

TO THE CASE OF ASIAN AMERICANS

by

George Mason University

Committee:

Carl Botan

Director

P. Eagle Knibbold

W. C. C. G. T. on

[Handwritten signature]

2 1 1

Department Chairperson

Carl Botan

Program Director

83

Dean, College of Humanities
and Social Sciences

Date: August 5, 2011

August 5, 2011

Fall Semester 2011
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Strategic Communication Responses to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD):
A Mixed Method Co-cultural Approach to the Case of Asian Americans

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

By

Jungmi Jun
Master of Arts
Sogang University, 2005

Director: Carl Botan, Professor
Department of Communication

Fall Semester 2011
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Copyright: 2011 Jungmi Jun
All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family
(사랑하는 아빠, 엄마, 경미)
for their love and patience.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I read others' dissertations, I always open the acknowledgement page first. I was envious of their moment of finishing all the revisions and solely thinking of thankful people. Now, I thank God to give me this moment.

Above all, I should thank my advisor, Dr. Carl Botan. Without him, my past three years and perhaps my entire life would've gone very differently. Since we met in South Korea, he encouraged me to come to the US to finish my Ph.D. He became an advisor for my research, career, and life. He always had more confidence in me than I did. Thanks to him, I could believe in myself and finish this paper. I am proud of being his advisee and will be forever.

I also thank to Dr. Hochang Shin for all the positive energy he has sent to me as well as his lessons of being humble and showing respects to others.

This dissertation was completed thanks to my wonderful committee members who showed me continuous support despite the tight (almost impossible) defense schedule. I thank my mentor and favorite chat friend, Dr. Xiaomei Cai for her humor, honesty, and intelligence. I express many thanks to Dr. Mark Hopson, who inspired and guided me to pursue critical and intercultural research. I also thank Dr. Earle Reybold for her warm hugs as well as her vast knowledge and extraordinary critique on methods.

Additionally, I acknowledge faculty at Mason who taught me and worked with me through the presidential scholarship, Dr. Gary Kreps (the world best dean), Dr. Katherine Rowan, Dr. Edward Maibach, Dr. Stephen Farnsworth, Dr. Xiaoquan Zhao, and Dr. Melinda Villagran. Also, I give many thanks to the staff and my friends in the program. You guys are awesome! Great thanks to my best friend, Jason for his support and help.

Finally, I send special appreciations to my family; mom, dad, Kyungmi, Sooyoung, Youngjin, and oppa who allowed me to leave them for many years. I will always miss you and love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Abstract.....	x
Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Guiding Theory and Problem Statement.....	1
Little research focus on Asian Americans as a racial marginalized group.....	3
Exclusion of identities and cultural values in co-cultural studies.....	6
Lack of comprehensive scale to measure co-cultural factors.....	9
Summary	12
Purposes of the Study	12
Overview of the Following Chapters.....	14
Definitions of Key Terms	15
Chapter 2. BACKGROUND.....	17
Racism	17
Racial Discrimination Experience as Communication Process	19
RDMs Targeting Asians	22
Stereotypes.....	23
Microaggressions	31
Summary	35
Chapter 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	37
Co-cultural Theory.....	37
Co-cultural practices and orientations.	40
Refining Strategic Communication Responses to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD).....	45
Nonassertive.....	47
Assertive	47
Aggressive	48
Antecedents of SCRRD	48
Preferred outcome	48
Fields of experience	50
Situational/relational context	51
Communication efficacy.....	51
Identities (Esteem)	53
Cultural values	55
Chapter 4. METHODS.....	59
Research Design.....	59

Rationale for research method.....	59
Sampling process.....	63
Research ethics and participant privacy.....	64
Survey Instrument.....	65
Demographics.....	65
Preferred outcome	65
Fields of experience	66
Situational/relational context	68
Communication efficacy.....	69
Identities (Esteem).....	69
Cultural values.....	71
Data Analysis Procedures.....	75
Two step analyses of textual data.....	75
Statistic analysis.	77
Chapter 5. RESULT.....	79
Demographics.....	79
Demographics of participants who wrote a racial discrimination story.....	83
RDMs Targeting Asian Americans.....	83
Themes of RDMs targeting Asians Americans.....	83
Forms of RDMs.....	101
SCRRD of Asian Americans.....	102
Demographic Factors and SCRRD	103
Motivations of Nonassertive SCRRD.....	107
Preferred Outcome and SCRRD.....	112
Fields of Experiences and SCRRD.....	112
Situational/Relational Contexts and SCRRD.....	113
Communication Efficacy and SCRRD.....	114
Identities (Esteem) and SCRRD.....	114
Cultural Value and SCRRD.....	115
Chapter 6. Discussion	117
Lessons About RDMs	117
Communication Discrimination Against Asians	117
Lesson About SCRRD.....	121
Demographic Influences on SCRRD.....	121
Antecedents and SCRRD.....	123
Nonassertive SCRRD Orientations of Asian Americans.....	126
Amicable SCRRD.....	128
Chapter 7. Conclusion.....	129
Theoretical Implications	130
To Co-cultural and Racism-Related Communication Research	131
To Communication Researchers Dealing with Asian Americans	133
Methodological Contributions	134
Limitations	134
Limited Generalization of the Findings	134

Low Reliability of Some Constructs.....	135
Low Extent of Correlations Among Variables and Missing data.....	136
For Future Studies	136
Appendices.....	138
Appendix A. Representative Asian American Associations Contacted for Participants Recruiting	139
Appendix B. Recruiting E-mail.....	140
Appendix C. Questionnaire.....	141
References.....	160

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 1. Co-cultural Communication Orientations and Practices	45
Table 2. Factor Loading for Preferred Outcome.....	73
Table 3. Factor Loading for Racial Identities	74
Table 4. Demographics of Participants.....	82
Table 5. Asians Will Never Be and Will Never Know Americans	92
Table 6. Sexualizing Asian Males/Females.....	92
Table 7. Bamboo Ceiling and Pigeon Holding	96
Table 8. Asians Are All the Same.....	96
Table 9. Forbidden Land.....	100
Table 10. Asians Are Simply Gross.....	100
Table 11. Items retained from PCA of SCRRD	105
Table 12. Factor Loading for SCRRD	106
Table 13. Gender differences in SCRRD	107

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1. Data Analysis Procedures.....	78

ABSTRACT

STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION RESPONSES TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (SCRRD): A MIXED METHOD CO-CULTURAL APPROACH TO THE CASE OF ASIAN AMERICANS

Jungmi Jun, Ph.D

George Mason University, 2011

Dissertation Director: Dr. Carl Botan

Individuals from underrepresented groups select a communicative practice in interactions with other individuals who have dominant backgrounds or with the structures of dominant society. Orbe (1998) theorized these communicative behaviors of underrepresented groups as co-cultural practices. Subsequent studies have applied the co-cultural approach in explorations of marginalized life experiences. However, several limitations are found in both previous co-cultural literatures and other communication research with respect to marginalized groups. First, little attention was given to Asian Americans as a marginalized group in society and little is known about their social and communicative needs compared to that of other racial minority groups. Second, previous co-cultural studies did not substantially consider influences of identities and cultural values on a selected co-cultural practice. Third, co-cultural theory and framework

emerged from a qualitative methodology and most subsequent co-cultural studies have utilized only qualitative methods.

Given the limitations of previous research, the purposes of the present study are:

1) to explore experiences of Asian Americans as a marginalized group in society and their communication strategies when they deal with racially discriminatory messages (RDM) and situations; 2) to conceptualize racial identities and cultural values as antecedents of co-cultural communication behaviors among racial minorities; 3) to diversify methodological approaches of co-cultural theory by developing a quantitative scale, which will be called the Strategic Communication Responses to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD) scale. The SCRRD scale includes measurements for three dimensions of SCRRD (i.e., nonassertive, assertive, and aggressive), existing co-cultural factors (i.e., preferred outcome, fields of experience, situational/relational context, communication efficacy), and two additional factors suggested in this present study (i.e., identities and cultural values). In addition, mixed methods research approaches were taken in the procedure of data analysis in order to complement quantitative and qualitative method's strengths and weaknesses.

An online survey was administered to people who identify themselves as Asian and reside in the US. The survey asked participants not only to answer given questions of the SCRRD scale but also to provide a description of their racial discrimination experience. In that, both numerical and textual data was obtained. While the numerical data was analyzed statistically, the texts were analyzed with two phases: (1) qualitative thematic analysis and (2) quantitative content analysis.

Primary findings are: First, RDMs targeting Asian Americans are prevalent in their everyday co-cultural interactions. These RDMs were thematized as (a) racial slur, (b) playground teasing, (c) Asians will never be and will never know Americans, (d) sexualizing Asian males/females, (e) bamboo ceiling or pigeon holding, (f) Asians are all the same, (g) forbidden land, (h) Asians are simply gross, and (i) alienation within Asian groups. Second, RDMs targeting Asian Americans are still overtly, directly, and publicly displayed as verbal and nonverbal forms in contemporary society. Third, Asian Americans tend to utilize nonassertive SCRRD than assertive or aggressive responses. Fourth, in selecting nonassertive SCRRD various internal and environmental factors influence including the emotion of humiliation and shock, a lack of knowledge about appropriate responses, peer pressure not to confront, and strategic intentions to gather more information about the situation and to protect themselves from further risks. Fifth, some Asian Americans treat the aggressor of racial discrimination even more gently based on the cultural belief that kindness and respect would reflect upon themselves as well as benefit other Asians. Sixth, gender showed to be the only demographic factor related with SCRRD. Females are likely to use nonassertive SCRRD than males, whereas males are likely to utilize aggressive SCRRD. Seventh, those who seek to separate themselves from the majority culture take assertive approaches in discriminatory situations. Eighth, individuals who have more past experiences with racial discrimination are likely to use assertive and aggressive SCRRD. Individuals learn effective SCRRDs that minimize adverse impacts from RDMs throughout the experiences. Ninth, individuals who highly evaluate their ability to change a life event with their

communication skills tend to use assertive SCRRD. Tenth, Asian Americans who highly estimate themselves are more likely to use assertive SCRRD than nonassertive. Last, those who highly value Asian cultural values (i.e., collectivism, Confucianism, high-context communication) tend to avoid using aggressive SCRRD.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by identifying limitations of previous studies regarding communicative behaviors of underrepresented groups, especially focusing on former co-cultural research. Based on that, I present the purposes of this study. Finally, an overview of the following chapters and definitions of key terms will be presented.

The Guiding Theory and Problem Statement

People who have a marginalized background develop and select a strategy when they communicate with other people from a majority background (Orbe, 1998). Orbe (1996) laid a foundation of ‘co-cultural theory’ to theorize communicative behaviors of individuals who have marginalized backgrounds. Co-cultural (or co-cultural communication) theory assumes that a hierarchy exists in each society that gives privilege to certain groups of people. In the US, the dominant groups include European Americans, males, heterosexuals, able-bodies as well as the middle and upper classes (Orbe, 1998). Dominant group members occupy the position of power on the basis of varying levels of privilege that they use to create and maintain communication systems that reflect, reinforce, and promote their fields of experience. Dominant communication structure both directly and indirectly impedes the progress of those persons whose life experiences are not reflected in public communication systems. Meanwhile, non-dominant group members realize their marginalized status within the societal cultures.

Non-dominant group members strategically adopt certain communication behaviors to negotiate with the oppressive dominant structures (Orbe & Spellers, 2005).

The word ‘co-culture’ refers to the culture of those non-dominant groups, which is used to avoid the negative or inferior connotations of past descriptions such as minority or subculture (Orbe, 1998). Co-cultural group members refer to individuals who have co-cultural backgrounds in terms of gender, race, age, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, and more. Co-cultural communication is a selected communicative practice of individuals from non-dominant groups when they interact with other individuals who have dominant backgrounds or the structures of dominant society (Orbe, 1998). However, this fundamental definition of co-cultural communication can be problematic as an individual’s societal position consists of diverse memberships simultaneously. The complex process of co-cultural relationships will be further discussed in chapter III.

A number of subsequent studies utilized the co-cultural framework to explore life experiences of diverse co-cultural group members (e.g., Camara & Orbe, 2010; Groscurth & Orbe, 2006; Lapinski & Orbe, 2007; Orbe & Camara, 2010; Orbe & Groscurth, 2004; Urban & Orbe, 2007). However, several theoretical and methodological limitations are found in previous co-cultural literatures as well as other research regarding communicative behaviors among marginalized groups. At least three problems can be identified: 1) little research focus on Asian Americans as a racially marginalized group in society; 2) conceptualization of co-cultural communication practices without considering co-cultural members’ identities and cultural values; and 3) limited use of methods in co-

cultural studies including a lack of a comprehensive scale to measure co-cultural communication and its interrelated factors.

Little Research Focus on Asian Americans as a Racial Marginalized Group in the Society

Asians are the fastest-growing racial group in America. Using the Asian population alone in 2010, this population increased by 4.4 million, or 43.3%, between 2000 and 2010. Furthermore, if Asian mixed with other races were added, this population increased by 44.2% from 2000 to 2010. In the same period, the total U.S. population grew only 9.7%. A total of 14.6 million people, or 5.6 % of the U.S. population, identified themselves as being Asian or Asian in combination with another race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Asians make up the fourth-largest racial group in the country, following Whites, Hispanics, and African Americans. The proportion of Asian Americans in the US is expected to reach 8% by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The racial category of Asians is a sociopolitical construct consisting of more than 25 ethnic groups, such as Chinese, Indian, Korean, Filipino, Hmong, and Vietnamese, whose languages and cultural customs vary widely (G. Chen, LePhuoc, Guzmán, Rude, & Dodd, 2006).

With the addition of Asians legally and illegally residing in the US without US citizenship, the Asian population consists of more numbers. For instance, in 2010, 435,667 international students from Asia attend American higher education institutions, which accounts for more than 60% of the total international students in the US (Institute

of International Education, 2010). Also, Asians made up more than 20 percent of the foreign-born labor force of the US in 2010 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010).

Asians and Asian Americans are used interchangeably in this study and both refer to individuals who identify themselves as Asian and currently reside in the US. They may have origins in the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent. This study asserts that these Asians in the US are linked and share similar experiences with discrimination based on social presumptions on their looks, cultures, and other characteristics regardless of their US citizenship and origins.

Asians as targets of racial discrimination. As members of a minority group in the United States, Asians have been targets of racism and racial discrimination. According to Liang, Li, and B. Kim (2004), racism targeting Asians has a long history. It includes the lynching and mass murders of early Asian migrants, legislation prohibiting migration of people from Asia, and imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II. In addition, anti-Asians crimes, such as vandalism, threats, aggravated assault, and physical harms have increased in recent years (Liang, Li, & B. Kim, 2004). For instance, when Dartmouth College appointed Dr. Jim Yong Kim, a Korean-born Harvard medical school professor and global health pioneer as a president, one of its students sent out a racist e-mail over a daily satirical campus listserv. The anonymous e-mail insulted President Kim as a “Chinaman” and “an immigrant willing to work in substandard conditions at near-subsistent wage” and it also said “Dartmouth is America, not Panda Garden Rice Village Restaurant (Jan & Schworm, 2009).”

Despite the evidence of racial discrimination towards Asians, they are often not considered as much of a disadvantaged group by other racial groups because of the model minority image and relatively successful achievement in society (Wu, 2002).

Discrimination toward Asians oftentimes is believed, often erroneously, to be minimal or less severe than it is for other racial minority groups (R. Lee, 2003). For instance, it was found that Whites tend to think Asians don't face discrimination in the work place and thus, affirmative actions are less beneficial to Asians than they are to other racial minorities, while Asians report that they have had personal experiences with discrimination and they should benefit from affirmative actions as much as other groups (Weathers & Truxillo, 2008).

In addition to the model minority image, Americans' tendency to dichotomize racial issues in terms of a two-tiered racial order --with Whites at one end and Blacks at the other-- may have resulted in less focus towards Asians as a target group of racism. Asians are considered neither Black nor White, but at the same time either Black or White (Liang et al., 2004).

Little academic research. Asians also have received little attention as a subject of racial discrimination research in academic fields. Scholars point out that compared to other racial minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics, there are fewer studies existing about Asians (Liang & Fassinger, 2008; Liang et al., 2004; Weathers & Truxillo, 2008). As a result, the social and communicative needs of Asians arising from racial discrimination are often overshadowed by the experiences of Whites, Blacks or

Hispanics, and research findings for these ethnic and racial groups are too often assumed to also speak for the experiences of Asians (Liang et al., 2004).

In the field of communication, relevant literatures in respect to Asians has mostly focused on media representation and stereotyping of Asians by using content analysis (e.g., Kawai, 2005; K. Lee & Joo, 2005; Paek & Shah, 2003; Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006). However, research that further examines Asians' perspectives showing how they negotiate their minority identity and select a communication strategy within interactions with dominant cultures is rare. Although one study found a passive and non-assertive orientation of Asian Americans when they respond to discriminatory acts (Camara & Orbe, 2010), little research about why Asians are likely to communicate that way or what factors are attributed with their choices has been done. In fact, no co-cultural study has examined Asians as a primary subject group to date. Asians served as one of the racial categories in a few studies, but the number of Asian samples was too small to provide adequate explanation about the population (e.g., Camara & Orbe, 2010; Lapinski & Orbe, 2007).

These findings suggest that a closer examination on Asian Americans as a disadvantaged group in American society is needed. Asian Americans' perspectives on racial discrimination and their communicative strategies arising from discriminatory experiences should be examined and distinguished from other racial groups. In addition, Asian-specific factors that may influence their communication style such as culture, value, and identity should be revealed. The reliability of previous findings about Asian

Americans as being nonassertive or passive should be replicated with a larger sample. If it is reliable, explanations of those orientations need to be provided.

Exclusion of Identities and Cultural Values in Co-cultural Studies

This study explores communication strategy enacted by Asian Americans through interactions with individuals from dominant racial and cultural groups, particularly in a discriminatory situation. These interactions are inherently interracial and intercultural. Intercultural and interracial communication studies have suggested identities and cultural values as critical factors interrelated with communication behaviors (Hecht, 1998; Y. Kim, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2000, 2005). Especially, in perceiving and dealing with a racial discrimination issue, a racial identity plays a significant role (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). However, previous co-cultural studies did not provide much discussion about the role of identities and cultural values in co-cultural practices. Current co-cultural theory includes only 6 co-cultural factors, which are preferred outcomes, fields of experience, perceived costs and rewards, abilities, situational contexts, and communication approach.

Racial identities. For racial or ethnic minorities, their racial/ethnic group is a significant part of themselves and their collective group is more important than it is to the majority (Leets, 2001). When individuals from racial minority groups deal with racial discrimination, their racial identity influences perceptions of the issue as well as a coping style with negative impacts arising from the discrimination (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). Although coping is a longer-term practice compared to co-cultural communication strategy that is practiced immediately within a situation, coping styles are somewhat similar with co-cultural practices. There are two coping styles commonly suggested in

racism coping literatures: (1) problem or task oriented, also called active, cognitive or rational and (2) emotional and avoidance-oriented coping (Endler & Parker, 1990; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001).

Problem-oriented style in coping literatures is somewhat similar with the assertive approach in co-cultural theory as it focuses on the incident itself and finds a direct way to resolve the problem limiting emotional involvement and confronting the situation such as making official complaints and seeking advice. On the other hand, emotion-oriented style in coping literatures consists of intra-psychic strategies such as denial and avoidance with attempts to vent out negative feelings and turning attention to other things rather than confronting the issue itself. This seems somewhat similar to the nonassertive approach in co-cultural studies.

Cultural values. In exploring communication behaviors, Asian Americans' cultural values should not be disregarded. Although the main target participants of this study are Asian Americans that will spend a majority of their lifetime in the US and have been acculturated to American society, some of the traditional Asian cultures may be shared through generations. Moreover, considering the fact that as of 2000, a majority of Asian Americans were foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000), Asian Americans are expected to maintain their own cultural values or tendencies that are distinguished from European American culture.

Singhal and Nagao (1993) suggest that cultural orientations of Asians influence their perceptions and attitudes toward assertiveness communication. More specifically, collective, high-context, and Confucian oriented cultural values are suggested to lead

Asians to perceive an assertive style as less competent communication and, therefore to make them less likely to perform assertive communication. As noted above, Asians are known to use passive and nonassertive co-cultural practice than other racial groups in responding to discriminatory acts (Orbe & Camara, 2010). Cultural values of the population may better explain these results than the factors incorporated into co-cultural theory.

Consequently, although co-cultural communication is inherently intercultural and often interracial, two important factors -- co-cultural members' identity and cultural value -- were not incorporated in the original conceptualization of co-cultural communication practices. This may also limit the ability of the previous co-cultural scale (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007) to assess what it set out to assess. Therefore, this research argues that racial identity and cultural values should be considered important, and the scale developed as well as analyses in the present study need to consider the two important factors and examine their relationship with communication strategy in discriminatory situations.

A Lack of Comprehensive Scale to Measure Co-cultural Factors

Co-cultural theory was selected as a guiding theoretical framework of the present research for several reasons. First, it allows for an exploration of discriminatory life experiences as a communicative interaction from the perspective of minority individuals (Urban & Orbe, 2007), while many existing interpersonal and intercultural theories offer general approaches to study such phenomena (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007). Second, co-cultural theory was established as a framework for an analysis of communication practices, orientations, and co-cultural factors enacted by an individual with a non-

dominant background. It consists of 9 co-cultural orientations, 6 co-cultural factors, and an initial set of 26 co-cultural practices or tactics. Details of all these elements will be described later in chapter III. Co-cultural framework is by far the best tool to guide the inquiry of the minority experience of Asians both more thoroughly and with more nuances than any other available theory.

Co-cultural theory emerged from a phenomenological methodology and the initial set of co-cultural practices was developed based on qualitative interviews and analysis (Orbe, 1996). Likewise, following co-cultural studies utilized mostly qualitative approaches such as textual-analysis of personal essays (Urban & Orbe, 2007), class texts (Hopson & Orbe, 2007) and rhetoric in public meetings (Groscurth & Orbe, 2006), focus groups and in-depth interviews (Orbe & Groscurth, 2004). Although these studies have generated new insight into co-cultural practices and contributed to the extension of contexts of phenomenon as well as refinement of the theory (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007), the dominance of qualitative approaches in co-cultural literatures may limit further exploitation of the theory that can be obtained from other methodological approaches such as a quantitative or mixed-methods.

Lapinski and Orbe (2007), who first attempted to develop a quantitative co-cultural study addressed several advantages of developing a quantitative measure of theoretical constructs. First, it provides further ways to study the communication patterns of marginalized groups in addition to existing methodological approaches. Second, co-cultural theory has the potential for extensive practical application and theoretical refinement, but qualitative data collection and analysis procedures are cumbersome and

not readily applied by researchers and practitioners in a similar way. The interpretive nature of qualitative data requires extensive training for practitioners in order to draw any conclusions from the data. Third, the development of measurements is foundational to replicable research and it can expedite theoretical and empirical progress of a theory in various content domains as well as prevent the use of unreliable or invalid measures.

In this regard, Lapinski and Orbe (2007) established the co-cultural scale to measure communication approach (i.e., assertive, aggressive, non-assertive) and preferred outcomes (i.e., assimilation, accommodation, separation). Also, relationships among those dimensions were suggested. However, as they admitted, only two factors were addressed in the co-cultural scales. Four other co-cultural factors were not included: fields of experience, abilities, costs and rewards, and situational factors. As a result, the scale did not include all of the theoretical concepts. The present study attempts to add those back with two additional constructs.

In addition, while Lapinski and Orbe (2007)' study focused on testing the utility of the scale, relationships between variables and participants' co-cultural memberships (e.g., gender, ethnicity, disability, social-economical status, sexual orientation) were not presented, which could be an important practical finding. In fact, their sample did not evenly represent some personal characteristics within a co-cultural group. Females, Whites, and Blacks were overrepresented compared to males and other racial groups. Although co-cultural study should select individuals from a specific co-cultural group (e.g., female), it could be possible to control other characteristics of samples (e.g.,

ethnicity, age, social-economical status) that better reflect the co-cultural group's population.

Consequently, methodological limitations of previous co-cultural studies suggest that methods need to be diversified in addition to existing methodological approaches that were mostly qualitative. Also, a comprehensive scale to measure both existing and other potential dimensions of co-cultural theory is needed. The reliability of existing co-cultural scale should be tested on other co-cultural members. Within a target co-cultural group, which is the Asian race in the present study, other characteristics of members should represent the population.

Summary

In summary, previous co-cultural literatures as well as racism-related communication studies exhibit several limitations. First, little attention was given to Asian Americans as a marginalized group in American society despite the evidences of racial discrimination towards the group. Thus, little is known about their perspectives on racial discrimination and their communicative needs arising from discriminatory experiences. Second, co-cultural theory is in the progress of extending its theoretical reach in part by expanding from just a solely qualitative methodology to include multiple methodologies including quantitative approaches. However, the development of a quantitative scale has not yet advanced very far. Third, at least two critical constructs, co-cultural members' identities and cultural values, were not included in the original conceptualization of co-cultural communication practices. Therefore, the relationship

between selected co-cultural communication strategy and identities and cultural values could not be found.

Purposes of the Study

The theoretical and methodological limitations of previous research require new and more inclusive concepts and methods for co-cultural studies. In order to address the limitations and achieve the research goal, this study takes the following steps: (1) Exploring experiences of Asian Americans as a marginalized group in US society by identifying racially discriminatory messages (RDM) targeting the group as well as providing a comprehensive review of relevant literatures. Thus, in the next chapter, racism and racially discriminatory perceptions and social messages towards Asian Americans are discussed based on a literature review. (2) Extending methodological approaches of co-cultural studies by utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, this study develops the Strategic Communication Response to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD) scale by modifying and testing the existing scale as well as creating measurements for the four remaining co-cultural factors (i.e., fields of experience, costs/rewards, situational context, abilities) and two new factors (i.e., racial identity, cultural value). Second, not only numerical answers to the scale but also textual data about racial discrimination experiences are collected. Third, the textual data is analyzed qualitatively as well as quantitatively in order to answer research questions. (3) Collecting sufficient data from Asians and offering richer explanations about the population's experiences with racial discrimination and responsive communication strategies.

