



Published in final edited form as:

J Couns Psychol. 2010 January 1; 57(1): 79–91. doi:10.1037/a0017393.

The Impact of Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, Asian Values and Race-Related Stress on Asian Americans and Asian International College Students' Psychological Well-Being

Derek Kenji Iwamoto and

Yale University School of Medicine

William Ming Liu

Counseling Psychology Program, University of Iowa

Abstract

The current study investigated the direct and moderating effects of racial identity, ethnic identity, Asian values, and race-related stress on positive psychological well-being among 402 Asian American and Asian international college students. Results revealed that the racial identity statuses Internalization, Immersion-Emersion, Dissonance, Asian values and Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belonging were significant predictors of well-being. Asian values, Dissonance and Conformity were found to moderate the relationship between race-related stress on well-being. Specifically, individuals in low race-related stress conditions who had low Asian values, high Conformity and low Dissonance attitudes started high on well being but decreased as race-related stress increased. These findings underscore the importance of how racial identity statuses, Asian values and ethnic identity jointly and uniquely explain and moderate the effects of race-related stress on positive well-being. Implications for future research and clinical practice are discussed.

Keywords

Asian Americans; Racial Identity; Positive Psychological Well-Being

The daily and lifelong experiences of racism and discrimination have a deleterious effects on the well being of Asian and Asian Americans (Lee, 2003; Mossakowski, 2003; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Racism may overwhelm the available coping response and resources for Asian Americans, which may lead to psychological distress (Harrell, 2000; Lazars & Folkman, 1984). In explaining the ways in which Asian Americans react, understand, and cope with racism, authors have used various theories and methods. Racial identity (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Liu, 2002), ethnic identity (Lee, 2005; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999), cultural values (Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), and collective self-esteem (Liang & Fassinger, 2008) are found in the extant empirical literature. These diverse theories and methods highlight the complexity inherent in the Asian and Asian American community that is related to their immigration experiences, population concentrations in certain regions of the United States,

Correspondence regarding this article should be sent to Derek Iwamoto, Division of Prevention and Community Research, Department of Psychiatry, Yale University School of Medicine, 389 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511 derek.iwamoto@gmail.com.

Publisher's Disclaimer: The following manuscript is the final accepted manuscript. It has not been subjected to the final copyediting, fact-checking, and proofreading required for formal publication. It is not the definitive, publisher-authenticated version. The American Psychological Association and its Council of Editors disclaim any responsibility or liabilities for errors or omissions of this manuscript version, any version derived from this manuscript by NIH, or other third parties. The published version is available at www.apa.org/pubs/journals/cou.

and the types of racism they experience. Researchers often assume that Asian Americans have a pan-racial identification which could be assessed by racial identity, and others have focused on specific Asian American ethnic groups and have assessed ethnic identity or cultural values. Yet because of the diverse histories and contexts within the Asian American community, what might psychologists assume about this community? Previous studies have focused on subjective well-being without addressing identity or values or have used only one measure of identity and therefore have been limited (Kang, Shaver, Sue, Mi, & Jing, 2003; Lee, 2005; Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001; Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002; Yoo & Lee, 2005). The present study builds upon previous research by investigating how racial identity (Helms, 1995), ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999), Asian values (Kim & Hong, 2004), and race-related stress (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004) are collectively and uniquely associated to eudaimonic psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989) among Asian American and Asian international college students.

Asian and Asian Americans

In the United States Census, Asian American is a racial category comprised of at least thirty different ethnic groups and potentially many more cultural groups (Census Bureau, 2002). As a result, the confusion about Asian Americans is often related to the interchangeable use of race, ethnic identity, and culture to describe this community. For the purposes of this research study, we define culture to be the “customs, norms, practices, and social institutions, including psychological processes...[and the] beliefs, values, and practices, including religious and spiritual traditions” (Cooper & Leong, 2008, p. 133). These values and beliefs such as filial piety, deference authority, and saving face often span across many Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese, Japanese and Koreans (Kim & Hong, 2004). Additionally, race is defined as “the category to which others assign individuals on the basis of physical characteristics, such as skin color or hair type, and the generalizations and stereotypes made as a result” (Cooper & Leong, 2008, p. 134). Finally, ethnic identity is reflective of cultural practices as well as the acquisition and maintenance of cultural characteristics (Cokley, 2005).

Accordingly, Asian Americans represent approximately 4.2 percent of the total United States population. Over 51% live in California, New York, and Hawaii, and 75% live in these three states and only seven others (Census Bureau, 2002). Moreover, Asian Americans reside in states where there are large ethnic-specific communities (e.g., Chinatown, Little Saigon, Koreatown), and where historically these states served as major ports of entry for early Asian laborers (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1989). Owing to the uneven history of immigration to the United States because of racial and ethnic specific exclusion laws (e.g., 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law), many Asian American ethnic groups have only recently, since 1965, been allowed to migrate and settle in large numbers (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1989). Most Asians migrating to the United States are a part of a chain of migration where they come to be reunited with family, to work, or to attend school (Fu & Hatfield, 2008; Zhou & Xiong, 2005). Two contemporary issues arise from this history which is pertinent to this study. First, Asian Americans are a predominantly immigrant community. For instance, in 2006, 76% of Asian Americans adults were immigrants (Ong, Cruz-Viesca, & Nakanishi, 2008). Furthermore, of the adult Asian Americans, between one in twenty-five and one in thirty were United States citizens (Ong et al., 2008). While citizenship rates are not a perfect manner to assess acculturation or assimilation, the lopsided ratio of citizens to non-citizens does suggest the potential salience of culture and ethnicity (i.e., country of origin).

The second issue is related to the type of racism Asian Americans may experience. Although the racism, discrimination, prejudice, and harassment Asian Americans experience falls under the umbrella of racism, the racism against Asian Americans might vary from racism against African and Latino Americans. Reported incidents of racism against Asian Americans often

confuse an Asian American's race and ethnicity. For instance, the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982, reportedly started when Chin, who was Chinese, was accused of being a "Jap" and the reason for automobile job losses (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, USCCR, 1992). Similarly, Jim Loo, who was Chinese, was murdered in 1989, and called a "gook" during his beating (USCCR, 1992). In Loo's case, "gook" is a slur for Vietnamese. Other differences in the types of racism against Asian Americans arise from their immigrant status as they are often stereotyped as foreigners, exotic, or the perpetual alien (Abreu, Ramirez, Kim, & Haddy, 2003; Lee, 1999; Liang & Fassinger, 2008; Takaki, 1989). While some forms of racism are overtly hostile and aggressive, there are also microaggressions that are seemingly innocuous, are also forms of racism since these comments and descriptors assume that Asians are not-true-Americans (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). Remarks about Asian Americans' proficiency in English or assuming that all Asians are from abroad ("Where are you *really* from?") are forms of racism that simultaneously attack the person's race, ethnicity, culture, and immigration status (Sue et al., 2007). These assumptions perpetuate the stereotype that Americans are always White (Devos & Banaji, 2005)

Proposing that Asian Americans may have an important ethnic identity does not diminish the importance of race for Asian Americans. Race, in particular a pan-Asian American identification and affiliation may be important for some Asian Americans. But the historical and sociological research suggests that this process of affiliating with a pan-racial group, such that ethnicities are no longer identifiable or salient, is a long-term process evolving over many generations (Espiritu, 1992; Jacobson, 1998). One variable that may contribute to the development of a pan-Asian American identification is experiences with racism (Espiritu, 1992). That is, over time, Asian and Asian Americans may come to see him/herself as representative of a larger community against whom racism is directed, regardless of ethnicity or country of origin. But at this current point with the Asian American community where the vast majority of the adult population are immigrants, and many of the children and adolescents have been socialized in U.S. schools (Zhou & Xiong, 2005), and some Asian American ethnic groups such as Japanese Americans have longer and stable histories in the United States, what are the best ways to understand how Asian Americans experiences racism?

