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Santa Barbara

Moderated Mediation Analysis of Racial Discrimination on the School Success of Asian

American High School Students

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology

by

Sruthi Swami

Committee in charge:

Professor Matthew Quirk, Chair

Dr. Jill Sharkey, Associate Dean for Research and Outreach

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September 2020

The dissertation of Sruthi Swami is approved.

Jill Sharkey

Chunyan Yang

Matthew Quirk, Committee Chair

September 2020

Moderated Mediation Analysis of Racial Discrimination on the School Success of Asian

American High School Students

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Education

University of California, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA
- Doctoral Candidate in the Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology Ph.D. Program, School Psychology emphasis
- Dissertation: Moderated Mediation Analysis of the Effects of Discrimination on the School Success of Asian American High School Students
- Thesis: Latent Profile Analysis of High School Students' Motivation to Read and the Differing Effects of Gender
- Master of Education received in 2016
- Advisor: Dr. Matt Quirk, Ph.D.

Barnard College of Columbia University, New York, NY
- B.A. in Psychology and French and Francophone Studies (with distinctions) May 2012
- GPA: 3.65/4.00, Dean's List 2008 – 2012
- Advisors: Dr. Anne Senghas, Ph.D.; Dr. Kaiama Glover, Ph.D.

Université Stendhal – Grenoble 3, Grenoble, France
- Study Abroad Program through Boston University Fall 2010; GPA 4.00/4.00

Awards and Honors

July 2018	American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program, Psychology Summer Institute Fellow
Spring 2018	Asian American Psychological Association Dissertation Award
Winter 2018	UCSB Graduate Division Dissertation Fellowship
April 2017 Student	Center for School-Based Youth Development Award For
	Leadership in School-Based Research
March 2015	Hosford Hero
2012 – 2013	Americorps Education Award

Publications

Swami. S. & Rios, R. (in preparation). High school teachers, staff, parents, and students' perceptions of causes of the literacy achievement gap.

Swami, S., Janes, L. J., Der Sarkissian, A., Edyburn, K. L., Pacheco, D., Jaimes, C., Sharkey, J. D., & Quirk, M. (in preparation). Racial and ethnic disparities in mental health treatment access and utilization for communities of color.

Swami, S., Quirk, M., & Sharkey, J. D. (in preparation). Moderated mediation analysis of the effects of kindergarten readiness on high school achievement and discipline violations.

Quirk, M., **Swami, S.,** Loera, G., & Garcia, S. (2018). Latinx adolescent's reading motivation profiles and associations with higher education aspirations. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Arya, D. J., **Swami, S.,** & Meier, V. (2018). Reading Comprehension Assessments. In B. B. Frey (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Measurement, and Evaluation* (pp. 1385 – 1387). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781506326139.n580

Edyburn, K. L, Quirk, M., Felix, E., **Swami, S.**, Goldstein, A., Terzieva, A., & Scheller, J. (2017). Literacy screening among Latino/a dual language learner kindergarteners: Predicting grade 1 reading achievement. *Literacy Research and Instruction*. doi: 10.1080/19388071.2017.1305470.

Quirk, M., Grimm, R., Furlong, M. J., Nylund-Gibson, K., & **Swami, S.** (2015). The association of Latino children's kindergarten school readiness profiles with grade 2-5 literacy achievement trajectories. *Journal of Educational Psychology.* Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/edu0000087

Technical Reports

Swami, S., Quirk, M. P., & Sharkey, J. D. (2018). *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the Schools: Santa Maria Joint Union High School District.* A report funded by the Racial and Ethnic Disparities grant from the California Board of State and Community Corrections to Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Swami, S., Sharkey, J. D., & Quirk, M. (2018). Evaluation of SB678 in Santa Barbara County. Sixth Annual Report. A report funded by Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Swami, S., Sharkey, J. D., Reed, L., Eusterbrock, M., Wroblewski, A., & Quirk, M. (2017). Evaluation of SB678 in Santa Barbara County. Fifth Annual Report. A report funded by Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Sharkey, J. D., **Swami, S.**, Janes, L., Der Sarkissian, A., Edyburn, K., Pacheco, D., Rivera, N., Stelling, A., Valencia, C., Leon, B., Jaimes, C., Maron, P., Silverman, J., Eusterbrock, M., & Quirk, M. P. (2017). *R.E.D. Mental Health Report: Parent, Youth, and Parent Perspectives.* A report funded by the Racial and Ethnic Disparities grant from the California Board of State and Community Corrections to Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Janes, L., Hunnicutt, K. L., Damiani, T., Silverman, J., Doty, S., **Swami, S.**, Guzman, S., Jimenez, S., Sharkey, J. D., (2017). *Santa Barbara County Substance Abuse Treatment Court Process Evaluation: Santa Barbara Substance Abuse Treatment Court*. A report funded by the Public Safety Realignment Act, Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Felix, E.D., Terzieva, A., **Swami, S.**, & Quirk, M. (2017). First 5 Santa Barbara County Evaluation Report 2015-2016. Report submitted to First 5 Santa Barbara County.

Dougherty, D., Sharkey, J., **Swami, S.**, Quirk, M., & Eusterbrock, M. (2016). *Racial and ethnic disparities in Lompoc Unified School District*. A report funded by the Racial and Ethnic Disparities grant from the California Board of State and Community Corrections to Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Swami, S., Quirk, M. P., & Sharkey, J. D. (2016). *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the Schools: Santa Maria Joint Union High School District.* A report funded by the Racial and Ethnic Disparities grant from the California Board of State and Community Corrections to Santa Barbara County Probation, Santa Barbara, CA.

Conference Presentations

Swami, S. & Quirk, M. (2019, February). *Moderated mediation analysis of Asian American high school students' experiences of discrimination.* Poster Presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Atlanta, GA.

Sharma, H. & **Swami, S.** (2018, September). *Lights, camera, action: Bollywood films and their portrayal of mental health, illness, and treatment.* Interaction Session Presented at the Division of South Asian Americans Conference, New York, NY.

Swami, S. & Quirk, M. (2018, August). *Latent profile analysis of high school students' motivation to read.* Poster Presented at the American Psychological Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA.

Swami, S., Goldstein, A., Edyburn, K. L., & Moffa, K. (2018, February). *An exploration of important issues in supervision.* Practitioner Conversation Presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Chicago, IL.

Sharkey, J. D. & **Swami, S.** Contributors: Janes, L. J. (2018, February). *Racial and ethnic disparities.* Project Presented in Symposium Titled *School psychology and juvenile justice: Assessment tools, interventions, and disparities* at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Chicago, IL.

Edyburn, K. L., **Swami, S.**, Scheller, J., Feinberg, D., Goldstein, A., & Quirk, M. (2018, February). *Assessing language instruction practices that support preschool dual*

language learners. Poster Presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Chicago, IL.

Swami, S., Quirk, M., & Sharkey, J. D. (2018, February). *Moderated mediation analysis of kindergarten readiness and Latinx high school discipline infractions.* Poster Presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, Chicago, IL.

Swami, S. (2017, October). *Barriers to help seeking behaviors in South Asian female immigrant victims of domestic violence and intimate partner violence, and clinical implications.* Poster Presented at the Asian American Psychological Association 2017 Convention, Las Vegas, NV.

Swami, S., Scheller, J. Contributors: Edyburn, K. L., Quirk, M., Felix, E., Goldstein, A., & Terzieva, A. (2016, October). *Early academic achievement and language and literacy development.* Poster presented at the California Association of School Psychologists, Newport Beach, CA.

Dougherty, D., **Swami, S.**, Sharkey, J., & Hunnicutt, K. L. (2016, August). *Disproportionality for English language learners in schools.* Poster presented at the American Psychological Association Annual Convention. Denver, CO.

Swami, S., Edyburn, K. L., Goldstein, A., McFarland, A., Terzieva, A., Felix, E., & Quirk, M. (2016, February). *School readiness and early academic experiences of Latino/a DLLs.* Poster presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, New Orleans, LA.

Edyburn, K. L., **Swami, S.**, Goldstein, A., & Quirk, M. (2016, February). *Effective English language development intervention to support kindergarten DLLs.* Poster presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, New Orleans, LA.

Stein, R., **Swami, S.**, Igaz, T., & Moore, S. (2016, February). *Check, connect, and respect: Reducing dropout and increasing school engagement.* Paper Presented at the Annual Convention of the National Association of School Psychologists, New Orleans, LA.

Invited Presentations

Swami, S., Romero-Morales, A. K., & Liu, S. R. (2018, October). Helping skills. Invited Speaker at the Children's Hospital of Orange County Project HEALTH Training, Orange, CA.

Swami, S. (2018, October). School Mental Health Services. Invited Speaker at the Children's Hospital of Orange County Project HEALTH Training, Orange, CA.

Swami, S. (2018, October). Research Journey. Invited speaker at the University of California, Santa Barbara Undergraduate Research Methods Course, Santa Barbara, CA.

Swami. S. (2016, October). Literacy screening among Latino/a dual language learner kindergarteners: Predicting grade 1 reading achievement. Invited speaker at the University of California, Santa Barbara Undergraduate Research Methods course. Santa Barbara, CA.

Clinical/Practical Experience

01/19 – 03/19   *Hosford Clinic*, UCSB, *Basic Practicum Supervisor*
- Provided three hours of group supervision weekly with a co-supervisor to three first year graduate student clinicians as well as one-on-one supervision as needed
- Evaluated clinical and professional skills of first year clients and provided them feedback
- Attended a weekly supervision of supervision group with other supervisors to improve supervisory skills and foster an understanding of the development of a clinician

08/17 – present   *Fieldwork Practicum*, Santa Barbara High School, *UCSB Advanced School Psychology Practicum Student*
- Assess and evaluate student eligibility in special education using various cognitive and socioemotional assessments as well as interviews and collaboration with parents and teachers
- Provide individual counseling for 9th – 12th graders based on counseling goals written in their IEPs related to mental health concerns and pro-social behaviors towards peers and teachers
- Supervisor: Dr. Kristin Katz, Ph.D., LEP, NCSP; Dr. Erin Dowdy, Ph.D., NCSP

09/16 – 06/18   *Opening New Doors to Accelerating Success (ONDAS) Student Center*, UCSB, *Graduate Student Program Assistant*
- Create programming centered around college preparedness for students who identify as underrepresented minorities and are first-generation college students
- Collaborate with members of the Educational Opportunity Program and Members of Residential Life and Housing to connect faculty members and undergraduate students
- Lead trainings and supervise undergraduate peer mentors

08/16 – 06/17   *Fieldwork Practicum*, Special Education Local Plan Area (SELPA) Santa Barbara County, Santa Barbara Public Schools, *UCSB Advanced School Psychology Practicum Student*
- Provided socioemotional and social skills trainings to four groups of students in various grades (from K – 12) on the Autism spectrum weekly for 30 – 45 minutes

- Conduced individual counseling sessions weekly for three students on the Autism spectrum with issues related to anxiety, depression, and OCD using cognitive behavioral therapy
- Assessed and evaluated student eligibility in special education using various cognitive and socioemotional assessments as well as interviews and collaboration with parents and teachers
- Supervisors: Miriam Burlakovsky, Ed.S., NCSP, BCBA; Melissa Quigley, M.Ed.; Melinda Jenkins, M.Ed.; Dr. Erin Dowdy, Ph.D., NCSP

09/15 – 06/16   *Fieldwork Practicum*, La Colina Junior High School, ***UCSB School Psychology Practicum Student***
- Assessed students for Special Education eligibility using cognitive and academic assessments
- Provided individual and group counseling for various 7th and 8th grade students based on counseling goals written in their Individualized Education Plans (IEPs)
- Implemented behavioral interventions based on data collection and collaboration with teachers
- Supervisors: Rebecca Norton, M.Ed., Dr. Jill Sharkey, Ph.D., NCSP

09/15 – 06/16   ***The McEnroe Reading & Language Arts Clinic***, *UCSB, Assessment Specialist*
- Assessed elementary-aged students for reading-related strengths and weaknesses using literacy assessments including the CTOPP-2, PPVT-4, GORT-5, and the TOWRE-2
- Presented results of assessments to a team consisting of the Reading Clinic coordinator and the parents, and brainstorm possible interventions and strategies to help the student
- Supervisor: Dr. Diana Arya, Ph.D.

04/15 – 06/15   *Fieldwork*, Santa Barbara Junior High School, ***Student Assistant***
- Shadowed second year School Psychology graduate student in order to gain assessment, intervention, and counseling experience in schools
- Assisted in leading Social Skills Group for three students on the Autism Spectrum, and administered and scored various cognitive assessments such as the BASC and the PPVT
- Supervisor: Kymberly Ozbirn, M.Ed.

Research Experience

8/18 – present   ***Department of Education,*** UCSB, ***Graduate Student Researcher***
- Analyze qualitative data on high school teacher perceptions of the student achievement gap from student, parent, teacher, and administrator perspectives using thematic analysis
- Preparing a manuscript for publication on the results

- Supervisor: Dr. Rebecca Rios, Ph.D.

5/18 – present   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology,*** UCSB
       Dissertation Research: Moderated Mediation Analysis of the Effects
       of Discrimination on the School Success of Asian American High
       School Students
- Conducted outreach in high schools and Asian youth organizations in Northern and Southern California to collect data on Asian American high school students' experiences of discrimination in their schools
- Analyzed data using structural equation modeling (SEM) and will defend in the Spring of 2019

10/17 – present   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology,*** UCSB*,*
       Graduate Student Researcher
- Conduct data analysis on SB678, examining rates of recidivism in adults with felonies and misdemeanors after they have been released and placed on probation
- Work with UCSB team and Probation to revamp and revise previous reports and develop recommendations for implementing interventions to increase success and decrease recidivism
- Supervisor: Dr. Jill Sharkey, Ph.D., NCSP

10/15 – 09/17   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology,*** UCSB*,*
       Graduate Student Researcher
- Conducted research, and data analysis related to disproportionality in the juvenile justice system, school discipline policies, and county mental health systems through the Racial and Ethnic Disproportionality (RED) Grant
- Collaborated with local school districts, Department of Behavioral Wellness to collect and analyze data to create an evaluation report listing all the findings of the project
- Supervisors: Dr. Jill Sharkey, Ph.D., NCSP, Dr. Matthew Quirk, Ph.D.

10/16 – 12/16   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology,*** UCSB,
       Graduate Student Researcher
- Evaluate program outcomes for First Five Santa Barbara County from Fiscal Year 2015 - 2016
- Create an evaluation report detailing uses of funding, program successes, program failures, and areas for improvement, and compare outcomes to those of the previous fiscal year
- Supervisors Dr. Erika Felix, Ph.D., Antoniya Terzieva, Research Assistant

1/16 – 11/16   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology***, UCSB
       Thesis: Latent Profile Analysis of High School Students' Motivation
       to Read and the Differing Effects of Gender
- Analyzed a dataset containing information on high school students' motivation to read using a Latent Profile Analysis for my second-year project

- Presented the results of the study at the department's research festival and at APA in 2018
- Supervisor: Dr. Matthew Quirk, Ph.D.

10/14 – 6/16   **School Psychology Research Practicum**, UCSB, *Student Researcher*
- Conducted research related to kindergarten and preschool readiness for ELL students
- Analyzed data using various statistical procedures including Structural Equation Modeling
- Implemented various types of research and methodological design procedures
- Supervisor: Dr. Matthew Quirk, Ph.D. ⌷SEP⌷

10/14 – 06/15   *The McEnroe Reading & Language Arts Clinic*, UCSB, *Student Researcher*
- Collected and organized student data files in SPSS for further analysis
- Created teacher observation/tracker form for individual reading clinic sessions in order to quantify clinic procedures for efficiency of identification of interventions for future students
- Supervised three undergraduate students for data collection
- Supervisor: Dr. Matthew Quirk, Ph.D.

05/11 – 05/12   *Barnard College, Psychology Department,* New York, NY, *Student Researcher*
- Developed a research design and implemented study related to procedural learning, presenting the research at the Metcalfe Metacognition Lab at Columbia University
- Supervisor: Dr. Lisa Son, Ph.D.