Using the new SCRRD scale, this research will examine communication strategies for responding to racial discrimination selected by Asian Americans. In addition, it will test SCRRD in association with identities, cultural values, preferred outcomes, fields of experience, situational/relational context, abilities, costs/rewards, and other co-cultural memberships (e.g., gender, socio-economic status).

Through the textual analyses of stories about racial discrimination experiences, themes and forms of racially discriminatory messages (hereafter RDM) targeting Asian Americans will be identified. In addition, multiple ways in which Asian Americans respond to those messages and discriminatory situations and their motivations of selecting a certain response will be discovered.

Overview of the Following Chapters

The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter II will present the background of this study that also connects to one of the research issues of this study, RDMs. It will begin with a discussion about racism that is still manifested as diverse forms of RDMs in various levels of contemporary society. Then, it discusses the experience of Asian Americans as a target of racial discrimination in American history and argues how experiencing racial discrimination leads a recipient to communication needs. Next, previous discussions concerning stereotypes and microaggressions targeting Asians will be introduced.

Chapter III will describe the theoretical framework of concepts in which this study is grounded. First, co-cultural theory and relevant studies will be reviewed. Then, the concept of strategic communication responses to racial discrimination (SCRRD),

which is the outcome variable of this research, is explained. Also, previous research findings concerning co-cultural practices will be reviewed. Next, it will propose a set of factors that are expected to relate with a selected SCRRD. For each factor, its concept and theoretical rationales will be provided. Each section will conclude with a research question asking the relationship between the factor and SCRRD.

Chapter IV will describe the details of the research method. First, it explains research design. It will offer the rational of research method, particularly using surveys and mixed methods utilizing both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Then, details of the participants in the study, sampling method, and data collection procedures will be offered. Also, the procedures taken to ensure research ethics and participant privacy will be described. Second, it will provide details of the operationalization of key variables and the survey instruments. Finally, the qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques to answer research questions will be described.

Chapter IV presents the result of the study. First, the description of the participants will be provided. Next, the findings corresponding to each research question will be provided.

Chapter V discusses the findings of the current study. Lessons about RDMs targeting Asians and SCRRD practiced by Asians will be the focus of this chapter. Also, it interprets the relationships between antecedents and SCRRD.

Finally, chapter VI wraps up the project with concluding thoughts, its theoretical implications and methodological contributions, limitations, and recommendations for future studies.

Definitions of Key Terms

The followings are key terms and their definitions as they will be used in this study. Operationalization of some terms will be detailed in chapter II and III.

1. *Co-cultural groups*: people who have a marginalized background and relatively less social power
2. *Co-cultural practices or communications*: communicative behaviors of co-cultural group individuals when they interact with individuals from the dominant groups
3. *Asians and Asian Americans*: People who identify themselves as Asian and currently reside in the US regardless of their citizenship. In this study, two terms are used interchangeably.
4. *Racially discriminatory message (RDM)*: Verbal and nonverbal message that are recognized and perceived as discriminatory by a racial minority individual
5. *Strategic communication responses to racial discrimination (SCRRD)*: An individual's co-cultural behaviors in racially discriminatory situations.
6. *Microaggressions*: One type of RDMs, subtle and covert forms of RDMs that are manifested in everyday interactions.
7. *Aggressor*: An individual who send a RDM to a recipient or practice discriminatory acts. It includes those who may commit the act without intention merely based on ignorance (e.g., children).

CHAPTER 2. BACKGROUND

This chapter describes the background of this study that also connects to one of the research issues of this study, RDM. It begins with a discussion about racism that is still manifested through diverse forms in various levels of the contemporary society. Then, it discusses the experience of Asian Americans as a target of racial discrimination in American history and argues how experiencing racial discrimination leads a recipient to communication needs. Next, previous discussions regarding stereotypes and microaggressions targeting Asians will be introduced.

Racism

Despite continuous discussions and attempts for diversity and equality, such as the civil rights movement, discriminatory views towards people from marginalized racial and ethnic groups still exist in US society. Racism in society involves the subordination of members from targeted racial groups who have relatively little social power (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians) by members of the racial group who has relatively more power (i.e., European Americans) in society (Liang et al., 2004). Although a majority of Americans view themselves as good, moral and anti-racists, individuals as well as societies enable racist attitudes or beliefs both intentionally and unintentionally. Those views are enacted as unfair practices and differential treatment to individuals from marginalized racial groups both overtly and covertly (Hecht, 1998).

According to D. Sue (2005), racism can be manifested in our lives with three levels: individual, institutional, and societal/cultural levels. The first form, individual racism is associated with personal acts based on racial prejudice and discrimination. It is any attitude or action, whether intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, which subordinates a person or a group because of their color. It can vary from the extreme acts such as violent hate crimes to more subtle and indirect behaviors such as parents' discouraging their children from marrying a person of different color or avoiding renting a house to a person of color.

The second form, institutional racism involves organizational and social levels such as organizational policy, practice, and structure in the government, business, unions, schools, churches, courts, and other law enforcement agencies by which decisions are made that are unfair to individuals of certain races while allowing other racial groups to benefit from such actions. Examples include housing patterns, segregated schools and churches, discriminatory employment or promotion policies, racial profiling, inequality in health care, and education that ignores and distorts the history of particular racial groups.

The last form, cultural racism is the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one group's cultural heritage over another. Examples include the belief that one group's history, way of life, religion, arts and crafts, language, values, and traditions are superior than others belongs to this particular category as well as preference for certain physical characteristics such as blond hair, blue eyes, and light complexion.

In short, racial discriminatory attitudes or beliefs are manifested through everyday messages in personal, social, and cultural forms (Camara & Orbe, 2010). Racial

minorities often have to interact with other people who have discriminatory views and receive verbal or nonverbal expressions discriminating against them.

Racial Discrimination Experience as Communication Process

Once a minority individual perceives a RDM against oneself, the individual may need to communicate with a number of agents including oneself, the aggressor, a third person present in the situation, one's social support (e.g., family, friend) and organizations or professionals (e.g., counselor, doctor).

First, the target individual of racial discrimination may need communication with oneself or the third person to identify the intention of RDM. RDMs have evolved from the "old fashion" form in which overt racial hatred is consciously and publicly displayed, to a modern or symbolic form, which is more ambiguous and nebulous (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; D. Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). In the old fashion way, RDMs appeared as hate or harmful speech intended to cause damage that their receivers result in damage (Leets & Giles, 1999). Nowadays, the expressions are often more indirect, disguised, ambiguous, and subtle in our daily talks that are often difficult to identify and acknowledge. Thus, a recipient of a RDM often asks oneself or to another person if it really happened and finds it difficult to describe what is not right despite the feeling of being disrespected (Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003).

Secondly, once the target minority person identifies a RDM, the person encounters communication with the aggressor. There are two primary common responses: passive avoiding (e.g., disengaging, leaving, separation, ignoring) and direct actions against the aggressor (e.g., confrontation, attacking, asserting) (Camara & Orbe,

2010; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). Although a selected response may vary depending on personal, relational, social, and situational factors, the recipient of a RDM contemplates, selects, evaluates, and practices a communicative response to the aggressor.

Third, the recipient of RDM may seek communication with others to decrease negative impacts of the message as well as to find a better communication strategy. As discrimination experiences deeply humiliate individuals and it remains a hurtful and unforgettable memory (Cudd, 2006), exposure to discriminatory practices and messages intensely harm marginalized groups personally and psychologically.

In fact, racism is well known as a source of chronic stress that negatively affects an individual's psychological, physiological, and subjective well-being in mental health fields (Harrell, 2000). Prior studies have found that an experience of racism is positively related with physiological stress (Fang & Myers, 2001), depression (Suzuki, 2002), fear of social interactions (Perse, 2001), impairment on performance, mental health including happiness, life satisfaction, and self-esteem (Watkins, Walker, & Griffith, 2009) as well as perceptions of mastery or control (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). In addition, Williams et al. (2008) reviewed 53 studies examining the relationship between racial/ethnic discrimination and health. According to their analysis, several indicators of physical health status were also significantly related with discrimination, such as blood pressure, hypertension, cigarette smoking and alcohol use (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2008). To cope with these adverse impacts, the recipient seeks social support or asks help from mental health professionals (D. Sue, 1994). Furthermore, the recipient may consider

making an official claim or report to a relevant organization or a public service (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001).

As a result, racial discrimination accompanies with personal or social messages incorporating discriminatory views against minority races. Experience with RDMs requires a recipient to have various communicative needs. Therefore, this study attempts to view a racial discrimination situation as a communicative interaction and further analyze the mechanism of the situation in the communication perspective. In this regard, the first underlying assumption of this study is that a racial discrimination situation is a communicative interaction between a minority person and an aggressor who may or may not have racially discriminatory attitudes.

Although the term, ‘perpetrator’ is more widely used in racial discrimination literatures to refer a person who practiced a racially discriminatory act (e.g., Inman & Baron, 1996; Kreiger et al., 2010; Krieger et al., 2011; Mock, 1997; Outten, Giguere, Schmitt, & Lalonde, 2010; D. Sue, 2009; D. Sue, A. Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009; Wakefield & Hudley, 2005), this study prefers to use ‘aggressor’ in order to avoid hostile descriptions of people who may committed discriminatory practices and send RDMs without intention merely based on ignorance (e.g., children).

Second, this communicative interaction can occur in personal, cultural, and social levels. Third, an expression incorporating racially discriminatory views that are perceived by a racial minority person, intended or not, is defined as a RDM. Fourth, RDMs in contemporary society can have diverse forms including direct forms (e.g., hate speech, anti-racial crimes, discriminatory statement) and indirect and subtle forms (e.g.,

stereotype, microaggression). Fifth, once a racial minority person perceives a RDM targeting oneself, the person needs communication to deal with the message and interaction (Camara & Orbe, 2010). Based on these assumptions, this study focuses on a target minority person's communication strategies to deal with RDMs and explores factors interrelated with a selected strategy.

RDMs Targeting Asians

As members of a racial minority group in the United States, Asians have been targets of racism. As noted above, racism toward Asian Americans has a long history, and it still exists in society. According to Liang et al. (2004),

The long history of racism toward Asian Americans has been well documented and includes the lynching and mass murders of early Asian migrants, legislation banning migration of persons from Asia, and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. In recent years, there has been an increase in reports of anti-Asian vandalism, intimidation and threats, and incidents involving bodily harm. For instance, between 1998 and 1999, incidents involving aggravated assault increased by 23%, and threats and intimidation increased by 34%. In their most recent report, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (2002) reported that there were nearly 250 incidents against Asian Americans, particularly South Asians, in the 3 months immediately following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (p.1).

In addition, there are various perceptions discriminating the Asian race and some of these ideas have been fixed as stereotypes about Asians. In the next section, representative stereotypes about Asians are detailed.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are preconceived expectations about the characteristics of members of other groups. Stereotype, whether it is positive or negative, often leads to overgeneralization overlooking differences or uniqueness among individuals (Hoy & J. Wong, 2000; Perse, 2001). Most racial stereotypes about Asians are constructed, activated, and perpetuated by media (R. Lee, 1999; Zhang, 2010). Previous research suggests that there are several typical descriptions of Asians in media, which are yellow peril, model minority, and perpetual foreigner. Once fixed as dominant representations through media, the stereotypes significantly influence other racial individuals' perceptions of Asians and their interactions with Asians (Zhang, 2010).

Yellow peril. The notion of yellow peril reflects the long history of the relationship between the West and the East as well as the ideology of White supremacy. According to Kawai (2005), its root can be traced back to the *Genghis Khan's* invasion of Europe during the medieval time period. The fear in the West of the yellow race continued in the late 19th and early 20th centuries observing China's potential military and economic power as well as Japan's power in defeating China, South Korea and Russia.

When the Asian migration started in earnest, the yellow peril was perceived as a cultural, economic, political, and military threat to the White race, Western civilization,

and the American way of life or White Christian culture (Kawai, 2005; R. Lee, 1999). In addition, because of the perceived threat of job competition workers were particularly vigorous in their criticism of Asians during World War II and negative stereotypes against Japanese were re-intensified (S. Sue & Kitano, 1973).

Reflecting the socio-economic and political moods in America, early descriptions of Asians in American media were consistently negative (S. Sue & Kitano, 1973). Hamamoto (1994) points out that the negative representation of Asians as being deceptive, murderous, and dangerous was pervasive in American TV programs regardless of the genre. The anti-Asian racism on media grows out of the ideology of White supremacy legitimating unfair social relations and anti-Asian mentality (Hamamoto, 1994). Although aggressive displays of hatred against Asians have decreased in these days, the yellow peril perception still remains in society.

Model minority. Scholars commonly point out that the model minority image is the most dominant stereotype about Asians in these days (Kawai, 2005; K. Lee & Joo, 2005; Paek & Shah, 2003; Zhang, 2010). The model minority stereotype, originally created in magazine articles (specifically, in *New York Times Magazine* on January 9, 1966 [Peterson, 1966] and *U.S. News and World Report* [“The Success Story,” 1966] on December 26, 1966), and it has become a dominant way of describing Asians across diverse media forms (Zhang, 2010).

Media has promoted Asians from being an oppressed racial minority to being a shining example for other racial minorities (Zhang, 2010). Media claims Asians enjoy extraordinary achievements in education, occupational upward mobility, rising income,

strong family cohesion and are problem-free in mental health and crime (P. Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & T. Lin, 1998). Additionally, Asians are typically represented as overachievers who were financially successful, intelligent, academically excellent, industrious, technologically savvy, mathematically talented, self-disciplined, self-sufficient, and law-abiding (Paek & Shah, 2003; Zhang, 2010).

However, scholars have displayed suspicion and concern about negative consequences of the model minority image. For instance, S. Sue and Kitano (1973) assert that the model minority image was created as a product of intention to change racial moods or conditions of society rather than upon any real characteristics of Asians. Suzuki (2002) also points out that even in the early 1960, Asians were still described quite negatively, either as obsequious, slavish, and subservient or as treacherous, deceitful, and untrustworthy. The sudden change of the image of Asians from the yellow peril or evil to the model minority was occurring at the same time when US society was facing a major crisis in race relations. Indeed, the model minority image of Asians was purposely promoted to discredit the protests and demands for social justice of other minority groups (S. Sue & Kitano, 1973).

Hence, the model minority image had ideological and political aims to mislead people to believe the success of Asians is evidence of the triumph of meritocracy in US society (Ono, 2005). In addition, the model minority myth was intentionally used to shade racial discriminations and disadvantages towards Asians and other minority groups. Chan (1991) argues that the model minority stereotype transforms Asians into a silent minority that conforms to the norms, values, and controls of the majority group.

The success of Asians is often used indirectly to denigrate other minority groups. For instance, the implied question here is; if this minority group can make it without welfare or special support, why cannot other groups? The notion of model minority offers a proof that the American dream of equal opportunity is valid for those who conform and who are willing to work hard. As a result, the model minority label serves to control minority groups in society, to validate and reinforce the values of the White majority, and to inform other minority groups that they could achieve success if they conform to the values and norms of the middle class as well (Chan, 1991; P. Wong et al., 1998).

The discrepancy between the model minority image and Asians' actual life status has verified in several studies. For instance, Hurh and K. Kim (1989) argue that the successful minority image of Asians was invalid in the American labor market, since the cost (investment) was not taken into consideration in the measurement of financial success in previous analyses. Although Asian families seem to have higher annual family income, when counting investment factors such as more working hours, number of workers in the household, and education, individual earnings ratio of Asians is lower than those of Whites under the equivalent conditions of investment. Other analyses also showed that the average annual income of Asians was significantly lower than their White counterparts who had the same level of education, and the disparity was even greater when the level of education and geographical area of residence were counted. Native-born Asian men are less likely to be promoted to management positions than their White counterparts experiencing the so-called "bamboo ceiling." Additionally, the poverty rate of Asians was much higher than that of Whites (Suzuki, 2002).

Although Asians are still facing many discriminatory barriers, especially in terms of employment, employers as baseless often dismiss complaints about such discrimination. In fact, Asians were initially not included as a protected minority group under federal affirmative action regulations. Moreover, government agencies and nonprofit organizations were not inclined to fund programs for Asians in need of assistance because of the perception that the Asian communities had few if any problems and were self-sufficient and “took care of their own (Suzuki, 2002).”

K. Lee and Joo (2005) also argue that although the model minority stereotype may seem complimentary it can cause negative impacts for both Asians and individuals from other racial groups. Continued descriptions of Asians based on the model minority stereotype and repetitive exposure to these images may create pressure on Asians to confirm stereotype-driven expectations, consequently undermining their performance. When an Asian individual does not reach the expected achievement level, the individual may be more strictly penalized than others, and suffer lower self-esteem.

Particularly for Asian students, the academic excellence part of the image has detrimental impacts. P. Wong et al. (1998) found that Asian students also perceive themselves as the model minority, but this perception exerts serious pressure to those students to keep up the good student image. In addition, failure to maintain good grades has negative impacts on students’ self-esteem. This pressure leads Asian students to experience extreme mental stress and alienation. They are often subjected to unrealistically high expectations by their parents, their instructors, and even their peers (S. Sue & Morishima, 1982; S. Sue & Zane, 1985; P. Wong et al., 1998). Despite the

difficulties most Asian students receive little help in coping with problems because of ignorance by higher education institutions, which are partly driven from the presumptions of academic counselors that Asian students are well adjusted. For instance, Suzuki (2002) found out that college educators tend to ignore the real performances of Asian American students and continue to perceive these students by their hypothesized image from mass media.

Furthermore, positive characteristics of the model minority image are often associated with negative stereotyping in the other direction. For example, a description of Asians being industrious, hardworking, and serious may also be related with stereotypes toward Asians as having less socially skill, less family or friend oriented, and workaholics. In addition, Asians are often represented as poor-communicators being quiet, shy, humble, passive, and non-confrontational (K. Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et al., 2006).

Another flaw of the model minority image is that it overlooks the diversity among Asians. The model minority image merely describes Asians in higher socio-economic status, while it fails to depict Southeast Asians, Pacific Islanders, and recent immigrants who are relatively less educated, underemployed, and trapped in low-paying menial jobs. The model minority myth fosters an attitude among the general public and policy makers that affirmative actions do not need to include Asians such as the tendency of college admission policies to discriminate against Asians by imposing de facto quotas to limit the admission of Asian students. The most serious casualties of this model minority

stereotype are Southeast Asians, Pacific Islanders, and new immigrants (P. Wong et al., 1998).

In summary, although the model minority seems complimentary, the origin is problematic as it was created for ideological and political purposes, rather than reflecting the reality of Asians. The model minority myth promotes the success of Asians that was erroneously counted without consideration of investment factors that Asians have put in and populations that still suffer from poverty and lesser achievements. This fallacious perception misleads not only public organizations and other racial groups to ignore needs of Asians, but also Asians themselves to underestimate their achievements and live with more pressure. The model minority is a dominant stereotype about Asians these days, and thus it may appear more frequently in messages towards Asians.

Perpetual foreigners. Another pervasive stereotype toward Asians is the perpetual foreigner image (Suzuki, 2002; Wu, 2002; Zhang, 2010). R. Lee (1999) argues that Asians are regarded as the eternal "others" in American society because American media and pop-culture, which define what is American, have stereotyped Asians as "others" or "not Americans" regardless of their citizenship. An overt instance of the perpetual foreigner stereotype is the MSNBC headline at the 1998 Winter Olympics "American beats out Kwan" to refer to the victory of Tara Lipinski over Michelle Kwan, who was born and raised in California (Wu, 2002).

Due to their unique history and easily identifiable features, Asians live with the question, "Where are you really from?" or "Do you speak English?" that represents the typical assumption about Asians as outsiders in America (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Wu,

2002). Media description of Asian characters as being less Americanized or having limited English fluency has enhanced the stereotype (Meyer & Stern, 2007). Cheryan and Monin (2005) argue that this stereotype is a crucial threat for Asians to be denied their national identity. In their experiment, Asian faces were seen as the least American after White, Blacks, and Hispanics. To deal with the identity denial in their daily lives Asians present their American cultural knowledge more often and claim greater participation in American practices.

Furthermore, the foreigner image often negatively describes and stereotypes Asians in media. Although Asians have been almost invisible in mainstream American media compared to other ethnic groups, when they do appear, they are stereotyped or have narrowly defined roles. For example, Asian women have been frequently portrayed as silent, passive, exotic, obedient and humble, or at the other extreme, over-sexualized, seductive, treacherous, deceitful, and evil. Asian men, on the other hand, are often portrayed as culturally ignorant, incompetent, asexual, isolated, supremely wise, or as martial arts experts (K. Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et al., 2006).

Meanwhile, Paek and Shah (2003) suggest that some typical descriptions for Asians have changed. They found that in current commercials it often appears that Asian males are having romantic relationships with White females. Also, Asian females often take intelligent and professional positions instead of the silent and subservient roles. In addition, Asians are often described in media to have superior knowledge, wisdom, and altruism in relations with other races, which have typically been associated with only Whites.

However, the long history of media description of Asians as nerds and perpetual foreigners have already created or intensified the perception toward Asians among other American individuals. In a recent study of Zhang (2010), individuals' perceptions and judgments about Asians showed to be largely aligned with earlier media representations. Moreover, these stereotypes have impacts on individuals' intent to interact with Asians. Among racial-ethnic groups in the US, Asians are perceived as most likely to achieve academic success. At the same time, Asians are most likely to be perceived as nerds and to be left out in the socialization process. People from other races are least likely to want to initiate friendship with Asians (Zhang, 2010).

In short, there are three prevalent perceptions on Asian individuals and groups as being yellow evil, model minority, and perpetual foreigner. Whether those perceptions are positive or negative, they all define Asians as different beings and isolate them from the majority American society, culture, and personal characteristics. In the following section, a new concept, microaggression will be introduced, and how these discriminatory perceptions against the Asian race are displayed as the form of microaggression will be discussed.

Microaggressions

As previously mentioned, RDMs are more likely to have subtle, indirect, and ambiguous forms these days. In order to describe these covert expressions of racial discrimination, D. Sue et al. (2007) proposed the concept of racial microaggressions and it has been widely used in counseling and psychological studies (D. Sue, 2009; D. Sue, Bucceri, A. Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007; D. Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; D. Sue,

Capodilupo, Nadal, & Torino, 2008; D. Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007; D. Sue et al., 2009). Although the notion of microaggressions is primarily defined and developed for psychological analysis and with the purpose of helping the therapeutic process of patients, it guided the researcher to understand diverse forms and themes of RDMs.

Definition, forms, and themes of microaggression. Microaggressions are defined as brief everyday exchanges that send hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to people of racial minority groups because they belong to those groups.

Microaggression are delivered both verbally and nonverbally in the form of subtle snubs or dismissive looks, gestures, and tones (D. Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007). These messages are so pervasive in daily communication that they are often dismissed and glossed over as being innocent and innocuous. According to D. Sue et al. (2007), microaggressions are categorized into three forms depending on the aggressor's intention and the degree of aggressiveness of the message.

Microassault. The first form, microassault, is an explicit attack intended to hurt marginalized groups by discriminatory verbal or nonverbal messages. Examples include name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions. Those messages are mostly delivered consciously and deliberately. Generally, the aggressor expresses a microassault in limited "private" situations that allow some degree of anonymity and display them publicly only when they lose control or feel relatively safe to engage in a microassault.

Microinsult. The second form, microinsult is a rude and insensitive message that demeans a person's characteristics or identities derived from one's groups. It is generally

manifested as subtle snubs and the aggressor is often not aware of its problem. However, a microinsult clearly conveys a hidden insulting message to the target person. D. Sue et al. (2007) suggest an example situation of when an employee of color is asked how they got a job with underlying doubt of the person obtained the position due to an affirmative action or quota.

Microinvalidation. The last form, a microinvalidation is a message that excludes, negates, or nullifies the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person from marginalized groups. A typical example is when Asians, who were born and raised in the US, are complimented for fluent English that can negate their American heritage and to convey that they are permanent foreigners.

8 major themes of microaggression targeting Asians. In addition to the three primary forms of microaggressions, D. Sue et al., (2007) identified 8 themes of microaggression targeting Asian Americans.

Alien in own land. The first theme, alien in own land, involves the prejudice that Asians are foreigners or foreign-born, which is similar with the perpetual foreigner stereotype. This theme can be exemplified with questions or remarks such as “Where are you from?” “Where were you born?” or “You speak good English.”

Ascription of intelligence. Second theme, ascription of intelligence embodies the assumption that a degree of intelligence or academic performance is assigned to the Asian race. Instances are hearing statements such as “You are really good at math,” “Your people always do well in school,” or “If I see lots of Asian students in my class, I know it’s going to be a hard class.”

Denial of racial reality. Third theme, denial of racial reality, refers to invalidating Asians' experiences with racism or discrimination. Statements like "Asians are the new Whites." and "Asians are not a minority" and a racial talk about Blacks and Whites without consideration of Asians' presence are examples. Ascription of intelligence and denial of racial reality themes are associated with the model minority myth.

Exoticization of Asian women. Fourth theme, exoticization of Asian women, is a remark that classifies Asian women into an exotic category and at the same time isolates Asian women. Asian women often hear statements such as "Asian women are great girlfriends, they take care of a man's every need being passive companions to White men" or "Asian women have exotic looks (e.g. hair, skin) and are just sexy."

Invalidation of interethnic differences. Fifth theme, invalidation of interethnic differences, minimizes or denies differences that may exist between interethnic groups or the existence of other Asians groups. Despite the racial category of Asian Americans consist of more than 25 ethnic groups whose language and cultural customs vary widely, Asians frequently hear the statement, "All Asians look alike" or the question "Are you Chinese or Japanese?"

Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles. Sixth theme relates to the perception of cultural values and communication styles other than that of the White majority as being less desirable or indicators of deficits such as forcing to conform to Western norms and values or trying to correct ways of doing things the American way.

Second class citizenship. The seventh theme, second class citizenship, is associated with treating Asians as a lesser being or second class citizen after Whites such

as taking an Asian customer to the back of restaurant. This may be a common microaggression experienced among other racial minorities including African American, Hispanics, native Americans, and so on.

Invisibility. The last theme, invisibility, refers to the experience of being overlooked without the conscious intention of the aggressor. For Asians, their issues of race are often lost between those of Black and White.

Summary

In short, due to the group's unique immigration history and distinctive physical features Asian Americans meet false stereotypes and discriminatory perceptions that are manifested in American society particularly by media. These assumptions are manifested in diverse forms of RDMs. Receiving RDMs can cause adverse impacts on Asians' mind and body. For instance, Asian Americans who experienced a wide range of racial discrimination were reported to have greater tobacco, alcohol, and controlled substance use than others (Yoo, Gee, Lowthrop, & Robertson, 2010). To deal with discriminatory situations and cope with the negative personal impacts, the population may require many communicative decisions.

However, as previously mentioned, Asians are often not considered a racial marginalized group because of the model minority image (Wu, 2002). Co-cultural studies as well as other discrimination studies in other areas have not paid much attention on Asian Americans. Therefore, their racial discrimination experiences as well as behaviors to deal with situations are not studied much.

In order to address the relative gap in previous literatures, this study aims to identify RDMs that may reflect life experiences of Asian Americans as well as to examine their responsive communication strategy. D. Sue's works on racism and microaggression informed the researcher about diverse themes, contexts, and forms of racism and RDMs targeting Asians. Also, it offered a mental framework in reading and analyzing the textual data. Descriptions and examples of microaggression towards Asians were used to develop instruments for the fields of experience variable.

As previously noted, this study utilizes mixed methods; qualitative and quantitative content analysis of texts about racial discrimination experience written by Asian American participants and statistic analysis of numerical survey data. Here, I present two research questions first that will be explored with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The remaining research questions will be answered by only quantitative analysis and they will be presented in the next chapter after discussing the primary theoretical framework of this project and operationalization of the outcome and antecedent variables.

RQ1: What is the RDM experienced by Asian Americans?

RQ2: What is the strategic communication response to racial discrimination (SCRRD) of Asian Americans?

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of concepts in which this study is grounded. First, co-cultural theory and relevant studies will be reviewed. Then, the concept of strategic communication responses to racial discrimination (SCRRD), which is the outcome variable of this research, is explained. Next, it will propose a set of factors that are expected to influence a selected SCRRD. For each factor, its concept and theoretical rationales will be provided. Each section will conclude with a research question asking the relationship between the factor and SCRRD.

Co-cultural Theory

As previously discussed, co-cultural (or co-cultural communication) theory assumes a social hierarchy that gives privilege to certain groups of people and oppresses others. In the US, co-cultural group members refer to individuals who have marginalized backgrounds including females, non-Whites, the elderly, homosexuals, those who have disabilities, and more. In order to negotiate their co-cultural identities with oppressive dominant structures, co-cultural group members strategically adopt certain communication behaviors (Orbe & Spellers, 2005). Co-cultural communication is a selected communicative practice of co-cultural groups when they interact with other individuals from dominant backgrounds or the structures of dominant society.

Although this simple definition of co-cultural communication provides an easy understanding of the concept, Orbe (1998) warned that communication between “dominant” and “non-dominant” group members is a more complex process. As an individual’s societal position consists of diverse memberships simultaneously, the general definition is accurate but problematic. For instance, Asian American men can concurrently be dominant (male) and non-dominant (Asian American) group members. Therefore, an individual can function as both a target and an aggressor of RDMs within an interaction. According to Orbe (1998), “the stance of dominant group status is also contingent on other co-cultural identities and the specific communication contexts (p.51).” For instance, an Asian American man is a target of racial discrimination but also maybe an aggressor for gender discrimination in their relationships with a European American woman.

Most communication strategies in this study involve interactions in which Asian Americans as non-dominant members in terms of racial hierarchy communicate with the dominant racial group members, European Americans. However, it also includes Asian Americans’ interactions with members from other minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics, if their acts were perceived as discriminatory by a target Asian Americans.

In addition, discriminatory interactions in which in-group members involve (e.g., two Asian Americans) should be considered when another co-cultural membership becomes a silent issue (e.g., sub-race, ethnicity, nationality) within the interactions. Discriminations involve not only a race, which is related with one’s body/skin color and

social definition about attributes of the race (Ting-Toomey, 2005), but also ethnicity or nationality as well as its languages and cultures. As previously noted, Asian consists of more than 25 ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos) and each group's languages and cultural customs are different (G. Chen et al., 2006). Due to Asian countries' history (e.g., Japan's invasion to China and Korea) as well as the gaps in economical development (Yamanaka, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development., & Piper, 2005), there are unresolved hatreds and feeling as well as a hierarchy existing among those countries. This may result in discrimination towards one Asian ethnic group by another. For instance, Koreans residing in China are known to be targets of subtle and overt forms of discrimination and granted only limited government participation (R. Lee, Noh, Yoo, & Doh, 2007). Therefore, this study also concerns discrimination within Asian groups based on the presumption on others from different nationality or ethnic background.

Consequently, co-cultural communication is a complicated concept beyond the simple definition. Co-cultural interactions subjected in this study include diverse situations such as racial discriminations from the racial dominant group (i.e., White) to Asian Americans, between two racial minority groups (e.g., Black and Asian American), and within Asian groups. Although the primary inquiry of this study is Asian Americans' perspective as a recipient of racial discrimination, it should be noted that individuals function as both a target and an aggressor based on their diverse identities.

Co-cultural Practices and Orientations.

According to Orbe and Spellers (2005), the early focus of co-cultural communication research was on specific practices that co-cultural groups used during their interactions with dominant group members. Through phenomenological interviews with co-cultural members, Orbe (1998) developed a framework for co-cultural communication practices. The co-cultural framework consists of nine co-cultural orientations, six co-cultural factors, and an initial set of 26 co-cultural practices.

Two centers, communication approaches and preferred outcomes construct the nine co-cultural orientations. The communication approach includes three basic forms: nonassertive, assertive, and aggressive. The nonassertive approach is one in which an individual is non-confrontational, inhibited, and places putting the needs of others before one's own. The assertive approach involves expressive behaviors considering both oneself and the counterpart's needs equally. The aggressive type refers to overly expressive, confrontational, and attacking practices.

Meanwhile, the preferred outcome divides into three as well: assimilation, accommodation, and separation. The assimilation outcome refers to a co-cultural member's attempts to include themselves into dominant cultural norms by eliminating cultural differences and minimizing distinctions between groups. Accommodation involves changing the existing structures and developing appreciation for heterogeneous perspectives and cultures of those involved in an interaction. Separation refers to the attempts of creating and maintaining a distinctive identity from that of dominant cultures. From the combinations of three communication approaches and three preferred

outcomes, a total of nine orientations are constructed from nonassertive separation to aggressive assimilation. Each orientation includes several practices and a current framework has a total of 26 co-cultural practices (Orbe & Spellers, 2005). Table 1 below provides the practices belonging to each co-cultural communication orientation. Following details of each orientation are based previous co-cultural literatures (Groscurth & Orbe, 2006; Orbe, 1996, 1998; Orbe & Groscurth, 2004; Orbe & Spellers, 2005; Urban & Orbe, 2007).

Nonassertive assimilation. When co-cultural individuals take a nonassertive stance in communicating with dominant group members, three basic options exist depending on their preferred outcome. One is that of adopting a nonassertive assimilation orientation, which typically embraces co-cultural communicative practices like emphasizing commonalities and censoring self in order to blend into the dominant society. These efforts are enacted in a seemingly, yet sometimes strategically, inhibited manner.

Assertive assimilation. Similarly with their nonassertive counterparts, persons adopting an assertive assimilation orientation strive to downplay co-cultural differences and try to become absorbed into the dominant society. Instead of doing so in the presumably passive stance, however, this co-cultural orientation adopts a more assertive communication approach. Through practices such as bargaining, overcompensating, and extensive preparation, co-cultural group members attempt to fit into dominant structure by emphasizing the quality of their contributions as individuals.

Aggressive assimilation. Aggressive assimilation orientation takes a determined, often belligerent, approach to efforts at being seen as one of the dominant groups. Using such practices as mirroring or strategic distancing, co-cultural group members who use this primary orientation place great importance on fitting into the extent that other's fights and beliefs are viewed as less important in comparison. The practice of self-ridicule illustrates the magnitude to which some co-cultural group members will go in order to be perceived as like dominant group members.

Nonassertive accommodation. Individuals who adopt a nonassertive accommodation orientation to co-cultural communication attempt to invoke change through a seemingly constrained and non-confrontational manner. This co-cultural orientation includes such practices as increasing visibility and dispelling stereotypes. Although some instances of these strategic efforts may be considered more assertive than nonassertive, most co-cultural group members describe using the practices as a delicate means to influence dominant group members so that they will not deal with defensiveness or caution.

Assertive accommodation. While a nonassertive accommodation orientation privileges the needs of dominant group members, an assertive accommodation co-cultural orientation creates a balance between self and other's needs in attempts to transform societal structures. Several different co-cultural practices appear to seek accommodation through an assertive voice. Through such tactics as communicating self and educating others, co-cultural group members are able to work with others, both co-cultural group and dominant group members, in order to change existing dominant structures.

Aggressive accommodation. The focus of those persons adopting an aggressive accommodation orientation is to become part of dominant structures and then work from within to promote change. At times, their efforts may be perceived as self-promoting or pushy; however, co-cultural group members who use this primary communication orientation are not overly concerned with dominant groups' perceptions. Using confrontational tactics and power moves to gain advantage are two co-cultural practices associated with this orientation. While these practices are perceived by co-cultural group members as aggressive, they also reflect a genuine desire to work with, and not necessarily against, dominant group members.

Nonassertive separation. For some co-cultural group members, separation from others who are different is a naturally occurring reality. Still others use subtle communicative practices to maintain a separation orientation during co-cultural group interactions. Co-cultural communicative practices like avoiding and maintaining interpersonal barriers can be used to facilitate co-cultural separation. For those who use this primary orientation, physical avoidance is implemented whenever possible. However, when some interaction with dominant group members is unavoidable, co-cultural group members find themselves subtly enacting certain behaviors that create psychological distance between the two groups.

Assertive separation. Whereas a nonassertive separation approach can reflect an inherent inclination, an assertive separation orientation is a more conscious choice. As such, individuals adopting an assertive separation orientation are more self-assured in their attempts to create co-cultural structure exclusive of dominant group members.

Practices that can effectively establish an assertive separation orientation include exemplifying strengths and embracing stereotypes. From the standpoint of co-cultural group members, other practices such as communicating self and intra-group networking appear useful for both assertive separation and assertive accommodation orientation. The consequences of these co-cultural practices, in relation to the achievement of a particular outcome, are contingent on other influential factors like situational context.

Aggressive separation. An aggressive separation orientation is a primary communication orientation when co-cultural segregation is a top urgency. This particular orientation seeks to exert personal power through the use of co-cultural communicative practices like verbal attacking and sabotaging dominant group efforts, while the levels of co-cultural personal power do not match the societal power bases of dominant group members, they do enable some individuals to confront the pervasiveness of dominant structures on a smaller level.

Table 1. *Co-cultural communication orientations and practices*

	Separation	Accommodation	Assimilation
Nonassertive	Avoiding Maintaining interpersonal barriers	Increasing visibility Dispelling stereotypes	Emphasizing commonalities Developing positive face Censoring self Averting controversy
Assertive	Communicating self Intragroup network Exemplifying strengths Embracing stereotypes	Communicating self Intragroup networking Using liaisons Educating others	Extensive preparation Overcompensating Manipulating stereotypes Bargaining
Aggressive	Attacking Sabotaging others	Confronting Gaining advantage	Dissociating Mirrergic distancing Ridiculing self

(Orbe, 1998, p. 110)

Refining Strategic Communication Responses to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD)

As reviewed, nine co-cultural orientations are composed of combinations of two co-cultural factors: preferred outcome and communication approach (Orbe, 1998).

Previous co-cultural studies used the co-cultural orientations as a frame to analyze communication behaviors of marginalized groups (e.g., Camara & Orbe, 2010; Groscurth & Orbe, 2006; Urban & Orbe, 2007). In the present study, the preferred outcome and communication approach factors are separated. The communication approach will be re-defined as SCRRD and will be treated as the outcome variable. Preferred outcomes will be used as one of the antecedent variables. There are several reasons for this decision.

First, this study is focusing more on communication behaviors of Asian Americans rather than their co-cultural goals. Co-cultural theory puts much importance on the process of negotiating co-cultural memberships within the cultural hierarchy and the desire of co-cultural members with respect to where they want to locate themselves in social structures. Communication behaviors or tactics are means to achieve the goal. In the present study, the main interest is in finding out what factors are attributed with a particular communication strategy selected in a certain situation rather than desired goals of assimilating or separating.

Second, this study limits analysis to a racially discriminatory situation, which a participant experienced directly. Co-cultural study explores overall life experiences of co-cultural members. Therefore, any phenomenon or situation that a co-cultural member brings up can be a unit of analysis. Also, a co-cultural interaction of an analysis can be interpersonal, intergroup, institutional, social, and even international. The present study focuses on an individual's communicative strategy used for responding to racially discriminatory situations that the individual experienced directly. Therefore, the interaction would be more likely interpersonal, and there should be an aggressor involve in the discriminatory act. In discriminatory situations, preferred goals (i.e., assimilation, accommodation, separation) would not be a relevant outcome.

Third, this approach will also contribute to reducing complexity of measurements as well as creating one scale for the outcome variable. The existing co-cultural scale (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007) includes 35 items to measure co-cultural orientations. By focusing on the communication strategy part, the number of items can be reduced to

measure the outcome variable. In addition, by putting dimensions of the outcome variable (i.e., nonassertiveness, assertiveness) on one scale and constructing the variable at the interval level, more statistical analyses are possible.

Consequently, the SCRRD that derived from the notion of communication approach is redefined and used as the outcome variable in this present study. The SCRRD refers to a communication practice selected by an individual from a racial minority for responding to a message or a situation discriminating against one's race. The outcome variable, SCRRD consists of three dimensions: non-assertiveness, assertiveness, and aggressiveness. Each strategy includes several tactics.

Nonassertive

Nonassertive SCRRD involves non-confrontational and inhibited communication practices. Instead of articulating one's feeling or opinion to the aggressor immediately, the recipient may avoid the situation or the interaction with the aggressor. It may also include further actions such as censoring oneself and increasing invisibility. Individuals' inherent speaking style may be attributed with nonassertive SCRRD. However, non-assertive communication practice can be more of a strategic decision in certain situations (Orbe, 1988).

Assertiveness

Attempts to maintain a balance between non-assertiveness and aggressiveness can be described as assertive SCRRD. It includes self-enhancing and expressive communication about the discriminatory incident considering stances of both oneself and the aggressor. Individuals who take this approach may attempt to promote their own

right, needs, feeling, and desires about the incident without violating rights of others.

Example tactics would include demanding an apology, clarifying intention of the act, and telling the aggressor what was wrong without insulting the aggressor.

Aggressiveness

On the other hand, aggressive SCRRD describes individuals' responses that can be considered hurtfully expressive, self-promoting, and assuming control over the aggressor putting only their own needs. It includes verbal or nonverbal attacking and sabotaging the aggressor.

Consequently, the outcome variable of this research, SCRRD and its three dimensions were conceptualized. As previously noted, the second research question explores Asian Americans' SCRRD.

Antecedents of a SCRRD

This section describes antecedents of SCRRD. The current study proposes six antecedent variables. Four variables were adopted from the co-cultural framework including preferred outcome, fields of experience, situational/relational context, and communication efficacy. In addition, racial identity and cultural value, which were discussed earlier, are suggested as additional antecedent variables in this study.

Preferred Outcome

A racial minority person's overall co-cultural goals may closely connect to the person's perceptions of racial issues. When an individual enacts SCRRD, he or she consciously or unconsciously considers how one's SCRRD affects their ultimate relationship with dominant group members. Three primary interactional outcomes exist

for individuals: assimilation, accommodation, and separation. As explained above, assimilation involves attempts to fit in with dominant society by eliminating cultural differences, even though the loss of any distinctive characteristics follows. The simple logic of assimilation goal is that in order to participate effectively in dominant society, you must conform to dominant society. On the other hand, accommodation is based on the belief that individuals from two different cultures can maintain some of their cultural uniqueness. Therefore, individuals prefer the accommodation goal attempt to appreciate cultural pluralism. The last outcome, separation rejects forming a connection with dominant group members and seeks to join other co-cultural group members and create separate social communities and cultures (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007).

In a previous analysis of Lapinski and Orbe (2007), assimilation outcome was positively related with non-assertive strategy, but negatively with assertive. Indeed, individuals who want to assimilate themselves into dominant cultures are less likely to express themselves. In addition, accommodation outcome was associated with both assertive and aggressive strategy. This result indicates that individuals who seek cultural pluralism tend to speak up either assertively or aggressively. Meanwhile, separation outcome showed to have a positive relationship with assertive strategy. This was a somewhat surprising result that people who prefer to separate themselves from dominant cultures are expected to use more of the nonassertive strategy such as avoiding and increasing invisibility.

In order to explore the relationship between preferred outcome and SCRRD, the following research question is posed:

RQ3: How is preferred outcome (i.e., assimilation, accommodation, and separation) related to SCRRD?

Fields of Experience

The sum of an individual's experiences may have critical influences on the constant process of contemplating, choosing, and evaluating SCRRD. Although fields of experience can widely include many different resources of individuals such as education or observation of racial issues, primary or secondary experiences of interactions with other races, financial resources, etc., this study limits the analysis to past experiences with racial discrimination. From similar past experiences, individuals would learn how to choose an effective strategy among diverse options and enact appropriately in given situations, and also better predict a consequence of certain strategy (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007). Through the dynamic process of constructing and deconstructing the perceptions of what constitutes appropriate and effective strategy within experiences, each individual may develop their own SCRRD.

In a previous analysis, an aggressive strategy is often used when previous attempts to use assertive or nonassertive strategies were unsuccessful (Orbe, 1998). In order to examine the relationship between SCRRD and fields of experience with racial discrimination, the following research question is put forth:

RQ4: How is fields of experience with racial discrimination related with SCRRD?

Situational/Relational Context

The specifics of the situational context, where the interaction occurs, who is present, and additional circumstances of the interaction may guide a selection of particular SCRRD. Based on consideration of situational context, individuals adopt different practices (Orbe & Spellers, 2005). As this study limits the analysis to a racially discriminatory interaction, the analysis focuses more on where it happened and who was present, especially the aggressor of racial discrimination.

In a previous study, Camara and Orbe (2010) categorized the place where discrimination practices happened into business, workplaces, schools, public areas, and at home. An aggressor was categorized as a stranger, acquaintance, or an extended family member. In order to examine the situational and relational impacts of the context on a selected SCRRD, the following question is posed:

RQ5: How is SCRRD varied depending on situations and aggressors?

Communication Efficacy

According to Orbe and Spellers (2005), anticipated costs and rewards of a communication strategy as well as perceived abilities to practice the strategy are important consideration in selecting a strategy. Through experiences, individuals learn potential advantages and disadvantages associated with different communication behaviors. Although it is often difficult to estimate, perceptions about the costs and rewards may vary for each individual. Individuals make a strategic decision based on accounting costs and rewards. In addition, the abilities that refer to a person's relative capabilities to enact different practices are an important factor. Although there are

abilities accessible to most individuals such as thoughtfulness, rehearsal, and motivation, other abilities might vary depending on the individual characteristics and situational circumstances such as the natural ability to engage in confrontational and aggressive tactics, verbal abuse, and opportunities to network with other co-cultural group members, or have difficulty in identifying dominant group members who can be utilized as liaisons (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007).

The notion of communication efficacy can reflect both the costs/rewards and abilities that are perceived by individuals. Communication efficacy refers to individuals' beliefs about their communicative capabilities to influence over given interactions or life events (Jang, 2008). In other words, it represents an individual's self-evaluation about his or her ability to conduct a communication behavior as well as its anticipated results (i.e., cost, reward). Communication efficacy is a notion that is derived from self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Perceived self-efficacy is defined as individuals' beliefs about their capabilities to produce certain behaviors, which exercises influence over events that affect their lives. Self-efficacy beliefs are sound indicators of how people feel, think, and behave under a variety of situations. Also, individuals' avoidance from certain behaviors can be explained through self-efficacy (Jang, 2008).

Communication efficacy serves an important role in individuals' decision making whether to communicate assertively or not. For instance, Afifi and Weiner (2004) suggest that when people experience uncertainty in close relationships, they evaluate whether they are capable of sensible communication (i.e., communication efficacy) before making a decision to discuss the matter with their partner. Jang (2008) also found that

communication efficacy is significantly related with communication styles in dealing with a relational partner's deceptive communication. Communication efficacy was negatively associated with avoidance. Highly anxious/ambivalent individuals were more likely to have a relatively lower communication efficacy and avoid conversation. In medical or health communication settings, communication efficacy was suggested as a significant factor for effective communication between health professionals and patients (Raica, 2009) as well as information seeking for disease prevention (Zhao & Cai, 2009).

Previous literatures lead to an assumption that perceived communication efficacy of racial minorities would have an impact on their SCRRD. More specifically, while a perceived lack of communication efficacy would impede individuals' ability or willingness to use assertive or aggressive strategy, a high communication efficacy facilitates individuals' ability to respond to the situation more assertively.

In order to test the relationship between communication efficacy and SCRRD, the following research question is posed:

RQ6: How is communication efficacy related with SCRRD?

Identities (Esteem)

Racism-related stress and coping researchers have suggested that individuals' identity construction and the possession of internal resources, particularly personal and collective identities are significantly related with perceptions about racial discrimination experience and the extent of psychological distress (Mak & Nesdale, 2001). Furthermore, these factors are associated with selection of a coping strategy.

An individual's image and feeling about oneself has tremendous impacts on the individual's perceptions and behaviors. Likewise, in perceiving and dealing with a racial issue, the person's self-esteem plays an important role. Generally, individuals having a higher self-esteem tend to report a lower level of racism-related stress (Liang et al., 2004). Personal self-esteem also has a critical influence on individuals' coping strategy with racial discrimination. Individuals who have higher self-esteem are more likely to use the problem-focused coping style, while those who have a lower self-esteem tend to use the emotion-focused style (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001).

For ethnic or racial minorities, ethnic/racial group is a significant part of themselves and the racial (group) identity is more important than it is to the majority (Leets, 2001). Racial identity is a multi-dimensional construct consisting of physical, psychological, sociopolitical, and cultural elements of life as a member of the racial group. It includes not only the individual's awareness of belonging to the racial group but also a psychological attachment to that group based on a perception of shared beliefs, feelings, interests, and ideas with other group members (McClain, Johnson Carew, Walton, & Watts, 2009). To those who highly value their racial identity out-groups' evaluations or views on their racial group are personally important. For instance, Verkuyten and Nekuee (2001) examined perceptions on ethnic discrimination among Iranian immigrants. They categorized the perceived discrimination into against the person and against the ethnic group. Perceived personal discrimination indicates their experience with unfair treatment in the workplace or other situations because of their ethnicity, whereas perceived group discrimination involves their views on to what extent their

ethnic group is discriminated from general society. They found that perceived personal discrimination is positively related with ethnic self-categorization. Indeed, individuals who identify themselves highly as a member of their ethnic group are likely to perceive discrimination as a personal experience. Similarly, Leets (2001) suggests that ethnic minority people who have more desire to maintain and enhance a positive group identity are more likely to notice hate speech than people who hold less racial identity.

In addition, pride in their racial identity moderates the relationship between discrimination and negative physiological responses such as depressive symptoms and social connectedness (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). R. Lee (2005) also suggests that public collective self-esteem, which refers to one's judgment about how well one's racial groups are evaluated by other-group members, mediates the relationship between racism-related stress and self-esteem as well as interpersonal problems.

As a consequence, Asian Americans' self-esteem and racial identities, which include their awareness of belonging to the race as well as pride or attachment to the racial group, are expected to influence perceptions of RDMs and their SCRRD to deal with a racially discriminatory situation. Based on that, the following research question is posed:

RQ7: How are the identities (i.e., self-esteem, racial identity) associated with
SCRRD?

Cultural Values

According to Singhal and Nagao (1993), cultures are influential in communication styles of members of the cultural group. They suggest cultural

orientations of Asians influence their perceptions and attitudes on assertive communication. More specifically, Asian's collective, high-context, and Confucian oriented cultures are told to lead Asians to perceive assertive style as less competent communication and perform less assertive behaviors compared to European Americans. Each cultural factor and its relation with communication style are detailed in the following.

Collectivism. Asian culture is characterized as being collectivistic, while Western industrialized culture is described as individualistic. In individualistic culture individuals look after themselves and their immediate family only, whereas in collectivistic culture individuals more seriously regard the social-groups they belong to. Individuals are told to look after each other in interactions for the loyalty. Collective culture values group goals over individual goals. Assertive behaviors generally value individual events, beliefs, and feelings above those of groups. Assertiveness is often regarded as more of an individual-oriented behavior as opposed to a collective-oriented behavior (Singhal & Nagao, 1993).

High context. The next cultural dimension, which may influence communication styles of Asians, is the high-context communication. According to Hall (1976),

A high context communication or message is one in which more of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message. A low-context communication is just the opposite, for instance, the mass of information is vested in the explicit code (p.7).

Verbal skills are more necessary and more highly prized in a low-context culture, while nonverbal aspects of communication are emphasized more in high-context cultures (Okabe, 1983). There was a significant difference found between people from a low-context culture and a high-context culture in the way they reduced uncertainty through the communication process (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986). For instance, the frequency of direct communication was found to be important for reducing uncertainty in low-context cultures, whereas indirect forms of communication including shared communication networks, interaction with others' friends, and spending free time with others were emphasized more in high-context cultures.