Social Identity Theory

One theoretical approach to understanding the roles of race, ethnic identity, and culture in moderating the effects of racism is social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2001). In social identity theory, these variables may help ameliorate and buffer the negative psychological effects of racism but could also potentially exacerbate the affects as well (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). In social identity theory, individuals select from a diverse range of social identity groups and once the individual chooses a group which becomes their in-group, the individual is motivated to focus on the positive aspects of that group (Hornsey, 2008; Trepte, 2006). For those who affiliate and identify with their chosen in-group and experience racism they will focus on positive aspects of their group which might bolster and maintain their psychological well being (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). For instance, if individuals were to select ethnicity as the in-group, ethnic identity may potentially buffer the negative effect of racism on the person's chosen in-group. Some research already suggests that ethnic identification among Filipino Americans, for instance, may mitigate the impact of racism on depressive symptoms (Mossakowski, 2003).

While strong identification with one's ethnic or racial group may be protective, it is possible the high identification may also increase the negative effects of discrimination and impact an individual's well being (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). Some research also suggests that individuals who highly affiliate or identify with an in-group may also experience more negative effects of racism. Potentially, individuals who choose an in-group may become highly sensitive

to environmental cues related to that aspect of their in-group (Hornsey, 2008; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). For example, experiences with racism may call attention to an individual's racial or ethnic group. Because the individual identifies with a particular in-group, and since he/she is sensitive to cues (i.e., racism) against the in-group, the individual is likely to be more sensitive to challenges against the in-group. Some research suggests that for some African Americans who had a strong racial identity, racial discrimination was more likely to be reported (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Shelton & Sellers, 2000). It might be that for some African Americans, racial identity attitudes are the lens through which many interracial interactions are interpreted. That is, depending on one's racial identity attitudes, potentially ambiguous situations that may not be explicitly racist are interpreted as being discriminatory (Shelton & Sellers, 2000). It would also follow that potentially having a strong racial or ethnic identity may lead to poorer psychological outcomes related to racism. Some research suggest this possibility that strong identification with a group and experiences with racism are related to increased psychological distress; these were some results found among Latinos (McCoy & Major, 2003), Asian and African Americans (Operario & Fiske, 2001), and among Southeast Asians (Noh et al., 1999). Therefore, it is possible that depending on the identity of the Asian American, racial identity and ethnic identity may moderate the psychological distress related to racism and affect the individual's psychological well-being.

In reviewing the extant literature on racial identity, ethnic identity, and cultural values in relation to racism and psychological well-being are limited (Kang et al., 2003; Lee, 2005; Lieber et al., 2001; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Utsey et al., 2002). Typically these investigations have used only one measure of ethnic identity or racial identity or conceptualized psychological well-being as self-esteem. The conceptualization of well-being as self-esteem is problematic, as psychological well-being is conceptually different from self-esteem. Specifically, the former encompasses optimal experiences, functioning, and self-actualization (Lent, 2004), whereas self-esteem is unidimensional in nature and only captures self-worth and self-acceptance. In the present study, eudaimonic psychological well-being is defined as an individual's openness to growth and personal expressiveness, self-actualization, and the feeling of purpose and meaning in life (Lent, 2004; Ryff, 1989). Ryff's (1989, 1995) conceptualization of psychological well-being was used in this study because her measure is conceptually appropriate in capturing college students' cognitive evaluation of their positive psychological adjustment. These factors include personal growth and personal expressiveness, positive relationships with others, self-actualization, and meaning and purpose in life---all of which are salient dimensions of wellness that emerging adults strive to develop (Berk, 2006).

Race-Related Stress

The *Surgeon General's Report* underscored racism and intolerance as directly contributing to mental illness by exacerbating anxiety and depression (Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Harrell (2000) indicates that race-related stress often taxes individuals' cognitive resources to cope with these experiences, and thus threatens the mental wellness of the individual. Others have also suggested that racism has deleterious psychological and physical consequences as well (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 2000). However, there have been scant investigations on race-related stress or the psychological stress resulting from exposure to direct and indirect forms of racism with Asian Americans (Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, & Dodd, 2006; Liang et al., 2004). Liang and colleagues postulated that Asian Americans experience unique forms of race-related stress, which include: (a) *socio-historical racism*, (b) *general racism*, and (c) *perpetual foreigner racism*. Examples of socio-historical racism includes the perception of Asian American men as passive and asexual; an example of general racism includes the assumption that all Asians are good at math and know karate; while an example of perpetual foreigner racism is the perception of Asian Americans as foreigners who speak poor English, even if they are American born. Several investigations have found

strong associations between perceived racism and depression among Asian Americans. Chen et al.'s (2006) cluster analysis found that the racial identity statuses Dissonance and Immersion characterized high Asian American race-related stress (Liang et al., 2004), while the Conformity status clustered on low race-related stress. These findings emphasize the importance of identifying variables that moderate the effects of race-related stress on the psychological well-being of Asian Americans.

Racial Identity Theory

For people of color in the United States, developing a healthy identity and psychological well-being remains a constant challenge in the face of persistent discrimination. Racial identity theory (RIT) describes the process of how “members of racially oppressed groups respond to and internalize race-related stress and discrimination into their overall identity or self-consciousness” (Alvarez & Helms, 2001, p. 218). RIT includes a consideration of the “racialization” of ethnic and cultural groups in America. This racialization and categorization process experienced by Asian Americans and other minority ethnic groups (e.g., Mexican Americans) minimizes ethnic within-group variations while similarities are exaggerated. The racial identity model, according to Helms (1995), is a dynamic and interactive process consisting of the following hypothesized racial-identity-formation statuses: Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Conformity status reflects a “color blind” worldview whereby the individual identifies only with White Americans and White culture while trivializing the significance of race and racial issues. Dissonance status marks a time of confusion and anxiety about one’s racial affiliation and racial issues. Immersion-Emersion status entails the individuals immersing themselves solely in their own racial group by exclusively socializing with people of the same ethnic or racial belonging. Resentment and resistant attitudes towards Whites and White culture are also present in this status. Internalization status is characterized by integration, acceptance, and appreciation of one’s own culture as well as others (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Kohatsu et al., 2000). Racial identity reflects a dynamic process in which people of color do not necessarily follow a linear trajectory. Individuals often recycle or move from one status to another (Parham, White & Ajamu, 1999) depending on life events and experiences (e.g., from Dissonance to Internalization). Finally these transitions through statuses are often triggered by experiences of racism and discrimination (Quintana, 2007).

Research examining racial identity with Asian Americans illustrates how racial identity is linked to psychological adjustment (Tan & Alvarez, 2004), awareness of racism (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Chae, 2004b), and collective self-esteem (Alvarez & Helm, 2001). Thus, it is important to examine how racial identity might serve as a moderator of race-related stress on well-being. That is, individuals who report high amounts of race-related stress and who are strongly identified with their racial group might be able to focus on positive characteristics of their racial group and minimize the stigma associated with the discriminatory and racist experience (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Moreover, individuals who operate in the Immersion-Emersion or Internalization statuses might be more mentally prepared for these racist encounters, thus their foresight might protect against the adverse effects.