Teaching Experience

10/18 – 12/18   *Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology, UCSB, Teaching Assistant*
- Served as Teaching Assistant for 6 graduate students enrolled in CNCSP 210: Neuroanatomy and Psychopharmacology
- Created materials and led a weekly one-hour discussion section, supplemented instructor's lecture materials, graded assignments, and provided meaningful feedback

6/18 – 7/18   *Summer Discovery Program*, UCSB Professional and Continuing Education, *Instructor*
- Served as an Instructor for a high school Introduction to Psychology course
- Created lectures on various topics in psychology (learning theories, neuroscience, social psychology), assigned homework and projects to students, and graded assignments

4/18 – 6/18   ***Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology,*** *UCSB,* ***Teaching Assistant***

- Served as Teaching Assistant for two sections of 25 students enrolled in CNCSP 101: Introduction to Helping Skills and instructed students in the basics of helping skills
- Graded assignments and provided meaningful feedback in an appropriate manner

8/15 – 9/15   ***Department of Clinical Counseling, and School Psychology,*** *UCSB,*
& 8/16 – 9/16   ***Teaching Assistant***

- Served as Teaching Assistant for 18 students enrolled in CNCSP 115: College Student Helping and Peer Leadership and taught section twice a week to improve students' helping skills
- Graded assignments for students in a timely manner, providing appropriate feedback

3/15 – 6/15   ***Department of Clinical, Counseling, and School Psychology****, UCSB,* ***Reader***

- Graded all assignments in for 110 students in Introduction to Helping Skills course
- Provided constant feedback on student progress on assignments to the professors of the course

6/13 – 7/14   ***Great Oaks Charter School****, Newark, NJ,* ***Corps Staff Member***

- Instructed three sixth graders daily in Math and ELA using individualized curriculum
- Supervised and created 6th grade math materials for daily academic and Saturday Academy tutorials using national curriculum standards and data gathered from standardized testing results
- Coached and mentored current tutors regarding instructional and behavioral management of students, and provided biweekly evaluations and strategies for instruction

8/12 – 6/13   ***Great Oaks Urban Education Fellowship****, Newark, NJ,* ***Urban Education Fellow***

- Instructed three sixth graders and three seventh graders in Math and ELA
- Served as Teacher's Assistant for 6th Grade Math, providing individual behavioral and instructional assistance, and graded and analyzed homework data to create math materials

9/11 – 12/11   ***Barnard College Psychology Department****, New York, NY,* ***Statistics TA***

- Graded problem sets for college students at the Introductory Statistics level
- Conducted office hours to provide individual assistance to students on homework

2/11 – 5/11   ***Barnard College Education Program,*** New York, NY, ***Student Intern***

- Provided instruction to elementary school students and supervised during class work sessions
- Taught the morning lesson, graded homework, and created the class bulletin
- Tested students for curriculum proficiency, and assisted with administrative duties

Professional Organization Memberships

American Psychological Association, Division 1 Present	January 2017 –
American Psychological Association, Division 35 Present	January 2017 –
American Psychological Association of Graduate Students Present	November 2016 –
Asian American Psychological Association Present	April 2016 –
Division of South Asian Americans (Within AAPA) Present	April 2016 –
American Psychological Association, Division 16 Present	April 2015 –
National Association of School Psychologists Present	April 2015 –

Service/Leadership Positions

Division of South Asian Americans (DoSAA) present	Student Representative	2018 –
Asian American Psychological Association present	Newsletter Columnist	2018 –
Psych and Brain Sciences Undergraduate present Mentoring Program	Graduate Student Mentor	2018 –
UCSB Graduate Division 2018	Graduate Student Mentor	2017 -
Division of South Asian Americans	Convention Co-Chair	Sept. 2018
UCSB Graduate Division 2018	Dept. Student Rep.	2017 –
Central Coast Association of School Psychologists 2018	Student Representative	2017 -
National Association of School Psychologists 2018	Student Representative	2016 -
California Association of School Psychologists 2017	Student Representative	2015 -

ABSTRACT

Moderated Mediation Analysis of Discrimination on the School Success of Asian American

High School Students

by

Sruthi Swami

Since the 2016 presidential election, there has been a growing amount of racial

discrimination across the country and especially within schools. Students from various racial

and ethnic backgrounds have been disproportionately negatively affected by these acts of

violence and hatred. Asian American high school students occupy a particular role in this

struggle as, while they experience discrimination and are faced with growing mental health

challenges as they enter college, their struggles are often discounted and marginalized due to

erroneous stereotypes and biases, such as the "Model Minority" Myth that purports that they

achieve well and experience low social problems. In an effort to highlight Asian American

students' experiences with discrimination from a cultural strengths-based perspective, the

current study aimed to understand the associations between perceived discrimination from

teachers and peers, self-esteem, motivation for school, and achievement, using school social

support from peers and teacher and students' ethnic identity development as potential buffers

or protective factors. A moderated mediation analysis was conducted to understand these

associations. Results showed that self-esteem fully mediated the association between

perceived discrimination from peers and academic motivation. There was a negative association between perceived peer discrimination and self-esteem, a positive association between self-esteem and motivation, and a positive association between motivation and achievement. Self-esteem did not mediate the association between perceived discrimination from teachers and motivation and was also not significantly associated with perceived teacher discrimination. Perceived discrimination from teachers was directly and negatively associated with motivation, self-esteem was positively associated with motivation, and motivation was positively associated with achievement. Neither school social support nor ethnic identity development were significant moderators. The findings provide support for the important influence of peers and teachers on the self-esteem and academic outcomes of Asian American youth and also have practical implications for interventions related to reducing racism and discrimination in school systems. Implications for understanding the role of culture as a strength and supporting schools in building positive relationships among all members of the community are also discussed.

Keywords: Asian American, high school students, school climate, racism, discrimination, self-esteem, mental health, academic motivation, achievement, ethnic identity, school social support

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Since the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election, students from racial and ethnic minority (REM) backgrounds have been facing increased levels of discrimination in schools (North, 2017; Potok, 2017). Although statistics documented the largest spike in discrimination and hate crimes in the first three months following the election (North, 2017; Potok, 2017), schools have continued to report instances of discrimination and nationally, the country has also seen a rise in the reporting of discrimination and hate crimes (Farivar, 2017). This is a harmful trend to note as research shows a direct link between higher perceived discrimination and lower social-emotional wellbeing and academic achievement (Greene et al., 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013; Wong et al., 2003; Yoo & Castro, 2011). Even more concerning is that although students may indicate that they are experiencing discrimination, teachers and administrators may not be aware of the harmful nature of their behaviors due to the systemic and institutional nature of racism and discrimination (Morelli & Spencer, 2000). Additionally, students may not even be aware that what they are experiencing on an individual level is discriminatory (from teachers, administrators, and peers), which leads to a continual cycle of discrimination (Palmer & Jang, 2005). Further research has linked higher perceived discrimination to a lack of motivation and engagement in school (Byrd & Andrews, 2016; Chavous et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Wong et al., 2003; Yoo & Castro, 2011). This is troublesome as high school-aged youth who show lower motivation and interest in school show lowered academic achievement, social-emotional wellbeing, and are at a high risk for school dropout, low college attendance and graduation, and poorer future employment (Eccles, 1983; Legault et al., 2006; Guthrie et al., 2009; Mazzoni et al., 1999). Therefore, it is vital to understand not

only how discrimination affects youth, but also what protective factors may help buffer against these negative effects.

At the time of the 2017 census, there were 22.2 million Asian/Asian Americans (6% of the US population) in the USA (Cohn, 2015; United States Census Bureau, 2019). These data also show that Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing racial and ethnic minority (REM) groups in the United States, with estimates showing Asians and Asian Americans constituting approximately 38% of all US immigrants and 14% of the US population by 2065 (Cohn, 2015). In addition, Asians are a part of a more recent wave of immigration to the USA following the relaxation of immigration laws, particularly in 1965 (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). This immigration history influences their experiences in different ways as compared to those of Black/African Americans, for example, many of whose ancestors came to the USA by way of forced immigration into slavery (Ogbu, 1978). This distinction is important to make when attempting to understand how discriminatory experiences might affect Asian Americans differently than other REM groups in the United States.

Asian American youth are generally not well studied across many fields. The "Model Minority" stereotype or myth, which states that Asian Americans experience high academic and professional success and low amounts of social problems (Abraham, 2002; Yoo & Castro, 2011), may provide one explanation for the lack of focus on this group. Schools systems and personnel who knowingly or unknowingly endorse this stereotype may overlook the academic and social-emotional problems of Asian Americans. Qualitative interviews and anecdotal feedback from Asian American students have also shown that some students experience pressure from their teachers and peers based on this stereotype, and as a result, do

not disclose that they may be experiencing problems (Chae, 2004; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

Unfortunately, a growing body of research shows that Asian American students enter college with an increasing amount of mental health and social-emotional issues that affect their educational success. Furthermore, when comparing Asian American, Black/African American, and Latinx youth, Asian American youth often report the lowest levels of self-esteem (Crocker et al., 1994; Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Greene & Way, 2005; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Way & Chen, 2000). While some research has examined the influence of parenting styles on the motivation, academic achievement, and social-emotional wellbeing of Asian American youth (Cheung & Pomerantz, 2012; Fan et al., 2012; Jiang et al., 2011), fewer studies have examined school-specific factors (e.g. teacher and peer influences) that might impact these outcomes, especially in Asian American high school-aged youth (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013), and few studies have also examined these outcomes as they relate to race-related discrimination. Increased research is needed, in particular, on mediational variables, such as motivation, and on the protective factors that buffer against the negative effects of discrimination.

Understanding the ways in which the deleterious effects of discrimination affect individuals from diverse backgrounds will help facilitate supportive, culturally responsive, and safe schools. To that end, the current study attempts to address and understand the nature of the discrimination perceived by Asian American youth and how it affects their self-esteem and achievement. Using a moderated-mediational analytic framework, the researchers will examine the roles of academic motivation, school social support, and ethnic identity development to understand how Asian American students' experiences can be used as

strengths to help them persevere in the face of negative race-related experiences. The following sections will also delineate constructs and theories that are central to a discussion around discrimination and highlight the importance of considering the diverse experiences of Asian Americans.

Discrimination and Racism Defined

Scholars define racism in many different ways depending on the context and actions of the individual perpetrating racism as well as based on how an individual perceives racism. First, there is "traditional racism," which describes more overt, negative attitudes or actions toward a particular ethnic group. An example would be saying that White people are smarter than Black people (McClelland & Auster, 1990; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004, p. 423). In contrast, "symbolic racism" is a more covert form of racism (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Sears and Henry (2003) describe "symbolic racism" as a political belief system in which someone might no longer appear outwardly discriminatory against an individual who belongs to a different group from them. However, the person may have internalized prejudices and beliefs about the group the other individual belongs to that manifest in various ways, such as saying that they are not working hard enough or that they are receiving too many privileges. These two forms of racism are particularly important in understanding how covert and overt discrimination exist and continue to persist. Researchers also tend to talk broadly about discrimination, defining it as beliefs and acts that that debase or belittle others based on a certain characteristic, such as race (Fisher et al., 2000; LaVeist, 2005b; Respress et al., 2013). The current study will use this definition of discrimination to understand how individuals are impacted based on their race and ethnicity.

There are also various levels of discrimination such as the systemic or institutional level and the individual level. The individual level is a person-to-person, overt or traditional type of racism and discrimination. For example, White supremacists argue for hate crimes against REM individuals, which is a direct act of discrimination and hatred. Institutional or systemic level discrimination, on the other hand, is more pervasive. While it can occur in the presence of overt individual discrimination, it oftentimes occurs more symbolically and covertly, when individuals are not aware of the discriminatory nature of their actions (Feagin, 1977; Feagin & Feagin, 1996; Hamilton & Carmichael, 1967; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). For example, schools assess English Language Learners (ELLs) for language proficiency early on and track them into programs or settings that do not provide them with sufficient language instruction to catch up to their English Only peers. While teachers may not perceive that they are being explicitly discriminatory, the entire process may discriminate against ELL students who may be set up to continually perform worse than their peers. Additionally, if schools with fewer resources contain larger populations of ELLs, these students are doubly faced with institutional barriers that prevent them from succeeding. As the definition for institutional discrimination states, an individual does not have to be aware of being discriminatory to contribute to discrimination (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

Critical Race Theory (CRT; Bell, 1995; Matsuda et al., 1993) addresses institutional and symbolic racism, purporting that a lack of awareness of the discriminatory nature of one's actions is what ultimately contributes to and perpetuates racism and discrimination. Additionally, the concept of the "ordinariness" of discriminatory experiences may allow individuals to ignore "everyday racism" and continue to live in systems with people who marginalize them (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010, p. 530). It also states that "racism can[not]

be eradicated by eliminating ignorance" (Taylor & Fernandez-Bergersen, 2015, p. 8), arguing that educating individuals on racism is not enough to solve the systematic issues that people of color face. Furthermore, scholars have used CRT to challenge the idea that schools are not responsible for racism that their students experience. The theory directly places more responsibility on schools for the oppression of their students from marginalized backgrounds (Taylor & Fernandez-Bergersen, 2015). This should not be surprising as schools have a long history of perpetuating racism. This includes historical examples such as segregation and "separate but equal" ideologies that were eventually struck down (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954), and present day, more covert examples, including the disproportionate assignment of exclusionary discipline measures in schools to Black and Latinx students as compared to White students (Skiba et al., 2011; Smolkowski et al., 2016; Wallace et al., 2008). The ideas individuals form about race limit and restrict REM students' academic and social-emotional experiences. These ideas also color how others perceive and ultimately judge REM students' abilities (Omi & Winant, 1994; Palmer & Jang, 2005; Tyack, 1993). Judging students based on stereotypes and ideas about their culture and race is a growing issue in schools, especially since schools may not consider cultural and identity development when structuring curriculum (Morelli & Spencer, 2000). A lack of cultural considerations further perpetuates racism and discrimination and continues to disempower REM students in relation to their White peers and teachers. The resulting power imbalance along with societal discrimination norms dictate that individuals in REM groups are inferior to White individuals. This eventually acts as a negative mediating factor in the educational success of these students (Cummins, 1984; Ogbu, 1978).

Critical Race Theory also argues that discussions around systemic racism must be grounded in history as racism is often dependent on time and context (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). Therefore, an examination of the history of Asians and Asian Americans in the United States is necessary to understand their different racism-related experiences. Historically, research has focused predominantly on the relationship between White and Black individuals since the dominant narrative in the United States has historically been around those two groups. Additionally, prior to the 1960s, the majority of immigrants arriving in America were primarily of European origin (Johnson et al., 1997). However, individuals from other non-European countries immigrated to the U.S. in small quantities prior to the 1960s, and their stories are indicative of a long history of racism and exclusion that continues to impact their experiences today. Additionally, the influx of immigrants from Latin America and Asia since the 1960s, referred to as the "Browning of America" (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004, p. 422), forces scholars to consider the experiences of diverse groups of immigrants outside of the traditional White and Black narrative (Portes & Rambaut, 1996; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) to fully understand the historical and current racial climate of the U.S.

A Brief History of Asians and Asian Americans in America

Individuals from Asia (e.g., China, Japan, India, and Philippines) started arriving to the United States in very small groups as early as the 1600s. However, a larger influx of Chinese immigrants arrived in America to work as laborers on the railroads in the 1800's. At the same time, there were also a number of Japanese student laborers as well as Asian Indian immigrants arriving to work on farms. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed with the intention of limiting immigration from China for 10 years. Historical accounts have illustrated that the overarching reason was a pervasive fear that White Americans had of

Chinese immigrants taking their jobs and working for lower wages. Subsequently, this exclusion was extended until 1902 when immigration from China was made illegal. It should be noted that the Chinese Exclusion Act was also the first U.S. law to define immigration in any sense as a "criminal offense" (History.com Staff, 2018). In 1917, the U.S. implemented the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, which prohibited immigration to the U.S. from any country that was on or adjacent to Asia with the exception of Japan, which was already subject to a prior immigration law, and the Philippines, which was, at the time, a U.S. colony. This act subjected immigrants to literacy tests, increased taxes, and also gave immigration officials the right to exercise their own judgment around permitting or barring entry to Asian immigrants. This finally resulted in the 1924 Immigration Act, which denied entry to almost all Asians and prohibited naturalization (American citizenship) for many Asian groups who had already been in the U.S. These policies were specifically created to exclude Asian groups, with the intention maintaining a homogenous, White, European country (Office of the Historian, 2019a). These policies also created an immeasurable amount of xenophobia that manifested especially during World War II, as shown by the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans (Executive Order 9066, 1942). Eventually, politicians who were primarily concerned about engendering positive opinions of the U.S. within other countries passed the McCarran-Walter Act (1952), also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act that removed total bans on Chinese immigrants, but still upheld quotas for all other Asian groups. While being a positive step towards inclusion, this immigration act continued to discriminate against Asian individuals by limiting their immigration based on race (Office of the Historian, 2019b).

In 1965, the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 was passed, which relaxed the immigrant quota policies that prevented primarily non-Europeans from entering the U.S. There was an influx of immigrants from Latin American and Asian countries. These "new" immigrants possessed close ties to the cultures and traditions of their native countries and were less prone to assimilating into mainstream American culture (Johnson, Oliver, & Roseman, 1989). Native-born White Americans' perceptions of this lack of willingness to assimilate, along with a pervasive fear of immigrants taking their jobs, led to high levels of anti-immigrant sentiment that continue to exist in modern day society (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Johnson et al., 1997; Ybarra et al., 2016).