Confucianism. Religious norms might influence the communication patterns of Asians and American cultures. Asian society is greatly influenced by Confucianism, which has been serving as a guiding philosophy for an individual's conduct in society. It emphasizes trust to others and respect to the elderly. Confucian philosophy influences the Asian communication style, especially when communication is directed towards superiors. The respect for elders and superiors has also influenced expression of opinion in public. To avoid offending elders or superiors, dissenting opinions are more often than not withheld (Chu, 1986). On the other hand, Christianity, an actively practiced religion in the US, encourages its members to more actively engage in exchanging opinions, even with elders and superiors.

Consequently, assertiveness is a behavioral social skill related to communication competence. However, since the perception of being communicatively competent is contextually driven, assertiveness can be perceived as a characteristic of a competent

communicator in a certain culture but aggressive and inappropriate in another culture. Due to the cultural orientation of being collectivistic, high-context, and Confucianism, Asians may evaluate aggressive or assertive strategy for responding to racial discrimination or other conflicting situations as less effective or inappropriate, especially when it happened in public and the aggressor has a superior position. Therefore, they might use aggressive or assertive strategy less compared to individuals from other cultural backgrounds. In order to examine the relationship between cultural values and communication strategy, the following research question is posed:

RQ8: How are cultural values (i.e., collectivism, high-context, Confucianism) related with SCRRD?

CHAPTER 4. METHODS

This chapter discusses the research methodology that was used to answer the proposed research questions. First, it describes research design of the study. It will offer rational of the research method, particularly using surveys to collect data and a description of the mixed methods utilized for the current study. Then, details of the participants for the study, sampling method, and data collection procedures will be provided. Also, the procedures taken to ensure research ethics and participant privacy will be described. Second, it will present details of the operationalization of key variables and the survey instruments. Finally, specific data analysis techniques used to answer research questions will be described.

Research Design

Rationale for Research Method

The primary goal of this research was to examine communication strategies of Asian Americans in responding to RDMs targeting them. Based on this research goal, eight research questions were proposed.

1. What is the RDM experienced by Asian Americans?
2. What is the strategic communication response to racial discrimination (SCRRD) of Asian Americans?
3. How is preferred outcome (i.e., assimilation, accommodation,

separation) related to SCRRD?

4. How is fields of experience with racial discrimination related with SCRRD?
5. How is SCRRD varied depending on situations and the relationship with an aggressor?
6. How is communication efficacy related with SCRRD?
7. How are identities (i.e., self-esteem, racial identity) associated with SCRRD?
8. How are cultural values (i.e., collectivism, high-context, Confucianism) related with SCRRD?

Survey Methods. In order to collect data, the survey research method was used for the following reasons. First, one important research aim of this study was to develop a quantitative scale to measure concepts that emerged from qualitative approaches. In order to develop instruments and test the utility of the developed scale (i.e., reliability, validity), survey methods that can provide quantitative data were considered useful. As previously explained, while most co-cultural literatures utilized qualitative methods focused on extending in-depth insights about co-cultural behaviors, this study aims to examine the essential definitions of the concepts and creates potential scale items to measure the concepts (Pedhazur, 1991).

Second, surveys allowed the researcher access to more number of people and diverse participants with limited time and cost compared to other methods, such as interviews and observation. As previously pointed out, one limitation in respect to Asian Americans' discriminatory experiences was the insufficient number of participants that

connects to the validity issue. For instance, Asians living in 19 different states participated in the present survey, which the researcher might not be able to reach in person if interviews or observation methods were used.

Third, considering the nature of inquiries in the present study, surveys would provide a couple of benefits to both participants and the researcher. For instance, in order to answer questions about discriminatory experiences and their responses, participants may need some time to think. Surveys permit participants to recall past experiences at their own pace and describe the experience in detail. Also, SCRRD is a self-constructed and practiced behavior of participants in particular situations. Therefore, methods controlling setting or influencing participants' behavior were not appropriate to obtain such findings. Survey method was considered effective to reduce the researcher effects. According to Frey, Botan, and Kreps (2000), a researcher may obviously or subtly influence participants' responses due to their personal attribute, unintentional expectancy, and observational biases. Some participants would not feel comfortable to answer some demographic questions (e.g., income, education level, English fluency) and talk about discriminatory experiences in interpersonal settings.

Mixed Methods. The survey asked participants not only to answer given closed questions of the SCRRD scale but also to provide a brief description of a racial discrimination situation they experienced and their reactions to that situation. With this approach, it was possible to obtain both numerical and textual data.

In answering the two most important research questions (i.e., RDM and SCRRD) mixed methods utilizing both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used.

Although there are many definitions of mixed-methods available, the purpose of mixed-methods research design in the present study could be best explained with that of Greene (2007). According to Greene (2007), the core meaning of mixed methods is to invite multiple mental models into the same social inquiry for purposes of respectful communication and learning one from the other, toward a collective generation of better understanding of the phenomena in the inquiry.

Mixed methods can involve a plurality of philosophical paradigms, theoretical assumptions, methodological tradition, data gathering and analysis techniques, and personalized understandings and value commitments. This study employed one type of mixed methods research, a triangulation design, in which both quantitative and qualitative data and analyses procedures were utilized concurrently to complement each method's strengths and weaknesses. With this approach, it was expected to generate important perspectives regarding RDMs and SCRRD that would not be accomplished with one method or the other.

For instance, while statistical analysis of numeric data obtained from answers of the scale were used to understand relationships between variables and quantitative descriptions of data (e.g., percentage, frequency), qualitative analysis of textual data was used to provide in-depth understanding of participants' RDM experiences and SCRRD behaviors. According to Maxwell (2005), qualitative research has five intellectual benefits as it focuses on words rather than numbers: (1) understanding the meaning of participants' behaviors; (2) understanding the particular context of incidents; (3) identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences; (4) understanding the process in

which events and actions take place; and (5) developing causal explanation of actions. Likewise, the qualitative analysis of texts about racial discrimination written by participants was utilized very usefully in this study to further understand the meaning, context, and process of discriminatory experiences. Also, the qualitative analysis provided motivation or reasons of practiced SCRRD and its contexts.

In addition, qualitative exploitation of textual data was necessary to identify new or other variables that were not explored in previous literatures. Due to the unique characteristic of Asian Americans as well as particular situation in inquires, some behaviors or experiences could not be explained with factors in co-cultural theory. For instance, co-cultural theory suggests co-cultural communication divides into nonassertive, assertive, and aggressive communication. However, additional behaviors could exist that can be defined with none of the three types. More explanations of the triangulation design of analyses will be offered later in the analysis plan section.

Sampling Process

The snowball method was used to recruit participants. The researcher searched Asian divisions of national organizations and Asian associations online, which may have an online channel (e.g., electronic mailing lists, web-pages, social network) to communicate with their members. By using public contact information of communication officers or executive members on organization's websites, a recruitment e-mail or an online inquiry asking participation in the survey as well as forwarding the recruitment message to their members was sent (See representative organizations in Appendix A). Although it was hard to measure exactly how many organizations distributed the message

to their members, the researcher received a positive response supporting the distribution or permitting to upload the message on their websites or social network profiles from approximately 40 organizations. The recruitment e-mail solicited individuals who were 18 years or older and identified themselves as Asian to participate in a study of Asians' strategic responses to racial discrimination. Participants were asked to click the online survey link and answer the survey (See the recruiting e-mail in Appendix B).

Research Ethics and Participant Privacy

This research project and procedures were approved by the George Mason University Human Subject Review Board (HSRB) before data collection. The protocols included the following. First, on the consent form that was displayed on the first page of the survey, participants were informed of 1) the goal and procedures of the study; 2) risks and benefits from participating in the study; 3) confidentiality of the data in the study; 4) assurance that the participation is voluntary and participants' right to withdraw from the survey at any time; and 5) contact information of the researchers and the HSRB office.

Second, in order to maintain confidentiality of the data, personal identifiers such as name, affiliation, address, contact, etc., were not to be asked on surveys. Collected data was available to only the researcher. An online survey website was used for creating the survey for following reason. This website (SurveyMonkey) is known for utilizing some of the most advanced Internet security technologies. When a user accesses secured areas of the survey site, Secure Sockets Layer (SSL) technology protects user information using both server authentication and data encryption, ensuring that user data is safe, secure, and available only to authorized persons. SurveyMonkey requires a designer of a

survey to create a unique user name and password that must be entered each time the designer logs on. Only the researcher knows the user name and password.

Survey Instrument

The survey instrument contained the following measures: demographic characteristics of participants, preferred outcomes, fields of experience, situational/relational context, communication efficacy, identities, cultural values, and SCRRD. The survey instrument was broken apart into five sections and is presented in Appendix C. The first page of the survey explained the research purposes and provided information about the informed consent procedure. Then, the following sections of the survey asked participants to describe their demographic characteristics and answers to questions concerning the variables below. In particular, participants were asked to think about their most memorable experience with discrimination against them because they are Asian. It was noted that the experience should be direct, which means someone said or did something to them not to anyone else.

Demographics

The demographic section included age, gender, homeland (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Indian), immigrant history, English proficiency and fluency in the language of their homeland, annual income, education, and the state of residency.

Preferred Outcome

In order to measure preferred outcome, 10 items from the co-cultural scale (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007) were drawn. This variable includes three dimensions: 1) assimilation, 2) accommodation, and 3) separation.

Not only this preferred outcome variable, but also all variables including more than two dimensions, a principle component analysis (hereafter PCA) using Promax with Kaiser normalization for rotation was conducted. Components were extracted based on Eigen-values over Kaiser's criterion of 1. After figuring out appropriate construction of dimensions of variables, each dimension's Cronbach's α was tested in order to check the reliability.

A PCA confirmed that 10 items of the preferred outcome scale fell into three-factors, explaining 61% of the variance in the data. The first factor reflects the assimilation dimension explaining 27.5% of the variance. The second and third factor explained an additional 23% and 11% aligning of the accommodation and separation dimension respectively. Consequently, as shown in Table 3, assimilation ($\alpha = .771$) consisted of four items and accommodation ($\alpha = .611$) and separation ($\alpha = .662$) included three items each. Each dimension's mean was used for additional analyses: assimilation ($m = 3.12, sd = 0.86$); accommodation ($m = 3.91, sd = 0.63$); separation ($m = 3.04, sd = 0.79$). For all the questions regarding preferred outcomes, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement on a five-point scale (1= *strongly disagree* ~ 5 = *strongly agree*).

Fields of Experience

Fields of experience with racial discrimination included two sets. The first set asked experiences with RDMs in general, whereas the second set asked previous experiences that are similar with the incident that a participant picked as the most memorable racial discrimination experience. The first set was developed adopting the

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI) (Liang et al., 2004).

AARRSI includes questions describing typical stereotypes and racist statements against Asian Americans. Additional questions were created for the present study based on the descriptions of microaggression towards Asian Americans by D. Sue et al (2007).

Consequently, a total of 32 questions ($\alpha = .932$) were used. In the survey, a five-point scale was used (1 = *This event has never happened to me*, 2 = *This event happened but did not bother me*, 3 = *This event happened and I was slightly bothered*, 4 = *This event happened and I was upset*, 5 = *This event happened and I was extremely upset*). In order to create the first set of fields of experience, answers were recoded as a two-point scale (0 = *never happened* and 1 = *happened*) and the sum of recoded items was used ($min = 3$, $max = 32$, $m = 17.03$, $sd = 6.74$). The followings are 32 items for the first set.

1. You are told that "You speak English so well."
2. Someone assumed by your looks that you were born in Asia and asked, "Where are you from?"
3. Someone asks you "What is your real (Asian) name?"
4. Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.
5. Someone tells you "You are (or must be) really good at math."
6. Someone tells you "If I see lots of Asian students in my class, I know it's going to be a hard class."
7. Someone tells you, "Asians are workaholics"
8. Someone tells you, "Asians are somewhat selfish"
9. You are told, "Asians are socially awkward"
10. Someone tells you "Asians are the new Whites"
11. Someone tells you "Asians are not a minority"
12. Someone tells you that Asians are not targets of racism.
13. Someone tells you "Asian women are great girlfriends, they take care of a man's every need."
14. Someone tells you "Asian women have exotic looks (e.g. hair, skin) and are just sexy."
15. Someone tells you "I like Asian women, they are obedient."
16. Someone tells you "All Asians look alike."
17. Someone asks you "Are you Chinese (or Japanese)?" or greets you in Chinese (or Japanese)
18. Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.
19. Someone asks you if all your friends are Asians

20. You are told "You are in America, follow the American way"
21. You are told "Asians do not know the American manners."
22. You are told that Asians have problems with assertiveness.
23. You experience being taken to the back of the restaurant or airplane even though there are seats available in the front
24. At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you
25. You hear that Asians are not significantly represented in management positions.
26. Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.
27. Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.
28. Because of the fact that you are an Asian, you are discriminated when you find a job
29. Because of your race, you are discriminated when you find a house
30. Because of your race, you are discriminated at work such as promotions or racial profiling
31. Because of your race, you were verbally insulted in public
32. Because of your race, you were physically harmed

The second set was developed adopting three relevant questions in the study of Camara and Orbe (2010). The mean of the following three items was used for additional analyses ($\alpha = .932$, $1 = \text{strongly disagree} \sim 5 = \text{strongly agree}$, $m = 2.48$, $sd = 0.95$).

1. I expected this to happen to me because it usually happens to me
2. I knew what exactly I was supposed to do in that situation
3. I was familiar with this kind of situation

Situational/Relational Contexts

In order to gain responses about situational/relational contexts, participants were asked to think about the most memorable experience with discrimination against their race and to provide a brief description of the situation. It was noted that the experience should be direct, which means someone said or did something to them, not to anyone else. Then, it asked characteristics of the aggressor(s) (i.e., gender, race, relationship, and intention of the action) and situations of the incident (i.e., location, context). These questions were mostly drawn from that of Camara and Orbe (2010). Also, some questions were created based on D. Sue et al (2007)'s descriptions about racism and recipients'

responses to racial discrimination situations. Details of these questions are available in Appendix C.

Communication Efficacy

Measures for communication efficacy were developed based on the communication efficacy scale of Jang (2010) and the new general self-efficacy scale (G. Chen, Gully, & Eden, 2001). Because these scales were originally developed for a deceptive communication situation with romantic partners and general self-efficacy respectively, questions were modified for the use of this study. As a result, six questions were created and these items showed good reliability, $\alpha = .932$. The mean of these six items were used for later analyses ($m = 3.91$, $sd = 0.84$, 1 = *strongly disagree* ~ 5 = *strongly agree*).

1. I generally feel comfortable with engaging in conversations with others
2. I am confident that I can communicate effectively in many different tasks
3. Even when things are tough, I can communicate quite well
4. Because I am a good communicator, I think that I can obtain outcomes that are important to me
5. I generally initiate and lead conversations
6. Compared to other people, I communicate very well

Identities

Identities originally included self-esteem (personal identity) and racial identity. To measure self-esteem, 10 items of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (RSE) were used (Rosenberg, 1989), and they showed the acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .805$). For further analyses, the mean of 10 items was used ($m = 3.68$, $sd = .58$).

The racial group identity was initially measured using a total of nine items. Two items were adopted from the private-collective self-esteem scale developed by Luhtanen

and Crocker (1992). The other five items were drawn from the self-ethnic categorization scale (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001), and the remaining items were drawn from the scale for Asian American racial identification (Jun & Masuoka, 2008). However, these nine items did not show the acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .577$), and especially two items of those were not correlated with other items. After excluding those two items, a PCA was conducted towards the rest of the seven items in order to find the appropriate construction of measurements. The result indicated that seven items divide into three different factors (See Table 2).

Each factor was redefined as a new dimension of racial identities and retained for later analyses. The first factor including three items ($\alpha = .603$, $m = 4.45$, $sd = .59$) was operationalized as “racial esteem” which reflects individuals’ feeling and pride about being Asian. The second factor including two items was operationalized as “racial group significance” and represents if participants think their race is a significant part of their identities ($m = 4.45$, $sd = .59$, $\alpha = .673$). The third factor was defined as “ethnic heritage” which involves how individuals perceive themselves in comparison with typical Asians and value Asian traditions, culture, and language ($m = 4.14$, $sd = .68$). However, the last factor was not used for further analyses because the reliability as a scale was too low ($\alpha = .483$). In addition, self and racial esteem were combined as overall esteem (13 items, $\alpha = .798$). For all the questions regarding identities, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement on a five-point scale (1= *strongly disagree* ~ 5 = *strongly agree*). Some items were flipped for the use of a validity check and are indicated with (r).

Cultural Values

The cultural value scale contained three dimensions: collectivism, high-context, and Confucian dynamism. In order to measure collectivism (CL), six items were drawn from the horizontal and vertical collectivism measure (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), which is widely used. For the high context (HC), a part of the ambiguity tolerance measure was adopted (Norton, 1975). Norton's measure contains eight dimensions (e.g., philosophy, public image, social) and 61 items. Among them, four items from the interpersonal communication dimension were selected. Finally, in order to construct measures for Confucian dynamism (CD), six items from the Chinese culture connection measures (The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) were used.

Reliability tests indicated that while a scale for two dimensions, collectivism ($\alpha = .684$) and Confucian dynamism ($\alpha = .704$) showed the acceptable level of reliability, that of high context was somewhat low ($\alpha = .589$). Overall, the 16 items regarding cultural values showed the acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .726$), and the mean of these 16 items was used for further analyses ($m = 3.47$, $sd = 0.40$, 1 = *strongly disagree* ~ 5 = *strongly agree*). There were some items flipped, and they are indicated with (r).

1. I avoid offending others (CL)
2. I try to keep myself humble without showing off (CL)
3. I am always carefully to avoid doing what is improper (CL)
4. I obey my parents (CL)
5. I honor and respect the elderly (CL)
6. I respect the Asian tradition (CL)
7. It irks me to have people avoid the answer to my question by asking another question (HC) (r)
8. I really dislike it when a person does not give straight answers about him/herself (HC) (r)
9. I tend to be very frank with people (HC) (r)
10. I prefer telling people what I think of them even it hurts their feeling (HC). (r)
11. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups (CD)

- 12. The well-being of my group is important to me (CD)
- 13. I feel good when I cooperate with others (CD)
- 14. If my group (i.e., work, school) gets a prize, I would feel proud (CD)
- 15. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want (CD)
- 16. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible (CD)

Table 2. *Factor Loading for Preferred Outcome*

	Loading	Component		
	Assimilation	Accommodation	Separation	
	1	2	3	
When I talk to people from other races (e.g., White, Black), I try to minimize differences between us	.560			
In general, I try to become integrated in the majority culture	.792			
Being seen as part of the American majority is important to me	.851			
It is important for me that members of the majority group see me as similar to them	.840			
I want those in the American majority to value the Asian perspective		.844		
Members of the majority group should appreciate the unique aspect of the minority group		.835		
When I interact with members of the majority group, it is my goal to get them to see things the way I do		.510		
I try to emphasize my own group's perspectives when interacting with members of the majority group			.644	
I do what I can to emphasize the differences between my group and the majority group			.897	
Being seen as separate from the majority group is important to me			.693	

Note: Loadings exceeding .40 shown. No other loadings on component 1 exceeded -.240. On component 2 none exceeded .287. On component 3 none exceeded .194.

Table 3. *Factor Loading for Racial Identities*

Items	Loading		
	Racial Esteem	Component Racial Group Significance	Ethnic Heritage
Overall my race has very little to do with how I feel about myself (r)		.881	
Being Asian is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (r)		.832	
Overall I often feel that Asians are not worthwhile (r)	.706		
I feel good about being Asian	.665		
I often regret that I belong to Asians (r)	.840		
Asians or Asian American children should study an Asian language			.755
It is important that Asians or Asian Americans learn about Asian/Asian history and culture			.842

Note: Loadings exceeding .40 shown. No other loadings on component 1 exceeded -.099. On component 2 none exceeded .162. On component 3 none exceeded -.179.

Data Analysis Procedure

Numerical and textual data that were obtained from the survey was analyzed with the following procedures (see the Figure 1).

Two Step Analyses of Textual Data

The textual data was analyzed with two content analysis methods. In the first phase, the researcher focused on identifying elements or themes regarding the two research issues (i.e., RDM, SCRRD) from the texts. McCracken's (1988) five-step data analysis and Owen's (1994) criterion were used for this analysis. Urban and Orbe (2007) as well as Hopson and Orbe (2007) used this approach when they analyzed co-cultural communication practices from texts. Also, this qualitative and interpretive method has been adopted in order to discover emerging themes with texts in various areas including intercultural communication (Urban & Orbe, 2007).

Each text was read by the researcher completely without written notes in order to acquire familiarity with the text and gain understanding from the information. After that, the text was re-read in order to initially sort out important from unimportant data. At this point, the RDM and SCRRD related experiences were highlighted. In the process of sorting out important data, Owen (1994)'s three criteria, repetition, recurrence, and forcefulness, was used. Repetition criterion refers to the repetition of certain words and phrases that are critical in describing a certain experience, feeling, and behavior. Recurrence criterion involves the meanings that appear throughout the text even though writers used different expressions or words. Forcefulness criterion refers to important or

unique words or phrases that are stressed by writers (e.g., bold, italicized, exclamation mark). At this point, some of the core elements and slices of text were emerged.

Next, highlighted texts were reviewed with written notes with the intent of examining logical relationships and contradictions between the texts. Then, the text was re-read in order to confirm or disconfirm emerged relationships as well as to identify preliminary themes of the data. These themes were re-organized in hierarchical fashion, while some useless themes were discarded. Finally, each emergent theme was reviewed, reorganized, and synthesized into larger elements.

In the second phase, the text was re-analyzed with identified themes and elements from the first qualitative content analysis. This time, the researcher was focused on measuring the frequency of particular themes regarding RDM and SCRRD throughout the texts. The researcher adopted Krippendorff (2002)'s four steps of content analysis that includes illustration of real phenomenon, data reduction, inference, and analysis because this approach is useful for a large data set to measure the frequency. Camara and Orbe (2010) used this approach when they analyzed stories of discriminatory acts and strategic responses. Within given stories, descriptions of incidents were coded in terms of theme of RDM, form of RDM, and SCRRD type, which are three core-elements identified from the first qualitative content analysis. Details of these core-elements will be provided in the result section.

Although various computer programs for content analysis are available, the researcher used traditional human coding in order to maximize the subjectivity (Conway, 2006) that came with a researcher who is familiar with theories.

Statistic Analysis

In analyzing the numerical data, various statistical analysis techniques were employed including descriptive analysis, principle component analysis (PCA), reliability test, two-way correlation analysis, and one-way ANOVA. The rationale of each techniques and detailed setting will be provided when the result of each method is presented.

Before conducting the main analysis, the missing data and distribution of the data were examined in order to employ appropriate data analysis techniques. As the survey informed participants to withdraw their participation anytime and allowed to skip any questions, some variables had a relatively large number of missing data. In order to deal with missing data, the pair wise deletion technique was used for most analyses.

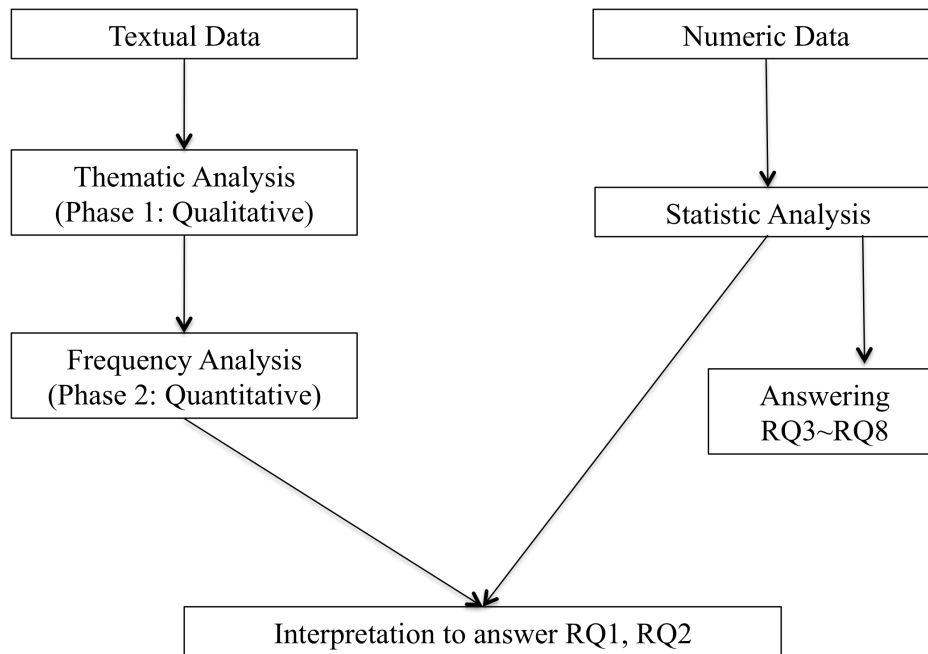


Figure 1. *Data Analysis Procedures*

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

A total of 345 responses were collected from March 11, 2011, to June 11, 2011. Out of 345 responses 52 were not used due to incomplete responses. A response that did not complete more than one section out of the four sections beside the demographic section was discarded. As a result, 293 responses were retained for analyses. Although approximately 15% of the participants did not complete the survey, this seems to be one of general characteristics of online surveys. According to Lesser, Yang, and Newton (2011), a completion rate of online surveys is significantly lower than that of traditional mail surveys.

Among those, 190 participants described stories about racial discrimination experiences. Among these stories, 176 stories were included in content analyses after excluding erroneous or irrelevant data. Descriptions of demographic characteristics of those who provided this story will be offered at the end of the next section.