Ethnic Identity

Another aspect of identity shaping Asian Americans’ self-concept is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is considered a multidimensional construct, which includes ethnic group behaviors, knowledge and awareness of cultural beliefs, and traditions of one’s ethnic group (Lee, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007). This definition differs from racial identity theory which describes the impact of racism on self-concept (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Fischer & Moradi, 2001) and social attitudes about one’s race and towards Whites. Several investigations have suggested that higher ethnic identity development is associated with higher levels of quality of life), and

satisfaction with life. Given the link between ethnic identity and well-being, research has begun to examine the role of ethnic identity as a moderator of perceived discrimination. Investigations that have studied the effects of ethnic identity on well-being have found disparate results. Two epidemiological studies have indicated that ethnic identity moderated the negative effects of discrimination on depressive symptoms (Yip et al., 2008; Mossakowski, 2003), however, another investigation by Lee and colleagues (Lee, 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2008) suggested that stronger ethnic identity exacerbated the effects of discrimination on negative affect. These findings suggest the need for exploring the possible moderating effect between ethnic identity and discrimination on psychological well-being.

Asian Values

Along with examining the racial and ethnic identity of Asian Americans and Asian international students, one may also explore similar and relevant cultural values that are a part of many Asian American ethnic communities. The important role of cultural values on optimal functioning has been stressed in the psychological literature (Constantine & Sue, 2006). According to Kim, Ng, and Ahn (2005), a majority of Asian Americans have been living in America for two or fewer generations. Consequently, cultural factors such as values, beliefs, and worldview greatly influence how individuals manifest psychological problems, relate to others, and how they express their feelings and emotions (Kim & Hong, 2001; Kim & Omizo, 2005). Asian cultural values and beliefs include: collectivism, conformity to norms, deference to authority, emotional self-control, family recognition through achievement, filial piety, humility, hierarchical relationships, and avoidance of shame (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). Kim and colleagues (2001) suggest that although there are significant within-group differences among Asian Americans, this group shares significant common cultural values and beliefs. Kim and Omizo (2005) also noted that adhering to Asian cultural values, or enculturation, may play a role in developing a positive self-concept for Asians. It is possible that holding these values may reflect components of group belonging, which may be associated with better psychological adjustment and protection against adverse effects of race-related stress (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Oishi, Diener, Lucas, & Suh, 1999). But this is hypothetical since no research to date has investigated the relationship of Asian cultural values to racism and psychological well-being.

Current Study

The current study builds on previous research on Asian Americans and addresses the association between racial and ethnic identity, Asian values, race-related stress and psychological well-being. Specifically, we are interested in the relationship between racial identity, ethnic identity, Asian cultural values, and race-related stress in predicting psychological well-being. It is hypothesized that race-related stress, racial identity, ethnic identity and Asian values will be positively associated with eudaimonic well-being. Because RIT describes how individuals respond to and internalize racism (Helms, 2007), it is predicted that participants' adherence to the various racial-identity attitudes will influence their well-being. Similarly, endorsing ethnic identity should also uniquely promote aspects of well-being. Higher Asian values are also hypothesized to be related to well-being, as holding those values may contribute to dimensions of eudaimonic well-being such as purpose of life and relationships with others. This study also examines how racial identity, ethnic identity, and Asian values moderate the effects of race-related stress on psychological well-being. We hypothesize that the various racial identity worldviews will have the strongest moderation effects with race-related stress on well-being since theoretically these statuses specifically address race and racism. Additionally, since Asian Americans are often racialized by society whereby "ethnic variation are minimized and similarities are exaggerated" (Liu & Iwamoto, 2006, p. 154), racial identity may play a more salient role than ethnic identity and Asian values on well-being especially when individuals reports high levels of race-related stress. Based on previous studies we expect that ethnic identity will also have a strong interaction effect with

race-related stress on well being based on the work of Lee and Yoo (Lee, 2003; Lee, 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Yoo & Lee, 2008), and Asian values will have the smallest effect.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 402 Asian American and Asian international college and graduate students, of which 150 were Chinese American, 61 Korean American, 50 Vietnamese American, 32 Taiwanese American, 31 South Asian, 27 Filipino American, 26 Mixed Asian ancestry (i.e., Chinese and Korean, Vietnamese and Korean), and 25 Japanese American. Of the participants, 82% were undergraduates and 18% were graduate students. The mean age for the participants was 21.02 ($SD = 3.6$); 63.7% were females ($N = 256$) and 36.3% ($N = 146$) were males. In regards to generational status, 274 of the participants were second generation (“I was born in the United States, either parent was born in another country”), 100 of the participants were first generation (“I was born in another country”), 15 were fourth generation (“I was born in the U.S., both parents and at least one grandparent was born in the U.S.”), 10 were fifth generation (“I was born in the U.S., both parents and all grandparents were born in the U.S.”), and three were third generation (“I was born in the U.S., both parents were born in the U.S., and all grandparents were born in another country”). In regard to community make-up while growing up, 29% grew up in communities that were primarily Asian Americans, 33% grew up in neighborhoods that were predominately White, 31% grew up in an ethnically mixed community, and 6.7% grew up in neighborhoods that were either majority African American and Latino/Hispanic Americans.

Instruments

The survey included a demographics sheet, the Asian Values Scale-Revised (Kim & Hong, 2004), Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999), People of Color Racial Identity Scale (Helms, 1995), Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004), and the Scale of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989). A *demographics sheet* asked participants to specify their gender, specific ethnicity (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean), age, student status (undergraduate versus graduate), and generation-since-immigration status.

Asian Values Scale-Revised (AVS-R; Kim & Hong, 2004)—The AVS-R is a 25-item instrument based on the original 36-item Asian Values Scale (AVS; Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) designed to measure enculturation or the maintenance of one’s ancestral cultural values and beliefs. These dimensions of Asian cultural values include “collectivism, conformity to norms, deference to authority figures, emotional restraint, filial piety, hierarchical family structure, and humility” (Kim & Hong, 2004, p. 19). Higher scores on the AVS-R indicate stronger adherence to Asian values. Sample items include “One should think about one’s group before oneself,” and “one should not deviate from familial and social norms.”

In the development and validation of the original AVS, a confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated evidence of convergent validity between the AVS and the Individualism-Collectivism (Triandis, 1995) scale since both scales measure adherence to either a collectivistic or individualistic worldview orientation. The AVS-R is used in this current study because it is considered a more “streamline version of the AVS” (Kim & Hong, 2004, p. 24). In Kim and Hong’s study, they found that AVS-R was highly correlated with the original AVS ($r = .93$) and showed acceptable reliability estimates of .80. In the current study the AVS-R internal consistency estimate was $\alpha = .73$.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999)

—The MEIM is one of the most widely used ethnic identity measures on culturally diverse samples. Robert et al.'s (1999) validation study with 5,423 adolescents from diverse backgrounds found that the MEIM could be best conceptualized as a two factor model: commitment (i.e., affirmation and belong) and exploration (i.e., search). Ethnic Identity Other Group Orientation which was in the original MEIM was removed given it was seen as a different component of ethnic identity. This resulted in the 12-item MEIM measures two dimensions of ethnic identity: (a) ethnic identity achievement (“I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs”), and (b) affirmation and belonging (“I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me”). Items are scored on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 4 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores on the MEIM indicate a stronger sense of ethnic identity. The reliability estimate for the current study on the Ethnic Identity Search was $\alpha = .77$, and Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belonging was .90.