Ogbu (1987) explores the distinctions between types of immigrants as well as the ramifications of belonging to different groups when addressing the differences between Asian immigrants and Black and African Americans, for example. He distinguishes between voluntary (e.g., Asians who immigrate to America for jobs) and involuntary (e.g., Black/African Americans whose ancestors were forced into slavery) minority groups to explain how history plays an important role in understanding how people are discriminated against. Many Black and African American individuals' ancestors were brought to America against their will as slaves. This act of violence was rooted in racism and has led to continued discrimination against this community. They had no choice but to experience this subjugation, as their means to escape and to return to a homeland were nonexistent. Additionally, the eradication of their native cultural values was inherent to their subjugation along with the denial of their rights to an education, which fundamentally affected how they and others perceived their identities over time (Massey et al., 1975; Ogbu, 1978). The narratives of Asian groups following 1965 are different given that many of them voluntarily

came to America and possessed certain expectations for how their lives may be due to their choice to come to another country (Ogbu, 1978). This is not to say that they expect discrimination against them to occur; however, their status as voluntary immigrants usually allows them the privilege to stay or return to their cultural homeland. Consequently, many new wave immigrants were able to retain features of their native cultures, which also allowed them a freedom and support not afforded to Black and African slaves and their descendents (Ogbu, 1978).

Although Asian Americans and Latinx individuals, for example, share similar immigration histories, the prevailing views and stereotypes of these two groups since they have been in America are starkly different from one another. American society has portrayed Latinx youth and their families in a more negative light as compared to Asian Americans due to factors such as poverty, lower education upon immigration, and the perception of Latinx individuals as being more involved with crime (Cowan et al., 1997; Feagin & Feagin, 1996; Kohli et al., 2017; Valencia, 2010). This mindset is the result of a "Culture Deficiency Model" in which people view features of a group's culture, family values, and reliance on welfare as a direct cause for negative outcomes (Durán, 2011; Morgen et al., 1989). In this case, culture is a "villain", with people assuming that Latinx individuals experience issues such as poverty and crime because of their cultures (Durán, 2011; Morgen et al., 1989, p. 857). While other non-Latinx folk may not actively or consciously endorse this view, they may not oppose these stereotypes and discriminatory beliefs, which are inherently harmful and serve as barriers that keep Latinx individuals from succeeding at the same rate as their White counterparts. This is also an example of the perpetuation of symbolic and systemic racism. Through a deficiency model, culture is immutable, which therefore indicates that

poverty, low success, and danger are a part of the Latinx identity and culture (Morgen et al., 1989).

Asians and Asian Americans, on the other hand, are thought of as "Model Minorities," a stereotype that states that they are high achievers, perform well at their jobs, and possess low amounts of social problems (Abraham, 2002; Yoo & Castro, 2011). This stereotype reflects the fact that many of the Asian groups who initially immigrated to the U.S. on work or student visas following the relaxation of the quota system were highly educated in comparison to immigrants from other countries (Yang, 1999). While this seemingly positive perception affords Asians and Asian Americans a certain amount of privilege as compared to Latinx populations, Asians and Asian Americans are also subject to anti-immigrant sentiments due to the fear that they are taking jobs from Americans (Yang, 1999). They have subsequently been subjected to a number hate crimes such as the lootings of Asian-owned business following riots in Ferguson in 2014 and Baltimore in 2015, and the chasing and attacking of five Asian American high school students at a high school in Philadelphia in 2008. Additionally, there is a prevailing notion that many South Asians and Middle Easterners are terrorists, especially following 9/11 and other terrorist attacks, which has left them vulnerable to numerous hate crimes and explicit discriminatory experiences. Incidents such as the Oak Creek massacre in which a white supremacist shot and killed six Sikh Indians at a temple and the shootings of Srinivas Kuchibhotla and Alok Madasani by a White man who thought they were Middle Eastern are examples of how this particular community of Asians have been affected by racial discrimination.

Assumptions about Asians and Asian Americans being "Model Minorities" may have contributed to a lack of urgency to critically examine sociopolitical and race-related issues of

individuals under this label, especially within a school-based context. The "Model Minority"

myth also maintains the idea of Asians as an "other" group as compared to White Americans

and specifies implicitly and explicitly when they can be included or excluded in larger

societal dialogues. For example, White people in positions of power include Asians when it

comes to issues around merit and achievement, situating Asians, broadly, as a hardworking

group who earned their way to success. However, that position also limits Asians to that

space, which "others" them and dictates group mobility and access to other areas of society

(Bablak et al., 2016). This "othering" also pits Asians against members of other REM groups,

by positioning Asians as a "model" to which other REM groups should aspire. By saying that

even Asians can earn their place in society regardless of or perhaps, despite their race, it

gives the impression of racial blindness, maintaining a system that ignores the systemic ways

other REM groups have been oppressed to not be able to succeed. It states that Black and

Latinx folk, for example, do not work hard like Asians, when they seemingly have the same

opportunities (Lee, 2015). There is also an assumption that in addition to wanting to achieve

or perform well, Asian Americans are actively trying to achieve whiteness, which also sets

them apart from Black and Latinx individuals (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Tuan, 1998) and leads to

negative sentiments that play out across multiple systems, including school systems. Students

absorb various messages about power and privilege which inform the social exclusion and

marginalization of people of color (Carter, 2006; Zhang, 2010). Furthermore, holding

whiteness as the standard of achievement is an example of how historical oppression enacted

by White folks in America divides marginalized individuals with the purpose of keeping

power in the hands of White, privileged people. It should be noted that research related to the

experiences of international Asian students or Asian students within the contexts of their

native countries exists; however, the experiences of native Asians are fundamentally different from those of Asian Americans simply because they are not immigrants and do not experience same racial and social tensions found within American society.

Asian Americans experience discrimination, albeit differently from other REM groups, in ways that are rooted in their groups' immigration histories and their lived experiences in America. Critical Race Theory provides scholars with a lens through which they can understand the effects of systemic and individual experiences of racism and discrimination of these groups while considering their respective histories (Matsuda et al., 1993). It also points out that school systems are not immune to these effects as students are being taught by people and systems that may be discriminatory. Therefore, as Asian Americans occupy nontraditional spaces as minorities and immigrants in the United States, research needs to examine the intersection of their discriminatory experiences with school-based issues, such as social-emotional wellbeing and academic performance, to understand how Asian American youths can positively develop.

Exploring Experiences of Discrimination in Schools

Racism and discrimination are harmful to the academic, social-emotional, and physical wellbeing of REM individuals (Greene et al., 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013; Wong et al., 2003; Yoo & Castro, 2011). One's self-perceptions and perceptions of others' views of oneself can be very impactful especially for high school-aged youth who are at a pivotal developmental point. REM adolescents often grapple with their own cultural and ethnic identities in a country where their cultures are not the dominant ones or the most accepted. As a result, discrimination based on these identities is even more harmful and can lead to negative effects including depression, substance use,

violent behavior, and psychological stress (Caldwell et al., 2004; Gibbons et al., 2004; Greene et al., 2006; Okamoto et al., 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003).

Although various subfields of research within education suggest that interactions with peers are more highly impactful than interactions with teachers (Greene et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006, Wentzel, 1998; Wentzel et al., 2010), other research has found that the relationships between teachers and peers differ among racial and ethnic groups. For example, more frequent reporting of institutional racism and discrimination by teachers and other adults has been noted among Latinx youth while higher levels of peer discrimination have been found among Asian American youth (Benner & Graham, 2012; Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Additionally, similar to studies that have examined peer ethnic group formations or friendships, Benner and Graham (2012) found that Asian American, African American, and Latinx students in more racially and ethnically diverse schools perceived higher levels of discrimination than students who had more of their same-ethnicity peers in their school. Students who perceived their environment as more discriminatory were also more likely to perceive their schools as racist (not specifying peers or teachers). However, adolescents who perceived greater teacher discrimination only showed poorer school performance and not significantly lower social emotional wellbeing. Conversely, peer discrimination significantly affected only social-emotional wellbeing and not academic performance (Benner & Graham, 2012).

Discrimination From Teachers

Discrimination from teachers is most addressed in terms of teacher care and cultural responsivity. Teachers are highly instrumental in the success of students, especially when

students perceive that they care about them (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; López, 2012; Urdan & Schoenfelder, 2006; Wentzel, 1997). Although teachers may perceive themselves as being caring and socially and emotionally supportive towards their students, this may not be the experience that students report (Hamre & Pianta, 2001). Taylor and Fernandez-Bergersen (2015) interviewed Mexican American female high school students who spoke about comments made by teachers and administrators regarding common stereotypes of Latinos (e.g., dropping out of high school, not going to college, teenage pregnancy). Due to discriminatory comments, participants consequently perceived that teachers did not care about them. They further spoke about how they always felt that they had to work much harder than their White peers did for the exact same end goal. One participant shared that she often had to work harder and do better on her essays and assignments than her friends who would turn in "junk" but still receive better grades than her (Taylor & Fernandez-Bergersen, 2015, p. 11). A lack of recognition of these interactions as racist or discriminatory by the adolescents interviewed also emerged as a recurring theme. Considering that theories such as CRT state that racism must be recognized for it to be identified as racism (Matsuda et al., 1993), a lack of recognition of these interactions as racist or discriminatory shows how systemic and institutional racism continue to be reinforced (Feagin, 1977; Feagin & Feagin, 1996; Hamilton & Carmichael, 1967; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

To understand teacher and administrator viewpoints on this matter, Morelli and Spencer (2000) surveyed and interviewed educators from five schools in the Midwest. The staff at these schools were a majority White while the student population was anywhere from 2 – 40% REM. Quantitative data collected through a 10-minute survey and qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews revealed that most of the staff had no

knowledge of what specific policies existed to reduce bigotry and racism. Additionally, staff appeared resistant to teaching about racism and diversity in the communities surveyed in this study, most of which were conservative. While some expressed that there was no association between what they were teaching and racism or bigotry, many were open to using mildly culturally relevant pedagogy as a supplement but had no training or policy knowledge about it (Morelli & Spencer, 2000).

Further exploration of teacher and administrator views shows the emergence of deficit thinking or caring, about Latinx student abilities (Durán, 2011; Valencia, 2010). The deficit model assumes that in order for REM individuals to be successful in schools, they must eliminate many of their own social cultural values and adopt those values of the mainstream culture (Durán, 2011). This is similar to the "Culture Deficiency Model," which purports that if students are not achieving highly or behaving as expected, the blame cannot be placed on the system. Any faults are the result of failings of the family and the culture of the individual (Durán, 2011; Morgen et al., 1989). The effects of deficit and deficiency models have been widely studied. For example, Massey et al. (1975) conducted a study on students' perceptions of themselves and their academic environment and found that students who said they had enough work or were working hard but performed poorly were often the Black students. Upon further investigation, they found covert racism to be at play with these students also receiving less work and less challenging work from teachers who may have believed that these students could not complete the same amount as their non-Black peers. Similarly, many studies provide evidence that lower beliefs in the abilities of students are correlated with lower achievement (Paek & Shah, 2016).

While a growing amount of research exists on Asian American youths' relationships with their parents, even less exists on their experiences with teachers and peers in the school system. Some research shows that discrimination from peers more highly affects Asian American students as compared to their Latinx and Black peers (Fisher et al., 2000; Greene & Way, 2005; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). While some Asian American students have reported finding their teachers to be very caring toward them, others also report feeling stereotyped by teachers' perceptions of them as the "Model Minority" and being a "good kid" in comparison to Latinx and Black students (Abraham, 2002; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Yoo & Castro, 2011). The endorsement of this stereotype may also serve as a factor that increases peer discrimination towards Asian American students, specifically from those who feel that teachers' preferences for Asian Americans is unfair (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

Some qualitative studies have found that Asian American students feel more pressure from their teachers to achieve highly, regardless of how they already perform (McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). They report that teachers hold high expectations of them, and that when those expectations are not met, students feel that teachers think "something is wrong with you" (Chae, 2004, p. 67). Studies have also found that the perpetuation of the "Model Minority" stereotype and the perception that Asian American students are not struggling can lead to weaker relationships between students and their teachers (Wing, 2007). Some Asian American students even stated that they felt invisible (Cherng, 2016; Kiang & Bhattacharjee, 2016; Way & Chen, 2000). Furthermore the "Model Minority" stereotype continues to marginalize and ignore a growing population of Asian individuals who experience poverty, trauma, and may not be as educated as East and

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South Asian immigrants tend to be when they immigrate to the U.S. As a result, these populations often do not have their needs met across a multitude of systems. Also related to immigration, concepts such as the "Immigrant Bargain," which refers to the idea that the children of immigrants feel indebted to perform at the level expected by their parents due to their parents' sacrifice to move to another country, exacerbate the achievement pressures brought on by the "Model Minority" stereotype (Louie, 2004).

Studies have also shown that teachers hold Asian American and White students to higher expectations and standards as compared to Black and Latinx students. Expectations for Black and Latinx students are often lower as teachers may believe that they lack the aptitude to succeed in the same manner as Asian American students (Cherng & Liu, 2017). Not only are these different expectations rooted in racial biases, but the lack of acknowledgement of these prejudices maintains racial inequities in school systems in instances such as tracking students into groups based on achievement level (Landsman, 2004). This particular example contrasts the "Model Minority" stereotype with deficit models, pitting Asian Americans against Latinx and Black/African American students, and assigning a racial hierarchy. This creates tensions that ultimately negatively impact members of both groups (Paek & Shah, 2016).

Disproportionality in School Discipline. Research examining equitable school discipline practices implemented by teachers shows similar negative effects of systemic racism and discrimination on students. While Asian Americans are typically assigned the fewest number of discipline violations as compared to White, Latinx, and Black students (Gregory et al., 2010; KewalRamani et al., 2007; Mizel et al., 2016), exclusionary and disproportionate discipline outcomes are also a highly race-based issue that needs to be

discussed in order to understand the different ways in which REM students are marginalized and oppressed in schools.

Males, students of color (i.e., Black and Latinx), and students with disabilities are more frequently and more harshly disciplined for the same infractions as their White, female, and general education peers and also experience more exclusionary discipline practices (i.e. suspensions and expulsions) than their counterparts (Girvan et al., 2016; Bradshaw et al., 2010; Losen & Skiba, 2010; Skiba et al., 2011; Skiba et al., 2002). Disproportionate discipline practices result in poorer future outcomes such as lower achievement, social emotional wellness, graduation rates, poor future employment, and higher rates of future incarceration for males, students from REM backgrounds, and those in Special Education, (Ekstrom et al., 1986; Girvan et al., 2016; Skiba & Rausch, 2006; Wald & Losen, 2003).

One possible reason for this disproportionality is a lack of cultural understanding or responsiveness. Researchers have hypothesized that the behaviors teachers perceive as negative may stem from students of color experiencing fundamentally different circumstances in their upbringing such as poverty and systemic racism that affect the presentation of their behaviors in the school system. A lack of acknowledgement of these conditions and a general lack of cultural understanding, possibly indicative of deficit thinking (Durán, 2011; Morgen et al., 1998; Valencia, 2010), may contribute to administrators and teachers over disciplining and punishing these students rather than addressing them more empathetically (Donovan & Cross, 2002; Morrison & Skiba, 2001; Skiba et al., 2014; Townsend, 2000). This has been termed a lack of "cultural synchrony," in which there is a misunderstanding and miscommunication of culture between teachers and students (Blake et al., 2017; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Monroe & Obidah, 2004). These disparities also

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appear to reflect educator implicit biases, in which individuals possess unconscious

stereotypes or biases about groups that affect their actions even if they are not aware of them

(Girvan et al., 2016). Further adding to the idea of implicit biases, school disorganization

theory and racial threat theories that argue that schools with minority children and schools

with higher populations of students in poverty and with high mobility use more punitive

discipline measures to control student behavior (Blake et al., 2017; Gottfredson et al., 2005;

Welch & Payne, 2010). Again, individuals perpetuating these disproportionate and

discriminatory practices may not be cognizant of their behavior, which ultimately contributes

to more institutional and systemic discrimination (Bell, 1995; Matsuda et al., 1993;

Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

Discrimination from Peers

Discrimination from peers has often been studied in terms of race-based bullying and

harassment. Bullying has been defined as peer aggression with repetition over time,

intentionality, and an imbalance of power between the bully and the individual being bullied

(Olweus, 2003; Greif & Furlong, 2006). Discrimination is similarly defined as beliefs or acts

that debase and belittle others, a definition that also speaks to an imbalance of power between

the discriminator and the discriminated (Fisher et al., 2000; LaVeist, 2005b; Respress et al.,

2013). Researchers have found that race and ethnicity are one of the more salient

demographic characteristics for which people report being bullied or victimized (Felix et al.,

2009; Klomek et al., 2007). African Americans often report the largest amount of race-based

bullying or victimization, followed by Asian Americans, Latinx students, and others.

Females report being more severely emotionally impacted by bullying than do males (Felix

et al., 2009; Larochette et al., 2010; Mendez et al., 2016; Nansel et al., 2001). Additionally,

individuals who reported victimization due to race were also more often bullied for additional characteristics (sexual orientation, disability status, gender, etc.; Felix et al., 2009; Mendez et al., 2016).