Demographics

The average age of participants was 33.8 ($sd = 13.3$). A majority of participants fell into the age group 19-25 ($n = 63$, 21.5%) or 26-35 ($n = 114$, 38.9%). The number of participants in middle age groups 36-45 ($n = 49$, 16.7%) or 46-55 ($n = 20$, 6.8%) was relatively small. Participants aged more than 56 were less than 10 percent ($n = 23$, 7.8%).

In terms of gender, females ($n = 189$, 64.5%) were overrepresented than males ($n = 101$, 34.5%). A majority of participants reported their homeland as China ($n = 108$, 37.5%) followed by Korea ($n = 57$, 19.8%), Japan ($n = 32$, 11.1%), Taiwan ($n = 32$, 11.1%), India ($n = 23$, 8.0%), Philippine ($n = 21$, 7.3%), Vietnam ($n = 20$, 6.9%), Singapore ($n = 5$, 1.7%), Pakistan ($n = 5$, 1.7%), Malaysia ($n = 4$, 1.4%), Thailand ($n = 3$, 1.0%), and Cambodia ($n = 3$, 1.0%). Less than 10% of participants ($n = 23$, 8.0%) identified themselves as having more than two homelands or others.

A majority of participants answered that they are the first generation ($n = 136$, 46.4%) or the second generation ($n = 116$, 39.6%). In general, the first generation refers to people who are living permanently in the US without becoming a citizen or a child of the person born in the US. The second generation refers to people born in the US or the first generation born to parents who were born in the US. However, as definitions of the generation of immigrants vary, this research relied on participants' own definition and identification by not providing any definitions. A relatively small number of people identified themselves as the third generation ($n = 24$, 8.2%) or the fourth or more ($n = 11$, 3.8%).

In terms of annual income, one third of the participants responded that their annual income is less than \$25,000 ($n = 92$, 31.4%) followed by the range of more than \$25,000 but less than \$50,000 ($n = 64$, 21.8%) and more than \$50,000 but less than \$75,000 ($n = 56$, 19.1%). About one of every ten participants fell in the income range of more than \$75,000 but less than \$100,000 ($n = 35$, 11.9%) and the rest answered that their annual income is more than \$100,000 ($n = 40$, 13.7%).

Overall, the participants were highly educated. A majority of participants answered that they completed college ($n = 85$, 29.0%) or a Masters degree ($n = 84$, 28.7%), or a doctorate or a professional degree ($n = 69$, 23.5%). A relatively small number of people responded that they went to some college ($n = 48$, 16.4%) or completed high school ($n = 4$, 1.4%). There was only one person who has not completed high school ($n = 1$, 0.3%).

Most participants reported that English is their native language ($n = 204$, 69.6%) or they feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in English ($n = 81$, 27.6%). Only six participants (2.0%) described his or her English facility as moderate. In terms of fluency in the language of their homelands, about 40 percentages of participants evaluated the fluency at the moderate level ($n = 53$, 18.1%) or lower than moderate level ($n = 69$, 23.5%). Less than one-fourth of the participants answered that they feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in the language of their homelands ($n = 32$, 10.9%) or that language is their native language ($n = 38$, 13.0%).

Participants currently live in 19 different states. California was the state in which the biggest number of participants reside ($n = 81$, 27.6%) followed by New York ($n = 28$, 9.6%), Illinois ($n = 21$, 7.2%), Virginia ($n = 13$, 4.4%), Massachusetts ($n = 13$, 4.4%), Ohio ($n = 11$, 3.8%), Washington ($n = 14$, 4.8%), Florida ($n = 10$, 3.4%), and more (See Table 4).

Table 4. *Demographics of Participants*

Age	N (%)	Gender	N (%)
19-25	63 (21.5%)	Male	101 (34.5%)
26-35	114 (38.9%)	Female	189 (64.5%)
36-45	49 (16.7%)	Total	290 (99.0%)
46-55	20 (6.8%)	Generation	N (%)
56 and more	23 (7.8%)	First	136 (46.4%)
Total	269 (91.8%)	Second	116 (39.6%)
Homeland	N (%)	Third	24 (8.2%)
China	108 (37.5%)	Fourth or more	11 (3.8%)
Korea	57 (19.8%)	Total	287 (98.0%)
Japan	32 (11.1%)	Income	N (%)
Singapore	5 (1.7%)	Less than \$25,000	92 (31.4%)
Thailand	3 (1.0%)	\$25,000 ~ \$50,000	64 (21.8%)
Taiwan	32 (11.1%)	\$50,000 ~ \$75,000	56 (19.1%)
Vietnam	20 (4.9%)	\$75,000 ~ \$100,000	35 (11.9%)
Cambodia	3 (1.0%)	More than \$100,000	40 (13.7%)
Philippine	21 (7.3%)	Total	287 (98.0%)
India	23 (8.0%)	Education	N (%)
Indonesia	1 (0.3%)	Have not completed high school	1 (0.3%)
Malaysia	4 (1.4%)	Completed high school	4 (1.4%)
Pakistan	5 (1.7%)	Some college	48 (16.4%)
Others	23 (8.0%)	Completed college	85 (29.0%)
Total	239 (97.6%)	Completed a Masters degree	84 (28.7%)
Residency	N (%)	Completed a Doctorate or a Professional degree	69 (23.5%)
CA	81 (27.6%)	Total	291 (99.3%)
CO	8 (2.7%)	English Fluency	N (%)
CT	3 (1.0%)	I am about the moderate level	6 (2.0%)
DC	7 (2.4%)	I feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in English	81 (27.6%)
FL	10 (3.4%)	English is my native language	204 (69.6%)
GA	4 (1.4%)	Total	291 (99.3%)
IL	21 (7.2%)	Homeland Language Fluency	N (%)
IN	6 (2.0%)	I hardly speak or listen in the language yet	37 (12.6%)
MA	13 (4.4%)	I am not comfortable with speaking and listening in the language	32 (10.9%)
MD	3 (1.0%)	I am about the moderate level	53 (18.1%)
MI	8 (2.7%)	I feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in the language	32 (10.9%)
NC	6 (2.0%)	The language is my native language	38 (13.0%)
NJ	5 (1.7%)	Total	192 (65.5%)
NY	28 (9.6%)		
OH	11 (3.8%)		
OR	5 (1.7%)		
PA	8 (2.7%)		
TX	8 (2.7%)		
VA	13 (4.4%)		
WA	14 (4.8%)		

Demographics of Participants Who Wrote a Racial Discrimination Story

As previously noted, 190 participants provided a description about their racial discrimination experiences. In looking at some demographic characteristics of these people, they were slightly older ($m = 35.1$, $sd = 13.5$) compared to the mean of the entire group ($m = 33.8$, $sd = 13.3$). Females ($n = 125$, 66.8%) were more likely to offer descriptions than males ($n = 62$, 33.2%). Also, a majority were either first ($n = 78$, 41.7%) or second generation ($n = 82$, 43.9%). For most people English is their native language ($n = 143$, 75.7%) or they are very comfortable speaking and listening to English ($n = 44$, 23.3%). They were also highly educated people that a majority answered that they completed college ($n = 59$, 31.2%) or a Masters degree ($n = 52$, 27.5%) or a doctorate or a professional degree ($n = 44$, 23.3%).

RDMs Targeting Asian Americans

The first research question explored racially discriminatory messages (RDM) targeting Asian Americans. The first stage of qualitative content analysis resulted in two core elements of texts regarding RDMs, which are (1) themes of RDM and (2) forms of RDM. The second quantitative content analysis indicated frequency of each type in the theme and form. In addition, a descriptive analysis of relevant questions in the survey provided additional insights in respect to RDMs.

Themes of RDMs targeting Asians Americans

The first core element that appeared across stories involves themes of RDMs, which reflect the types of assumptions, perceptions, or stereotypes that are perceived as

discriminatory by Asian Americans. A total of eight themes emerged from the qualitative content analysis.

Racial slur. The first theme can be described as racial slur, which involves verbal racial epithets as well as nonverbal behaviors insulting Asian Americans and their looks overtly and aggressively. Racial slur was the theme mentioned the most frequently by participants in which 68 stories (38.6%) included words or incidents related to this theme. Participants reported that they had many experiences with listening to someone calling or yelling at them with racial insults such as “choing chong chong,” “Chinaman,” “chinks,” “gooks,” “Japs,” “flat face,” “small eyes,” and “orientals.” Aggressors of racial slurs also humiliate Asian Americans by aggressively greeting them in Asian languages, pretending to speak in Asian languages, and singing Asian-related songs (e.g., Kung Fu fighting, oriental tunes). Racial slurs are many times accompanied by nonverbal insults including laughing, spitting, pointing at certain parts of the body, and pulling back eyes into thin slits. More seriously, racial slurs often connect with physical threats (e.g., invading personal space, following) and physical violence such as throwing an object and hitting the person. Representative stories belonging to this theme are following.

“I have had numerous incidents of having threats of physical violence threatened toward me. Two of them: Two men in a pickup truck veered toward me on my bicycle yelling racist names (“gook”, etc.) causing me to have to jump from my bicycle away from them onto the sidewalk where I was bruised and scraped on impact. Another time a man in a pickup truck, many years later, drove his truck up onto the sidewalk, trying to hit me. I jumped into a building doorway entrance to be safe. He blocked me in with his truck and yelled that he was going to kill me because, he said, I killed his buddy in Vietnam. A person in the building looked out and yelled, “Keep it down out there!”, so he backed up his truck and left, still yelling that he was going to get me. Many of the times that I've been threatened

have been related to the person's hatred of Asian people due to various wars, Korean, WW II, Vietnam..."

"Someone threw a brick through our window on the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor. Someone threw a beer bottle at me and yelled "Chinese Faggot!" I got into a fist fight with someone who called me "Zipperhead"."

In addition, a descriptive analysis of relevant survey questions indicated that a majority of participants have experienced verbal insults in public ($n = 187$, 65.6%). This incident caused them to be upset ($n = 52$, 18.2%) or extremely upset ($n = 100$, 35.1%).

Playground teasing. The second theme is playground teasing which describes RDMs that participants experienced when they were children. This theme can be similar with the racial slur as it mostly contains racial epithets. However, the playground teasing theme was separated from general racial slurs for several reasons. First, playground teasing becomes the first moment that Asian American children realize their race and begin being aware of the social construction of race. Second, aggressors of playground teasing are mostly other children who do not know the meaning of their actions and practiced RDMs without intention. Regardless, experiencing playground teasing about their race remains an unforgettable memory and feelings of hurt to the target person. Moreover, some participants reported that this experience caused their first trouble at school. Among the 9 stories (5.1%) including a playground teasing incident, representative stories are following:

"I was about three years old when this happened, and I know about it not because I remember it directly but because my father likes to tell the story. But I think it is a significant reflection of American society so that's why I'm choosing it as my most significant situation. I was in the park playing with other little kids I didn't

know, and a little Caucasian boy (probably also around the age of three) said something to me about being a Chinese girl. (I'm Filipino American.) I got really mad and yelled "I'm not Chinese!" back at him, and he cried. It was viewed as a humorous situation by his older sister who was with him, and by my father. I think it's a little funny, but it's also a bit sad to think about a three year old already being forced to be aware of his/her own race (as well as aware of everyone else's preoccupation with his/her race.)”

“I was in elementary school, 1st grade, and on the way back from school a white boy and girl, maybe 9-10, harassed us on the street. They asked if I was Chinese and I said no, not Chinese, but Korean. They said something to the effect of "Korea? What's that?" and proceeded to chant "Chinese, Japanese, dirty-nese" and slant their eyes with their fingers to ridicule me. I was extremely bewildered and burst into tears, and then ran off.”

“When I was in elementary school, I was told by my Polish best friend's older brother that I smell very bad because of my race and that the food from my house always stuck to me. This was true on certain days because my mother would cook in the mornings before I left for school and the smell would stick to my clothes and my jacket. That particular day she hadn't cooked though, and I knew they just wanted to get a reaction out of me. Because I was so young, I didn't really realize what racism was. I just knew that they didn't like how I smelled, so I made sure to put extra deodorant and perfume on every morning after that. Yet, they still made fun of me. One day they said something about my parents and that's when I realized that they weren't insulting me for any legitimate reason. They just picked on me because I was different and easy to pick on. So I got into a fight with them, and the racist children were the ones who ended up in trouble.”

Asians will never be and will never know Americans. The third theme refers to RDMs including stereotypes viewing Asians as perpetual foreigners or non-Americans, and therefore assume Asians would not speak English, do not know American manners or cultures, could not be a American citizen, or born outside of the US. Approximately one-third of the stories contained incidents related with this theme ($n = 51$, 17.4%). The Asians never be and know Americans theme appear as questions of “Do you speak English?” and “Where did you come from?” Even after Asian Americans clarify that they do speak English and come from parts of the US, most aggressors still doubt and ask the

questions of “Where did you *really* come from?” which reveals their strong assumption of Asians as foreigners. Also, some aggressors reveal their assumption in subtle ways by complimenting Asians’ English fluency or asking “How do you like living here (in the US)?”

The Asian will never be and will never know Americans theme also appears as a patronizing attitude to attempt to educate Asian Americans about American culture and manner. When Asians practice American culture and manners, it is often regarded as pretending or masquerading and often questioned as “Do you think you are White?” Also, Asians’ knowledge about Americans (e.g., history, language, food, geography) is ignored or doubted. Asians’ achievement and excellence in these areas are often regarded as unfair and threatening to (White) Americans. When this assumption is manifested in aggressive form, Asians are told to “go back to your country” and viewed as an enemy and being alienated from America even though many were born and raised in the US.

Example stories are following:

“A classmate (during a group meeting) asked a question about American culture. I answered. He listened to me, made absolutely no response and then he turned my classmate sitting across from me (who has blonde hair and blue eyes) and asked the same question as if I had never answered. I said, “Oh, you don’t believe me.” He said, “No, I want to hear from a real American.” None of the witnesses (4 people) said a word.”

“A group of people were on the street trying to figure out how to pronounce a particular street name. I happened to be standing next to them, and being a native of my city, I told them how it was pronounced. One of the group looked towards me and asked if English was my native language in a derogatory manner. When I explained that I was not only a native English speaker, but also a native of the city, he scoffed and told me to go back to my own country.”

“My mother and I were checking out at the express line of a grocery store. I was had 5 items and my mother had 10. The cashier didn't see the divider between our items and assumed that my mother had more items to be in the express line. Instead of politely asking my mother if all those items were hers, she started screaming at my mom, loud and slow in these words "ma'am do you not know English? it says here 10 ITEMS or LESS! Do you understand?" I jumped in front of my mother and told the young woman that that was not necessary and we speak English way better than her and demanded to see her manager. Manager arrives and I explained how insulting that was and demanded her to be terminated. The woman no longer works at that grocery store.”

“I was on the street listening to my music with headphones and an African American male wearing a White kufi and a skull cap selling incense on the street said loudly, "Chinese Nigger, always pretending to be something they ain't!"”

“I was with my friends for an away football game at Penn State, I was a Michigan student at the time. They saw me with my White friends and started chanting U-S-A, U-S-A!”

“I was walking out of an outlet store with my mother and a visiting family friend. We saw a person come in and hold the door for us. Then the person said to each of us, "Say thank you."”

“ I got into a verbal disagreement with a woman at the movie theater over something non-race related. And then she said "At least I'm a real American, you gook-face"

“ When I was in high school, I had received the highest grade in one class. A male student objected to the teacher because he said I couldn't receive the highest grade because I am not from the U.S. The teacher had to explain that every student was equal.”

As shown in Table 5, a descriptive analysis of relevant questions indicated that most participants have heard the question of “Where are you from?” ($n = 279$, 95.2%) and the statement of “You speak English so well” ($n = 216$, 74.0%). Among those who heard these RDMs, more than half answered that the incident somewhat bothered or upset them. Although the ratio of having experience with the questions of “someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you” and “you are told that you are in America, follow the

American way” was relatively lower, participants who have experienced these RDMs were likely to answer that those events extremely upset them.

Sexualizing Asian male/female. The fourth theme refers to messages putting Asians in an exceptional category in terms of their gender roles based on unrealistic sexual images and stereotypes. As previous literature suggests, treating Asian women as sexual objects based on so called “Asian fetishes” or “yellow fever” is a well-known type of discrimination. Participants also reported numerous relevant incidents including complimenting Asian women’s exotic beauty, ridiculing Asian women’s body (e.g., height), and extremely derogatory comments on Asian women. There is also an unrealistic expectation on Asian women’s role in sexual or romantic relationships that they are submissive and obedient to males. Many Asian women perceived these comments as sexual harassment.

However, this analysis suggests that sexualizing Asians is not only a woman’s problem, but also significantly affects Asian men. Asian males live with mockery on their body and sexual image. Moreover, sexualizing Asian females also offend Asian males because it insults their family and romantic partners. In addition, unrealistic expectations about Asian males’ gender role exist. Some male participants stated that they are regarded as being awkward in dating and deserving only Asian women in romantic relationships. One of every 10 stories contained experiences with sexualizing Asians ($n = 18, 10.2\%$). Some incidents written by participants are following:

“I remember being told by a guy friend of mine that Asian women are hard to take seriously as a girlfriend. In fact, he just said that they are “too easy, obedient, and

do anything sexually." This bothered me greatly as the same individual tried/s to pursue me afterwards."

"I was working at a museum. It was veteran's day. A man came up to me and said "Wow, You are a great-looking girl. Why are Asian women so attractive? Where do you guys hide the ugly ones? In the kitchen or the laundry mat?" I was SHOCKED, and before I was able to react, he had already gone away. My colleagues who overheard that comment were shocked and disgusted."

"My former roommate, assuming that I'm a "socially awkward" Asian male, said that "we need to set you up with a nice Asian girl", implying that that's all I'm capable of getting."

"In several different cities I lived in, from a small Midwestern to a large East Coast city, I was shouted at racial insults, by one or more White men who were driving by in a car. I have been called "Chinese cunt," and "whore"; once someone shouted to my male companion, "How much is your girlfriend?"

As shown in Table 6, more than half of the participants experienced RDMs in sexualizing Asians theme regardless of their gender. Indeed, about 77% of Asian females have heard the statement of "Asian women have exotic looks (e.g. hair, skin) and are just sexy" and that incident caused stress extending from minor to extreme. Although less Asian females have heard someone said "I like Asian women, they are obedient," among those who ever heard that statement, this event caused extreme anger ($n = 58$, 30.7%).

In comparing the mean of the three questions among those who have experienced each message (1 = *This event happened but did not bother me*, 2 = *This event happened and I was slightly bothered*, 3 = *This event happened and I was upset*, 4 = *This event happened and I was extremely upset*), a level of stress caused by the incident was not much different between males and females. There was no significant difference found for the mean of two questions, "Asian women are great girlfriends, they take care of a man's

every need” and “I like Asian women, they are obedient” between males and females.

However, for the statement about Asian women’s exotic look, females were more likely to feel stress than males ($f = 5.492, p < 0.05$).

Table 5. *Asians Will Never Be and Will Never Know Americans*

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
You are told that “You speak English so well.”	76 (26.0%)	83 (28.4%)	62 (21.2%)	41 (14.0%)	30 (10.3%)	292
Someone assumed by your looks that you were born in Asia and asked “Where are you from?”	14 (4.8%)	96 (32.8%)	96 (32.8%)	55 (18.8%)	32 (10.9%)	293
Someone asks you “What is your real (Asian) name?”	136 (46.6%)	60 (20.5%)	61 (20.9%)	18 (6.2%)	17 (5.8%)	292
Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.	162 (55.5%)	24 (8.2%)	41 (14.0%)	30 (10.3%)	35 (12.0%)	292
You are told “You are in America, follow the American way”	148 (50.9%)	26 (8.9%)	32 (11.0%)	39 (13.4%)	46 (15.8%)	291
You are told “Asians do not know the American manners.”	176 (61.3%)	9 (3.1%)	37 (12.9%)	40 (13.9%)	25 (8.7%)	287

Table 6. *Sexualizing Asian Males/Females*

		This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
Someone tells you “Asian women are great girlfriends, they take care of a man’s every need.”	Female	91 (48.4%)	13 (6.9%)	21 (11.2%)	23 (12.2%)	40 (21.3%)	188
	Male	46 (45.5%)	12 (11.9%)	17 (16.8%)	9 (8.9%)	17 (16.8%)	101
Someone tells you “Asian women have exotic looks (e.g. hair, skin) and are just sexy.”	Female	43 (22.9%)	36 (19.1%)	49 (26.1%)	30 (16.0%)	30 (16.0%)	188
	Male	32 (31.7%)	27 (26.7%)	20 (19.8%)	10 (9.9%)	12 (11.9%)	101
Someone tells you “I like Asian women, they are obedient.”	Female	95 (50.3%)	4 (2.1%)	17 (9.0%)	15 (7.9%)	58 (30.7%)	188
	Male	43 (42.6%)	9 (8.9%)	16 (15.8%)	14 (13.9%)	19 (18.8%)	101

Bamboo ceiling or pigeon holding. The fifth theme refers to RDMs Asians experienced at their profession and in academia. Although the model minority stereotype of Asians as being academically, mathematically, and technologically excellent seems complimentary, some participants pointed out that this expectation discriminates them to be trapped in a math or technology related work. On the other hand, some participants mentioned the idea that their achievement comes from their Asian race is incorrect and it invalidates their efforts and capability. In addition, generalizing all Asians as being hard workers has adverse impacts on Asians to be asked to do extra work or obey to unfair managerial decisions. Furthermore, Asians who do not meet this expectation of being good in math or academics are more severely ridiculed and penalized.

Many participants answered that they experienced being passed over in promotion and noticed a small number of Asians in executive and management positions. The invisible barrier to hinder Asians of promotions, so called the “bamboo ceiling” seems to be derived from many different reasons. Examples are being pigeon hold in technical work rather than being promoted to managerial positions, the stereotype towards Asians being socially awkward, and the assumption that Asians would not know American business manners or appropriate communication. About 10 percent of stories contained relevant incidents ($n = 16$). Example descriptions of bamboo ceiling and pigeon holding are the following:

“I am a faculty at the Department of Communication, and I nominated myself for the Undergraduate Coordinator's position but the interim chair took me to the director's office, wanted me not to nominate myself, and attacked me for doing that. They said that I do not know American culture.”

“I was passed over multiple times for a promotion despite being praised for my work performance. The supervisor position was offered to a Caucasian former employee of mine with very little work experience. It made me angry since I had worked in that department for over ten years and expected to be promoted when a vacancy became open. Others were shocked but no one said anything. One of our valued customers asked if it was because I was Asian because he had noticed that none of the Asian employees have been promoted and less qualified Caucasian employees were often given the opportunity. It had not become clear to me that the discrimination was based upon race until I had that conversation.”

“I was repeatedly passed over for promotion, relegated to computer and data work despite protests. I strongly assumed this was based on racial stereotype. I complained to supervisor about being pigeon-holed, but I have not seen any changes or actions taken. I already started applying for different jobs.”

“When I was in high school, I struggled quite a bit with math.... I went to a predominately White boarding school where most of the subject teachers were also the sports coaches and extracurricular group and team leaders. One of my math teachers was a basketball coach, and the way that the schedule was set up, after school sports met right before the time when students could seek out extra help from their teachers. One time, I had asked my math teacher for extra help on my math homework which I was struggling with. I don't even remember if he showed up or if I got help. What I remember is that later in the evening, my roommate who was White and who played basketball, asked me if my teacher helped me with math that day. He said that when the coach told the basketball players that he had to leave, they asked him why he couldn't stay to play more. The coach said that he had to go help me with math. My roommate told me that someone said, "He's Asian he doesn't need help with math!" and everyone laughed. I pictured my teacher (also White) laughing along with the students, and I felt extremely embarrassed, humiliated, and angry.”

“Someone told me that a professor prefers working with Asian students because they "do what they're told and don't ask questions.”

In looking at answers to relevant questions, a majority of participants were aware of that Asians are not significantly represented in management positions ($n = 210$, 71.7%) and this caused stress extending from minor to extreme. As shown in Table 7, although

many participants have never experienced direct racial discrimination in finding a job or at work, those who have experienced that kind of experience reported extreme stress.

Asians are all the same. The sixth theme involves RDMs containing the ignorance thinking that all Asians are the same in terms of their physical looks, nationality, culture, and preference. Asians live with the question “Are you Chinese or Japanese?” regardless of their homeland. Also, unintended or intended behaviors of misrecognizing an Asian individual with another Asian individual happen frequently. Participants found that greeting them in Chinese or Japanese just because they are Asian is offending and mistaken regardless of aggressors’ intention to be friendly. Out of the 10 related stories ($n = 5.7\%$), representative experiences are following:

“A Caucasian woman, a stranger, walked up to me, smiled, and said “Konichiwa!” I said, “...I’m not Japanese.” She told me “It means ‘Hello!’ in Japanese.” I said “...I know. I’m Chinese. Good bye.” It was really awkward on my part and confusing... Perhaps the lady was trying to be outgoing... Whatever her reasons, though, it was almost humiliating to first be addressed in a language believed to be mine, and then, when I professed to not being of the race she thought I was, to be then “educated” by this stranger?”

“ The worst thing I can think of is being mistaken for the other Asian person in the office, because we were both female and Asian. I was actually called her name, in a meeting, with both of us present. It’s not really a direct experience with discrimination, but I am certain it would not have happened had one of us been non-Asian.”