People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (PRIAS; Helms, 1995)

—The PRIAS is based on the Minority Identity Development Model of Atkinson, Morton, and Sue (1989), which includes the various schemas of (a) Conformity, (b) Dissonance, (c) Immersion-Emersion, (d) Introspection, and (e) Internalization. Accordingly, the PRIAS is a 50-item measure that utilizes responses of participants to items on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The PRIAS consists of four subscales that make up the entire measure and are reflective of racial identity attitudes (Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization), which slightly differs from the Minority Identity Development Model. In the PRIAS, the Internalization subscale included components of Introspection and Internalization schemas. Higher scores reflect greater endorsement of the subscale/racial identity attitudes.

The PRIAS is the only racial identity measure that has been used with Asian Americans and has been shown to provide acceptable reliability estimates with that specific group. Kohatsu et al. (2000) used PRIAS in their study of 160 Asian Americans, with an average age of 21.6 years ($SD = 5.03$). The reliability coefficient estimates they obtained for each subscale of the PRIAS were: .66 (Conformity); .65 (Dissonance); .78 (Immersion/Emersion); and .67 (Internalization). In Alvarez and Helms's (2001) study of 188 Asian American college students, they reported a reliability coefficient for each subscale of the PRIAS of .75 (Conformity); .78 (Dissonance); .83 (Immersion/Emersion); and .61 (Internalization). In the current study, the internal consistency estimate for the Conformity scale was .71, Dissonance was .70, Immersion-Emersion was .82, and for the Internalization scale $\alpha = .76$.

Scale of Psychological Well-Being (SPWB; Ryff, 1989)

—The SPWB is based on Ryff's conceptualization of eudaimonic well-being and consists of six dimensions: Positive Relationships with Others (PR); Autonomy (AU); Environmental Mastery (EM); Personal Growth (PG); Purpose of Life (PL); and Self-Acceptance (SA). Briefly, *Self-Acceptance* is accepting one's self and one's past life and having a positive attitude and acceptance of these components (“When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out”). *Positive Relations with Others* is having important and trusting relationships with others (“Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me”). *Autonomy* encompasses “self-determination, independence and the regulation of behavior from within” (Ryff, 1989, p 1071; “I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions”). *Environmental Mastery* refers to the characteristic in which the individuals feel they have control over daily life situations and responsibilities (e.g., taking care of financial decisions, balancing the demands of their occupation/job; “The demands of everyday life often get me down”). *Purpose in Life* is the feeling that there is purpose and meaning in life (“Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them”). *Personal Growth* is operationalized

as the characteristic in which the individuals want to develop their potential, expand, and continue to develop as a person (“I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world”).

In the present study, the 3-item per subscale version, 18 items in total were used. The 3-item version is based on the parent scale that consists of a 20-item per subscale version. Several longitudinal studies conducted by Ryff and Keyes (1995) have shown acceptable internal consistency estimates for the 3-item per subscale version. Each subscale’s reliability estimates have ranged from .69–.87. The 3-item per subscale measure has been empirically supported via confirmatory factor analysis. Ryff and Keyes (1995) found that the six-factor (3-item per factor) model fit the data well. Moreover, Downie and colleagues (2007) study among an ethnically diverse sample had adequate reliability estimates using the 18-item version ($\alpha = .77$).

Accordingly, the participants rate each item on the SPWB using a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Scores on each subscale ranged from 9 to 54; lower scores indicated lower well-being or less satisfaction in the specific construct; higher scores indicated higher self-actualization and acceptance. The total Scale of Psychological Well-Being (SPWB) scale was used given five out of the six subscales had reliability estimates less than .70. Cronbach’s alpha for the full SPWB scale was good ($\alpha = .83$).

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

—The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory is a 29-item instrument measuring aspects of racism that Asian Americans experience: Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, and Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscales. Items on the Socio-Historical subscale assess aspects of racism that include, “You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems.” Sample items on the General Racism subscale include, “Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate.” Finally, items on the Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscale consist of “You are asked where you really come from.” Participants answer each question based on the 5-point Likert scale (i.e., 1 = *this event has never happened to me or someone I know*, 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*). Higher scores indicate higher level of stress due to experiences and encounters with racism.

In Liang et al.’s (2004) three part validation studies of the AARRSI the psychometric properties, construct and concurrent validity of the measure was examined. Their first study on 161 Asian Americans evaluating the psychometrics of the AARRI, the 29-item and three-factor solution were derived from an exploratory factor analysis of the original 62 items. The three factors accounted for 27% of the total variance of the measure. The overall reliability estimate of the total measure was .95, and for the Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, and Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscales the internal consistency were .93, .86, and .84, respectively. In their second study (Liang et al., 2004) the confirmatory factor analysis revealed that the three latent factors (each subscale) and one second-order latent factor (i.e., all three first-order latent factors, which form the second-order latent factor) fit the data well, which supported the construct validity of the measure. The AARRI’s concurrent validity was demonstrated by the high correlations with Lifetime Racist Events (McNeilly et al., 1996) and the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). The third study revealed that the AARRI test-retest reliability was stable across time. For the purpose of this study, the overall measure was used in order to reduce potential multicollinearity since high correlations were found between the AARRSI subscales in previous studies (Liang et al., 2004) as well as in this study. The overall internal consistency estimates for the entire scale in this study was .93.

Procedure

After Institutional Review Board approval was obtained, participants were recruited from a large, public, Southern California university. Specifically, after instructors' approval, students were recruited via email from various classes in English, Math, Engineering, Psychology, Biology, Business, Political Sciences, etc. Student organizations from the university were also contacted. Finally, additional students were recruited from various Asian American list serves and blogs. Participants filled out an online survey that took between 20–40 minutes to complete. At the end of the survey, participants had the option to enter a raffle to win one of six \$50 gift certificates. Additionally, to ensure that potential duplicate responses were identified and eliminated, the date, time, and origin of submission were analyzed and treated accordingly (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007; Mohr & Rochlen, 1999).

Results

Prior to conducting the statistical analysis, a power analysis was performed using G*Power 3.0 (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996). Power was set at $f^2 = 0.80$, and the alpha set at .05. Results of the analysis ($F(16, 960) = 1.65, \lambda = 19.54$) suggested that a sample size of 977 was needed to detect a small effect (0.02), whereas a sample size of 143 was needed to detect a medium effect (i.e., 0.12, $F(16, 126) = 1.72, \lambda = 21.45$). A sample of 70 was needed to detect a large effect (i.e., 0.35, $F(16, 53) = 1.85, \lambda = 24.50$). Therefore, according to the power analysis, the current study ($N = 402$) has a high likelihood of detecting medium and large main effects.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted to examine possible differences in levels of ethnic identity, racial identity, AARRSI, SPWB, and AVS between the demographic variables. If there were significant main effects, for example, if women and men differed on well-being, sex was entered as covariates.

Gender differences—Ten ANOVAs were conducted to examine possible differences between males and females. To account for possible Type I error, the p-value was set to .005 (.05/10). The results indicated that men ($M = 32.28, SD = 6.9$) tended to hold stronger Immersion-Emersion beliefs compared to women ($M = 30.37, SD = 6.4$) ($F(1, 400) = 7.8, p = .005$). Whereas women ($M = 42.4, SD = 4.02$) scored higher on the Internalization Status ($F(1, 400) = 6.5, p = .05$), compared to the men ($M = 41.24, SD = 5.1$), as well as on the Dissonance subscale, ($M = 33.04, SD = 5.6$), compared to men ($M = 31.29, SD = 5.1$).

Ethnic Groups—ANOVAs were performed to examine possible differences between ethnic groups. In the analysis there were seven Asian American ethnic groups: Chinese, Korean, Indian, Vietnamese, Taiwanese, Mixed Asian and Japanese. The results showed no differences between the various groups on the independent and dependent variables, thus ethnicity was not entered in the regression analysis.