In a study examining outcomes for high school-aged youth who were victims of cyberbullying and/or school bullying, 15.8% of students surveyed reported experiencing cyberbullying, 25.9% of students reported experiencing school bullying, and over half of the cyberbullying victims reported that they were also bullied at school. Those who identified as non-heterosexual also reported more bullying. While all individuals who reported bullying experienced high levels of psychological distress (depressive symptoms, self-injury, and suicidality), distress was highest among youth who experienced both types of bullying (Schneider et al., 2012). Additionally, when examining which type of bullying (school-based bullying or cyberbullying) is more predictive of negative mental health outcomes, findings have been inconsistent, with some showing cyberbullying as more impactful, with others showing traditional school-based bullying to be more impactful (Hase et al., 2015).

There are also the added issues of bullying reporting. Sawyer et al. (2008) reported that Black and Asian American youth (middle school, male and female) and Black high school females reported less bullying when given the definition of bullying but reported more bullying when given a set of behaviors to endorse, as compared to their White peers. Perhaps due to the stigma around the label of bully victim, students may not accurately report experiences of bullying so as to avoid the label (Greif & Furlong, 2006; Sharkey et al., 2015). Additionally, some studies have brought up the point that Asian American students are more likely to be exploring or questioning whether their experiences were racist or discriminatory, further contributing to a lack of reporting of bullying (Palmer & Jang, 2005).

Of note is that Asian American youth are more likely to experience race-related discrimination, harassment, and bullying from their peers of all races and ethnicities (Benner & Graham, 2012; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Rivas-Drake et al., 2007; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Oftentimes, this bullying occurs because of explicitly cultural reasons including language, physical appearance, and even poor performance in sports (Wang & Atwal, 2015; Wang et al., 2016). Studies hypothesize that this is due to the resentment created by the perception of Asian American youth as recipients of preferential treatment associated with being a "Model Minority" (Cherng & Liu, 2017; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Previous studies have also found that for second generation Asian American youth, 33% are likely to have no friends and they have 69% lower odds of socializing with friends as compared to White third generation youth, which leaves them vulnerable to negative treatment from peers (Cherng & Liu, 2017). Unfortunately, there are few studies focusing exclusively on the experiences of Asian Americans in schools. Generally, studies are comparative (Benner & Graham, 2012; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Rivas-Drake et al., 2007; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) or focus on elementary and middle school-aged students (Mouttapa et al., 2004; Wang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2018).

Social-Emotional and Academic Outcomes

As expected, existing research has shown that adolescents who perceive more discrimination from teachers or are victimized by their peers have lower grades (Field et al., 2001; Guay et al., 1999; Orozco & López, 2015; Wong et al., 2003), lower levels of academic engagement (Smalls et al., 2007) and less academic curiosity and persistence (Neblett et al., 2006; Thompson & Gregory, 2010). Youth who are victimized by their peers (including being bullied or discriminated against) show lower social emotional outcomes

across the board, including increased externalizing behaviors (Graham et al., 2003; Schwartz et al., 2015; Zeman et al., 2002), social isolation, higher rates of depression, anxiety, and insecurity (Berger & Rodkin, 2009; Copeland et al., 2013; Dake et al., 2003; Field et al., 2001; Fleming & Jacobsen, 2009; Nansel et al., 2001; Veenstra et al. 2005), difficulty making friends (Dake et al., 2003, Felix et al., 2009; Nansel et al., 2001), and higher suicide ideation and completion (Field et al., 2001; Winsper et al., 2012). One study even reported students feeling stressed and physically ill when thinking about instances of discrimination they experienced from their peers (Taylor and Fernandez-Bergersen, 2015). There have also been reports of links between discrimination and physical health outcomes, including sleep (Huynh & Gillen-O'Neel, 2016). Specific to Asian American youth, those who are bullied or harassed by their peers experience social exclusion and isolation. This often leaves them susceptible to race-related harassment and bullying, which has been linked to higher rates of depression and suicide (Cherng & Liu, 2017; Choi et al., 2009; Fisher et al., 2000; Lau et al., 2002; Suzuki, 1989; Syed & Azmitia, 2008; Taylor et al., 2005; Way & Chen, 2000; Wong et al., 2011). The current study will focus on self-esteem, which is a specific aspect of social-emotional wellbeing that has been commonly used as a proxy to represent social-emotional wellbeing (Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Moradi & Risco, 2006).

Numerous studies conducted across various REM groups have provided support for the negative effects of discrimination on individuals' self-esteem. Specific to Asian Americans, Armenta et al. (2013) studied foreigner objectification, or the labeling of non-White individuals, in a U.S.-specific context. as foreigners without considering their place of birth, citizenship or immigration status, or length of residence in a country. It was found that Asian Americans and Latinx individuals who experienced higher levels of foreigner

objectification also reported lower levels of self-esteem, life satisfaction, and higher depressive symptoms. Nadal et al. (2014) reviewed numerous studies that explored the negative association between perceived discrimination in the form of microaggressions and self-esteem for various groups of REM individuals. Not only was a significant negative association found between microaggressions and self-esteem, but it was also found that Asian Americans, in particular, experienced more environmental microaggressions than other REM groups. Additionally, mistrust of other groups has been reported as a moderator of the association between microaggressions and self-esteem for Asian Americans. (Thai et al., 2017). A growing body of research suggests that self-esteem is tied to one's internal sense of self, which is a key component of intrinsic motivation, and intrinsic motivation is tied to numerous academic and social-emotional outcomes. Therefore, self-esteem may also serve as a buffer against future adverse life and psychological experiences given the protective nature of a strong internal sense of self (Chioqueta & Stiles, 2007; Nadal et al., 2014).

Chen and Graham in their 2018 study explored a paradox that is oftentimes specific to Asian Americans—that of high achievement but low self-esteem. They explored the idea that although Asian American students may have high achievement, they may be overly critical and continue to view themselves as academically deficient (Chen & Graham, 2018; Chen & Stevenson 1995; Pomerantz et al., 2008; Stevenson et al., 1990). They also proposed that this paradox may be related to the "Model Minority" stereotype and fear of not fulfilling the standard to which others around them might hold them to. Given that self-esteem is correlated with lowered academic achievement, this paradox highlights a negatively reinforcing cycle, which is essentially hidden if educators are biased by the "Model Minority" stereotype and focus solely on academic performance. Discrimination further

negatively impacts self-esteem, which will further compound negative outcomes experienced by Asian American students.

Overall, the effects of discrimination are overwhelmingly negative. Overt harassment and bullying from peers as well as covert institutional racism and discrimination perpetuated by school systems (including teachers and administrators) affect self-esteem, and academic achievement. Yet, as previously mentioned, numerous other variables play roles in the relationships among discrimination and wellbeing and achievement. The next step is to examine the nature of those factors.

Motivation and Discrimination

Motivation is an important part of the discussion on academic achievement and social-emotional wellbeing that research does not often directly address in a discrimination context. Researchers have repeatedly found correlations between various types and dimensions of motivation and achievement, indicating that it plays an important role in an educational context (Bandura, 1986; Eccles, 1983; Stipek, 1996). Unfortunately, numerous studies have reported that academic motivation declines as students progress from elementary school to high school (Eccles et al., 1996; Gottfried et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Unrau & Schlackman, 2006). This trend occurs simultaneously with the increase in depressive symptoms and perceived discrimination, and the decrease in perceived social support, belonging, and relatedness (Newman et al., 2007).

Related to specific types of motivation, intrinsic motivation follows the same declining process. Intrinsic motivation, which refers to being motivated and interested in something for its own sake rather than for an extrinsic reason such as a reward, has one of the highest positive associations with academic achievement (Baker & Wigfield, 1999; Deci &

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Ryan, 1985). Therefore, the decline of intrinsic motivation is worrisome given its close ties

to academic achievement. Although intrinsic motivation is said to be the most significant

type of motivation that leads to academic success (Wentzel, 1999; Deci & Ryan, 1985),

depending on the developmental, contextual and environmental factors of an individual, one

cannot assume that a person's success will be solely dependent on internally created, intrinsic

motivation.

Research shows that perceived discrimination and motivation are significantly

negatively correlated with each other. Individuals with higher perceived discrimination show

lower motivation, and individuals with lower perceived discrimination show higher

motivation (Byrd & Andrews, 2016; Chavous et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Wong

et al., 2003; Yoo & Castro, 2011). As previously stated, lower perceived care and warmth

from teachers have not only been correlated with lower academic achievement but have also

been correlated with lower student motivation (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Pellerin, 2005;

Wentzel, 1997). This is a finding that holds true especially for Latinx students (Alfaro et al.,

2006; Brewster & Bowen, 2004). "Harsh" or "cold" teachers also appear to result in lower

social behavior from youths (Paulson et al., 1998; Urdan & Schoenfelder, 2006).

Additionally, research has consistently found that friends and social supports are important to

the positive functioning of youth. Students who have greater peer acceptance and more

friends appeared to enjoy school more and have higher academic engagement (Wentzel,

1997, 1998), and possessed positive perceptions of schools and higher grades (Ladd, 1990;

Nichols & White, 2001; Ryan, 2001).

Discrimination and motivation function differently for various REM groups

especially when taking other intersectional identities (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, SES,

etc.) into account. Research has shown that oftentimes, students from minority backgrounds, who are also from lower socioeconomic statuses, disengage from school earlier on than their peers from non-minority and higher socioeconomic backgrounds, and that males disengage faster than females (Noguera, 2003; Sherman et al., 2013). This reflects that as people develop, certain circumstances and events become more salient than others (Neugebauer, 2014). Kiang et al. (2013) conducted a study on the association between identity development and various factors including intrinsic motivation in Asian and Asian American students in America. They found that those students with high levels of ethnic and American identity reported higher levels of intrinsic and academic motivation than their peers who had low levels identification with their ethnic and American identities. Their model included identity development when examining motivation, which is an example of including a certain context to understand variance in motivation. Another study examined the effects of racial discrimination on school adjustment engagement in a population of Korean American adoptees and non-adoptees and found that there was a negative association between racial discrimination and school engagement that also differed based on the levels of the student's ethnic and racial socialization (Seol et al., 2016).

Most surveys and questionnaires used to assess motivation glean a limited amount of information related to the context in which students exist and rely more on "global self-evaluative judgments" that do not inform us about other factors that may have played a role in the student's motivation. Researchers miss information about how and why students act when not considering context-specific reasons for their actions in conjunction with development (Neugebauer, 2014). Context is especially salient in consideration with larger developmental theories such as Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, in which

different levels of the world (personal, family, school, society, time, etc.) interact with the individual to contribute to development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). One cannot assume that what functions in a certain way or is relevant to one group holds the same weight with another group. Therefore, it is important that researchers consider multiple frameworks and constantly examine the interactional and transactional nature of various cultural and environmental influences.

Wentzel (1989) considers the interactional association between motivation and external factors in her study on GPA (achievement) and student values. GPA was significantly positively related to students' reports to try to be successful, reasonable, and dependable. As expected, GPA was negatively correlated with trying to have fun. Females tried to pursue goals more often that did males, and females tried to be helpful more often than males. Wentzel's research showed that students have different goals that they are trying to pursue that are reflective of their personal circumstances and values. Her study also showed that classroom achievement is related to both non-academic and academic goals and perceptions of socially-derived and self-referent standards for performance. Academic performance is not solely school-based and there are other factors and goals that may influence academic performance (Wentzel, 1989). This again, speaks to the interconnected nature of motivation in that it is not an isolated mechanism, but rather that it is a function of interactions between different variables within the self and the environment.

Additionally, students who find value in and find their needs met by what they are doing are inherently more motivated, engaged, and perform better (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Stipek, 1996). These values and needs are oftentimes determined by the interactions among the various environments or systems that individuals exist in (e.g. family, school, culture,

society, etc.; Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985) is one motivational framework that takes this idea into account. SDT states that individuals need relatedness, autonomy, and competence in order to feel fulfilled (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Feeling fulfilled leads to higher intrinsic motivation, which has been positively correlated with higher academic achievement in elementary, middle, and high school students as well as higher positive school-related behaviors and outcomes (Ryan et al., 1994). It is assumed that discrimination would negatively affect a student's intrinsic motivation by decreasing (a) one's sense of relatedness to others, given the alienation that results from discrimination, (b) the autonomy or control that individuals feel over their lives due to effects of discrimination, and (c) one's sense of competence, which would be affected by negative perceptions of oneself put forth by experiences of discrimination. These needs are also assumed to be cross-cultural and universal (Jang et al., 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Motivation, according to SDT, exists on a continuum from amotivation (a lack of motivation) to extrinsic motivation (being motivated by external factors) to intrinsic motivation (being motivated for the action itself; Fairchild et al., 2005; Guay et al., 2015; Ryan & Deci, 2000). There are four different types of extrinsic motivation: external regulation (most extrinsic), introjected regulation, identified regulation, and integrated regulation (most intrinsic; Deci & Ryan, 1985). Individuals who have a larger number of identified and integrated behaviors feel more self-determined, and thus closer to feeling intrinsically motivated (Fairchild et al., 2005; Guay et al., 2015; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Vallerand et al. (1992) took this continuum a step further and broke intrinsic motivation into 3 subtypes of intrinsic motivation within Self-Determination Theory: intrinsic motivation to (a) know, (b) accomplish, and (c) experience stimulation. Although the idea of motivation

existing on a continuum is fairly prevalent, more recent research has suggested that it may be less straightforward and that the different types of motivation are context based and more interactional.

Previous research has shown that contexts that increase intrinsic motivation will be socially interactive with freedom for the learner (i.e. providing autonomy; Guthrie et al., 1996; Turner, 1995). Guthrie et al. (1996) also found that the context and environment of the classroom are instrumental in increasing motivation and engagement. Spaces that are self-directing and provide freedom for the learner are particularly important as they relate to the idea of autonomy contributing to intrinsic motivation. These spaces would assumedly also contain less behavioral and academic control and more nurturing, autonomous support from teachers. This speaks to the previously mentioned idea of teacher care within the classroom, showing that students who feel that their teachers care for them and provide them with an autonomous structure (among other variables) in the classroom are more likely to have a higher interest in school (Melekoglu & Wilkerson, 2013; Wentzel, 1994).

Baumeister and Leary (1995) also examined the concept of school belonging in depth, which is particularly relevant to SDT. Individuals have a fundamental need to belong or to be a part of something, and that when they do not feel as though they belong, negative outcomes such as depression, distress, and physical health problems may occur. This need to belong is similar to the SDT principle of relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 1985). When students feel relatedness or belonging, both feelings theorized to be fundamental human needs, they experience more positive outcomes including increased happiness and motivation for tasks (Anderman, 2002; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 1985). Close and Solberg (2008) speak further to relatedness between teachers and students using Social Cognitive

Theory (Bandura, 1986), which states that people learn by observing or interacting with others. In their sample of 427 predominately Latinx youth from an inner-city, low-income high school, they found that students who feel more connected to their teachers have higher autonomous motivation for attending school, which led to higher confidence (self-efficacy) in their academic ability, better academic performance, and less physical and psychological distress. These results, again, speak to the important role that the teacher-student relationship plays.

SDT encompasses various fundamental needs that are necessary to feel motivated and subsequently achieve academically and feel happy (high social-emotional wellbeing). These needs are different for Latinx and Asian American students given their varied experiences of discrimination that present differently based on their own cultural and personal values. SDT has been validated across diverse groups of people (Alivernini & Lucidi, 2011; Barkoukis et al., 2008; Guay et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2016), which makes it an ideal and flexible theory to examine Latinx and Asian American students' discriminatory experiences.

In sum, motivation positively correlates to achievement in a wide variety of populations (Bandura, 1986; Eccles, 1983; Stipek, 1996). In addition to its role as a direct outcome, motivation may also be a mediational variable between discrimination and academic achievement. It is important to examine this association if researchers are to understand exactly how perceived discrimination impacts students. Furthermore, although perceived discrimination is negatively correlated with social emotional outcomes, the role of motivation has not been well understood within this relationship.

Resilience and Protective Factors

Previous sections have delved into the factors that impede Asian American students from succeeding academically and social-emotionally. However, it is necessary to acknowledge positive attributes, namely specific protective factors, that may potentially buffer the negative effects of discrimination and help students succeed.

Ethnic Identity Development

Students' experiences of their cultures and others' perceptions of their cultures are tantamount to this study. Research has found that Asian Americans who have higher amounts of identification with their ethnic identity show higher amounts of intrinsic motivation than their peers (Kiang et al., 2013), and that they feel happier and show higher social-emotional outcomes than their peers with lower ethnic identity identification (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Further exploration into varying levels of ethnic identity identification show that individuals who are conflicted or exploring their ethnic identity manifest lower levels of social-emotional wellbeing in comparison to their peers who have higher levels of identification or "commitment" to their ethnic identity (Na et al., 2017). While perceived discrimination has been found to interfere with ethnic identity development (Okamoto et al., 2009; Whitbeck et al., 2001), higher ethnic identity identification has also been found to moderate the effects of discrimination and ethnicity-related stressors on social emotional wellbeing (French & Chavez, 2010).