Table 7. *Bamboo Ceiling and Pigeon Holding*

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
You hear that Asians are not significantly represented in management positions.	83 (28.3%)	19 (6.5%)	66 (22.5%)	75 (25.6%)	50 (17.1%)	293
Because of the fact that you are Asian, you are discriminated when you find a job	203 (71.2%)	5 (1.8%)	17 (6.0%)	24 (8.4%)	36 (12.6%)	285
Because of your race, you are discriminated at work such as promotions or racial profiling	202 (70.6%)	4 (1.4%)	17 (5.9%)	20 (7.0%)	43 (15.0%)	286
Someone tells you, “Asians are workaholics”	101 (34.6%)	106 (36.3%)	55 (18.8%)	25 (8.6%)	5 (1.7%)	292
You are told, “Asians are socially awkward”	157 (53.8%)	26 (8.9%)	58 (19.9%)	30 (10.3%)	21 (7.2%)	292

Table 8. *Asians Are All the Same*

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
Someone tells you “All Asians look alike.”	27 (9.3%)	61 (21.0%)	88 (30.3%)	69 (23.8%)	45 (15.5%)	290
Someone asks you “Are you Chinese (or Japanese)?” or greets you in Chinese (or Japanese)	41 (14.0%)	68 (23.3%)	95 (32.5%)	45 (15.4%)	43 (14.7%)	292
Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/class mate	66 (22.8%)	106 (36.6%)	81 (27.9%)	27 (9.3%)	10 (3.4%)	290
Someone asks you if all your friends are Asians	167 (57.8%)	45 (15.6%)	49 (17.0%)	16 (5.5%)	12 (4.2%)	289

As shown in Table 8, most participants (99.7%) have heard someone tell them “All Asians look alike” and this event bothered (30.3%), upset (23.8%), or extremely upset them (15.5%). Similarly, about 85% of the participants experienced someone who assumed that they are Chinese or Japanese and this even caused stress from minor to extreme degree.

Forbidden land. The seventh theme describes discriminatory situations in which Asians are not allowed to have the same access or right with the majority and treated as a lesser being. A typical example involves Asians being rejected to rent an apartment or to see certain areas. Also, being seated in the minority section or the back of restaurants and receiving poor service was one of frequent experiences among Asians. A couple of examples among 18 relevant stories (10.2%) are:

“When we were looking for a home, we were not shown to certain areas; because these areas were new to us we really didn't know about the discrimination until after we had lived in the area for a while.”

“I was with my parents on a road trip in the South and we stopped at a diner to eat lunch. They seated us on the opposite end of the restaurant as everyone else and took a long time to serve us.”

In looking at the descriptive result of relevant questions, forbidden land theme RDMs were experienced less frequently compared to other themes. About 50% or less than 50% percentages of participants answered that relevant events happened to them as shown in the Table 9. However, those who experienced being taken to the back of the restaurant or airplane or served after Whites mostly reported that that event made them upset or extremely upset.

Asians are simply gross. The eighth theme can be described as verbal and nonverbal insults through hatred calling Asians such as dirty, smelly, insanitary, or barbarian eating dogs and cats. Participants share some experiences regarding this theme.

“I brought back some Filipino dessert leftovers back to my dorm room after a Filipino family party I attended. My white roommate saw the leftovers I brought home and said "Ewww....gross! What's that???" I calmly told her it was a delicious Filipino dessert and described the ingredients to her. She continued to ridicule the dessert because it was Filipino.”

“When I was in elementary school, I was told that I smell very bad because of my race and that the food from my house always stuck to me.”

“At a social gathering, the host made a comment about her cat hiding because it knew that I would be there. I was stunned due to the fact that I couldn't believe what she said.”

“The passenger leaned out and yelled, "Stop putting dog in my Chinese food, motherfucker!" and everyone in the car laughed as it drove off.”

In addition, descriptive results of relevant questions are shown in the Table 10.

Alienation within an Asian Group. The last theme is related to Asian Americans' experience with being alienated and discriminated from Asian Americans group as well as perceiving Asians as aggressors of racial discrimination towards other races. Interestingly, some participants answered that they feel more marginalized in interactions with other Asians or within an Asian group than when they interact with other racial groups. Moreover, some pointed out Asians are not the only target of racism but also can be aggressors to other minorities. Representative stories of this theme are following:

“Interestingly, as a member of the 2nd generation, I was discriminated against by my 1st generation and 1.5 generation peers for not being "Korean" enough. I attended boarding school and in the 10th grade, while socializing with a couple of my dorm mates, I was asked if I "even knew how to read Korean". This event occurred after it had previously been assumed when we were first introduced that I could not speak Korean (which I can). After I told them that I could, in fact, read AND write in Korean, one of the girls felt that she needed to verify it. She wrote down a phrase in Korean on a sheet of paper and demanded that I read it out loud. I remember feeling slightly incredulous but doing as she asked nonetheless. I felt patronized and insulted for having to "prove" my level of "Korean-ness" to my peers.”

“Another Asian person asked me what my Chinese name was. I felt bothered because I don't use my Chinese name and I don't necessarily care about what my Chinese name means nor do I believe that every Asian person has a Chinese name. I'm more comfortable with my English name.”

“My mom told me that as an Asian we were already low on the social poll and that I should limit the amount of time I spend socializing with those lower than us (i.e. black people) even if they were my friends. She told me I should at least associate myself with other Asians, although it would be best if it were with white people. I was angry. I ignored her 'advice' but never forgot it.”

Table 9. *Forbidden Land*

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
You experience being taken to the back of the restaurant or airplane even though there are seats available in the front	221 (75.4%)	6 (2.0%)	18 (6.1%)	18 (6.1%)	30 (10.2%)	293
At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you	166 (56.7%)	10 (3.4%)	31 (10.6%)	49 (16.7%)	37 (12.6%)	293
Because of your race, you are discriminated when you find a house	250 (87.7%)	1 (0.4%)	8 (2.8%)	13 (4.6%)	13 (4.6%)	285

Table 10. *Asians Are Simply Gross.*

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset	Total
Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.	111 (38.1%)	35 (12.0%)	60 (20.6%)	48 (16.5%)	37 (12.7%)	291
Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.	189 (64.5%)	19 (6.5%)	27 (9.2%)	36 (12.3%)	22 (7.5%)	293

Forms of RDMs

The second element related to the form of RDMs and how the message was expressed. There were several RDM forms found: (1) verbal, (2) nonverbal, and (3) physical attack. Most stories included discriminatory verbal messages ($n = 133$, 75.6%). As previously mentioned, verbal RDMs such as racial slurs and hate speech many times accompany with nonverbal behaviors of the aggressor including laughing, spitting, pointing out certain parts of the body, and pulling back eyes into thin slits. Out of the stories, about one-fourth ($n = 49$, 27.8%) included nonverbal insults as the following:

“At a grocery store with my dad when I was young. The cashier deliberately picked out the dirtiest coins and then threw them at my dad”

“Most recently, I walked down a public sidewalk where construction was occurring. There were several construction workers there and I was let through the construction area. They did not say anything. Later, I walked back the same way and noticed some of them were noticeably staring at me. One of them said, "... She's Oriental, too!" while staring at me. I did not know what they were discussing beforehand. Whether or not they were discussing my appearance or race, I found it offensive that they used the word "Oriental" and stared at my (female) self.”

Moreover, a few stories ($n = 11$, 6.3%) described incidents about physical threats or physical violence. Some examples are following:

“When I was in college, a bunch of people picked me up and put me in the trash can on Dec. 7th, Pearl Harbor Day...”

“When I went to middle school in Boston, I was actually racially discriminated and made fun of. The kids at school would write nasty grams about me on the bathroom walls, and would wet the bus seat I would be sitting on with water. At one point, another kid threw a Chinese restaurant menu pamphlet telling me if I knew how to read all the Chinese letters.”

SCRRD of Asian Americans

The second research question explored the outcome variable of this study, SCRRD practiced by Asian Americans. The preliminary SCRRD measurement included a total of 22 questions that were developed based on Lapinski and Orbe (2007)'s co-cultural scale and the strategic responses to discriminatory acts by Camara and Orbe (2010). SCRRD was expected to divide into three dimensions: 1) nonassertive; 2) assertive; and 3) aggressive.

A PCA was conducted on the 22 items. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .873 ('great' according to Field, 2009), and KMO values for individuals items were > .541, which is above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2009). Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2 (231) = 2608.76, p < 0.01$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain Eigen values for each component of the data. Six components had Eigen values over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 63.71% of the variance. However, several items did not clearly load in one component and some loaded in none of the components.

After dropping six problematic items, the second PCA was conducted on the remaining 16 items with the same rotation method. The KMO value was still a great level (= .887), and KMO values for individuals items were > .609. Bartlett's test of sphericity $\chi^2 (120) = 2060.229, p < 0.01$. Three components had Eigen values over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained a total of 57.73% of the variance in the data. The first factor was aligned with the assertive dimension alone explaining 39.5% of the

variance. The second and third factors explained an additional 11% and 7% and were aligned with nonassertive and aggressive respectively (See Table 12). For further analyses, the mean of each dimension was used: 1) nonassertive (6 items, $\alpha = .808$, $m = 2.83$, $sd = 0.77$, 1 = *strongly disagree* ~ 5 = *strongly agree*); assertive (8 items, $\alpha = .877$, $m = 2.61$, $sd = 0.82$); and aggressive (2 items, $\alpha = .596$, $m = 1.99$, $sd = 0.88$).

Descriptive analysis indicated that the mean of nonassertive SCRRD ($m = 2.83$, $sd = 0.77$) was higher than assertive ($m = 2.61$, $sd = 0.82$) or aggressive SCRRD ($m = 1.99$, $sd = 0.88$). As shown in the Table 11, participants highly rated one item of “I maintained self-control because they knew this was not the time or the place to confront the perpetrator ($m = 3.44$, $sd = 1.29$).” Meanwhile, participants rated two aggressive items the least, “I made fun of him/her as well ($m = 1.91$, $sd = 1.24$)” and “I attacked him/her back verbally or physically ($m = 2.08$, $sd = 1.40$)”

Demographic Factors and SCRRD

ANOVA analyses were conducted for SCRRD as dependent variables and demographic characteristics of participants, which include age, gender, generation, proficiency in English and the language of the homeland, income, and education.

The result suggested that only gender had a significant influence on aggressive SCRRD dimensions ($f(1, 289) = 6.103$, $p < .05$) indicating males ($m = 2.16$, $sd = 1.04$) were more likely to use aggressive SCRRD than females ($m = 1.89$, $sd = 0.77$). However, there was no significant effect of gender on two other SCRRD.

In looking at individual SCRRD items, female were more likely to enact nonassertive SCRRD than males including leaving the situation immediately, ignoring

the aggressor, saying nothing but observing the aggressor, and asking someone else about the aggressor instead of confronting the aggressor directly. Meanwhile, males were more likely to respond to such situation aggressively by frowning at the aggressor, making fun of the person, and attacking the aggressor as shown in Table 13.

Meanwhile, other demographic factors including generation, proficiency in English and the language of homeland, income, and education did not have a significant effect on SCRRD.

Table 11. *Items Retained from PCA of SCRRD*

Dimension	Items	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>
Nonassertive <i>m</i> = 2.87	I tried not to confront the person or the situation	183	2.84	1.45
	I pretended like nothing happened	184	2.43	1.30
	I ignored the perpetrator	187	2.68	1.40
	I said nothing to the perpetrator verbally, but I observed them from a far	187	2.51	1.41
	I controlled my emotion because I didn't want the perpetrator or other around me to know that the incident affected me	187	3.11	1.33
	I maintained self-control because I knew this was not the time or the place to confront the perpetrator	186	3.44	1.29
Assertive <i>m</i> = 2.65	I expressed my opinion in that situation even though it confronted the other(s)	184	2.73	1.54
	I voiced my objections (about what was wrong) to the person's behavior	185	2.84	1.51
	I made myself clear how I felt	186	2.89	1.40
	I looked the perpetrator in the eye	186	3.51	1.46
	I directly asked the perpetrator questions about his/her behavior (i.e Why did you say that to me?)	186	2.15	1.38
	I taught the perpetrator what he/she did wrong to me	181	2.18	1.35
	I tried to find a way for both of us (myself and the perpetrator) to understand each other	184	2.15	1.27
	I stood close to the perpetrator	185	2.46	1.36
Aggressive <i>m</i> = 2.00	I made fun of him/her as well	184	1.91	1.24
	I attacked him/her back verbally or physically	186	2.08	1.40

Table 12. *Factor Loading for SCRRD*

	Loading		
	Assertive 1	Component Non-assertive 2	Aggressive 3
I tried not to confront the person or the situation		.738	
I pretended like nothing happened		.710	
I ignored the perpetrator		.727	
I said nothing to the perpetrator verbally, but I observed them from a far		.607	
I controlled my emotion because I didn't want the perpetrator or other around me to know that the incident affected me		.847	
I maintained self-control because I knew this was not the time or the place to confront the perpetrator		.776	
I expressed my opinion in that situation even though it confronted the other(s)	.527		
I voiced my objections (about what was wrong) to the person's behavior	.604		
I made myself clear how I felt	.440		
I looked the perpetrator in the eye	.551		
I directly asked the perpetrator questions about his/her behavior (i.e Why did you say that to me?)	.800		
I taught the perpetrator what he/she did wrong to me	.664		
I tried to find a way for both of us (myself and the perpetrator) to understand each other	.952		
I stood close to the perpetrator	.709		
I made fun of him/her as well			.935
I attacked him/her back verbally or physically			.706

Note: Loadings exceeding .40 shown. No other loadings on component 1 exceeded .245. On component 2 none exceeded .353. On component 3 none exceeded .264.

Table 13. *Gender differences in SCRRD*

Items		<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>F</i>
I left immediately	Male	58	2.07	1.39	7.508*
	Female	122	2.71	1.51	
I ignored the perpetrator	Male	60	2.33	1.39	5.489*
	Female	124	2.85	1.39	
I said nothing to the perpetrator verbally, but I observed them from a far	Male	60	2.15	1.26	5.955*
	Female	124	2.69	1.45	
I frowned at the perpetrator	Male	61	2.87	1.57	4.341*
	Female	122	3.34	1.35	
I asked someone else about the perpetrator	Male	60	1.77	1.11	9.470*
	Female	122	2.43	1.46	
I made fun of him/her as well	Male	58	2.22	1.56	5.300*
	Female	121	1.77	1.04	
I attacked him/her back verbally or physically	Male	60	2.35	1.57	3.917*
	Female	122	1.92	1.28	

Note: * = $p < 0.05$

Motivations of Nonassertive SCRRD

Qualitative analyses of descriptions about the memorable racial discrimination incident of participants identified several motivations or reasons why participants selected a certain SCRRD. For nonassertive SCRRD, several reasons were found.

Peer pressure. First, participants selected nonassertive SCRRD because they feel peer pressure not to make the incident as a big deal from others presented in that situation. For instance, when a female participant heard her White male friend continuously insulting Asian women, she tried to ignore him and move the topic rather than confronting him because she observed other friends present, who were all male and

Whites, did not seem to have a problem or try to stop him. As a result, she took a nonassertive approach by walking out of the room. Similarly, the other participant shared a story that she did not confront a friend who insulted her because the other friend present at the moment told her that it was not a big issue.

Do not know how to react. Second, many participants recalled the incident was the first time and they did not know how to respond. Therefore, they took nonassertive approaches such as continue walking or leave the situation. However, these participants often regret their passive responses later wishing that they could deal with the situation more assertively or aggressively if it happened again. A few example stories are following:

“I was at work in a govt. office and a coworker (who was in a significantly higher position) was speaking to another coworker near my desk. She went into a long story about how she would never rent her property to a Japanese. She said all Japanese were filthy and would destroy her property. I was young (my 1st job) and working in an environment where I could not challenge her. If this happened now, as I am older and wiser I would have complained to my manager. In fact, several years later in the same workplace I had another ?incident, which was similar, and I complained to management--the perpetrator was disciplined and made to apologize to me. Because I took action this incident is not as memorable as the one I related to you.”

“I was walking out of a supermarket and a young male employer began making "ching chong" noises at me, trying to imitate whatever language he thought I spoke. I ended up just leaving but regretted not confronting him or going to the store manager, as he was clearly an employee. He was a teenager but it would have been a good moment to say that it was not okay to do that.”

Feeling powerless. Third, participants could not take assertive or aggressive reaction to RDMs because they felt humiliated, shocked, and stunned. A recipient of

RDMs immediately feels powerless and loses an opportunity to say something when it happens. A few example descriptions are:

“... I felt powerless to call him out on being creepy, but a year or so later I imagined that I would confront him, announcing to anyone there who he was and what it was doing if he approached me again.”

“... He answers, "Chink or something." I am too shocked to say anything and just stare at him. He looks at me sheepishly before turning away.”

“ I was walking home from school when some people driving pass me on the road yelled "Chink go home" and spat on me. I felt so humiliated and powerless. There was nothing I could do besides cleaning off the spit.”

Keeping safe. As previously noted, verbal RDMs often connect to physical threat or violence. As participants are aware of this fact, they intentionally select nonassertive SCRRD in order to keep themselves safe and not to invite more RDMs. In addition, when an aggressor is in a higher power position, participants choose not to confront the aggressor in order to protect themselves from any disadvantage. Some examples are following:

“...I got very angry and was going to say something, but my dad told me to shut up because we were only three people and there were many people in the restaurant. He said we had to be quiet so we could be safe.”

“... At this point I decided to let him save face because there was a lot of folks looking and I also feared being detained because of the reputation of "Homeland Security"...”

Not worth it. Some participants answered that they just ignored the aggressor or the incident because it was not worthy to deal with. Based on this response, there is an idea that their efforts to correct discriminatory assumptions of the aggressor or the

situation would not lead to any change. Also, some participants simply feel pity towards an aggressor's ignorance.

“... I just gave him the "what the hell?" look, but said nothing and turned back around while him and his friend laughed. I wanted to do something but this guy was ridiculously shorter than I was; shorter than my chest height even...”

“... However, I never received that award despite the fact that I was the best student in the class.... I knew it was unfair...I told my mom about the whole situation and she told me to be patient and to keep trying. I never did get a chance to speak up for myself...”

“... The first time this came up was after perhaps a minute and I responded by smiling and telling her that I did not have a problem in this area... However, she persisted in assuming I would have difficulties and verbalized this assumption numerous times. In the end I simply ignored any mention of this subject and answered her other questions.

“...All of these perpetrators have been European American males, probably mostly low income or working class people who are war traumatized and not too bright. It's been very, very scary, but in the end, I realize that these people are in way worse shape than I am.”

The statistic analysis indicated that Asian American participants were more likely to practice nonassertive SCRRD than assertive or aggressive. This result is consistent with that of quantitative content analysis, which showed that about one-third of stories (31%) included nonassertive SCRRD, while assertive (17%) or aggressive SCRRD (7%) were less frequently found. Participants selected nonassertive SCRRD for diverse reasons as identified from the textual analysis.

On the other hand, some participants shared a story of how they reacted to RDMs assertively or aggressively. Representative descriptions are following:

“...Since I believed she and I were friends, I told her that the way she was ridiculing my food hurt me because it felt as though she was ridiculing my culture and heritage. She wasn't willing to listen to me and, because I called her out on this, she ultimately stopped communicating with me as well as all of my Asian-American friends at the school.”

“I was being interviewed by a psychologist as part of the psychological testing for police officer. He told me as an Asian and particularly Japanese I was probably going to be stereo typically seen as weak and mild and how would I handle that situation if I were ever to be hired. I told him that the Japanese Samurai were some of the most fierce warriors in history. I have enough confidence in myself that I could handle almost any situation. Seeing how upset I was, he didn't pursue the matter further.”

“...He then asked where I was born, to which I responded "San Francisco" even though the truth was Hong Kong. I wanted to impress upon him that Asian Americans have been contributing members of American society since at least the mid-1800s, and that we are not all FOBs. He was in disbelief. I had to bite my tongue and not insult him on his poor grammar and lack of sensitivity. He wasn't being mean; he was just ignorant. I was traveling alone and did not want to make an issue of it, mindful that I need to represent my people to a positive light.”

“... This happened about a half-dozen times until one day I picked up a rock and threw it at the bus as it passed. No one was hurt, but a window was broken. The school district wanted to press charges against me, but through a mediation with a judge, I was allowed to have the incident stricken from my record as long as I didn't get in trouble for six months.”

“Walked into a grocery store with Asian friends, an older white man said "Asian invasion" but didn't think anyone heard, however I did as I was the only one who passed by him quite closely. I became extremely angry, turned around, and yelled and cussed at him, asking to repeat what he said if he dared. He said "nothing," I yelled more at him, then we both walked away. I encountered him again in the store where he apologized. I spoke to him quite loudly, scolding him for his actions and other words. When my friends and I walked out, one of the store employees asked me quietly (white female) if everything was okay. Until then, no employee in the store bothered to help or intervene.”

“...A man asked me where I was from. I replied "here" knowing full well he was really wanting to know my ethnicity. So he rephrases and I tell him "Chinese" and he asks me "So how do you like it here?" I respond "As opposed to China, that's like me asking you how you liked Africa!" He didn't say anything further and I hope realized his ignorance.”

Preferred Outcome and SCRRD

The third research question explored the relationship between SCRRD and the preferred outcome. As previously noted, preferred outcome was divided into three dimensions that include assimilation, accommodation, and separation. In order to look at the relationships between three preferred outcome dimensions and three SCRRD dimensions, correlation tests were conducted.

The result indicated that separation and assertive SCRRD showed a weak, but positive relationship with each other ($r = .206, p < 0.05$) indicating individuals who seek to separate themselves from the majority are likely to use assertive SCRRD. However, no significant correlation was found among other dimensions.

Fields of Experience and SCRRD

The fourth research question explored the relationship between fields of experience and SCRRD. As previously noted, fields of experience with racial discrimination included two sets. The first scale was a sum of 32 items reflecting experiences with general RDMs and the second scale was the mean of three items asking similar experiences with the most memorable racial discrimination situation.

In looking at correlations between variables, the first scale had a minor, but positive relationship with assertive SCRRD ($r = .128, p < 0.05$). The second scale of fields of experience was positively related with assertive SCRRD ($r = .273, p < 0.01$) as well as aggressive SCRRD ($r = .265, p < 0.01$), which indicate that individuals who had similar experience in the past are more likely to use assertive and aggressive SCRRD in discriminatory situation than those who have less experience with such situations.

Situational/Relational Contexts and SCRRD

The fifth research question inquired practiced SCRRD in various situational/relational contexts. The aggressor(s) of the most memorable or hurtful racial discrimination situation were more likely to be male(s) ($n = 110, 56.7\%$) than female(s) ($n = 41, 21.2\%$) or both male(s) and female(s) ($n = 41, 21.1\%$). In terms of race, a majority of the aggressors were White ($n = 140, 72.3\%$) followed by Black ($n = 31, 16.1\%$) or Hispanic ($n = 8, 4.2\%$). Aggressors were described as a stranger ($n = 124, 63.3\%$), co-workers ($n = 19, 9.7\%$), neighbors or acquaintances ($n = 13, 6.7\%$) and friends ($n = 11, 5.6\%$). Most participants believed that the aggressor did the act based on his/her personal attitude ($n = 177, 92.7\%$), rather than based on an organizational policy or system ($n = 14, 7.3\%$). The racial discrimination incident happened mostly in public places ($n = 109, 55.9\%$) or work and school ($n = 64, 21.8\%$). At the moment it happened, a majority of participants were sure what happened was obviously racial discrimination ($n = 140, 72.2\%$), while some participants answered that they were not sure and confused about what happened ($n = 54, 27.8\%$). Most participants perceived that the incident was against themselves as an Asian individual ($n = 81, 42.0\%$) or against both themselves and Asians as a whole ($n = 83, 43.0\%$). Others perceived that the incident was not personal but against all Asians ($n = 29, 15.0\%$).

In order to understand SCRRD in different situational and relational contexts, one-way ANOVA was conducted. Among the variables, participants' perception on aggressors' intention led to a significant difference in practicing aggressive SCRRD. When individuals thought an aggressor practiced discriminatory acts intentionally ($f(1,$

176) = 3.10, $p < 0.05$, $m = 2.07$, $sd = 1.14$) they were more likely to use aggressive SCRRD than when they thought the acts to be unintentional ($m = 1.34$, $sd = 0.68$). Also, discriminatory acts' background led to a significant difference in practicing aggressive SCRRD. When individuals thought an aggressor practiced discriminatory acts based on an organizational policy or system ($f(1, 175) = 10.96$, $p < 0.01$, $m = 2.93$, $sd = 1.25$) they were more likely to use aggressive SCRRD than when the situation was based on the aggressor's personal attitude ($m = 1.92$, $sd = 1.08$).

Communication Efficacy and SCRRD

The sixth research question explored the relationship between communication efficacy and SCRRD. The result of correlation tests indicated that communication efficacy is positively associated with assertive SCRRD ($r = .200$, $p < 0.01$). Individuals who have higher communication efficacy are more likely to use assertive SCRRD as predicted. However, both nonassertive and aggressive SCRRD were not correlated with communication efficacy.

Identities (Esteem) and SCRRD

The seventh research question asked the relationships between SCRRD and identities, which includes self-esteem, racial esteem, and racial group significance. Correlation tests indicated that self-esteem (mean of 10 items) was negatively related to nonassertive ($r = -.216$, $p < 0.01$) and positively related to assertive SCRRD ($r = .206$, $p < 0.05$). Participants who have higher self-esteem are more likely to use assertive SCRRD than nonassertive, while participants who have lower self-esteem are more likely

to practice nonassertive SCRRD than assertive. Aggressive SCRRD was not related with self-esteem.

Racial esteem was negatively associated with nonassertive SCRRD ($r = -.203, p < 0.05$), which indicate that participants who highly value their race are less likely to use nonassertive SCRRD. However, racial esteem was not related with other two SCRRD types.

Overall esteem, a sum of self and racial esteem was associated negatively with nonassertive SCRRD ($r = -.267, p < 0.01$) and positively with assertive ($r = .209, p < 0.01$). Indeed, individuals who highly estimate themselves as well as their race are more likely to use assertive SCRRD, but less likely to use nonassertive SCRRD than individuals having lower esteem.

Racial group significance had a minor, but negative relationship with aggressive SCRRD ($r = -.157, p < 0.05$) indicating that those who value their racial group as a significant part to their identities are less likely to use aggressive SCRRD.

Cultural Value and SCRRD

The last research question examined cultural values and SCRRD. Cultural value contains three dimensions: collectivism, high-context orientation, and Confucian dynamism. Overall, Asian cultural values had a small negative effect on aggressive SCRRD ($r = -.150, p < 0.05$) indicating those who value Asian cultures including collectivism, high-context orientation, and Confucianism are less likely to use aggressive SCRRD. In particular, Confucianism dimension was negatively related with aggressive

SCCRRD ($r = -.165, p < 0.01$) indicating individuals who value Confucian culture are less likely to use aggressive SCRRD.