Generational status—Ten ANOVAs were conducted to test for differences between generational statuses. Participants in the third ($N = 3$), fourth ($N = 15$), and fifth ($N = 10$) generation groups were collapsed into the second-generational-status group, for a total of 302 participants in the second- through fifth-generation group and 100 in the first-generation group. Important to note, international student status was not obtained in the survey, thus if a student was an international student they were categorized and placed in the first generation group. The results of the 10 ANOVAs revealed that there were no differences among the generational status groups in values on the predictors and dependent variables.

Correlational Analysis

Pearson correlations were conducted with the predictors and outcome variables (see Tables 1). Results from the correlational analyses suggest that Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion/Emersion, and Asian Values were all inversely correlated with SPWB, while AARRSI was not related to SPWB. Internalization had the strongest association with the SPWB, followed by Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belong (EI-AB), and Ethnic Identity Search (EI-S). In accordance with RIT, Conformity was inversely related to Internalization; Conformity was also inversely related to EI-S and EI-AB. Internalization and Immersion-Emersion were both positively associated with EI-S and EI-AB. AARRSI was correlated with all of the racial identity, ethnic identity measures, and AVS. Finally, AVS was related to Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and EI-S and EI-AB.

Hierarchical Regression

The first research question examined whether racial identity, ethnic identity, AVS, and AARRSI would predict SPWB. While the second question investigated possible interactions between racial identity, ethnic identity, AVS with AARRSI on SPWB. All the predictor variables except gender were grand mean centered in order to reduce multicollinearity between interaction terms and predictors (Fraizer, Tix & Barron, 2004), and the interaction terms were created by multiplying the centered racial and ethnic identity variables with AARRSI. Accordingly, the AARRSI, gender, and racial and ethnic variables were entered in the first step. In the second step the interaction terms were then entered. If interaction terms were significant, interaction terms were plotted with high (+1 *SD*) and (−1 *SD*) low scores on racial and ethnic identity, and by high (+1 *SD*) and low (−1 *SD*) AARRSI values.

Before interpreting the results, the collinearity statistics Tolerance and VIF (variance inflation factor) were examined. Multicollinearity was suspected because there were significant correlations between the variable of ethnic identity and racial identity. The criteria of a Tolerance score of less than .20 and a VIF score of greater than 10 were used to detect multicollinearity (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). The results revealed no VIF scores greater than 3.13 and the lowest Tolerance estimate was .32. Thus, there were no problems with multicollinearity in the analysis.

Accordingly, in the first step (Table 2), Dissonance ($\beta = -.17, p < .001$), Immersion-Emersion ($\beta = -.19, p < .001$), Internalization ($\beta = .37, p < .001$), and EI-AB ($\beta = .17, p < .02$) were all significant predictors of SPWB, ($R^2 = .34, F(9, 392) = 21.93, p < .001$). In the second step, the interaction terms were then entered which resulted in a significant change in R^2 (4%), $F(7, 385) = 3.86, p < .001$, and overall model was $R^2 = .38, F(16, 385) = 14.66, p < .001$. All the variables that were significant in step one remained significant in the model, however the direct effect of AVS ($\beta = -.11, p < .009$) on well being became significant when the interaction terms were entered. Three interactions were detected: Conformity \times AARRSI ($B = -.16, p < .02$), Dissonance \times AARRSI ($B = .12, p < .05$), and AVS \times AARRSI ($B = .459, p < .001$; see Figures 1–3).

To further explore the significant interactions, Aiken and West's (1991) procedures for testing simple slope analysis were performed to determine if the slopes differed from zero. The analysis revealed that the slope of race-related stress significantly differed from zero when the conditional effect of Asian values was high ($B = .17, p < .006$), and it was not significant when the conditional effect of Asian values was low ($B = -.11, p = .09$). These findings suggest that increases in the amount of race-related stress experienced, corresponded to increases in well being for individuals with higher Asian values (Figure 1).

Analysis of the simple slopes of race-related stress was significant when the conditional values of Conformity was low ($B = .15, p < .05$), however the slope of the conditional effect of high Conformity was nonsignificant ($B = -.09, p = .22$). As observed in Figure 2, the relationship between race-related stress and well-being changed in the context of levels of Conformity. Specifically, participants who had low levels of Conformity and high race-related stress exhibited higher levels of well being, than those who experienced lower levels of race-related stress and low Conformity scores.

The simple slope analysis for the AARRSI and Dissonance interactions revealed that the slope was not significantly different from zero when the conditional effect of Dissonance was high ($B = .12, p = .09$) or low ($B = -.06, p = .37$). Generally, the interaction trend indicated that the advantage of low Dissonance on SPWB significantly increased as the amount of race-related stress decreased (Figure 3).

Poc Hoc Analysis

For exploratory purposes, the hierarchical regression analysis was performed with a restricted sample which included only 2nd generation and higher Asian Americans to test whether this model was comparable with the entire sample (with 1st generation status students). The overall model was significant, $R^2 = .36, F(16, 285) = 9.92, p < .001$, and the predictors that were significant with entire sample had generally the same effect, with exception of the interaction effect Asian values X AARRSI ($B = 2.93, p < .06$).

Discussion

While previous researchers have used only one identity measure in predicting positive psychological well being, the current study contributes to the literature by elucidating the unique effects of racial identity, ethnic identity and Asian values on positive psychological well being of Asian Americans and Asian international college students. Together, the patterns of the relationships were consistent with previous research examining racial identity and ethnic identity on well being. Higher Internalization and Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belonging scores were positively related to SPWB, while racial identity attitudes that focus primarily on racism such as Dissonance and Immersion/Emmersion were negatively associated. Contrary to our hypothesis, Asian values were inversely associated to SPWB and no direct relationship between race-related stress and SPWB was detected. This study also demonstrated that Asian values, Conformity and Dissonance were moderators of the association between race-related stress and well being. Generally the three interactions appeared to follow a similar pattern where the largest differences occurred in low race-related stress. However, as race-related stress increased, the individual's well-being that was based on having low AVS, high Conformity and low Dissonance was reduced.

As expected Internalization attitudes was a robust predictor of SPWB. One explanation could be that individuals who endorse Internalization status may have developed more cognitive resources and may use active coping strategies that help foster well-being. To this end, individuals who feel secure and have positive beliefs about their racial group, as well as are conscious about the effects of racism (Internalization status), have higher levels of eudaimonic well-being. It could be also argued that individuals who endorse Internalization ideology might be more self-actualized—they accept past struggles in their life, which might even include their past racial-identity conflict. Accordingly, these individuals can be characterized as having a greater sense of direction and an increased ability to manipulate and have more control over their social environment and daily stressors (Ryff, 1996). Furthermore, unlike those who endorse Immersion-Emersion views, individuals who embrace Internalization attitudes may be more open to positive relationships with others, regardless of race.

The negative relationship between Immersion-Emersion status and SPWB is congruent with previous research among Asian American college student samples (Tan & Alvarez, 2004). According to racial identity theory, individuals' who endorse Immersion-Emersion attitudes are often hypersensitive to racism, and race is a salient part of their lives (Helms, 1995). Therefore it may be that individuals who strongly endorse Immersion-Emersion attitudes are distrustful and hold anger towards Whites which in turn leads to lower levels of well-being. Additionally these individuals might limit their social support by immersing themselves and limiting their social interactions with only other Asians. Consequently, their support system may be limited and may promote feelings of social alienation (i.e., "My racial group and me, against everyone else") thus compromising their well-being.

