1	2	3	4	5



Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**MY HEALTH**

Next, I want you to think about your health. Please rate how good you think your health is in general. (Scale: 1 = Poor to 5 = Excellent)

	Poor	Fair	Good	Very good	Excellent
1. In general, how is your health?	1	2	3	4	5
<b>The questions that follow ask for your opinions about your health. In the past month, how many times have you.... (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = Every day)</b>					
	Never	A few times	About Once a week	Almost every day	Every day
2. Made an effort to eat healthy	1	2	3	4	5
3. Experienced headaches?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Exercised or been physically active (e.g., dance, sports, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Been very tired for no reason?	1	2	3	4	5
6. Experienced dizziness?	1	2	3	4	5
7. Experienced stomachaches or pain?	1	2	3	4	5
8. Changed your diet to lose weight	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ate unhealthy foods such as chips and candy	1	2	3	4	5
10. Experienced upset stomach/nausea?	1	2	3	4	5
11. Experienced poor appetite?	1	2	3	4	5
12. Exercised to gain weight or build muscle?	1	2	3	4	5
13. Exercised to lose weight?	1	2	3	4	5
14. Experienced sleep problems?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Missed a day of school due to a health problem?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Participated in a physical education class.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

<b>If YOU identify as <u>ASIAN AMERICAN</u>, complete this page. If NOT, please skip to the next page.</b> <b>Please rate your agreement with statements below. (Scale: 1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree)</b>					
	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. As an Asian American, I tend to have close ties with my family.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Similar to many other Asian Americans, the “togetherness” of my family should be upheld as a model for others.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Similar to many other Asian Americans, a strong commitment to family values characterizes me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. <i>Others</i> often assume that I have a strong commitment to family values because I am Asian American.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My diligence, similar to that of many other Asian Americans, should be upheld as an example for others.	1	2	3	4	5
6. As an Asian American, I tend to be hardworking and diligent.	1	2	3	4	5
7. As an Asian American, I am very self-disciplined in my work.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Similar to many other Asian Americans I tend to be hardworking and diligent, and I should be admired for my willingness to work hard.	1	2	3	4	5
9. <i>Others</i> often assume that I am hardworking and diligent because I am Asian American.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am smart.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Similar to many other Asian Americans, I am intellectually bright.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My high intelligence, similar to that of many other Asian Americans, benefits the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5
13. As an Asian American, I increase the “brain power” of the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
14. <i>Others</i> often assume that I am intellectually bright because I am Asian American.	1	2	3	4	5

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**My Future Plans and Goals****In the following section I want you to think about your plans, goals and aspirations for the future.**

	Some High School	Finish High School	Technical/Vocational School	Some College	Finish College	Graduate or Professional School
1. How far would you like to go in school?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. How far do you think you will actually go in school?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. How far do your parents want you to go in school?	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>PLEASE COMPLETE THE SENTENCES BELOW.</b>						
4. If I could have any job when I grow up, it would be _____.						
5. When I grow up, my job most likely will be _____.						
6. If it were up to my parents, I will get a job as _____.						
<b>IF YOU PLAN TO GO TO COLLEGE, PLEASE COMPLETE THE SENTENCES BELOW. Otherwise, skip to the next page.</b>						
7. If I could go to any college or university, it would be _____.						
8. After high school, I will most likely go to _____ for college.						
9. If it were up to my parents, I would go to _____ for college.						
10. My top choice for a college major is _____.						
11. In college, I will most likely major in _____.						
12. If it were up to my parents, I would major in _____ during college.						

Version A

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_**ABOUT ME**

The last set of questions are about how you feel about yourself. Please read the following statements and indicate whether it is true for you **None of the Time**, **A little of the Time**, **Some of the Time**, **Most of the Time**, or **All of the Time**. (Scale: 1 = Never to 5 = All of the time)

	None of the Time	A little of the Time	Some of the Time	Most of the Time	All of the Time
1. I am doing pretty well.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I can think of many ways to get the things in life that are most important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am doing just as well as other kids my age.	1	2	3	4	5
4. When I have a problem, I can come up with lots of ways to solve it.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I think the things I have done in the past will help me in the future.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Even when others want to quit, I know I can find ways to solve the problem.	1	2	3	4	5

**THANK YOU** for taking our survey! Just as a reminder, because we want to give everyone the opportunity to answer the questions to the best of their ability, it is important that you **DO NOT discuss these survey questions with anyone.**

Version A

## APPENDIX C: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol 1

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

### UCLA STUDY ON THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

#### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in our study. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers to any of my questions. No one in your school will know how you answered these questions, and your answers will not affect you or anyone in your class. I'm really just interested in understanding what you think, and what your experiences have been like so far in high school. Be honest and answer the questions to the best of your ability. Feel free to ask me for clarification if you are unsure about any of the questions. As a reminder, your participation is voluntary. If there are questions that you do not feel comfortable answering, just let me know and we can skip that question and move on to the next question. Thanks again for helping us with this important project!

All questions in this section will be verbally administered in a one-on-one interview with the student.