As a result, the relationships between the outcome variable, SCRRD and demographic factors of participants as well as independent variables were identified. These findings will be discussed in next section.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings of this study in particular what has been learned about racially discriminatory messages (RDMs) in general and those targeting Asians as well as strategic communication responses to those messages (SCRDRs). Implications and limitations of this study will be the focus of the next chapter.

Lessons About RDMs

Communicative Discrimination Against Asians

This study identified and studied interpersonal and social messages discriminating against Asians. Through qualitative and quantitative analyses of contents written by Asian Americans, the current study discovered themes of RDMs practiced both verbally and nonverbally. Themes of RDMs discovered in this study are largely aligned with those of previous literatures concerning stereotypes and presumptions towards Asian Americans. The views on Asians including the model minority, perpetual foreigners, evil invaders and sexualizing of Asian women are prevalent in everyday RDMs received by Asians. On the other hand, this study suggests some new RDMs that were not discussed much in former studies. Racial slurs, playground teasing, sexualizing of Asian men, pigeon holding in computer/technology work, and alienation within Asian groups are those examples.

Dominance of the model minority myth. As discussed above, a number of scholars have warned the unrealistic expectations or images of Asians based on the model minority myth (e.g., Hoy & J. Wong, 2000; Kawai, 2005; R. Lee et al., 2007; S. Lee, 1996; Nakayama, 1988; Paek & Shah, 2003; S. Sue & Kitano, 1973; Suzuki, 2002; P. Wong et al., 1998; Yoo et al., 2010; Zhang, 2010). The findings of this present study also support dominance of the model minority myth in RDMs targeting Americans and its negative impacts. Despite the fact that a majority of Asian Americans (72%) in this study noticed that Asians are not significantly represented in management positions and about one-third personally experienced racial discrimination at work including finding a job, promotions, and racial profiling (30%), Asians' complaints about these problems are often disregarded.

In addition, stereotypes towards Asians being hard-workers and obedient to authority oppress Asians by leading them to additional work and being expected to conform to managerial decisions. In addition, other stereotypes towards Asians as being socially incompetent, good at only math or technology related work, as well as ignorant about American business culture limits Asians' social and career opportunities as explained above in Chapter 5.

Identity struggles of Asian Americans. The themes of RDMs targeting Asian Americans reflect how society and other racial groups define Asians. Asian Americans negotiate with this social definition that often denies and distorts their identities as an American, a partner in interpersonal or social relationships, and even an Asian.

National identity denial. Although a majority of the participants' native language is English (70%) and more than half of their families have lived in the US through more than two generations (54%), the presumption of Asians will never be truly American and never really know American was prevalent throughout messages given to Asians. Many participants live with questions doubting their American identity in their own land. Often, their "American-ness" was ignored and regarded as pretending. Moreover, many were marginalized in their own country being told to go back to their country.

As previously noted, being denied their national identity is a crucial identity threat for Asians Americans (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Experiences with the identity denial seem to influence co-cultural interactions of participants. Receiving the Asians will never be Americans RDMs lead participants to two different directions in terms of preferred outcomes. Some participants those who experienced this RDM emphasize their American identity and display it by reacting to the aggressor assertively or aggressively, which is similar to the assimilation or accommodation orientations. On the other hand, others realize that they are different and can never fit into the majority through the incident, which can be described as separation orientation.

Denial in relationships. Scholars assert that viewing Asian women based on the exotic images of Geishas, ultimately defines Asian women's identities as sexual objects, domestic servants, and passive companions to males, while diverse social roles and identities of Asian women are unseen (e.g., D, Sue, 2007). Likewise, this study found that the RDM sexualizing Asian Americans is prevalent and is the most critical stressor to Asian American women. The statements sexualizing Asian women's physical appearance

or containing the expectation in Asian women to be obedient to men were frequently experienced by female participants. This result implies that media descriptions of Asian women as being silent, passive, exotic, obedient and humble (K. Lee & Joo, 2005; Park et al., 2006) are aligned with interpersonal RDMs given to Asians.

Importantly, this unrealistic judgment connects to perceptions of Asians and further influence their interactions and relationships with others. Asian women in this study reported that they were often not considered a potential serious partner because of the stereotyped image that they are too easy, subservient, and physically unattractive. In another extreme direction, they were pursued just because of the Asian fetishes. The adverse impact of sexual image on Asians also applies to Asian men. Asian males are considered not to deserve a romantic partner from other races because of the image that Asian males are socially incompetent or physically unattractive.

Asian identity denial. Asian Americans are struggling between two different identities of being American and Asian. While they feel marginalized from the social pressure to be real or more American, they are also challenged with the pressure from other Asians to be more Asian. Second or more generations are often questioned of being Asian enough and asked to prove their “Asian-ness” from peers of first generation.

Still overt and aggressive RDMs. One important finding of this study is that RDMs are still expressed overtly and aggressively in contemporary society. Many scholars stated that racist expressions have evolved from the “old fashion” form in which overt racial hatred is consciously and publicly displayed, to a modern or symbolic form, which is more ambiguous and nebulous (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2002; D. Sue, Capodilupo, et

al., 2007). Therefore, RDMs were expected to be more indirect, disguised, ambiguous, and subtle in our daily conversations that are often difficult to identify and acknowledge. However, our data indicated that RDMs towards Asian Americans are still overt, direct, and publicly displayed. For instance, a majority of participants have heard verbal insults in public (66%) such as racial slurs and about 40% of contents contained incidents related to direct insults against Asians. Furthermore, approximately 15% of participants have been physically harmed because of racial hatred.

Thus, it is fair to conclude that racially discriminatory messages continue to be an almost daily experience for many Asian Americans. RDMs reflect social definitions of Asian Americans and imply what Asian Americans have to struggle in order to negotiate their identities in co-cultural interactions. Therefore, the kinds of communication strategies being studied in this dissertation are of importance today as well as into the foreseeable future. The next section of this chapter discusses findings about such strategies for responding to RDMs.

Lessons About SCRRDs

The primary focus of this project was to discover and assess the strategic communication responses used by Asians who are the targets of RDMs. Four co-cultural factors (i.e., preferred outcome in co-cultural interactions, fields of experience, communication efficacy, situational/relational context) and two factors suggested in the present study – identities and cultural values – were examined as antecedent variables. Also, the influence of demographic characteristics in SCRRD was examined. This section

begins with discussions about relationships between these factors and SCRRD. Then, it discusses overall SCRRD orientations of Asian Americans.

Demographic Influences on SCRRD

This study assessed the relationship between SCRRD and demographic factors of Asian Americans in order to identify individuals' characteristics having a significant effect on their SCRRD. Similar with a previous finding, gender was a factor that leads to significant differences between groups in terms of SCRRD. In Camara and Orbe's (2007) analysis, men were more likely to utilize aggressive co-cultural practices in responding to race discrimination such as confronting and attacking, while women's responses are grounded to more nonassertive separation outcomes.

Similarly, the result of this study supports that although women reported more stress from these incidents than men they are more likely to use nonassertive SCRRD. More specifically, female were more likely to leave the situation immediately, ignore the aggressor, say nothing but observe the aggressor, and ask someone else about the aggressor. Meanwhile, males are more likely to utilize aggressive methods such as frowning at the aggressor, making fun of the person, and attacking the aggressor.

Other demographic factors including English fluency, proficiency in homeland languages, income, and education were not significantly related with SCRRD. This is a somewhat different result from previous literatures. Particularly, English fluency is known as a critical factor to assertive and competent communication not only in co-cultural situations (Jun, 2011, Urban & Orbe, 2007) but also in general interpersonal communication among immigrants. This can be interpreted that language competency is

not a significant factor in discriminatory situations because people become naturally speechless in such moments or they intentionally select not to communicate with the aggressor regardless of their language competency. Alternatively, participants may be homogeneous in terms of English fluency in view of the 70% of them are native speakers of English. This sampling issue will be discussed in limitations.

Antecedents and SCRRD

This study revealed significant influences of some existing co-cultural factors (i.e., separation outcome of co-cultural interactions, field of experiences, communication efficacy) on SCRRD. The results regarding the relationships between co-cultural practices with these factors were mostly consistent with previous literatures. In addition, identities (i.e., self and racial esteem, racial group significance) and cultural values, which were suggested as two additional factors to co-cultural research in the present study, had significant influences on SCRRD.

Assertive approach to separate from the majority. Among the three dimensions of preferred outcome (i.e., assimilation, accommodation, separation), separation was the only dimension associated with assertive SCRRD. Individuals who seek to separate themselves from the majority were likely to use assertive SCRRD.

In a previous analysis of Lapinski and Orbe (2007), all three dimensions were related with co-cultural practices. Assimilation outcome was positively related with non-assertive strategy, but negatively with assertive. Accommodation outcome was associated with both assertive and aggressive strategy. Separation outcome had a positive relationship with assertive strategy.

However, in the current study, neither assimilation nor accommodation was related with SCRRD. Considering particular situations in which SCRRD practiced, this result seems reasonable. In discriminatory situations, individuals would feel separated and isolated from the majority. For instance, one participant described how a racism incident reminded his/herself that Asians' physical looks are different and he/she will never fit in mainstream American society. Racism experiences result in the feeling of being marginalized to racial minorities and that they may build a more separating orientation. This orientation is expressed in more assertive ways such as expressing their own views and objecting to the majority perspective through interactions with individuals from the dominant culture.

Development of own SCRRD through experiences. Participants' experiences with racial discrimination showed to have a relatively higher correlation with both assertive and aggressive SCRRD compared to other antecedents. This result is consistent with Orbe (1998)'s finding that an aggressive strategy is often used when previous attempts to use assertive or nonassertive strategies were unsuccessful. As previously noted, participants who used nonassertive SCRRD tend to regret not to deal with the situation more assertively or aggressively and it remains as unresolved stress. Throughout past experiences, individuals learn how to choose an effective strategy that can reduce adverse impacts on them and enact appropriately in given situations.

Communication efficacy, but not the language fluency. Individuals' self-evaluation of their communication ability to change a situation showed to serve an important role in deciding whether to communicate assertively or not. Individuals who

have higher communication efficacy are likely to use assertive SCRRD. This result is also similar with previous findings that communication efficacy was negatively associated with avoidance in sensitive situations (e.g., Afifi & Weiner, 2004, Jang, 2008). However, lesser communication efficacy was not associated with nonassertive SCRRD. Also, English fluency was not associated with SCRRD. This result may confirm the previous argument that nonassertive SCRRD is a strategic behavior that does not arise primarily because of a lack of communication competency.

Identities. Individuals' esteem as themselves or as a member to racial groups was identified as a significant influencer to SCRRD. The result regarding esteem was similar with previous literatures, in showing that individuals who have a higher self-esteem are likely to use a confronting coping style, while those who have a lower self-esteem tend to use an avoiding coping style (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). Participants' self-esteem was negatively related with nonassertive and positively with assertive SCRRD. Indeed, Asian Americans who have higher self-esteem are likely to use assertive SCRRD than nonassertive SCRRD, while those who have lower self-esteem are likely to practice nonassertive SCRRD than assertive SCRRD. Also, racial esteem was negatively associated with nonassertive SCRRD, which indicated that Asian Americans who highly value their race are less likely to use nonassertive SCRRD.

Asian cultural values prohibiting aggressive responses. Asian cultural values, particularly Confucianism, were influential factors to SCRRD of Asian Americans. Confucianism as well as overall Asian cultural values was negatively related with aggressive SCRRD indicating individuals who value Asian cultures are less likely to use

aggressive SCRRD. Unlike a previous argument that Asian cultural values limit assertive communication and lead to nonassertive communication style (Singhal & Nagao, 1993), Asian culture factors were not significantly related with nonassertive or assertive SCRRD.

This result can be interpreted that Asian Americans may not apply the cultural lesson about communication in discriminatory situations. Although they have built general communication orientation largely influenced by cultures, they may need to use an unusual communication method to deal with the situation. Alternatively, it can be seen as Asian cultures teach individuals to restrain aggressively offending others not limit assertive communication which respects both oneself and the counterpart's needs equally. In fact, Confucianism focuses more on restraining offending superiors or others and dissenting uncertain information (Chu, 1988).

Although this study did not test the perception of racial hierarchy of participants, previous research asserts that Asian immigrants may express inferiority in their relationships with Whites (Jung & Hecht, 2008). Perhaps, Asian Americans avoid utilizing aggressive SCRRD to the aggressor of RDMs, who are mostly Whites, based on the perception that the aggressor is superior in terms of racial hierarchy and the cultural belief prohibiting them from confronting superiors.

Nonassertive SCRRD Orientations of Asian Americans

Overall, as a previous literature suggested (Camara & Orbe, 2010), this study found that Asian Americans tend to utilize nonassertive SCRRD than assertive or aggressive SCRRD. In addition, the current study suggests various internal and

environmental factors have an influence in selecting nonassertive SCRRD. For instance, the emotion of humiliation and shock from an incident often immobilizes a recipient from saying or doing anything against the aggressor. Also, young recipients and those who experienced RDMs for the first time could not utilize assertive communication because they do not know how to act. In fact, previous experience with racial discrimination situations was a critical predictor to assertive and aggressive SCRRD.

As a minority, pressure from other majorities also suppresses Asian Americans from practicing assertive SCRRD such as objecting to the aggressor and expressing their opinions. Because Asian Americans are aware of other majorities present in the situation, they feel that others would not understand the discomfort felt from racial remarks. Therefore, they often give up on reacting assertively to aggressors. They would rather choose nonassertive methods including moving on to another topic or leaving the situation to not invite additional RDMs. Afterwards, they are more likely to cope with stress by talking to a family member or a friend (71%) or other Asians (41%) about the incident.

However, nonassertive SCRRD should be also seen as strategic selection of Asian Americans not merely as intend to avoid the situation due to a lack of resources. From past experiences, Asians learn characteristics of typical aggressors of racism and obtain an ability to expect further consequences. For instance, about half of the participants answered that they knew exactly what they were supposed to do in that situation and were familiar with that kind of situation. In order to gain more information about the aggressor or the situation and find effective responses, recipients controlled their

emotions in order to wait for the right time and place to confront the aggressor. This also prevents them from potential physical violence from aggressors.

Amicable SCRRD

One interesting finding is racism recipients' amicable responses to aggressors. Although these items were not included in the SCRRD scale, some participants answered that they smiled at the aggressor (17%) or treated the aggressor even more kindly (5%) when the incident happened. This behavior could be explained with one previous finding. Jun (2011) analyzed anonymous stories and comments about racially discriminatory experiences of Asian women's online social support community. One conclusion was that these women encouraged each other to forgive the aggressor of racial discrimination and to treat the aggressor even more kindly and respectfully. They insist that avoiding confrontation or ignoring the aggressor is a good way to respond because they believe Asian Americans are more mature and have better qualities than the aggressor. Some also believed that treating the perpetrator kindly would lead the aggressor to regret oneself and think Asians are good enough people to forgive them. They believe that the kindness and respect would return to themselves and benefit all Asians. Also, they urged each other to mind their own racism towards other races because those attitudes will come back to other Asians.

In short, Asian Americans tend to utilize nonassertive SCRRD and there are diverse internal and external reasons. Some would take nonassertive approaches because of a lack of internal resources including experiences or knowledge of appropriate strategies and beliefs on their ability to communicate and handle the situation. Others

may select nonassertive methods with more strategic intentions in order to gain more time and information about the aggressor, to protect them, and to benefit other Asians. In the next chapter, theoretical and methodological implications, limitations of this dissertation, and recommendations for further research will be provided.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

This research set out to inquire the nature and characteristics of strategic communication behaviors among racial minorities when they deal with RDMs. It began with the premise that one major aspect of racial discrimination is a communicative interaction between an aggressor and a recipient. Co-cultural theory suggests co-cultural groups; including racial minorities develop their own communication strategies when they interact with the majority individuals as well as hierarchical society throughout their co-cultural life experiences. This study applied the co-cultural communication theory in racial discrimination situations in order to examine strategic communication responses among a racial minority group, Asian Americans.

By doing so, this research attempted to improve our field's understanding of communication strategy enacted by minorities in interracial and intercultural situations and to help society combat racism. Also, it attempted to advance the work of communication theory development, particularly in the area of co-cultural/intercultural communication. These goals were to be accomplished, in part, through extending the applicability of existing theory. More importantly, this project sought to develop a new methodological tool -- a comprehensive scale to measure co-cultural factors, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods -- and to contribute new constructs and predicted relationships to co-cultural theory and research.

This dissertation, which made extensive application of survey methods and quantitative analysis to co-cultural theory for the first time, will make co-cultural theory more readily accessible to a broader range of researchers and enable the theory to better defend itself by providing quantitative as well as the traditional qualitative arguments including statistics on reliability and the variance explained by co-cultural theory. For instance, Chapter 4 proposed a conceptual framework of SCRRD and its antecedents, and Chapter 5 detailed the SCRRD scale to measure the concepts.

This chapter concludes the study with discussions of this project's theoretical and methodological contributions to the field, limitations, and recommendations for further research.

Theoretical Implications

To Co-cultural and Racism-Related Communication Research

This study has several theoretical implications for co-cultural as well as racism-related communication research.

1. By elaborating the concept of strategic communication responses to racial discrimination (SCRRD), this study is expected to facilitate research regarding racial minorities' communication behaviors in discriminatory situations. By examining the relationships between the elaborated concept of SCRRD and other antecedents and situational contexts, this study showed the utility of the proposed concept of SCRRD and additional factors that were not used in previous co-cultural studies.

2. The newly proposed antecedent of identities, with its three dimensions of self-esteem, racial esteem, and racial group significance, proved to be a critical predictor of SCRRD. This study provides new information concerning contributing factors to racism-related stress studies, the relationships between communication, identities, and mental health. As previously noted, in racism related psychology and coping literatures, individuals' esteem was known to influence racial minorities' psychological responses to racial discrimination (e.g., Liang et al, 2004; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 2001). By proving an interrelated relationship between identities and racism-related communication, this study extends previous research demonstrating the role of identities in racism-related stress to communications. This also highlights the role of strategic communication for racial minorities' mental and social wellbeing. The result that SCRRDs are correlated with one's identities implies that having an experience with practicing effective SCRRDs may help increase individuals' esteem and decrease racism-related stress. Hence, future co-cultural and racism-related communication research would be able to further identify the role of strategic communication for racial minorities' esteem, mental health, and interpersonal/social relationships by examining dynamic relationships among these factors.
3. This study also demonstrates that cultural values are useful variables to explain racial minorities' communication behaviors. This result suggests that co-cultural research would have benefits to further explain co-cultural

members' communication behaviors by examining cultures, norms, and religions that are different from the majority, European Americans.

Considering the significance of these constructs not only to racial minorities' but also other co-cultural groups' self awareness and perceptions of an issue, these factors are expected to be useful indicators of co-cultural behaviors.

To Communication Researchers Dealing with Asian Americans

This study also goes beyond past research because it is the first attempt to focus on Asian Americans as a primary subject group in co-cultural as well as racism-related communication studies. The present study contributes to co-cultural understanding by extending perspectives and co-cultural practices from another co-cultural group. Also the present study revealed some unique communication behaviors of Asians related with racial discrimination they were often overshadowed by the experiences of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. Asian Americans' amicable SCRRD to the aggressor of RDMs is the example.

This study confronts the erroneous assumption on Asians in which they don't face discrimination compared to other minorities by identifying interpersonal and social messages discriminating against Asians. In addition, it further suggests themes and forms of RDMs targeting Asian Americans that can be used as a framework for later analyses of the population. Using a bigger sample, this study tested the reliability of findings about Asian Americans' communication orientations that were never provided in previous studies because of a small number of Asian samples. Furthermore, explanations of those orientations were provided through qualitative content analyses.

Additionally, this study identifies factors that are associated with Asian Americans' communication behaviors in discriminatory situations, particularly the Asian-specific factors including their culture, value, and identity.

Methodological Contributions

This study extended the methodological reach of co-cultural studies. It developed the Strategic Communication Response to Racial Discrimination (SCRRD) scale. This scale included measurements not only for the four co-cultural factors (i.e., fields of experience, costs/rewards, situational context, abilities) but also two new factors (i.e., racial identity, cultural value). Through continuous testing of the reliability of measurement, this study provides a reliable scale that can be useful for analyses of racial minorities' communication behaviors in discriminatory situations.

In addition, by utilizing mixed methods taking both quantitative and qualitative approaches this research provided not only statistical relationships between variables, but also in-depth understanding of Asian Americans' strategic communication behaviors in discriminatory interactions.

Limitations

Notwithstanding the contribution of this study to co-cultural as well as racism-related communication scholarship, there are several limitations.

Limited Generalization of the Findings

This study sample consisted of self-identified Asian Americans who were recruited online. The survey questionnaire was provided only in the English language

online. Due to this sampling method, there was no way to confirm if a participant is actually Asian American or if one person filled out only one survey.

Participants in this study may not represent the Asian American population in the US because those who are able to access and answer the online survey in English are relatively young, educated, and residing in urban areas. In fact, participants in the data were young ($m = 33.8$), highly educated, and mostly native, whereas national statistics showed that two-thirds of Asians are foreign born and about 35% of Asians feel that they do not speak English very well (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

A similar sampling problem with Asian Americans has been pointed out in previous national data sets as well. For instance, Nguyen and Bellamy (2006) state that because national surveys are provided only in English and Spanish, Asian participants in the data are mainly younger, with higher education or higher income, and proficient in English. Similarly, Lee, Nguyen, Jawad, & Kurata (2008) found that a survey method only in English does not represent perspectives of vulnerable Asian groups, such as those who are elderly, less educated, recently immigrated, and having limited English proficiency.

Low Reliability of Some Constructs

The reliability of some constructs in this study was relatively low. Some scales showed the Cronbach alpha score around $\alpha = .60 \sim \alpha = .75$ (e.g., Confucianism, collectivism, preferred outcome). Especially, some scales (i.e., high context, racial identity) showed a reliability score lower than $\alpha = .60$, thus items were removed from the original scale through principle component analysis. As most measurement items were

drawn from previous research, the low reliability was not expected. Further refinement of the scale measures is needed.

Low Extent of Correlations Among Variables and Missing data

Although there were significant correlations found in most variables, the correlation scores were much lower than expected that most correlations scores were below than $r = .30$ level. According to Frey, Botan, Kreps (2000), $r = .200\sim.400$ is low correlation indicating definite but small relationship. As previously noted, although 293 responses were included in analysis, there was quite a bit of missing data on some variable. For most correlation tests less than 170 cases were usable after pair wise deletion.

For Future Studies

Future co-cultural and racism-related communication studies particularly in respect to racial minority groups should consider six points.

First, co-cultural research will benefit from exploring complex relationships among identity, culture, and communication strategies of co-cultural members. For example, while most demographic factors were not associated with SCRRD, self and racial esteem and some cultural values were strong predictors of communication behaviors of racial minorities. Although this study tested only SCRRD as an outcome of identity and cultural values, opposite relationships can be examined in order to understand how communication practices, such as having experiences with communicating with the majority or confronting them, are able to influence their identities and cultural values. In addition, the relationship between individuals' esteem

and perceptions of RDMs can be identified. Exploring such diverse and complex relationships among racial minorities' identities, culture, and communication with the majority will add another level of sophistication to co-cultural theories.

Second, other outcome variables that were excluded here because of reliability issue are worthy of further exploration in conjunction with co-cultural behaviors. For instance, the six items that were dropped from the construction of SCRRD scale were correlated with some demographic factors as well as some antecedents. Particularly, Asian Americans' unique SCRRD behaviors of treating an aggressor with smiles and a kind attitude based on the belief of good and bad to others will be rewarded or punished are very interesting findings. Thus, it should be better defined and further examined.

Third, further studies utilizing qualitative and quantitative data as well as analyses more interactively will be benefited in understanding the process and meaning of SCRRD, finding more SCRRD practices or antecedents, and examining relationships of variables. For instance, field of experiences appeared as an influential factor to assertive and aggressive strategies, but also a very significant factor that intentionally lead participants to enact nonassertive strategies. By utilizing additional methods such as interviewing or collecting descriptions, future studies will gain a better understanding of the causal relationships between these variables and construct a stronger scale.

Fourth, in order to further investigate the nature of Asian Americans' strategic communication in co-cultural interactions, the group's unique language or speech code can be considered. According to Botan and Smitherman (1991), two racial groups (i.e., Black and White) can be seen as two speech communities. Their linguistic differences

influence two groups' cross-cultural communication (Botan & Smitherman, 1991).

Likewise, further studies may examine Asian Americans' distinct speech code derived from their cultural backgrounds and how this influences their interactions with other races.

Fifth, by focusing on the dialectic tensions of racial minorities in discriminatory situations, future researcher will gain a better understanding of SCRRD behaviors and help advance the scale. According to Hopson and Orbe (2007), racial minorities continuously negotiate dialectical tensions such as between the desires of participation – opposition, staying – running (avoiding), and being rational – irrational in order to communicate with oppressive organizational structure. Also, dimensions of SCRRD, nonassertive and aggressive behaviors can be seen as dialectic relationships in which the individual considers and struggles within the same situation.

Finally, in order to overcome the limitations of the study, replication studies with different contexts or populations are strongly recommended. Future studies may take into account a better sampling method and sufficient data. Cross-race or cultural comparison using the same scale will help to build a theory that can be applied generally.