While Immersion-Emersion attitudes are reflective of hypersensitivity to racial issues, individuals who feel ambiguous or endorse Dissonance worldviews tend to report lower levels of SPWB. In line with racial identity theory, these individuals might be just beginning to develop awareness of experienced racism and oppression (Alvarez et al., 2006; Helms & Cook, 1999). The transition from Conformity to Dissonance status may then negatively affect well-being as their previously held color-blind (in Conformity status) and "equality" (i.e., no differences between races) perceptions might shatter through awareness afforded from the Dissonance status. Furthermore, given Dissonance status is characterized by a lack of clear racial identity, this may additionally impact aspects of eudaimonic well-being, such as self-acceptance (i.e., accepting all aspects of their personality), meaning in life, and environmental mastery (i.e., navigating through daily stressors).

The findings also indicated that Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belonging was positively related to SPWB which is consistent with ethnic identity theory (Phinney, 1992), and previous studies that have demonstrated the strong relationship between ethnic identity and positive well being (Crocker et al., 1994; Kang et al., 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2005). Subsequently, Asian American college students who have strong ethnic pride and attachment with their ethnic group endorse more aspects of eudaimonic well-being, such as acceptance and positive relationship with others. The stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging most likely accounted for the positive relationship with SPWB. For example, individuals who have higher levels of EI-AB may have more trusting and warm relationships with others and feel validated by members of their ethnic group and, thus be more accepting of themselves.

Asian values also appeared to play a significant role in predicting SPWB however the direction of the relationship was contrary to what we expected. The inverse relationship between AVS and SPWB could be reflective of conflict associated with the acculturation (i.e., adapting to mainstream culture values and beliefs) and enculturation (adherence to one's indigenous values) process (Kim & Abreu, 2001). This process might contribute to acculturative stress or distress experienced due to cultural differences between American culture and Asian cultural values (Kim & Omizo, 2005).

Unexpectedly, race-related stress was not associated with SPWB. This discrepancy can be accounted for by a number of factors. The first explanation could be that AARRSI does not directly influence the well-being of Asian American college students. The effects of race-related stress could be more reflective of a state of stress and anxiety. For example, the items on the AARRSI (Liang et al., 2004) are scored in a manner in which the participants rate how much stress they felt because of their experience with racism. As such, these experiences are reflective of past levels of stress and might not be reflective of current states of anxiety or well-being. In fact, Liang and colleagues (2004) have noted that the scoring of this measure is a potential limitation of their instrument. Despite these limitations and the lack of direct relationship to well-being, the majority of the participants (61%) indicated that they have experienced racism and that were "slightly" to "extremely" affected by these experiences.

These findings highlight that various forms of race-related stress may be salient experiences in the lives of Asian and Asian Americans, even at institutions and regions that are ethnically diverse. In addition it appears that for several subgroups of participants well being was positively impacted as race-related stress increased. It may be that these individuals were able to draw upon positive aspects of their identity to bolster their well being when reporting high race-related stress (Tajfel & Turner, 2001; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008).

Moderation Effects

The second objective of this study was to investigate how racial identity, ethnic identity and Asian values would interact with race-related stress and predict elevations in well being. AVS had the largest moderation effect followed by Conformity and Dissonance attitudes. As stated previously, the most dramatic moderation effects were evident at low levels of race-related stress, consequently individuals with low AVS, high Conformity and low Dissonance attitudes tended to have greater SPWB in the low stress conditions. Based on a racial identity framework, these patterns makes sense given that individuals who hold Conformity attitudes tend to idealize White culture and minimize racial issues (Helms, 1995). That is, if an Asian American who held strong Conformity attitudes experienced minimal race-related stress, then their idealized beliefs about White culture and their own well-being is maintained. Individuals with low Dissonance attitudes seem to have little fluctuation in their SPWB, regardless of the race-related stress condition. It may be that individuals with low Dissonance attitudes are clearer about their racial identity. Whereas individuals who are ambivalent and uncertain about racial issues or those who have high Dissonance worldviews and low race-related stress may question their perceptions and feelings about racism and this internal psychological conflict reduces their sense of well-being. This general trend might also be similar for individuals with who have low adherence to AVS and experience low race-based stress—their social environment might be supportive of low AVS worldview (i.e., low AVS could be reflective of higher Eurocentric values). Alternatively for those with high AVS but in low race-stress conditions, these individuals' well-being may be challenged because they live in contexts which are not supportive of these Asian cultural values.

It was no surprise that the psychological advantages of low AVS, high Conformity, and low Dissonance decreased as the amount of race-related stress increased. The most dramatic effect was observed in the low the Conformity condition. Individuals who had low Conformity attitudes and experienced high levels of race-related stress displayed increases in well being. It is possible experiences with racism validated these students' developing racial identity attitudes and confirmed their beliefs and notions that racism exists. Further, their racial identity attitudes allowed the individual to manage and externally attribute the race-related stress they experience (Yoo & Lee, 2005) thereby maintaining their well being. Additionally Asians endorsing Asian values and experiencing high race-related stress, might embrace their culture when faced with racism and draw upon cultural values and cultural styles of coping, such as collective group belonging, that supports their well being in these conditions. Some research supports the proposition that as individuals develop their racial or ethnic identity, they are able to draw upon more cognitive resources to cope with other experiences of discrimination (Cross, 1991; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008).

Contrary to our hypothesis, neither EI-AB nor EI-S interacted with race-related stress on SPWB. It could be that in the presence of other identity measures such as, racial identity and AVS, decreased the predictive validity of ethnic identity. The discrepancy between these current findings to the extant literature may due to the fact that previous studies such as Yoo and Lee (2005) used perceived discrimination and life satisfaction, while other studies used psychological distress as their primary outcome (Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Yip et al.,

2008). Accordingly, it would be interesting for future research to examine if racial identity and AVS moderate the effects of perceived discrimination on psychological distress.

Finally this study highlighted some within-group differences between men and women on racial identity. These findings elucidate the varying racial experiences and distinct perceptions among Asian American men and women. Iwamoto and Liu (2008) highlight how Asian American men and women face different forms of racism. These men especially are often negatively portrayed in the media as well have to deal with the intersection between racial identity and negotiating masculine norms, which might explain some of the differences. More research is needed to examine the specific mechanisms that contribute to the gender differences.

Caution is warranted in interpreting these results. First, no causality can be concluded given that the research design focused on associated patterns and was cross-sectional. Second, generalizing these findings to all Asian American college students must be avoided because of the within-group variation along dimensions of life-span development, types of colleges (i.e., public versus private), and regions. Also, the demographics of the institution where the data was collected and the online collection sample could have influenced the results. Specifically, the data were collected from an institution with a 50% Asian American student body. The average experience of Asians growing up in California and attending a university with an Asian American majority is likely to differ from that of an individual growing up in another state and attending a school with a small percentage of Asian Americans. Asian Americans who grew up in areas having a low percentage of Asian Americans or ethnic minorities might also be exposed to, and experience more, racism and discrimination. Although the present study gathered generational status, we did not obtain international student status; therefore we were unable to delineate international students from 1st generation U.S. citizen/permanent resident. Finally, social desirability could have played a role in the results. Students may have been especially vulnerable to social desirability considering that overt racism and discrimination are considered to be unacceptable social values and norms.