A few studies have explored the association of ethnic identity development with self-esteem in Asian American youths. Gartner et al. (2014) found that in a sample of Asian American high school students, a higher level of cultural socialization, or the messages that people receive about their culture and how others will interact with them from a cultural

standpoint, was associated with greater ethnic identity which, in turn, was related to higher self-esteem.

In a second study on Asian American high school students, ethnic identity development was used as a moderator variable between stressors (i.e., perceived racial/ethnic discrimination; economic stress) and mental health outcomes (self-esteem and depressive symptoms; Stein et al., 2014). This was based on social identity theory, which specifically explores the role of ethnic identity as a protective factor against various stressors (Tajfel & Forbas, 2000). While ethnic identity was not a significant moderator (i.e. did not exacerbate or buffer the association) of race-based discrimination and the outcomes, it was a moderator as it related to economic stress (Stein et al., 2014). However, the results of this study are indicative of the potentially protective nature of ethnic identity identification against ethnicity-related stressors, such as discrimination.

An Integrative Identity Development Model may also be useful in an effort to understand how ethnic identity functions as a protective factor in Asian American youth (García Coll et al., 1996). The Integrative Identity model suggests that REM youth are impacted by various environmental stressors such as ethnic discrimination, and that these stressors are affect youth mental health and general development (DuBois et al., 2002; García Coll et al., 1996; Zeiders et al., 2013). This model can also help us understand how one's ethnic identity development can serve as a buffer or protective factor against the negative effects of racial discrimination. Many schools may not use ethnic identity models or seek to actively facilitate ethnic identity development in schools, which can lead to the continued marginalization and disempowerment of REM youth (Cummins, 1984; Ogbu, 1978). Therefore, understanding how ethnic identity functions as a strength for these youth is vital.

School Social Support

School social support, which in the current study refers to social support from peers and teachers at school, is instrumental in promoting student academic and social emotional wellbeing. Teacher emotional warmth and teachers who promote autonomy and responsibility in students positively impact the social emotional wellbeing of Asian American students (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Conversely, students who perceive lower teacher care show lower motivation and subsequent achievement, as expected, indicating that teachers are important in the lives of youth (Alfaro et al., 2006; Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Wentzel, 1997). Research has also found that when assessing school climate, including teacher or adult support, in a group of Asian American middle school students, teacher support was found to buffer the effects of different types of discrimination on suicidal thoughts and behaviors (Wang et al., 2018). Teacher support was also found to be associated with decreased depressive symptoms in Asian American youth over time, and the combined effect of teacher and parent support moderated the association between Asian American youth's depressive and anxious symptoms (Arora et al., 2017). Furthermore, another study examining the association between teacher support, motivation from an SDT perspective, and happiness across various REM groups including Asian American students found that teacher support was positively related to SDT motivation and in turn, happiness (Froiland et al., 2019).

Researchers often compare teacher support styles to various parenting support models. Baumrind (1978) hypothesized and tested four different types of parental support that have varying effects on the social emotional and academic development of children. Firstly, there are "authoritative" parents who are highly demanding, indicating that they have

high standards for behavior and firmly enforce rules, and they possess high responsiveness, meaning that they are warm, communicate, and respect the developmental needs of their children. Children who experience to this type of parenting have the highest academic and social emotional outcomes (Baumrind, 1978). The second type of parenting style is termed "authoritarian" in which parents are highly demanding but are not highly responsive. Although children of these types of parents generally achieve highly and have low rates of problem behavior, they also manifest low social competence and low self-esteem. "Permissive" parents are the third type of parents. Also termed "indulgent-permissive", parents who espouse this style of parenting are characterized by low demandingness and high responsiveness. Children with these parents usually have high amounts of social competence and self-esteem, fairly low achievement and school engagement, and high levels of problem behavior and drug use (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991; Slicker, 1998). The final parenting type that Baumrind proposed is the "indifferent" or "neglecting" parent who has low levels of demand and has low responsiveness, which leads to children who have the lowest outcomes academically, cognitively, and social emotionally (Baumrind, 1978).

Using these four profiles of parenting, Pellerin (2005) hypothesized that REM children who have teachers and school systems exhibiting the same types of support will show similar outcomes. As hypothesized, "authoritative" teachers and schools displayed the best results for student achievement, "indifferent" teachers and schools showed the worst results for engagement, and "authoritarian" schools displayed the highest amount of dropout, all indicating that the style of teaching and culture of the school play an important role in the development of a high school student. A related finding from other students suggests that students who feel their teachers provide them with similar support to their parents receive

higher grades than students who report incongruent teaching and parenting styles (Paulson et al.,1998; Urdan & Schoenfelder, 2006).

As it relates to friends and peers, research has consistently found that having friends and social supports are important to the positive functioning of youth. Numerous studies have found that students who have greater peer acceptance and more friends appeared to have more positive perceptions of schools, higher grades (Ladd, 1990; Nichols & White, 2001; Ryan, 2001), appear to enjoy school more, and have higher academic engagement (Wentzel, 1997, 1998). Additionally, it appears that higher quality friendships oftentimes buffer the negative effects of peer victimization (Cuadros & Berger, 2016).

Studies examining the transition from middle school to high school found that the amount of social supports from the school (i.e., teachers) and from peers appeared to decrease as students age, and that the reporting of depressive symptoms increased (Costello et al., 2003; Newman et al., 2007). This is developmentally appropriate, as students are expected to be more independent as they age; however, research has shown that the transition to the newness of high school as well as changing friendships can contribute negatively to the social emotional wellbeing of an individual, especially if they do not have friends or social support (Hussong, 2000; Newman et al., 2007). Some of the literature talks generally about the idea of school belonging, echoing that as students transition from middle to high school, the lack of perceived support from the people around them, especially peers, can make students feel isolated and feel that they do not belong to the school community (Newman et al., 2007). As mentioned, one of the main principles of SDT in relatedness or belonging, in which individuals need to feel relatedness in order to feel satisfied. Individuals have a fundamental need to belong or be a part of a group. Once this desire has been fulfilled,

students show more positive academic and social emotional outcomes (Anderman, 2002; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Research to date has been conducted primarily on White students and with mixed results for students from REM groups. In particular, research has shown that socialization patterns among youth vary from one group to another. REM youths' families often encourage them to make friends outside of school rather than encouraging within school friendships at the level that would lead to the previously mentioned positive outcomes (Clark & Ayers, 1991; DuBois & Hirsch, 1990; Gaines, 1997; Marin & Marin, 1991; Ping & Berryman, 1996; Triandis, 1990; Way, 2001; Way & Chen, 2000). Having friends outside of the school system does not suggest that those youth are unhappy. Rather, it also indicates that findings about school-based peers or friends cannot be generalized to all individuals. Some literature has also explored the effect of peer relationships formed within school-based extracurricular activities and found that for White students, these relationships positively affect academic achievement. The effect is lower or the opposite for REM students, again indicating that peer relationships may function different from one REM group to another (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Gerber, 1996; Voelkl, 1997; Wentzel, 1997)

Students who go to schools where there are many others of the same race and ethnicity as them often form friendships with those same race individuals, which has been found as positively impactful on academics and social-emotional wellbeing (Brown et al., 2008; MacLeod, 2004). These "peer crowds" are an important part of identity development, therefore, this support is highly important to consider (Brown et al., 2008; Newman & Newman, 2001). Research has shown that self-identification with an ethnic crowd was more common among mono-ethnic Asian youth with lower levels of integration into American

culture, low experiences of race-based discrimination, and more positive feelings about their own ethnicity (Brown et al., 2008). However, research supporting same-race or ethnicity friendship is also in direct contrast with research that has shown the positive benefits of desegregating schools. Since the landmark case Brown vs. Board of Education (1954) stated that "separate but equal" facilities in schools was unlawful, research has found that providing more cross-ethnic peer interaction leads to increases in academic performance for REM students (Coleman, 1966; Palardy et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2018; Reardon, 2011). However, segregation by socioeconomic status and race and ethnicity, mainly for Latinx and African American students, persists as a result of systemic barriers within American society (Palardy et al., 2015). Students who live in these segregated systems continue to show lowered outcomes, that are also the results of issues such as disproportionate discipline policies and a lack of cultural synchrony (Blake et al., 2017; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Monroe & Obidah, 2004; Palardy et al., 2015). Furthermore, given that desegregation has not been truly fully implemented, it becomes difficult to accurately understand the impacts of desegregation especially on social-emotional and behavioral outcomes, which have not been well studied (Palardy et al., 2015).

This section presented ethnic identity development and social support as protective factors against the negative effects of discrimination. Although they have been implicated as such in models examining the direct effect of discrimination on social-emotional wellbeing and academic achievement, their role in affecting motivation for school and subsequent academic and social emotional wellbeing is less clear, especially for Asian American students.

Purpose of the Current Study

The effects of discrimination from peers and teachers on self-esteem and academic motivation and achievement have not been extensively studied with Asian American high school-aged populations. Although there is value in understanding the combined effects of discrimination from both groups on the outcomes of Asian American students, little research exists on their unique, separate effects and is oftentimes inferred from the experiences of other REM groups. This gap in the literature makes it difficult to conceptualize how to model their combined effects in a culturally sensitive manner. Therefore, the current study seeks to understand the separate effects of teacher and peer discrimination on the outcomes of Asian American students.

Even less research has focused on other variables that are associated with self-esteem and academic achievement, such as motivation, ethnic identity development, and school social support. Research supports the link between discrimination, motivation, and academic achievement. Yet, these associations have not been well studied in the context of the influence of self-esteem within Asian American populations. Furthermore, some evidence also supports the protective nature of ethnic identity development and school social support variables on the harmful effects of discrimination, particularly on declines in self-esteem and academic achievement. The effects of these protective factors on discrimination, motivation, and social emotional and academic outcomes have also not been widely studied in Asian American populations. Moreover, few studies have examined these factors from a lens of resilience, and instead use a deficit-based perspective to focus on these students.

Therefore, the objectives of this study are to (a) further comprehend the nature of teacher and peer influences on Asian American high school students' social-emotional

wellbeing (self-esteem) and achievement, (b) examine the interactions between discrimination and academic motivation using self-esteem as a mediator, and (c) understand the protective role of ethnic identity and school social support as moderators of the association between discrimination and self-esteem. The key research questions and hypotheses to be tested are shown below:

1. Research Question 1: What is the effect of perceived discrimination from peers on the self-esteem and academic motivation and achievement of Asian American high school-aged youth?

    Hypothesis: I hypothesize that Asian American youths' self-esteem and academic motivation and achievement may have a moderate to strong negative association with perceived discrimination from their peers. The association between self-esteem and perceived peer discrimination is supported by previous research conducted on bullying in Asian American populations (Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

2. Research Question 2: What is the effect of perceived discrimination from teachers on the self-esteem and academic motivation and achievement of Asian American high school-aged youth?

    Hypothesis: Perceived teacher discrimination will be negatively associated with Asian American youths' self-esteem and academic motivation and achievement. As it relates to academic achievement, the strength of this association may not be very large given the emphasis on academics based on parental and cultural values. (Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004)

3. Research Question 3: Are the associations between the predictors, perceived teacher and peer discrimination, and the outcome, motivation, mediated by self-esteem? Hypothesis: The association between perceived peer and teacher discrimination and academic motivation will be mediated by self-esteem. I hypothesize that there will be a stronger or larger association between perceived peer discrimination and motivation as compared to perceived teacher discrimination and motivation (Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

4. Research Question 4: Do students' ethnic identity and perceived school social support moderate the association between discrimination and self-esteem (moderated mediation)? Hypothesis: A higher ethnic identity and higher perception of support will buffer the negative effects of higher perceived discrimination from teachers and peers. High levels of ethnic identity and support will be associated with higher self-esteem, motivation, and achievement as compared to students with lower levels of ethnic identity development and perception of support. Findings support this hypothesis in that ethnic identity development and support are impacted by discrimination but can also develop relatively independently of discrimination (Greene et al., 2006; Okamoto et al., 2009; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013; Whitbeck et al., 2001).

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Participants and Recruitment

Participants included 306 high school students recruited from one public high school and two local South Asian youth organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area. Originally 370 responses were collected, with 246 participants from the high school and 124 from local youth organizations. Students who did not identify as Asian were removed from the dataset as the current study was not focused on conducting research on non-Asian populations. Specific to the cases recruited from the high school, cases in which individuals wrote only "Indian" from the school-based data were not used due to potential confusion about being Native American or South Asian Indian. This was not a concern with recruitment from the youth group as all participants in those groups identified as South Asian.

All students were in the 9th – 12th grades at the time of data collection. Students were asked to write down their race and ethnicity, and the researchers sorted through these labels and identified those students whose labels (e.g., Indian American, South Asian, Chinese, and Filipino) fit under the larger category of Asian American. It should be noted that at least 50% of the sample was comprised of students who fall under the broader label of South Asian (i.e. origins in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, or Afghanistan). The rest of the students came from other Asian groups (see Table 1 for a breakdown of students' races and ethnicities). 40.2% (n = 123) of students identified as male, 58.8% (n = 180) identified as female, 1 student identified as transgender, and 2 students did not report their gender.

Table 1

Breakdown of Race/Ethnicity of Participants

Group Name	Percentage
Asian/Asian American	21.9% (n = 67)
East Asian	20.3% (n = 62)
Half White, Half Asian	3.9% (n = 12)
Multiple Asian Groups	1.3% (n = 4)
South Asian	51.3% (n = 157)
Southeast Asian	1.0% (n = 3)

Note. Participants self-labeled themselves according to various categories. For ease of presentation, their labels were collapsed into the following groups. It should also be noted that students within the Asian/Asian American label could be a member of any type of Asian group, however it is not possible to tell.

Prior to data collection, the researchers determined the ideal number of participants needed in order for the analysis to have adequate power. For moderated mediation analyses, two different methods of sample size and power calculations were used. The first method used was the "N:q rule" (Jackson, 2003; Kline, 2011, p. 12). "N" refers to the number of cases and "q" refers to the number of parameters being examined. Jackson (2003) suggests that for every parameter being examined, there should be 20 cases (a ratio of 20:1). Therefore, in the case of the proposed study, as there are maximum of 6 parameters in the most complex model, the study would need to survey a minimum of 120 students. Kline (2011) also states that a ratio of 10:1 is acceptable; however, continuing to lower the ratio leads to a decrease in the trustworthiness of the results.

The second method specified by Muthén and Muthén (2009) is a Monte Carlo study using MPlus software. When conducting these simulations, the researchers specify the associations among a group of variables and, in the case of a moderated mediation, specify the paths between the variables. Information about the association between variables, such as correlations based on theory or previous research, is also specified to better characterize the nature of the associations since the study is being conducted a priori. The researcher also specifies a number of observations (the theoretical sample size) that the hypothetical model tests. The Monte Carlo simulator will then conduct a certain number of sample draws by generating random data samples and estimate a model as well as a power level to test the effect of the associations among the variables specified. Best practices suggest that power levels of 0.80 and above are acceptable (Muthen & Muthen, 2009). Two models with different correlation weights were examined. This was due to the fact that the associations between variables such as ethnic identity and academic motivation and academic motivation and self-esteem are not well understood, with many studies reporting unclear correlational values among these variables. Based on these analyses, anywhere between 400 – 600 individuals would lead to adequate power to detect good model fit. Therefore, the researchers tried to obtain a larger sample than the 120-person sample size suggested by the "N:q" method as a larger sample size provides more trustworthiness in the model and the results. The final sample size exceeded the size shown by the N:q rule, but was lower than that conservative estimates of the Montecarlo analysis; subsequently, it was determined that there was adequate power to run the analysis.

Measures

Demographic Variables

Students self-reported on their academic achievement, gender, race(s) and ethnicities, and the percentage of their high school they believe is comprised of the same race and ethnicity as them. Students responded with variations of broad Asian American categories, including *Asian, Asian American, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, South Asian,* and *Pakistani American*, that were collapsed down into smaller categories for reporting purposes (see Table 1). In order to include only data from Asian American students, students whose self-described race and ethnicity categories fell under the label of Asian American had their race and ethnicity recoded to Asian American. As certain students surveyed at the high school may have self-identified as American Indian, it was not possible to tell whether this was written by a student who identified as Native American or as South Asian American, as this is a common manner in which South Asian Indians may also describes themselves. Therefore, in those cases, students were not coded as Asian American. Students surveyed at the Asian youth group meetings who self-identified as American Indian were coded as Asian American as students must be Asian in order to attend these group meetings. Students not coded as Asian American were not included in the study.

Teacher and Peer Discrimination

The Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997) was used to measure perceived discrimination from teachers and peers. It is a measure of everyday discrimination with items such as "You are treated with less respect than other people are", "People act as if they think you are not smart," and "You are called names or insulted" (Williams et al., 1997). The original scale contains 9 items measured on a 5-point scale; however, for the purpose of

this study, the middle rating was removed in order to create a 4-point scale rated as 1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Sometimes), and 4 (Often). Although Likert scales typically have an obvious midpoint value that is neutral, it was determined that a midpoint value would not provide useful information about students' experiences, positive or negative. Therefore since "never" and "rarely" are more positive responses and "sometimes" and "often" are more negative responses to the discrimination questions, it might provide more information about students' experiences. Furthermore, in Preston and Colman's (2000) review of the optimal number of response categories, although 2 – 4-point rating scales were rated as lowest in discriminatory validity, oftentimes, there was also no difference between 4-6 point rating scales, depending on the scale. As such, a 4-point scale was used.