<b>INTRO</b>	
Intro question; build rapport with the participant.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. First, I'd like you to tell me a little bit about yourself. PROBES:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How would others describe you?</li> <li>b. What kind of student are you (above avg., avg., or below avg.)? Why? What kind of student would your teachers say you are? Why?</li> <li>c. (Time Management) Describe a typical school day for you. Tell me what your day looks like from the time you wake up until the time you go to sleep.</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
<b>HOME/ FAMILY</b>	
<p>Family structure—use throughout for questions about family—sources of support or conflict</p> <p>Perceptions of their relationship with their parent(s), including sources of support and conflict at home that may contribute to the achievement-adjustment paradox.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Now, I'd like you to tell me a little bit about your life at home and your family (Review demographics questionnaire). PROBES:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How many people are in your family, and who lives at home with you?</li> <li>b. Describe your relationship with your parents.                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. In what ways are they supportive of your educational/academic success?</li> </ol> </li> <li>c. What responsibilities do you have at home?                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. How are your parents' expectations for taking on chores or other tasks at home different for you compared to others in your family?</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> </ol>
Perceptions of parent-child conflict, resolution and support	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when you had a disagreement with your parents. PROBES:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What was the disagreement about?</li> <li>b. How did it make you feel?</li> <li>c. Do you disagree with your parent(s) about this issue often?</li> <li>d. How did you resolve the problem, or how do you typically resolve disagreements with your parents?</li> <li>e. Was there someone else at home or at school that you could talk to about this disagreement? In what ways did they help you?</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
Perceptions about parents or other family members as sources of support when there are problems at school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when you had a problem at school. For example, maybe you weren't getting along with other students in your classes, or maybe you had trouble understanding some of the new material that you were learning. PROBES:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What was the problem and how did it make you feel?</li> </ol> </li> </ol>



DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>b. Did you talk to your parents, sibling(s) or someone else about this issue?</li> <li>c. In what ways did your parent, sibling(s) or someone else help you to resolve this issue?</li> <li>d. If you did not receive help, what would have been helpful to you in addressing this problem at school?</li> </ul>
Perceptions of parents' academic expectations and aspirations	<p>5. How far do your parents expect you to go in school? How does that align with your own goals and expectations? How often do you talk about this? In what ways are your parents, sibling(s) or other family members helping you to achieve your goals?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How are your parents' expectations for your future, in terms of a job and/or college, different for you compared to others in your family?</li> <li>b. What are some of the things that might get in the way of not going on to college?</li> </ul>
<b>SCHOOL/ PEERS</b>	
Perceptions of their school and students, including positive and negative experiences that may contribute to the achievement-adjustment paradox.	<p>This next set of questions are about your experiences at school and with your classmates.</p> <p>6. Start off by telling me about what your high school experience has been like so far. PROBES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What is the best thing about school?</li> <li>b. What is the most difficult thing about school?</li> <li>c. What kinds of extracurricular activities are you involved in (if any)? How much time do you spend at school or with students from your school?</li> <li>d. Describe the students at your school.</li> </ul>
Perceptions of peer relationships at school—conflict, resolution and support	<p>7. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when you did not get along with other students at school. PROBES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Why were you not getting along? How did it make you feel?</li> <li>b. Is this an issue that you encounter often at school?</li> <li>c. How did you resolve this issue? Was there someone that you could turn to for help or was there someone you could talk to about this issue? If you did not receive help, what would have been helpful to you in addressing this issue?</li> </ul>
Perceptions of bullying	<p>8. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when you or someone you know was bullied at school. PROBES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. In what ways were you (or the other student) bullied at school (e.g., threatened, excluded, called names, physically bullied)? How did it make you feel?</li> <li>b. Is this an issue that you encounter often at school?</li> <li>c. How did you resolve this issue? Was there someone that you could turn to for help or was there someone you could talk to about this issue? If you did not receive help, what would have been helpful to you in addressing this issue?</li> </ul>



DATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
PARTICIPANT ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Experiences of discrimination or racial microaggressions	9. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when you (or someone you know) were treated differently because of your (their) race/ethnicity. PROBES: a. What was that experience like? How did it make you feel? b. How often are you treated differently because of your race/ethnicity? c. How did you resolve this issue? Was there someone that you could turn to for help or was there someone you could talk to about this issue? If you did not receive help, what would have been helpful to you in addressing this issue?
Perceptions of friends in general and as sources of support	10. Tell me about your friends. PROBES: a. How much time do you spend with your friends and what kinds of things do you do together? Are you in the same classes? b. What do your parents think about your friends (e.g., good/bad influences)? c. Tell me about a time (within the last month) when your friend(s) helped you solve a problem, or helped to cheer you up when you were feeling down. d. What was the problem or why were you feeling down? e. In what ways did your friend(s) help you?
Perceptions of academic pressure	11. What does it take to do well in school? PROBES: a. How important is it to you to do well in school? Why? b. Tell me about a time when you felt pressured to do well in school. c. In what ways were you pressured to do well in school (e.g., expectation to maintain a certain GPA or high test scores; source of pressure—how much is due to yourself, parents, teachers)? d. How do you think this affected you? e. Why was it important for you to do well on that test or in school more generally? f. If you receive a poor grade in school, what happens at home? g. How do your friends handle academic pressure?
<b>INTERVIEW WRAP-UP</b>	
Perceptions of racial/ethnic identity and societal expectations for academic success	12. (If enrolled in Filipino course): My last question for you is about your Filipino class. Can you tell me how the experience has been for you so far? PROBES: a. How did you hear about this course? Why did you decide to take this class? Did you consider taking another foreign language course? b. What do you think you have taken away from being in this class? c. After taking this course, in what ways have your feelings about your racial-ethnic group (i.e., Filipinos) changed or stayed the same? d. How do you think society perceives your racial-ethnic group (in general and in terms of expectations for your education and career)?

Again, thank you for taking the time to talk to me today. Just as a reminder, because we want to give everyone the opportunity to answer the questions to the best of their ability, it is important that you do not discuss this interview with anyone. Before you go back to your class, do you have any questions for me?

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