Regardless of the study's limitations, the present investigation contribute to the literature by elucidating the significant role of racial-identity, Asian values, and ethnic identity on the mental health of Asian American and Asian international college students. The results suggest that although racial identity and ethnic identity are often used synonymously, each of these constructs uniquely contributes to the well-being of Asian American college students. The results of this study reveal several potential avenues for future research. Because the participants were drawn from a large public university in southern California with a majority of Asian Americans, future studies should examine whether these associations hold up with students from other regions of the country. Comparisons with a sample of non-college-age adults could be additionally important, given their varying life and developmental experiences. Although, the People of Color Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1995) has been utilized with Asian American samples, studies need to examine the factor structure and psychometric properties of this measure among this population. Finally, it would be useful to conduct longitudinal research to explore the growth trajectories of racial identity, ethnic identity, Asian values, and well-being over time (Quintana, 2007).

Clinical Implications

The results of this study highlight several important factors that clinicians should consider when working with Asian American college students. First, results indicating the racial identity, EI-AB and AVS jointly impact SPWB, suggest that clinicians should assess and integrate these factors into their case conceptualization and treatment protocols (Alvarez & Yeh, 1999; Helms & Cook, 1999). Specifically, since college is a formative period when many students are searching and developing their self-concepts (Berk, 2006), facilitating the individual's awareness and understanding of their racial and ethnic identity may be especially

relevant for this population. In particular, if the clinician has a general sense that their Asian American client strongly endorses Asian cultural values, and low Conformity attitudes, it may be fruitful to inquire about the client's sense of "what it means to be Asian American?" or "What are some positive or negative messages you receive about your racial group?" This line of questioning might promote dialogue about their identity as well as help the clinician assess whether or not the client is experiencing and impacted by race-related stress. Accordingly, these questions may enable the client's awareness of the internal and external negative messages that they receive about their race and ethnic group, and help the client become aware of how racism as well as racial and ethnic identity might be influence their well-being. Moreover since Dissonance and Immersion/Emersion were found to be inversely associated with SPWB, it may be useful to examine how the client developed these racial identity attitudes. In particular, since these statuses conceptually represent ambiguity and hypersensitivity towards race and racial issues, clinicians may consider processing and normalizing their past and present experiences of racism or discrimination. Related, given the majority of the participants reported experiencing stress due to racism, clinicians could inquire about the client's first experience with racism, or process the first time they thought about race, and explore how the experience(s) may have impacted their ethnic or racial identity. This line of questioning might be fruitful since it could afford the client the opportunity to discuss these issues for the first time in a safe environment.

In conclusion, while racial identity and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably in the literature, the findings in this current study reveal that these concepts, albeit related with one another, are unique predictors of SPWB among Asian international and Asian American students. Finally, although this investigation advances our understanding of the factors associated to positive well being among Asian Americans, it only scratches the surface on the topics of racial identity, ethnic identity and AVS on positive well-being. An immense need to further examine these concepts with Asian Americans continues to exist (Ponterotto, & Park, 2007).

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Drs. Leon Caldwell, Oksana Yakushko, Michael Scheel, John Creswell, Gustavo Carlo, Kevin Cokley, Nalini Negi and Tomio Iwamoto for all their feedback on earlier versions of this article. We additionally want to thank the reviewers for all their insightful and constructive feedback on the analysis and content of the manuscript.

Manuscript preparation for the first author was supported by the National Institute of Health Drug Abuse grant 5T32 019426-04.

References

- Abreu JM, Ramirez E, Kim BSK, Haddy C. Automatic activation of yellow peril Asian American stereotypes: Effects on social impression formation. *The Journal of Social Psychology* 2003;143:691–706. [PubMed: 14658746]
- Aiken, LS.; West, SG. *Multiple Regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage; 1991.
- Alvarez A. Asian American and racial identity: Dealing with racism and snowballs. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling* 2001;23:192–207.
- Alvarez A, Helms JE. Racial identity and reflected appraisals as influences on Asian Americans' racial adjustment. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2001;7:217–231. [PubMed: 11506069]
- Alvarez A, Juang L, Liang C. Asian Americans and racism: When bad things happen to "model minorities". *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2006;12:477–492. [PubMed: 16881751]

- Atkinson, DR.; Morten, G.; Sue, DW. A minority identity development model. In: Atkinson, DR.; Morten, G.; Sue, D., editors. *Counseling American Minorities*. 3. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown; 1989. p. 35-47.
- Berk, LE. *Child development*. 7. Boston: Pearson; 2006.
- Carter, RT. *The influence of race and racial identity in psychotherapy: Toward a racially inclusive model*. New York: John Wiley; 1995.
- Chan, S. *Asian Americans: An interpretive history*. Boston, MA: Twayne; 1991.
- Chae, M. Racial identity and psychological well-being among Asian Americans. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Psychological Association; Honolulu, Hawaii. 2004b.
- Chen GA, Le Phuoc P, Guzman MR, Rude SS, Dodd BG. Exploring Asian American racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2006;12:461–476. [PubMed: 16881750]
- Chu, SPL. Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering. Vol. 62. 2002. Internalization of the model minority stereotype and its relationship to psychological adjustment; p. 4776
- Chu, JP.; Akustu, PD.; Chen, KY.; Tsuru, GK. Identifying clinical conditions that stimulate service use for Asian Americans; Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Psychological Association; Honolulu, Hawaii. 2004.
- Clark R, Anderson NB, Clark VR, Williams DR. Racism as a stressor for African Americans. A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist* 2000;54:805–816. [PubMed: 10540593]
- Cokley KO. Racial(ized) identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values: Conceptual and methodological challenges in understanding African American identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:517–526.
- Cokley KO. Critical issues in measurement of ethnic and racial identity: A referendum on the state of the field. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:224–234.
- Cohen, J.; Cohen, P.; West, SG.; Aiken, LS. *Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Science*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum; 2003.
- Constantine MG, Sue D. Factors contributing to optimal human functioning in people of color in the United States. *The Counseling Psychologist* 2006;34:228–244.
- Cooper S, Leong FTL. Introduction to the special issue on culture, race, and ethnicity in organizational consulting psychology. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research* 2008;60:133–138.
- Devos T, Banaji MR. American=White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 2005;88:447–466. [PubMed: 15740439]
- Diener E, Emmons RA, Larsen RJ, Griffin S. The Satisfaction With Life Scales. *Journal of Personality Assessment* 1985;49:71–75. [PubMed: 16367493]
- Diener E, Oishi S, Lucas RE. Personality, culture, and subjective well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology* 2003;54:403–425.
- Downie M, Chua SN, Koestner R, Barrios M, Rip B, M'Birkou S. The relations of parental autonomy support to cultural internalization and well-being of immigrant and sojourners. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2007;13:241–249. [PubMed: 17638481]
- Erdfelder E, Faul F, Buchner A. GPOWER: A general power analysis program. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers* 1996;28:1–11.
- Espiritu, YL. *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; 1992.
- Fischer, AR.; Moradi, B. Racial and ethnic identity. In: Ponterotto, JG.; Casas, JM.; Suzuki, LA.; Alexander, CM., editors. *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*. 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc; 2001. p. 341-370.
- Frazier PA, Tix AP, Barron KE. Testing moderation and mediator effects in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2004;51:115–134.
- Fu X, Hatfield ME. Intermarriage and segmented assimilation: U.S. born Asians in 2000. *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2008;11:249–277.
- Grossman JM, Liang B. Discrimination distress among Chinese American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 2008;37:1–11.