The questions on this scale were adapted to be specific to students' experiences with their peers and teachers. Scores from each set of nine items (for peers and teachers) were used to create a mean score from 1 – 4, with higher values indicating a higher level of perceived discrimination and a lower value indicating lower perceived discrimination. Previous studies have shown acceptable levels internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.74 and higher (Clark, 2014; Gee et al., 2007; Krieger et al., 2005). For the current study, Cronbach's alpha for the teacher version was .86 and for the peer version was .85.

Intrinsic Motivation

The Academic Motivation Scale (AMS; Vallerand et al., 1992) was used to assess academic motivation through a Self-Determination Theory (SDT) lens. Numerous studies have examined SDT across cultures using the Academic Motivation Scale (AMS; Vallerand et al., 1992). These studies have found that the AMS has been a consistently reliable and valid measure of SDT across these multiple settings and various cultural groups (Alivernini

& Lucidi, 2011; Barkoukis et al., 2008; Guay et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2016). It should be noted that multiple versions of the AMS exist, including a 3-factor, 5-factor, and a 7-factor version. The 7-factor version of the scale uses 7 different subscales to examine the various types of motivation within SDT outlined earlier in this paper. These subscales are 1) amotivation, 2) external regulation, 3) introjected regulation, 4) identified regulation, 5) intrinsic motivation to know, 6) intrinsic motivation to accomplish, and 7) intrinsic motivation to experience stimulation. This version of the scale appears to have the highest reliability and construct validity based on the continuum theory proposed by SDT (Fairchild et al., 2005; Zhang et al., 2016).

Studies have also cited the Relative Autonomy Index (RAI) that can be used as an overall score of intrinsic motivation (Alivernini & Lucidi, 2011; Ryan & Connell, 1989; Vallerand & Ratelle 2002; Ünlü, 2016; Young-Jones et al., 2015). The RAI is calculated using five out of seven of the subscales of the full AMS. Each question is rated on a scale from 1 (does not correspond at all) to 7 (corresponds exactly). These subscales were weighted, providing positive weights to motivations that are closer to the intrinsic side of the continuum and negative weights to those that are more extrinsic or amotivated (Guay et al., 2010; Ünlü, 2016). Negative scores represent more externally controlled forms of motivation and positive scores represented more autonomous types of motivation (Vallerand et al., 1997). Given that the RAI is a widely used measure of overall intrinsic motivation through SDT, it was used as an overall measure of academic motivation. Five of the seven subscales of the AMS were administered. See Table 2 for a list of these subscales and the formula used to calculate the RAI.

Table 2

SDT Motivation Variables Used to Calculate the Relative Autonomy Index (RAI)

Type of Motivation	Abbreviation	Cronbach's Alpha for the Current Study
Intrinsic regulation*	InR	.91
Identified Regulation	IdR	.80
External Regulation	ExR	.86
Introjected Regulation	IjR	.89
Amotivation	Am	.89
Formula to Calculate RAI		
$(2InR + IdR) - ((IjR + ExR)/2 + 2Am))$		

*Note. *Out of the three intrinsic motivation subscales, Intrinsic Motivation for Knowledge (InR) is used to measure overall intrinsic motivation*

Sample items from the 5 subscales of the AMS to be used in this study included: I go to high school…"Because I experience pleasure and satisfaction while learning new things", "Because eventually it will enable me to enter the job market in a field that I like," and "Honestly, I don't know; I really feel that I am wasting my time in school." Many of these items are related to outcomes of being discriminated against, such as a lack of motivation for school, low engagement and interest in academics, and a lack of school-based connection. Vallerand et al. (1992) reported that Cronbach's coefficient the subscales ranged from .83 to .86, with the exception of the identified subscale of extrinsic motivation, which had an internal consistency of .62. In addition, test–retest reliability over a one-month period ranged from .71 to .83 for the subscales. Guay et al. (2010) reported Cronbach's alphas of .72 - .91.

Cronbach's alphas for each scale in the current study are also shown in Table 3. on the following page.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965). It is a 10-item measure of global self-esteem on a 4-point scale (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). Some items are reverse coded, and this is indicated in the scoring protocol. Scores from all 10 items are summed with a higher score indicating higher self-esteem and a lower score indicating lower self-esteem. Sample items include: "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself," "At times I think I am no good at all," and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." It is a commonly used measure of self-esteem that has also been validated for use with diverse populations and high school students. Furthermore, studies have also used self-esteem measures as an indicator of general wellbeing and have found low self-esteem to correlate with more depressive symptoms and higher self-esteem to correlate with happiness (Ciarrochi et al., 2007). Given that discrimination is often targeted at making individuals feel bad about themselves, the items on the RSE are reflective of one's sense of self that may be directly impacted by discriminatory experiences. It has shown good validity and reliability across numerous studies (e.g. Greene & Way, 2005; Rosenberg, 1965) and studies have reported Cronbach's alpha at .86 and above (Green et al., 2006). Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .89.

Academic Achievement

Academic achievement was measured through students' self-report of their cumulative GPA on a scale from 0 – 4.0. GPA is often used in studies as a measure of high school academic achievement (Benner & Graham, 2011; Martinez et al., 2004).

Table 3

Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations of All Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Academic Achievement (GPA)	-							
2. Teacher Discrimination	-0.02	-						
3. Peer Discrimination	-0.05	0.65***	-					
4. Self-Esteem	0.16**	-0.09	-0.21**	-				
5. Teacher Support	0.15*	-0.29***	-0.25***	0.27***	-			
6. Peer Support	0.07	-0.22***	-0.23***	0.12*	0.37***	-		
7. Ethnic Identity	0.17**	0.03	0.01	0.19**	0.18**	0.13*	-	
8. Academic Motivation (RAI)	0.23***	-0.21**	-0.17**	0.38***	0.36***	0.12*	0.25***	-
Mean	3.80	1.29	1.47	27.87	18.98	10.40	3.20	6.20
Standard Deviation	0.36	0.40	0.49	5.38	3.81	2.14	0.49	4.68

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

School Social Support

The Resilience Youth Development Module from the California Healthy Kids Survey was used to measure school social support from teachers and from peers (California Healthy Kids Survey, 2009; Furlong et al., 2009; Hanson & Kim, 2007). It included six questions assessing support at school from teachers and three questions assessing school social support from peers. Sample questions included, "How true is it that there is a teacher or other adult at school who 1) really cares about me, 2) notices when I'm not there, and 3) listens to me when I have something to say." These items were measured on a 4-point scale from 1 (not at all true) to 4 (very much true). The scores of the items were summed for a minimum score of 6 and a maximum score of 24 for the teacher support composite and a minimum score of 3 and a maximum score of 12 for the peer support composite. High values indicated higher perceived school social support whereas lower values indicated lower perceived school social support. These items are reflective of perceived teacher care and support and of student's feelings of connection to their peers. If students feel discriminated against, they may feel that their teachers and peers will not care about them or support them, and are, therefore, also potential indicators of the effects of discrimination. Previous studies have shown high internal consistency and reliability between .83 and .89 for both scales across a wide range of races and ethnicities, grades, and between male and female high school students (Babey et al., 2016; Furlong et al., 2009). Cronbach's alpha for the teacher support items was .87 and for the peer support items was .89.

Ethnic Identity Development

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was used to measure ethnic identity development. It contained 12 questions assessing positive ethnic

attitudes, a sense of belonging, ethnic identity of achievement, and ethnic behaviors or practices on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). A mean score was derived from these 12 items with a lower score indicating a lower level of ethnic identity development. Sample items included: "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs", "I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.", and "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me." Research shows that discrimination from any source can impact one's ethnic identity and that ethnic identity can also impact the manner in which one receives and experiences discrimination. These items are indicators of facets of ethnic identity development that have the potential to influence and be influenced by discrimination. Previous studies have shown good reliability and validity with diverse high school student samples and have reported Cronbach's alphas of 0.80 and above (Phinney, 1992) and 0.89 (Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .90.

Procedure

Following institutional IRB approval, the primary researcher contacted administrators and principals of high schools and Asian American youth groups in California. Students from one high school and two youth organizations were surveyed for this study. Students surveyed at the high school were provided with an online link to the full survey hosted on Qualtrics. Given the technological limitations of the youth organizations, the researcher went to the youth organizations' weekend meetings and distributed paper copies of the survey to students rather than an online version.

Passive consent was used to receive permission from parents as to whether or not their child can complete the survey. An electronic version of the consent packet including the recruitment form, student *do not* assent form, and parent *do not* consent form was sent to the high school and the youth organizations. Administrators emailed parents all the materials with instructions provided about how to inform the school or organization if parents did not want their child to participate in the study. Instructions were also provided to students during the survey administration of what to do if they decided not to take the study. No identifying information other than demographic information was collected. Following completion of the study, an honorarium of approximately $150 was provided to the high school and the two youth organizations.

Data Analysis Plan

A path analysis using a moderated mediation framework was conducted using MPlus Software Version 7.4 (Muthen & Muthen, 2008 – 2015). This approach allowed for multiple hypothesized relations among variables to be simultaneously modeled. In addition, path models allow researchers to understand not only direct relations between variables, but also understand indirect associations between variables using the paths from one variable to the next. Mediational models have been called causal models, which gives them more predictive power, so to speak, than traditional regression-based models (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). As the data collected in the present analysis was cross sectional rather than longitudinal or across multiple time points, no causality could be inferred. However, using a mediational framework allowed the researchers to hypothetically model associations among variables that may provide useful information about associations among variables that may be causally related.

As stated in Preacher and Hayes (2008), the initial stages of a moderated mediation analysis indicate that a direct and significant association must exist between the predictor and the outcome(s). Once this has been established, a mediator variable can be introduced into the analysis. This mediator should be introduced only if it is hypothesized that there is an association between the mediator and the predictor and the mediator and the outcome. Without this knowledge, there is little or no theoretical basis for conducting a mediational model. When all variables are analyzed simultaneously, to fulfill the condition of total mediation, the direct effect between the predictor and the outcome should no longer be significant. Instead, the paths from the predictor to the mediator and the mediator to the outcome should now be significant. It is at this point that the researchers can state that the mediator is significantly implicated in the association between the predictor and the outcome. In the event that the direct path is still significant, though the effect is lower, and the mediated path is also significant, this would indicate a partial mediation. A partial mediation means there may either be other mediating factors unaccounted in the process being examined or that the association between the predictor and outcome remains strong and significant (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Faircloth & Hamm, 2004; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). In this analysis, the main predictor was *perceived discrimination (peers/teachers)*, the outcomes were *motivation* and *academic achievement*, and the mediator was *self-esteem*.

A moderated mediation occurs when the effect size of the indirect effect that was found through the mediation analysis is significantly different based on various levels of the moderator variable(s) (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). A moderation analysis is also another way of terming an interaction effect (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). For example, in the current study, the researchers analyzed the effects of discrimination on self-esteem using ethnic identity as

one moderator. The researchers specified a high level of ethnic identity (one standard deviation above the mean), the mean level of ethnic identity, and a low level of ethnic identity (one standard deviation below the mean) and examined the effects of discrimination at each of these three values on self-esteem in order to understand if the effects were different based on these three values. In the current study, three moderators, ethnic identity, school social support from teachers, and school social support peers were used as moderators of the association between perceived discrimination from teachers and peers and self-esteem.

The first two models examined whether or not self-esteem mediated the association between peer discrimination and motivation and teacher discrimination and motivation. Based on whether or not mediation was found, two more models were run for each of the mediation models, one examining school social support from teachers as a moderator on the association between teacher discrimination and self-esteem, one examining school social support from peers as a moderator on the association between peer discrimination and self-esteem, and two more models using ethnic identity development as a moderator between teacher discrimination and self-esteem and between peer discrimination and self-esteem. See Figure 1 of the hypothesized model for peers and teachers.
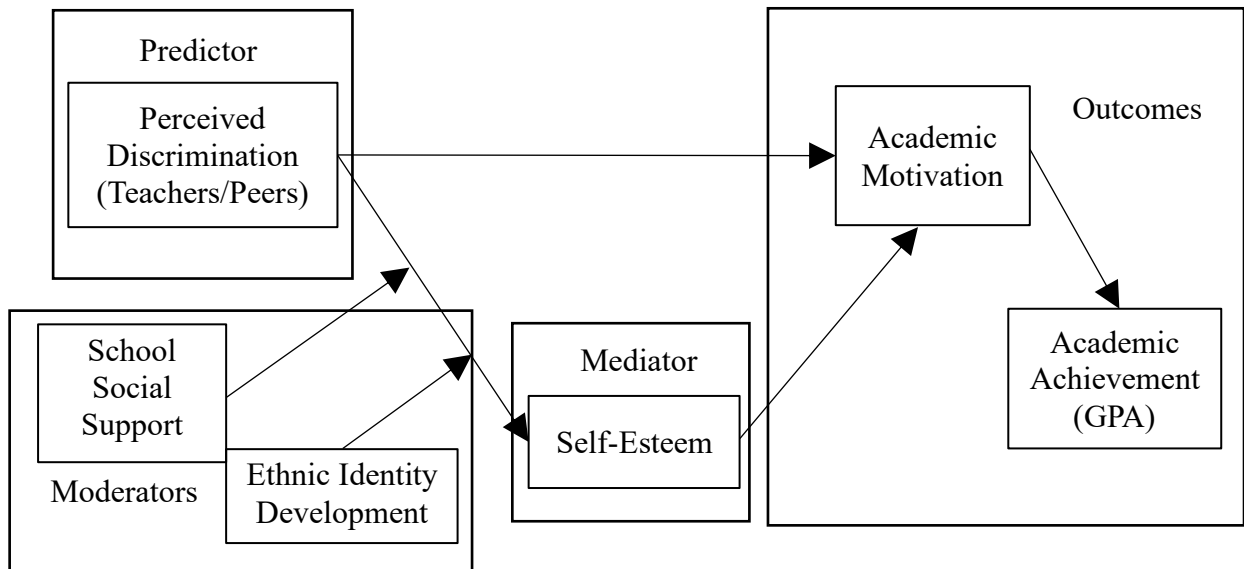
Figure 1. Hypothesized Model: Model of the effects of perceived discrimination on self-esteem, motivation, and academic achievement, moderated by school social support and ethnic identity development. *Note.* Teacher and Peer discrimination will be tested separately, and each moderator will also be tested separately for a total of four models**.**

The path models were assessed for goodness of fit using the following fit indices: Chi Square Test (χ^2), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker Lewis Index (TLI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). In a Chi Square Test of model fit, the chi-square value divided by the degrees of freedom should be close to 1. CFI and TLI values greater than 0.90 are an indication of acceptable model fit while values greater 0.95 are an indication of good fit. An RMSEA value of less than 0.05 is an indication of good fit and values between 0.05 and 0.08 indicate acceptable model fit. Finally, SRMR values less than 0.05 are an indicator of good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Fabrigar et al., 1999). It should be noted that fit statistics for the initial peer and teacher mediation models using only the predictors, the mediator, and the outcomes will not be reported as those models are "just-identified." This indicates that all possible

associations between variables are specified, leaving no room for error. Therefore, there is no statistical reason to report fit statistics (Francis, 1988).

Analyses in MPlus were specified to handle missing data pairwise rather than listwise. In this way, if a student's responses were provided for some questions and not for others, their data was usable. In the event that they did not answer all the questions needed to create the composite score for any of the measures, those cases were not used for that analysis.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Data was screened for normality. All variables with the exception of academic achievement and teacher discrimination were in normal ranges for skewness and kurtosis. The data for academic achievement was examined and one individual reported that their GPA was .2. Once this value was removed, skewness and kurtosis for academic achievement appeared to be within normal ranges. Similarly, teacher discrimination scores were examined. All scores ranged from a value of 1.00 to 2.78 with the exception of one score that was reported as 3.89. In the absence of that one score, skewness and kurtosis values for teacher discrimination appeared normal. It should be noted, however, that both outlier values were included in the analyses. Bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations are shown in Table 2.

Perceived Discrimination from Peers

Mediation

The direct association between perceived discrimination from peers and academic motivation was first assessed. There was a significant negative association between the two variables, indicating that students who perceived higher discrimination from their peers indicated that they had lower motivation for academics (β = -1.65; p < .01). Following this analysis, self-esteem was added to the model to test for mediation. In the presence of self-esteem, the direct association between perceived discrimination from peers and academic motivation was no longer significant. Perceived discrimination from peers was significantly negatively associated with self-esteem (β = -2.27; p < .01) and self-esteem was significantly

positively associated with academic motivation ($\beta = 0.34$; $p < .001$). Academic motivation was also positively associated with academic achievement ($\beta = 0.01$; $p < .01$), as expected.