APPENDIX A

Representative Asian American Associations Contacted for Participants Recruiting

1. Office of international program in Mason
2. Office of diversity programs and services in Mason: Asian/Pacific American
3. Asian American Journalists Association
4. Asian American Women Artists Association
5. Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies
6. Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum
7. Asian Women in Business
8. Conference on Asian Pacific American Leadership
9. Japanese American Citizens League
10. KASCON (Korean American Student Conference)
11. Asian Pacific American Community Development Data Center
12. National Coalition For Asian Pacific American Community Development (NCAPACD)
13. National Federation of Filipino American Associations
14. Asian American Justice Center
15. South Asian Women for Action
16. Southeast Asia Resource Action Center
17. Asian Americans for Community Involvement
18. Asian Professional Exchange
19. Arizona Asian American Association (AAAA)
20. Virginia Asian Chamber of Commerce
21. Asian American Government Executives Network
22. Asian American Institute
23. Asian American Law Enforcement Association
24. Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)
25. Asian American/Pacific Islander Nurses Association
26. Asian Americans United
27. Asian Law Caucus
28. Asian Pacific American Heritage Association
29. Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance
30. Chinatown Service Center
31. Asian Pacific Community Fund
32. Asian Pacific Islander Community Leadership Foundation
33. Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach
34. Asian Women in Business
35. The China Society
36. Chinese Mutual Aid Association
37. Federal Asian Pacific American Council
38. Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc.
39. Media Action Network for Asian Americans
40. 80-20 Initiative

APPENDIX B

Recruiting E-mail

Dear,

I am a doctoral student in George Mason University. As racism toward Asian Americans (e.g., the incident regarding president Kim at Dartmouth, UCLA YouTube video) is emerging as a social issue, I am conducting research about Asians/Asian Americans' strategic communication responses to racial discrimination. I hope our communities to participate in the survey and give me your perspectives. If you identify yourself as Asian and are older than 18, please follow the link (<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/asianstrategy>) and answer the survey. Also, please forward the link to others. Thank you very much!

June

Jungmi Jun, jjun4@gmu.edu

" Asians/Asian Americans' strategic communication responses to racial discrimination "

I am conducting research about Asians/Asian Americans' experience with racial discrimination and their communication strategies to deal with the discrimination. If you identify yourself as Asian and older than 18, please click the link (<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/asianstrategy>) and answer the survey. Also, please forward the link to others. By participating in this research, you will contribute to finding Asians' voices in society! Thank you!

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/asianstrategy>

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire

Asians' Communication Strategy for Responding to Racial Discrimination [Exit this survey](#)

1. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

1 / 7

* 1. This research is being conducted to analyze experiences with racial discrimination towards Asians in the US and how Asians deal with those situations through communication. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to take a survey about your experiences and communication behaviors. The survey is estimated to take 15-30 minutes.

* **RISKS**

There are no known risks involved in this research.

* **BENEFITS**

There are no benefits directly applied to you as a participant in this research.

* **CONFIDENTIALITY**

The data in this study will be confidential. Names, affiliations, addresses, or any other contact information will not be reported in this survey. Only the researchers will have access to the data. While it is understood that no computer transmission can be perfectly secure, reasonable efforts will be made to protect the confidentiality of your transmission.

* **PARTICIPATION**

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

* **CONTACT**

This research is being conducted by Jungmi Jun and Dr. Carl Botan in the Department of Communication at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. They may be reached at (703) 993-1090 or (703) 993-1092 (phone), jjun4@gmu.edu or cbotan@gmu.edu (e-mail), and 4400 University Dr., MS 3D6, Fairfax, VA. USA 22030 (address) for questions or to report a research-related problem. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Subject Protections at (703) 993-4121 (phone), hsrb@gmu.edu (e-mail), and 4400 University Dr., MS 4C6, Fairfax, VA. USA 22030 (address), if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

* **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation. The George Mason University Human Subjects Review Board has waived the requirement for a signature on this consent form. However, if you wish to sign a consent, please contact jjun4@gmu.edu or cbotan@gmu.edu (e-mail).

I have read and understand this consent form and agree to participate in this survey.

Yes and proceed to the questionnaire page

No and leave this page

2. DEMOGRAPHY

2 / 7

1. What is your birth year (e.g. 1982)?

2. Are you male or female?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

3. Which country is your motherland? Or where did your parents or ancestors come from? (You can check more than one)

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> China | <input type="checkbox"/> Thailand | <input type="checkbox"/> India |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Korea | <input type="checkbox"/> Vietnam | <input type="checkbox"/> Laos |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Japan | <input type="checkbox"/> Cambodia | <input type="checkbox"/> Indonesia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Singapore | <input type="checkbox"/> Mongolia | <input type="checkbox"/> Malaysia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Taiwan | <input type="checkbox"/> Philippine | <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistan |

Other (please specify)

4. Which generation are you?

- ☐ First
- ☐ Second
- ☐ Third
- ☐ Fourth or more

5. How would you describe your fluency in the English language?

- ☐ English is my native language
- ☐ I feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in English
- ☐ I am about the moderate level
- ☐ I am not comfortable with speaking and listening in English

☐ I hardly speak or listen in English yet.

6. How would you describe your fluency in the language of your motherland (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Hindi, etc.)?

- ☐ The language is my native language
- ☐ I feel very comfortable with speaking and listening in the language
- ☐ I am about the moderate level
- ☐ I am not comfortable with speaking and listening in the language
- ☐ I hardly speak or listen in the language yet.

7. How much is your average income per a year?

- ☐ More than \$100,000
- ☐ More than \$75,000 and Less than \$100,000
- ☐ More than \$50,000 and Less than \$75,000
- ☐ More than \$25,000 and Less than \$50,000
- ☐ Less than \$25,000

8. What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Have not completed high school
- ☐ Completed high school
- ☐ Some college
- ☐ Completed college
- ☐ Completed a Masters degree (e.g., MA, MS)
- ☐ Completed a Doctorate or a Professional degree (e.g., MD)

9. Which state do you currently live in?

State:

-- select state --

3. EXPERIENCE WITH DISCRIMINATORY MESSAGE

3 / 7

1. Have you ever heard of the following questions or statements and how did you feel about?

	This event has never happened to me	This event happened but did not bother me	This event happened and I was slightly bothered	This event happened and I was upset	This event happened and I was extremely upset
Someone asks you "Are you Chinese (or Japanese)?" or greets you in Chinese (or Japanese)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone asks you if all your friends are Asians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you that Asians are not targets of racism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of your race, you were verbally insulted in public	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone assumed by your looks that you were born in Asia and asked "Where are you from?"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of your race, you are discriminated when you find a house	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "If I see lots of Asian students in my class, I know it's going to be a hard class."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "I like Asian women, they are obedient."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Someone tells you "Asian women have exotic looks (e.g. hair, skin) and are just sexy."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You experience being taken to the back of the restaurant or airplane even though there are seats available in the front	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "All Asians look alike."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "Asians are the new Whites"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "Asian women are great girlfriends, they take care of a man's every need."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "Asians are not a minority"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of your race, you are discriminated at work such as promotions or racial profiling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You are told "Asians do not know the American manners."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You are told that Asians have problems with assertiveness.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You are told "You are in America, follow the American way"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you "You are (or must be) really good at math."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you, "Asians are workaholics"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You are told, "Asians are socially awkward"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Because of your race, you were physically harmed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You hear that Asians are not significantly represented in management positions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because of the fact that you are an Asian, you are discriminated when you find a job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone asks you "What is your real (Asian) name?"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You are told that "You speak English so well."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone tells you, "Asians are somewhat selfish"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. CULTURAL VALUES

4 / 7

1. Below are a list of phrases that describe cultural orientations of the minority group (i.e., Asians/Asian Americans) when they interact with the majority group (i.e., European Americans) or other racial groups (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics). Please choose whether you strongly agree, strongly disagree, or are somewhere in between for each phrase that best describes your attitude.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
When I talk to people from other races (e.g., White, Black), I try to minimize differences between us	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being seen as part of the American majority is important to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, I try to become integrated in the majority culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want those in the American majority to value the Asian perspective	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being seen as separate from the majority group is important to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I interact with members of the majority group, it is my goal to get them to see things the way I do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do what I can to emphasize the differences between my group and the majority group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important for me that members of the majority group see me as similar to them	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I try to emphasize my own group's perspectives when interacting with members of the majority group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of the majority group should appreciate the unique aspect of the minority group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. Below are a list of phrases that describe general cultural orientations of individuals. Please choose whether you strongly agree, strongly disagree, or are somewhere in between for each phrase that best describes your attitude.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
If my group (i.e., work, school) gets a prize, I would feel proud	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It irks me to have people avoid the answer to my question by asking another question	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Parents and children must stay together as much as possible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I try to keep myself humble without showing off	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid offending others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The well-being of my group is important to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tend to be very frank with people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good when I cooperate with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I obey my parents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important to me					

that I respect the decisions made by my groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am always carefully to avoid doing what is improper	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer telling people what I think of them even if it hurts them, rather than keeping it myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I honor and respect the elderly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I respect the Asian tradition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I really dislike it when a person does not give straight answers about him/herself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. IDENTITIES

5 / 7

1. Below are a list of phrases that describe a person. Please choose whether you strongly agree, strongly disagree, or are somewhere in between for each phrase that best describes yourself.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I wish I could have more respect for myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I certainly feel useless at times	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am able to do things as well as most other people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At times, I think I am no good at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I'm a person of worth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I take a positive attitude toward myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On a whole, I am satisfied with myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. Below are a list of phrases that describe your attitude about being Asian. Please choose whether you strongly agree, strongly disagree, or are somewhere inbetween for each phrase that best describes yourself.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
It is important that Asians/Asian Americans learn about Asian/Asian American history and culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I often regret that I belong to Asians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am in many ways similar to other Asians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good about being Asian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall, I often feel that Asians are not worthwhile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asians/Asian American children should study an Asian language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall, my race has very little to do with how I feel about myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overall, Asians are regarded as important people or groups in society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Asian is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. Below are a list of phrases that describe your belief about your communication abilities. Please choose whether you strongly agree, strongly disagree, or are somewhere inbetween for each phrase that best describes yourself.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Compared to other people, I communicate very well	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am confident that I can communicate effectively in many different tasks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Even when things are tough, I can communicate quite well	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I am a good communicator, I think that I can obtain outcomes that are	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

important to me

I generally feel
comfortable with
engaging in
conversations with
others



I generally initiate and
lead conversations



6. COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

6 / 7

Think about the most memorable experience with discrimination against you just because you are Asian. This experience should be direct, which means someone said or did something to you, not to anyone else.

1. As a person who has directly experienced a discriminatory situation, briefly describe the situation. What happened first, second and so on? Think of this as if you are telling me about a movie you saw—what did you think or say; what did others say?

2. The perpetrator(s) was/were

- ☐ Both male(s) and female(s)
- ☐ Male(s)
- ☐ Female(s)

3. The perpetrator(s) was/were

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Hispanic
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Other

4. The perpetrator(s) was/were

- ☐ one of my family members
- ☐ one of my friends
- ☐ one of my co-workers
- ☐ one of neighbors or acquaintance
- ☐ a stranger
- ☐ others

5. The perpetrator(s) did the act

- ☐ intentionally
- ☐ unintentionally
- ☐ I'm not sure

6. The perpetrator(s) did that

- ☐ based on his/her personal attitude
- ☐ based on an organizational policy or system

7. The incident happened at

- ☐ home
- ☐ my work or school
- ☐ social gathering
- ☐ public places
- ☐ others

8. At that moment,

- ☐ I was sure what happened was obviously racial discrimination
- ☐ I was not sure and confused about what just happened

9. I think the incident was

- ☐ against me because I am Asian
- ☐ against entire Asians
- ☐ both

10. When the incident occurred, how did you react? Please choose one among the five scales below.

	Strongly Disagree (did not at all)	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree (did)
I frowned at the perpetrator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I just accepted what the person said or did	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I taught the					

perpetrator what he/she did wrong to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I ignored the perpetrator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I asked myself questions about my behavior (i.e. What did I do wrong? Did I do something to cause this?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I asked myself questions about the perpetrator (i.e. What was his/her problem?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I directly asked the perpetrator questions about his/her behavior (i.e. Why did you say that to me?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I controlled my emotions because I didn't want the perpetrator or others around me to know that the incident affected me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I made myself clear how I felt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I made fun of him/her as well	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I asked someone else questions about the perpetrator (i.e. Hey, do you know what's going on?)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I asked another Asian person if a similar incident ever happened to him/her	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I talked to a family member or a friend about the incident	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expected this to happen to me because it usually happens to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expressed my					

opinion in that situation even though it confronted the other(s)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I talked to a professional such as a counselor or a doctor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I stood close to the perpetrator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was familiar with this kind of situation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to find a way for both of us (myself and the perpetrator) to understand each other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I attacked him/her back verbally or physically	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I smiled at the perpetrator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I said nothing to the perpetrator verbally, but I observed them from a far	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Since then, I tried to show more knowledge or practice, of the so called "American way"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I maintained self-control because I knew this was not the time or the place to confront the perpetrator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I took official action such as filing a complaint to where the incident took place (e.g., work, school, or police)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I treated the perpetrator even more kindly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I left immediately	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I voiced my objections					

(about what was wrong) to the person's behavior	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I knew what exactly I was supposed to do in that situation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried not to confront the person or the situation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Since then, I tried not to show my Asian background to prevent a similar discrimination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to forget about the incident and turn my attention to something else	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I looked the perpetrator in the eye	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I pretended like nothing happened	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: W.H. Freeman.
- Botan, C., & Smitherman, G. (1991). Black English in the integrated workplace. *Journal of Black Studies*, 22(2), 168-185.
- Camara, S., & Orbe, M. (2010). Analyzing strategic responses to discriminatory acts: A co-cultural communicative investigation. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 3(2), 83-113.
- Chan, S. (1991). *Asian Californians*. San Francisco: MTL/Boyd & Fraser.
- Chen, G., LePhuoc, P., Guzmán, M. R., Rude, S. S., & Dodd, B. G. (2006). Exploring Asian American racial identity. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12(3), 461-476.
- Chen, G., Gully, S. M., & Eden, D. (2001). Validation of a new general self-efficacy scale. *Organizational Research Methods*, 4(1), 62-83.
- Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). Where are you really from?: Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(5), 717-730.
- Chu, L. L. (1986). Mass communication theory: The Chinese perspective. *Media Asia*, 13(1), 14-19.
- Cudd, A. (2006). *Analyzing oppression*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8(2), 88-102.
- Endler, N. S., & Parker, J. D. (1990). Multidimensional assessment of coping: A critical evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(5), 844-854.
- Fang, C. Y., & Myers, H. F. (2001). The effects of racial stressors and hostility on cardiovascular reactivity in African American and Caucasian men. *Health*

Psychology: Official Journal of the Division of Health Psychology, American Psychological Association, 20(1), 64-70.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS : (and sex and drugs and rock "n" roll)* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Greene, J. C. (2007). *Mixed methods in social inquiry*. Jossey-Bass.

Groscurth, C., & Orbe, M. (2006). The oppositional nature of civil rights discourse: Co-cultural communicative practices that speak truth to power. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 14(3), 123-140.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Nishida, T. (1986). The influence of cultural variability on perceptions of communication behavior associated with relationship terms. *Human Communication Research*, 13, 147-166.

Hamamoto, D. (1994). *Monitored peril : Asian Americans and the politics of TV representation*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hecht, M. (1998). *Communicating prejudice*. Sage Publications.

Hopson, M. C., & Orbe, M. (2007). Playing the game: Recalling dialectical tensions for Black men in oppressive organizational structures. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 18(1), 69-86.

Hoy, M., & Wong, J. (2000). Model ethnicity and product congruence: White students' responses towards advertisements with Asian models. *World Communication*, 29, 49-63.

Inman, M. L., & Baron, R. S. (1996). Influence of prototypes on perceptions of prejudice. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 70(4), 727.

Institute of International Education. (2010). *International students by academic level and place of origin, 2009/10*. Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange. Retrieved from <http://www.iie.org/opendoors>

Jan, T., & Schworm, P. (2009, 07). Racist e-mail rocks Dartmouth campus. *The Boston Globe*. Retrieved from http://www.boston.com/news/local/breaking_news/2009/03/campus_insider_3.html

Jang, S. A. (2008). The effects of attachment styles and efficacy of communication on avoidance following a relational partner's deception. *Communication Research Reports*, 25(4), 300-311.

- Jun, J., & Masuoka, N. (2008). Asian American identity: Shared racial status and political context. *Perspectives on Politics*, 6(04), 729.
- Jun, J. (2001). Communication strategies for responding to racially discriminatory messages among Asian American women. The paper presented at National Communication Association Conference.
- Jung, E., & Hecht, M. (2008). Identity gaps and levels of depressions among Korean immigrants. *Health Communication*, 23, 313-325.
- Kawai, Y. (2005). Stereotyping Asian Americans: The dialectic of the model minority and the yellow peril. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 16(2), 109-130.
- Kim, Y. (2005). Association and dissociation: A contextual theory of interethnic communication. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication* (pp. 323-350). Sage.
- Kreiger, N., Carney, D., Lancaster, K., Waterman, P., Kosheleva, A., & Banaji, M. (2010). Combining explicit and implicit measures of racial discrimination in health research. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(8), 1485-1492.
- Krieger, N., Kaddour, A., Koenen, K., Kosheleva, A., Chen, J. T., Waterman, P. D., & Barbeau, E. M. (2011). Occupational, social, and relationship hazards and psychological distress among low-income workers: Implications of the "inverse hazard law". *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 65(3), 260-272.
- Lapinski, M. K., & Orbe, M. (2007). Evidence for the construct validity and reliability of the co-cultural theory scales. *Communication Methods & Measures*, 1, 137-164.
- Lee, K., & Joo, S.-H. (2005). The portrayal of Asian Americans in mainstream magazine ads: An update. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82, 654-671.
- Lee, R. (1999). *Orientalism : Asian Americans in popular culture*. Temple University Press.
- Lee, R. (2003). Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans? *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50(2), 133-141.
- Lee, R., Noh, C.-Y., Yoo, H. C., & Doh, H.-S. (2007). The psychology of diaspora experiences: Intergroup contact, perceived discrimination, and the ethnic identity of Koreans in China. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(2), 115-124.

- Lee, S. (1996). *Unraveling the "model minority" stereotype: Listening to Asian American youth*. Teachers College Press.
- Leets, L. (2001). Explaining perceptions of racist speech. *Communication Research*, 28(5), 676-706.
- Lesser, V., Yang, D., & Newton, L. (2011). Assessing hunters' opinions based on a mail and a mixed-mode survey. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 16(3), 164-173.
- Liang, C. T. H., & Fassinger, R. E. (2008). The role of collective self-esteem for Asian Americans experiencing racism-related stress: A test of moderator and mediator hypotheses. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 14(1), 19-28.
- Liang, C. T. H., Li, L., & Kim, B. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(1), 103-114.
- Mak, A. S., & Nesdale, D. (2001). Migrant distress: The role of perceived racial discrimination and coping resources. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31(12), 2632-2647.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Sage.
- McClain, P. D., Johnson Carew, J. D., Walton, E., & Watts, C. S. (2009). Group membership, group identity, and group consciousness: Measures of racial identity in American politics? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12(1), 471-485.
- Meyer, M. D. E., & Stern, D. M. (2007). The modern(?) Korean woman in prime-time: Analyzing the representation of sun on the television series *Lost*. *Women's Studies*, 36(5), 313-331.
- Mock, K. R. (1997). Victims, perpetrators, bystanders, activists: Who are they? Who are you? focus on human rights. *Canadian Social Studies*, 31(2), 66-69.
- Nakayama, T. K. (1988). "Model minority" and the media: Discourse on Asian American. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 12(1), 65-73.
- Norton, R. W. (1975). Measurement of ambiguity tolerance. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 39(6), 607.
- Okabe, R. (1983). Cultural assumptions of East and West: Japan and the US. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Intercultural communication theory: Current perspectives* (pp. 21-44). Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

- Ono, K. (2005). *A companion to Asian American studies*. Blackwell.
- Orbe, M. (1996). Laying the foundation for co-cultural communication theory: An inductive approach to studying “non-dominant” communication strategies and the factors that influence them. *Communication Studies*, 47(3), 157-176.
- Orbe, M. (1998). *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication*. Sage.
- Orbe, M., & Camara, S. (2010). Defining discrimination across cultural groups: Exploring the [un-]coordinated management of meaning☆. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34(3), 283-293.
- Orbe, M., & Groscurth, C. (2004). A co-cultural theoretical analysis of communicating on campus and at home: Exploring the negotiation strategies of first generation college (FGC) students. *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 5, 41-47.
- Orbe, M., & Spellers, R. (2005). From the margins to the center. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.,) *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication* (pp. 173-210). Sage.
- Outten, H., Giguere, B., Schmitt, M., & Lalonde, R. (2010). Racial identity, racial context, and ingroup status: Implications for attributions to discrimination among black Canadians. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 36(2), 172-196.
- Paek, H. J., & Shah, H. (2003). Racial ideology, model minorities, and the “not-so-silent partner:” Stereotyping of Asian Americans in U.S. magazine advertising. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 14(4), 225-243.
- Park, J. H., Gabbidon, N. G., & Chernin, A. R. (2006). Naturalizing racial differences through comedy: Asian, Black, and White views on racial stereotypes in Rush Hour 2. *Journal of Communication*, 56(1), 157-177.
- Pedhazur, E. (1991). *Measurement, design, and analysis: An integrated approach*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Perse, E. (2001). *Media effects and society*. Erlbaum Associates.
- Raica, D. A. (2009). Effect of action-oriented communication training on nurses’ communication self-efficacy. *Medsurg Nursing: Official Journal of the Academy of Medical-Surgical Nurses*, 18(6), 343-346.

- Reid, L. D., & Radhakrishnan, P. (2003). Race matters: The relation between race and general campus climate. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9(3), 263-275.
- Rosenberg, M. (1989). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Wesleyan University Press.
- Singhal, A., & Nagao, M. (1993). Assertiveness as communication competence a comparison of the communication styles of American and Japanese students. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 3(1), 1-18.
- Sue, D. (1994). Asian-American mental health and help-seeking behavior: Comment on Solberg et al. (1994), Tata and Leong (1994), and Lin (1994). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 41(3), 292-95.
- Sue, D. (2009). Racial microaggressions and worldviews. *American Psychologist*, 64(3), 220-221.
- Sue, D., Bucci, J., Lin, A., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(1), 72-81.
- Sue, D., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. M. B. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 39(3), 329-336.
- Sue, D., Capodilupo, C. M., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2008). Racial microaggressions and the power to define reality. *American Psychologist*, 63(4), 277-279.
- Sue, D., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucci, J., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271-286.
- Sue, D., Lin, A., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., & Rivera, D. P. (2009). Racial microaggressions and difficult dialogues on race in the classroom. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(2), 183-190.
- Sue, S., & Kitano, H. (1973). Stereotypes as a measure of success. *Journal of Social Issues*, 29, 83-98.
- Sue, S., & Morishima, J. (1982). *The mental health of Asian Americans*. Jossey Bass.

- Sue, S., & Zane, N. (1985). Academic achievement and socioemotional adjustment among Chinese university students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 32, 570-579.
- Suzuki, B. H. (2002). Revisiting the model minority stereotype: Implications for student affairs practice and higher education. *New Directions for Student Services*, (97), 21-33.
- The Chinese Culture Connection. (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 18(2), 143-164.
- Ting-Toomey, S. (2000). Ethnic/cultural identity salience and conflict styles in four US ethnic groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24(1), 47-81.
- Ting-Toomey, S. (2005). Identity negotiation theory. In. W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication* (pp. 211-234). Sage.
- Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(1), 118-128.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *The Asian population: 2000, census 2000 brief*. U.S. Census Bureau. <http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011). *Overview of race and hispanic origin 2010*. U.S Census Bureau. Retrieved from <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/data/>
- Urban, E., & Orbe, M. (2007). "The syndrome of the boiled frog:" Exploring international students on US campuses as co-cultural group members. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 36(2), 117-138.
- Utsey, S. O., Ponterotto, J. G., Reynolds, A. L., & Cancelli, A. A. (2000). Racial discrimination, coping, life satisfaction, and self-esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 78, 72-80.
- Verkuyten, M., & Nekuee, S. (2001). Self-esteem, discrimination, and coping among refugees: The moderating role of self-categorization. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31(5), 1058-1075.
- Wakefield, W. D., & Hudley, C. (2005). African American male adolescents' preferences in responding to racial discrimination: Effect of ethnic identity and situational influences. *Adolescence*, 40(158), 237-256.

- Watkins, D. C., Walker, R. L., & Griffith, D. M. (2009). A meta-study of Black male mental health and well-being. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 36(3), 303-330.
- Weathers, V. M., & Truxillo, D. M. (2008). Whites' and Asian Americans' perceptions of Asian Americans as targets of affirmative action. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 38(11), 2737-2758.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(9 Suppl), S29-37.
- Wong, P., Lai, C., Nagasawa, R., & Lin, T. (1998). Asian Americans as a model minority: Self-perceptions and perceptions by other racial groups. *Sociological Perspectives*, 41, 95-118.
- Wu, F. (2002). *Yellow: Race in America beyond Black and white*. New York: Basic Books.
- Yamanaka, K., United Nations Research Institute for Social Development., & Piper, N. (2005). *Feminized migration in East and Southeast Asia: Policies, actions and empowerment*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. (Vol. 11). UNRISD.
- Yoo, H. C., Gee, G. C., Lowthrop, C. K., & Robertson, J. (2010). Self-reported racial discrimination and substance use among Asian Americans in Arizona. *Journal Of Immigrant And Minority Health / Center For Minority Public Health*, 12(5), 683-690.
- Zhang, Q. (2010). Asian Americans beyond the model minority stereotype: The nerdy and the left out. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 3(1),
- Zhao, X., & Cai, X. (2009). The role of risk, efficacy, and anxiety in smokers' cancer information seeking. *Health Communication*, 24(3), 259-269.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jungmi (June) Jun received her Bachelor of Arts in Mass-communication from Sogang University in South Korea in 2000. She earned her Masters of Arts in Advertising and Public Relations from Sogang University in 2005. As of 2011, she is working as an assistant professor at the University of Northern Iowa.