Moderation

Both moderators, ethnic identity development and peer social support, were entered into the analysis to test for any potential differences in the association between perceived discrimination from peers and self-esteem. There were no significant differences in the association between peer discrimination and self-esteem based on levels of either moderator. Furthermore, it was observed that in the presence of both moderators (in their respective analyses), the association between peer discrimination and self-esteem was no longer significant. The only significant association was the positive association between self-esteem and Academic motivation.

In the final peer analysis, gender was added as a control variable to the fully mediated model. Moderators were not specified. All significant associations persisted in the presence of gender. Perceived discrimination from peers was negatively associated with self-esteem ($\beta = -2.22$; $p < .01$), self-esteem was positively associated with academic motivation ($\beta = 0.31$; $p < .001$), and academic motivation was positively associated with academic achievement ($\beta = 0.01$; $p < .001$). Females had significantly lower self-esteem than males ($\beta = -2.51$; $p < .001$). Figure 2 on the following page illustrates the significant pathways from the mediation-only analyses and the paths' estimates.
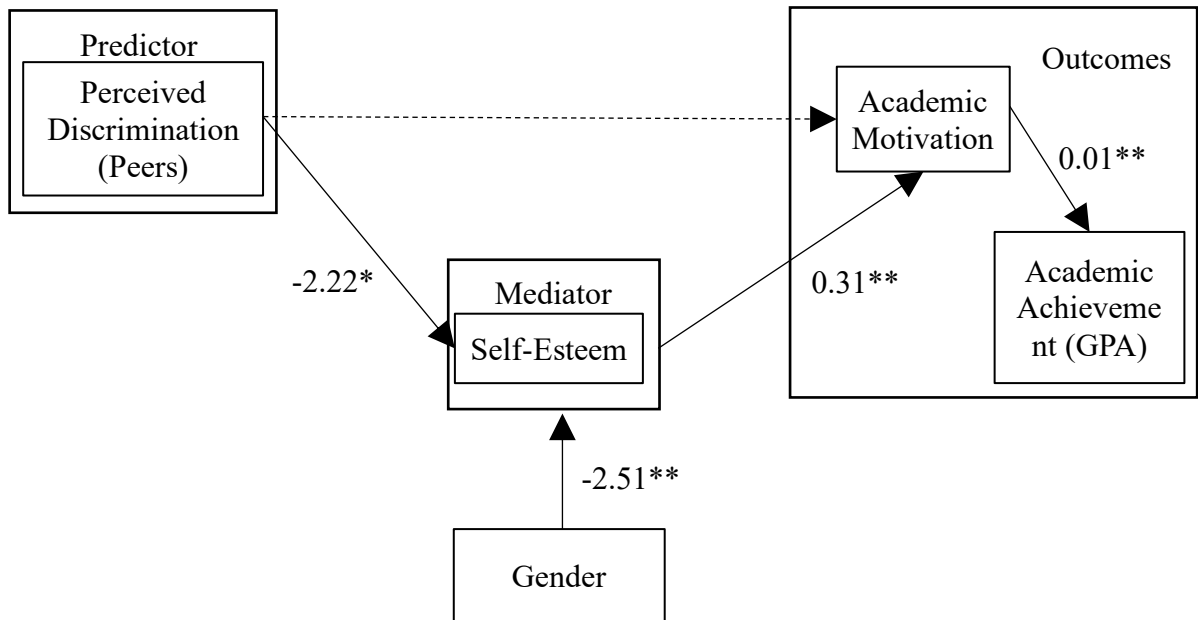
Figure 2. Significant associations for perceived peer discrimination. Note. *p<.01, **p<.001. The dotted line between peer discrimination and academic motivation indicates the previously significant direct association between the two variables that no longer exists in the presence of the mediator.

Perceived Discrimination from Teachers

Mediation

The direct association between perceived discrimination from teachers and academic motivation was first tested. Similar to peers, there was a significant negative association between the two variables, with students who perceived more discrimination from teachers reporting lower levels of academic motivation (β = -2.45; $p < .01$). Self-esteem was next added into the model to test for mediation. Mediation was not found. The direct association between discrimination from teachers and academic motivation persisted (β = -2.07; $p < .01$) and there was no significant association between perceived discrimination from teachers and self-

esteem. However, there was a significant positive association between self-esteem and academic motivation (β = 0.33; p < .001). Academic motivation was also significantly positively associated with academic achievement. Gender was added into the model as a control variable on perceived discrimination from teachers and on self-esteem and the significant results were maintained. Perceived discrimination from teachers was negatively associated with academic motivation (β = -2.03; p < .01), self-esteem was positively associated with academic motivation (β = 0.32; p < .001), and academic motivation was positively associated with academic achievement (β = 0.01; p < .001). Females had significantly lower self-esteem than males (β = -2.52; p < .001). Figure 3 on the following page illustrates the significant pathways and their estimates.

Moderation

Given that there was no significant mediational effect, the effects of the moderators on the pathway between perceived discrimination from teachers and self-esteem were not examined.
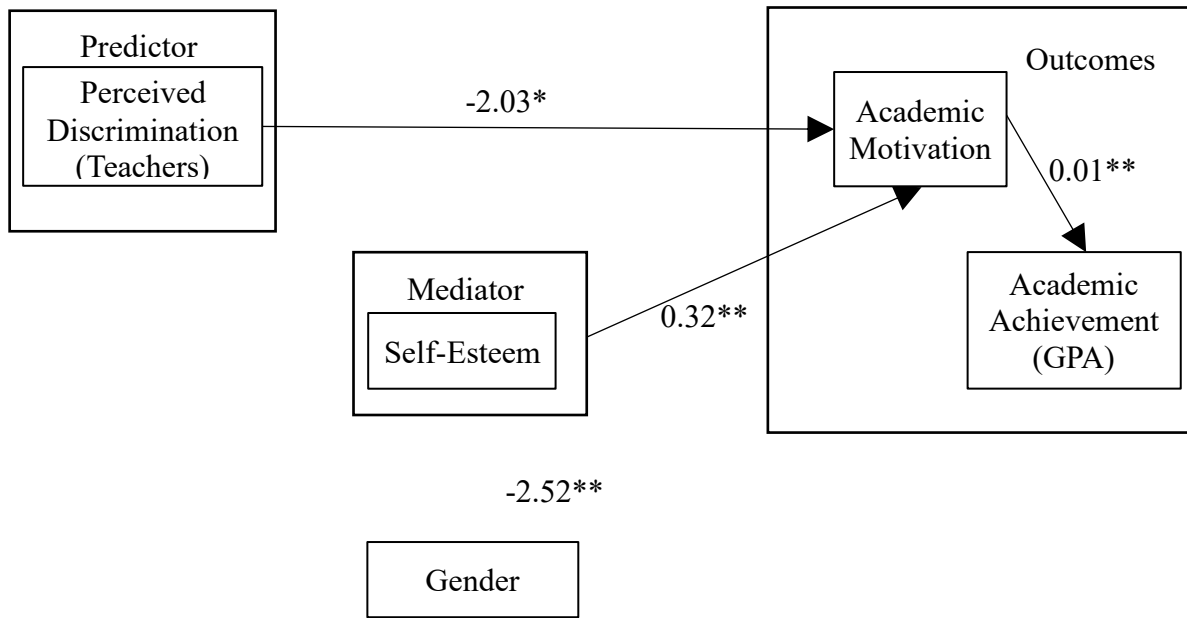
Figure 3. Significant associations for perceived teacher discrimination. *Note.* *p<.01, **p<.001.

Exploratory Analyses

In an effort to understand other potential associations between all the variables examined in this study, all variables were entered into the same analysis without being specified as moderators or mediators. The structure of each model was the same as the main mediation analyses. Ethnic identity development was incorporated into the model as an outcome of perceived discrimination and self-esteem and as a predictor of academic motivation, academic achievement, and academic achievement. School social support was entered as an outcome of discrimination and as a predictor of academic motivation, academic achievement, and self-esteem.

Peer Discrimination

This path model showed acceptable to good fit statistics (chi-square = 1.1983, *df* = 1, *p* = 0.16; RMSEA = 0.06 (C.I. = 0.00, 0.19); CFI = 0.99; TLI = 0.84; SRMR = 0.02). Academic motivation was significantly positively associated with academic achievement (β

= 0.16; $p < .05$), self-esteem ($\beta = 0.35$; $p < .001$), and with ethnic identity development ($\beta = 0.18$; $p < .01$). Self-esteem was negatively associated with peer discrimination ($\beta = -0.20$; $p < .01$) and positively associated with ethnic identity development ($\beta = 0.19$; $p < .01$). Peer support was significantly negatively associated with peer discrimination ($\beta = -0.23$; $p < .001$). Similar to the main moderated mediation analysis, in the presence of all other variables, there was still no significant direct association between peer discrimination and academic motivation. See Figure 4 for a visual depiction of this model with the significant paths and their standardized loadings.

Figure 4. Exploratory perceived peer discrimination path model. *Note. Only significant associations are shown; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.*

Teacher Discrimination

This model had variable fit from unacceptable to good (chi-square = 3.97, $df = 1$, $p < .05$; RMSEA = 0.10 (C.I. = 0.01, 0.22); CFI = 0.98; TLI = 0.67; SRMR = 0.02). Academic achievement was significantly positively associated with academic motivation ($\beta = 0.17$; $p < .05$) and with ethnic identity development ($\beta = 0.13$; $p < .05$). Academic motivation was

significantly positively associated with self-esteem ($\beta = 0.27$; $p < .001$), ethnic identity

development ($\beta = 0.16$; $p < .01$), and teacher support ($\beta = 0.325$; $p < .001$), and significantly

negatively associated with teacher discrimination ($\beta = -0.11$; $p < .05$). Self-esteem was

significantly positively associated with ethnic identity development ($\beta = 0.20$; $p < .01$) and

teacher support ($\beta = 0.26$; $p < .001$). Finally, teacher support was significantly negatively

associated with teacher discrimination ($\beta = -0.28$; $p < .001$). See Figure 5 for a visual

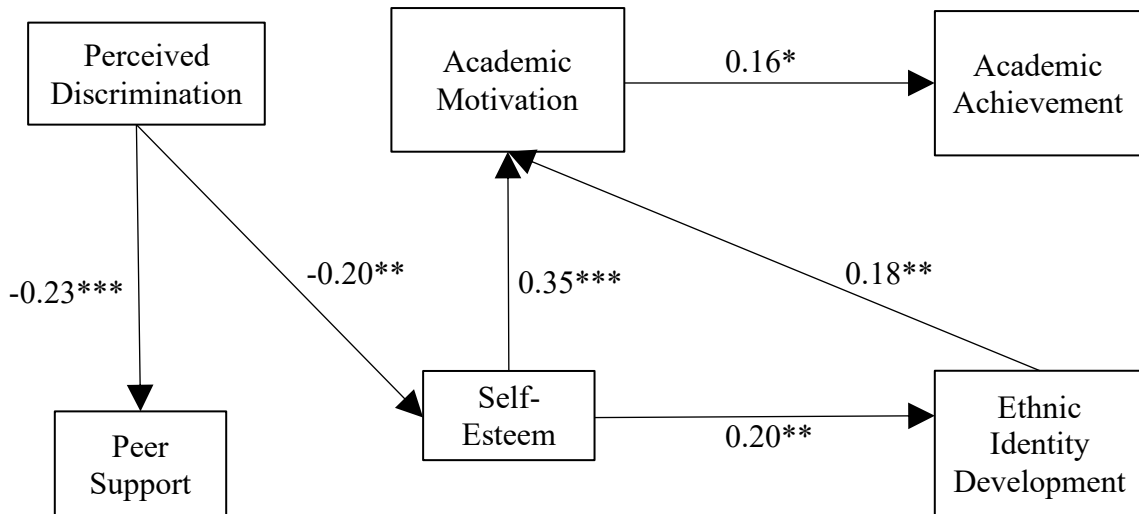depiction of this model with the significant paths and their standardized loadings.
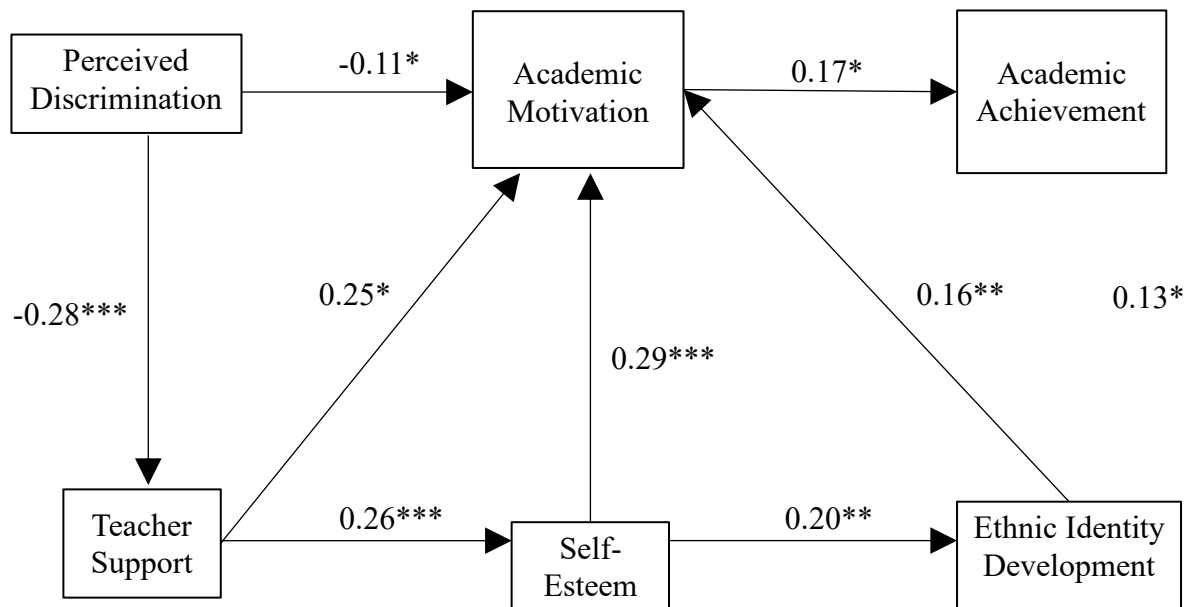
Figure 5. Exploratory perceived teacher discrimination path model. *Note. Only significant associations are shown; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.*

An additional exploratory moderation analysis was conducted on the pathway

between perceived discrimination from teachers and academic motivation, using teacher

support and ethnic identity as moderators. This analysis was run based on the persisting

association between perceived teacher discrimination and academic motivation in the initial

and exploratory models. They appeared to suggest that perhaps any potential buffers or

protective factors might function between these two variables rather than between teacher

discrimination and self-esteem. However, the moderations were also not significant;

therefore, those results are not reported here.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The current study sought to understand the effects of race-based discrimination from teachers and peers on the self-esteem, academic motivation, and achievement of Asian American high school students, also exploring the roles of ethnic identity and social support from teachers and peers and potential protective factors. The analyses were driven by a need to understand how to be responsive to the academic and mental health needs of Asian American students. Specifically, the researchers hypothesized that the association between perceived discrimination (from teachers and peers) and academic motivation would be fully mediated by self-esteem. Ethnic identity development and social support were posited as moderators, specifically protective factors, on the association between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. The significant findings are explored in the following sections.

As hypothesized, self-esteem fully mediated the association between perceived discrimination from peers and academic motivation. This association was not found when examining perceived discrimination from teachers, which was contrary to the hypothesis that a smaller, but still significant association would exist. However, the results continued to provide support for the idea that in high school, peers are more impactful and influential on the academic and social-emotional outcomes of youth (Cherng & Liu, 2017; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and that more attention needs to be placed on understanding and fostering peer relationships among high school students.

Although higher perceived discrimination from peers was indirectly associated with lower academic motivation, as shown by the fully mediated model, perceived discrimination from teachers was directly negatively associated with academic motivation. These results are

consistent with other research that shows that while teachers may not be directly impactful on self-esteem or other social-emotional wellbeing-related variables (Benner & Graham, 2012), their influence is directly associated with motivation for school, and consequently, achievement, both of which are specifically academic variables (Froiland et al., 2019). This is also congruent with values that many Asian cultures possess that hold education to a high standard. Teachers, who are authority figures, occupy space in that realm and, from a cultural standpoint, would directly impact other academic variables rather than both academic and personal variables (i.e., self-esteem). Furthermore, research that aims to understand the influence of teachers on the academic outcomes of elementary through middle school REM students has found teachers to be just as important as parents in certain cases (Arora, et al., 2017; Paulson et al.,1998; Pellerin, 2005; Urdan & Schoenfelder, 2006). Peers, on the other hand, are more impactful on a person's sense of self, especially developmentally for high school students (Costello et al., 2003; Hussong, 2000; Newman et al., 2007). This finding might justify discrimination from peers directly impacting self-esteem first, rather than being directly associated with motivation for school. While, self-esteem is not an academic variable, it was significantly positively associated with academic motivation in the teacher model, similar to the results found in the peer model. First, this consistency is due to the same data being used in both models for the self-esteem and motivation results; therefore, the researchers expected those particular results to be similar. However, the result of self-esteem being associated with motivation even while accounting for the variance taken up by perceived discrimination from teachers suggests that self-esteem, more broadly, is implicated academic processes. Therefore, this particular result continues to provide support for the

finding that social-emotional factors are directly tied to academic outcomes (Field et al., 2001; Guay et al., 1999; Orozco & López, 2015; Wong et al., 2003).

The hypotheses related to both moderator variables, school social support (from teachers and peers) and ethnic identity development, were not supported. Although previous research has provided evidence that in certain contexts, school social support and ethnic identity development are sources of strengths and protective factors for REM youth, those results were not replicated in the current study. There are multiple potential reasons for these discrepant findings.

As it relates to teacher social support, in particular, one of the main differences between its use in this study and others is its position as a moderator rather than as a predictor or outcome. Therefore, its role in the present study's analysis is different, which might account for the difference in results. Second, there may be a conceptual difference between the idea of overall teacher support and having a teacher who shows warmth, care, and fosters autonomy or competence in students. The latter descriptors are specific teacher qualities making up components of support that have been positively linked to social-emotional outcomes (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) as well as motivation and achievement (Alfaro et al., 2006; Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Froiland et al., 2019; Wentzel, 1997). Furthermore, when understanding the relationship between teacher support and social-emotional outcomes in Asian American high school students, other studies have examined specific negative social-emotional outcomes including depression or suicidality, rather than positive attributes, such as self-esteem (Arora et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2018). Therefore, there was a fundamental difference in the role of teacher support in the current study, which may explain differences in findings in the current study.

Numerous studies examining peer social support as a primary indicator rather than as a moderator have found that peer support is positively associated with achievement, engagement, and self-esteem (Ladd, 1990; Nichols & White, 2001; Ryan, 2001; Wentzel, 1997, 1998). However, studies that have used peer support as a moderator or buffer for negative experiences have examined peer victimization (Cuadros & Berger, 2016) rather than peer discrimination. This may speak to the fact that race-based bullying or victimization as a construct may be different from race-based discrimination, which might explain the different results found in the current study.

Similar to the considerations brought up for peer and teacher support, ethnic identity was also used as a moderator rather than as a primary indicator. The literature reports mixed significance when conceptualizing it as a moderating variable for Asian Americans (French & Chavez, 2010; Stein et al., 2014), and the current study shows that there was no significance. However, previous research examining the role of ethnic identity development as a primary predictor has found positive associations with outcomes such as motivation and self-esteem or social-emotional concerns (Kiang et al., 2013; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Na et al., 2017; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Therefore, it is possible that there is a need to reconceptualize the role of ethnic identity as a primary mechanism that impacts self-esteem and motivation rather than as a moderator. Additionally, research focusing on the direct association between discrimination and self-esteem across various REM groups has found that higher levels of perceived discrimination are associated with lower levels of ethnic identity development (Okamoto et al., 2009; Tajfel & Forbas, 2000; Whitbeck et al., 2001). These findings suggest that there may be more to the role of ethnic identity as an outcome to examine and also as a potential mediator between other associations. Other factors to

consider that will be delineated further in the future directions section are related to the developmental appropriateness of asking high school students to accurately rate their ethnic identity level and also whether ethnic identity development is truly the construct the researchers meant to study as compared to ethnic pride or cultural socialization, for example.

Implications

There are numerous implications related to understanding social-emotional and psychological wellbeing in Asian and Asian American populations. First, the results of the main moderated mediation analysis suggest that peers significantly impact the self-esteem of Asian American students and that their self-esteem, in both models, significantly impacts their motivation for school and subsequent academic performance. Accordingly, schools should engage in social-emotional screening among their students for self-esteem and for depressive symptoms, both of which generally comprise the major components of social-emotional wellbeing.

Although the focus of the current study was not the direct examination of mental health diagnoses, self-esteem and social-emotional concerns are highly related to mental health outcomes. They are an important factor to understand in the lives of Asian Americans, given that within Asian communities, mental health concerns are often unacknowledged and, consequently, unaddressed. This lack of acknowledgement results from various pressures including cultural norms and shame around "negative" emotional expression, fear of what mental health issues mean for a person's future, and sometimes a desire to uphold the "Model Minority" stereotype. Although the "Model Minority" stereotype is harmful, there continue to be many Asian groups who hold themselves to the stereotype and believe that not living up to those expectations would make life worse for them in the U.S. (Guo et al., 2014). As such,

educators who are unfamiliar with cultural aspects of emotional expression within Asian cultures may completely overlook concerns within Asian youths and adults. Therefore, in addition to screening, there are implications for teacher and parent psychoeducational trainings to explain the presentation of so social-emotional concerns in Asian communities and trainings to normalize mental health in Asian communities.

The results of the current study also underscore the need for interventions to reduce discrimination on an individual and systemic level in school systems. Studies have found that school-wide trainings that involve teachers, administrators, and students are effective at teaching about how racism affects people and at changing school cultures to be more positive and inclusive (Kim et al., 2017; Welton et al., 2015). Programs such as Just Communities in the Central Coast of California region, for example, focus on implicit bias trainings for students and teachers. The program is geared towards teaching about injustice while also facilitating identity development in youth in a manner that asks them to confront privilege, bias, and dynamics in society that divide people (Just Communities, 2017). Other trainings have focused not only on racism and discrimination perpetuated by White folk, but also on the dynamics of racism between REM groups and within-group racism. Many anti-racism trainings and curriculum are often focused on younger students (elementary and middle school-aged), with the purpose of being taught early on and increasingly at developmentally appropriate levels (Carlisle et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2017; Kraft, 2007; Portman & Portman, 2002); yet, given the utility of these programs, they should also be taught at the high school level to foster similar positive changes.

One social justice curriculum focused on how psychologists can collaborate with high school educators to implement positive school climate change and social justice. The

curriculum, called Alliance Building Leadership Exchange (ABLE), had the goals of helping students critically analyze equity issues, explore privilege and marginalization, develop empathy through collaboration and discussion, and empower students to take action (Kim et al., 2017). The result of this was a strong "collaborative network" (Kim et al., 2017, p. 126) between the psychologists who implemented the program and the teachers, a strengthening of the relationships among the teachers at the school and the student, and a drive for increased action to create a socially just environment among members of the school community (Kim et al., 2017).

An important part of systemic change is understanding that race-related conversations will often need to be uncomfortable in order to actually facilitate change (Landsman, 2004). Critical Race Theory also posits that simply talking about or addressing racism is not often enough to bring about systemic or institutional change and that action is a highly important part of creating change (Bell, 1995; Matsuda et al., 1993). This action may constitute facilitating discussions with politicians and local or national organizations that create shifts in public policies and laws or even participating in local townhalls to provide feedback on policies being implemented in schools. Overall, there is a need for a fundamental shift in American culture and how we conceptualize who is American. As mentioned earlier, CRT really emphasizes the importance of understanding how historical oppression and racism continue to impact the functioning of American society, and part of change means that America needs to take responsibility for the historic and continued subjugation and oppression of people of color. This is a difficult task given the resurgence of white supremacist and nationalist organizations particularly since the election of the president.

Limitations

There were a few limitations to the current study. Firstly, data was collected from a convenience sample, specifically one high school that the researcher knew of and Asian youth groups that were 100% South Asian and Hindu. The high school already had a larger Asian population and, considering that the Asian youth groups were 100% Asian American, the data may have been biased towards youths who were more comfortable with their ethnic identity or who may not have felt racism or discrimination at a large level from their non-Asian peers. The students at the youth group, in particular, may have been a more biased sample, as the youth groups were part of cultural organizations whose aims were to instill cultural pride and knowledge in its students. Recruiting Asian American youth from schools at which they are a minority, or even youth who have varying levels of cultural knowledge might provide more insight into how discrimination impacts students depending on their school context.

A second limitation is that all students were combined into one larger Asian sample rather than being disaggregated into their specific Asian groups. Table 1 shows a more specific cultural breakdown of these students. Their individual groups numbers were not large enough to justify conducting separate path analyses, which is why all students were combined. This is a limitation, as all Asian Americans are not the same. While many East and South Asians immigrants tend to be more well-educated and of a higher socioeconomic status, a growing body of Southeast Asians, for example, do not fit that mold or really any of the norms dictated by the "Model Minority" stereotype. This leads to generalizations being made about all Asians and also a loss of nuance about different Asian American groups'

experiences related to racism and discrimination. Therefore, more data needs to be collected that is representative of the diversity within the Asian American community.

The analysis itself may be a limitation. A path model allows researchers to specify different associations among variables based on theory; however, forcing loadings of one variable onto another also relies on the associations being specified correctly, which may cause the researchers to lose out on understanding how other variables interact with each other. Additionally, a large debate within the field of structural equation modeling is the use of SEM analysis such as moderated mediations on cross sectional data rather than longitudinal data, since many researchers believe that a moderated mediation implies some sort of causality, which then must be time-bound.

Finally, given that research related to Asian Americans and discrimination is limited, quantitative approaches may not always be the most appropriate if the field is not completely aware of what issues to be studying. In some cases, qualitative, more grounded approaches may be appropriate to understand the experiences of Asian Americans, as many Asian cultures also have rich oral or storytelling traditions. Previous qualitative studies have found that when probed further, Asian American students admit nuances in what they classify as racist, how they react to racism, and how racism affects them. These experiences are difficult to captured with quantitative surveys. Therefore, the information gleaned from qualitative studies could then be used to meaningfully direct quantitative approaches.

Future Directions

The exploratory analysis showed that when specifying ethnic identity development and teacher and peer support as primary indicators rather than as moderators, significant results appeared. In the peer exploratory model, discrimination was negatively associated

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with peer support. Taking into consideration ideas around relevant supports for Asian American youth, it is apparent that a student's perception of peer support is associated with perceived peer discrimination. However, in the primary moderated mediation analysis, peer support did not significantly moderate the association between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. Further exploration of the impact of peer support conceptualized in a different role (i.e. predictor or outcome) on self-esteem, social-emotional wellbeing and achievement would be important to understand to figure out how best to support Asian Americans across different domains.

In the peer exploratory model, self-esteem positively impacted ethnic identity development and motivation, and higher ethnic identity development were positively associated with motivation. All three of these variables were associated with each other, showing that there is a link between feeling positive, one's cultural identity, and one's motivation. The link between self-esteem and motivation is supported by previous research, given that part of Self-Determination Theory-based intrinsic motivation relies on students have positive feelings (relatedness, autonomy, and competence; Deci & Ryan, 1985) about themselves. What is less clear is the role that ethnic identity plays in this relationship, as it appears to be a salient factor, yet, does not function as a moderator, similar to what was found for peer support as a primary indicator.

The teacher exploratory analysis also displayed similar results related to self-esteem, ethnic identity development, and motivation. Ethnic identity was directly and positively associated with academic achievement, indicating that it plays an influential role across multiple academic processes as a primary indicator rather than as a moderator. Another interesting finding was related to the role of teacher support and the different significant

associations between teacher discrimination that appeared. First, teacher discrimination continued to be associated directly with academic motivation. It was also significantly negatively associated with teacher support. Teacher support was subsequently found to be significantly and positively associated with self-esteem and with academic motivation, findings that were expected based on previous research studies (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; López, 2012; Urdan & Schoenfelder, 2006; Wentzel, 1997). That these associations did not appear in the initial moderated mediation analysis suggests potential misspecification of the model, but also suggests, similar to the peer exploratory discrimination model, that teacher support plays a larger role than that of a moderator.

In the future, the researchers might consider reconceptualizing the roles of social support and ethnic identity development and their associations with self-esteem and academic outcomes of Asian American students as primary indicators rather than as moderators. Future research could focus on understanding if there are specific components of ethnic identity development that are more salient, such as ethnic pride or ethnocultural socialization messages, and that may function in a more protective manner for Asian Americans, rather than as a broader construct of identity. Studies have found that Asian American youth who receive fewer messages about their culture exhibit increased psychological distress. Conversely, positive cultural socialization messages, rather than messages of mistrust toward people of other races, buffer the negative effects of racial discrimination on psychological distress (Atkin et al., 2019; Seol et al., 2016). Research has also shown that Asian American students who are grappling with the pull of their cultural identities and an American identity seek to avoid specific labels or characteristics that would lead them to being "othered" (Osajima, 1993; Pyke & Dang, 2003). These are characteristics

that would make them stand out and appear like someone who is a "fresh off the boat" (FOB) or "too Asian," including speaking another language, eating cultural food, appearing smart, or wearing certain clothing (Osajima, 1993; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Wang & Atwal, 2015; Wang et al., 2016). There is also potential for the reverse in which students appear to reject their cultural identity and are consequently labeled "whitewashed" by other Asians (Osajima, 1993; Pyke & Dang, 2003). This further brings up a question addressed earlier of what are salient markers of ethnic identity to Asian Americans? Cultural identity shifts based on context, therefore, understanding what identity means contextually would help pinpoint exactly how ethnic identity could be used as a protective factor. The questions posed on the MEIM, which was used to measured ethnic identity development in the current study, may not have completely accounted for the cultural struggle that Asian American students face. Therefore, perhaps understanding the role of cultural messages that strengthen students' perceptions of their cultures should be explored as a potential protective factor and buffer against discrimination, rather than using overall ethnic identity development.

Additionally, generational status is also an important factor in understanding the tension that occurs in bi- or multicultural identity development. Individuals who are first- or second-generation immigrants may still hold on to broad Asian cultural values related to social support, which indicate that individuals should not share their personal matters or struggles with people outside of their family. Perhaps, a more relevant step would be to compare the influence of parent, teacher, and peer support in the same model on social-emotional and academic outcomes, which could provide researchers and educators with a more comprehensive picture of the necessity of family engagement in the schooling process.

Qualitative research could also be conducted to achieve a further understanding of what Asian American students perceive as racist, given research showing that sometimes Asian Americans do not readily identify racism or justify it in certain contexts as a joke (Bablak et al., 2016; Palmer & Jang, 2005). For example, researchers could ask students to think about the "Model Minority" myth and how that impacts their perception of themselves and how others treat them. Students could be asked questions related to what adults or peers expect of them, and what are the social-emotional effects of those expectations (i.e., low self-esteem, stress, sadness, no effect, etc.). This would provide researchers with more flexibility to understand how racism functions even when it is not explicitly identified or called racism by the perpetrators or the victims. It would also provide nuance when considering the idea of how racism is constructed and perceived based on generational status, for example. If an individual is a first or even second-generation immigrant, their idea of racism is probably more likely to be tied to their cultural homeland(s). However, successive generations may have different ideas of what constitutes racism, as their cultural identities are more likely to be constructed based on the tension between their cultural homeland(s), parental and peer cultural socialization, and their American identity. Additionally, there is the added factor of different Asian groups experiencing different types of racism. Ultimately, each individual person's definition of racism is context-based and may change over time (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Zhou, 1999).

One other potential avenue to explore further is related to the finding that females reported lower levels of self-esteem than males across both peer and teacher models. This finding was consistent with literature reporting that females report being more emotionally impacted by discrimination than males (Felix et al., 2009; Larochette et al., 2010; Mendez et

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al., 2016; Nansel et al., 2001). However, there are also data that show that males from various REM groups report being on the receiving end of discrimination more often than females (Chavous et al., 2008; Greene et al., 2006; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2011; Seaton et al., 2008). While data supporting these associations exist, little research has been conducted to understand the underlying mechanisms that protect males from being more emotionally impacted by perceived discrimination and that contribute to the exacerbation of discrimination's effects on females' self-esteem. Therefore, this also is an area of future research.

Finally, the researchers could consider collecting longitudinal data to see how Asian American students' perceptions of discrimination changes over time. The current study was cross sectional and relied on students' current reports of discrimination, which only provides a minute look at their experiences. Collecting longitudinal data would enable the researchers to perform what is, in some respects, a truer mediational model to understand the effects of discrimination over time. This would also lead to a more developmental look at Asian American youths' mental health outcomes, which might provide researchers with better times points at which to intervene.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current study sought to understand the impact of discrimination from peers and teachers on the social emotional wellbeing (self-esteem) and academic outcomes (motivation and achievement) of Asian American high school-aged youth. Consistent with prior research, the results of the current study indicated that peer discrimination is significantly negatively related to all outcomes, albeit indirectly to both academic outcomes through the full mediation of self-esteem. Teacher discrimination was

significantly directly related only to motivation and indirectly to achievement. While school social support and ethnic identity development did not moderate any of the associations in this analysis, there is still evidence that suggests that they can function as protective factors for Asian American and REM students, in general. Educators and psychologists can use this information as a way to expand their knowledge and conceptualization of the fact that Asian Americans experience race-based discrimination from teachers and peers, which can lead to poorer social-emotional and academic outcomes. A larger push needs to be made to be attentive to the struggles and needs of Asian Americans, who are continually marginalized because of hurtful stereotypes such as the "Model Minority" myth and from historical racism that has continually oppressed them in the U.S. These changes are difficult but can be made starting with school systems.

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