- Harrell SP. A multidimensional conception of race-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 2000;70:42–57. [PubMed: 10702849]
- Helms, JE. An update of Helms' White and People of Color racial identity models. In: Ponterotto, JG.; Casas, JM.; Suzuki, LA.; Alexander, CM., editors. *Handbook of multicultural counseling*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1995. p. 181-198.
- Helms, JE. Challenging some misuses of reliability in studying the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale. In: Carter, R., editor. *Handbook of Race and Cultural Psychology*. Vol. 1. John Wiley; 2005.
- Helms JE. Some better practices for measuring racial and ethnic identity constructs. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:235–246.
- Helms, JE.; Cook, DA. *Using race and culture in counseling and psychotherapy: Theory and practice*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon; 1999.
- Hornsey MJ. Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2008;2(1):204–222.
- Iwamoto, DK.; Caldwell, LD. Asian American identity in the classroom. In: Pan, WRVO., editor. *Race, ethnicity, and education: The influences of racial and ethnic identity in education*. Greenwood Publishing Group; 2006. p. 91-104.
- Iwamoto, DK.; Liu, WM. Asian American men and Asianized attribution: Intersections of masculinity, race, and sexuality. In: Tewari, N.; Alvarez, A., editors. *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates; 2008. p. 211-232.
- Jacobson, MF. *Whiteness of a different color: European immigrants and the alchemy of race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1998.
- Kang SM, Shaver PR. Individual differences in emotional complexity: Their psychological implications. *Journal of Personality* 2004;72:687–726. [PubMed: 15210014]
- Kang SM, Shaver PR, Sue S, Mi KH, Jing H. Cultural-specific patterns in the prediction of life satisfaction: Roles of emotion, relationship quality, and self-esteem. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 2003;29:1596–1608. [PubMed: 15018689]
- Kearney LK, Draper M, Baron A. Counseling utilization of college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2005;11:272–285. [PubMed: 16117593]
- Kim, BSK.; Abreu, JM. Acculturation Measurement: Theory, current instruments, and future directions. In: Ponterotto, JG.; Casas, JM.; Suzuki, LA.; Alexander, CM., editors. *Handbook of multicultural counseling*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 2001. p. 394-424.
- Kim BSK, Atkinson DR, Umemoto D. Asian cultural values and counseling process: Current knowledge and directions for future research. *The Counseling Psychologist* 2001;29:570–603.
- Kim BSK, Atkinson DR, Yang PH. The Asian Values Scale: Development, factor analysis, validation, and reliability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 1999;46:342–352.
- Kim BSK, Hong S. A psychometric revision of the Asian Values Scale using the Rasch model. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development* 2004;37:15–27.
- Kim BSK, Omizo MM. Asian and European American cultural values, collective self-esteem, acculturative stress, cognitive flexibility, and general self-efficacy among Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:412–419.
- Kim BSK, Omizo MM. Behavioral acculturation and enculturation and psychological functioning among Asian American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2006;12:245–258. [PubMed: 16719575]
- Kim BSK, Ng GF, Ahn AJ. Effects of client expectation for counseling success, client-counselor worldview match, and client adherence to Asian and European American cultural values on counseling process with Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:67–76.
- Kim BSK, Li LC, Liang TH. Effects of Asian American client adherence to Asian cultural values, session goal, and counselor emphasis of client expression on career counseling process. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2002;49:342–354.
- Kim, J. Asian American identity development theory. In: Wijeyesinghe, CL.; Jackson, B., III, editors. *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology*. New York: New York University Press; 2001. p. 67-90.
- Kim, JGS. Dissertation Abstracts International Section B: Humanities & Social Sciences. Vol. 63. 2002. Racial perceptions and psychological well being in Asian and Hispanic Americans; p. 1033

- Kohatsu E, Dulay M, Lam C, Concepcion W, Perez P, Lopez C, et al. Using Racial identity theory to explore racial mistrust and interracial contact amongst Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development* 2000;78:334–342.
- Lazaurs, RS.; Folkman, S. *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer; 1984.
- Lee, A.; Yeh, C. Educational Resources Information Center. 2002. Stereotypes of Asian Americans; p. 1-6.
- Lee, RG. *Oriental: Asian Americans in popular culture*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press; 1999.
- Lee RM. Do ethnic identity and other-group orientation protect against discrimination for Asian Americans? *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2003;50:133–141.
- Lee RM. Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:36–44.
- Lee RM, Draper M, Lee S. Social connectedness, dysfunctional interpersonal behaviors, and psychological distress: Testing a mediator model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2001;48:310–318.
- Lee RM, Yoo HC. Structure and measurement of ethnic identity for Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2004;51:263–269.
- Lee RM, Yoo HC. Ethnic identity and approach-type coping as moderators of racial discrimination/well being relationship in Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:497–506.
- Lent RW. Toward a unifying theoretical and practical perspective on well-being and psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2004;51:482–509.
- Liang C, Fassinger RE. The role of collective self-esteem for Asian Americans experiencing racism-related stress: A test of moderator and mediator hypotheses. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2008;14:19–28.
- Liang C, Li LC, Kim BSK. The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2004;51:103–114.
- Liang CTH, Alvarez A, Juang LP, Liang MX. The role of coping in the relationship between perceived racism and racism-related stress for Asian Americans: Gender differences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:132–141.
- Lieber E, Chin D, Nihira K, Mink IR. Holding on and letting go: Identity and acculturation among Chinese immigrants. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2001;7:247–273. [PubMed: 11506071]
- Liu WM. Exploring the lives of Asian American men: Racial identity, male role norms, gender role conflict, and prejudicial attitudes. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 2002;3:107–118.
- Liu WM, Iwamoto DK. Asian American men's gender role conflict: The role of Asian values, self-esteem, and psychological distress. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 2006;7:153–164.
- Luhtanen R, Crocker J. A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 1992;18:302–318.
- Mahalik JR, Pierre MP, Wan SC. Examining racial identity and masculinity as correlates of self-esteem and psychological distress in Black men. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 2006;34:94–104.
- McCoy SK, Major B. Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 2003;29:1005–1017. [PubMed: 15189619]
- McNeilly MD, Anderson NB, Armstead CA, Clark R, Corbett M, Robinson EL, et al. The Perceived Racism Scale: A multidimensional assessment of the experience of White racism among African Americans. *Ethnicity & Disease* 1996;6:154–166. [PubMed: 8882844]
- Mohr JJ, Rochlen AB. Measuring attitudes regarding bisexuality in lesbian, gay male, and heterosexual populations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 1999;46:353–369.
- Mossakowski KN. Coping with perceived discrimination: Does ethnic identity protect mental health? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 2003;44:318–331. [PubMed: 14582311]
- Noh S, Beiser M, Kaspar V, Hou F, Rummens J. Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 1999;40:193–207. [PubMed: 10513144]

- Oishi S, Diener EF, Suh EM, Lucas R. Values as a moderator of well-being. *Journal of Personality* 1999;67:157–184.
- Ong, P.; Cruz-Viesca, D.; Nakanishi, D. Asian American political empowerment. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center; 2008 Jul. Awakening the new “sleeping giant”?.
- Operario D, Fiske ST. Ethnic identity moderates perceptions of prejudice: Judgments of personal versus group discrimination and subtle versus blatant bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 2001;27:550–561.
- Parham, T.; White, JL.; Ajamu, A. *The Psychology of Blacks: An African Centered Perspective*. 3. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall; 1999.
- Phinney J. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 1992;7:156–176.
- Phinney J, Ong AD. Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future direction. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:271–281.
- Ponterotto JG, Park-Taylor J. Racial and ethnic identity theory, measurement, and research in counseling psychology: Present status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:282–294.
- Quintana S. Racial and ethnic identity: Developmental perspectives and research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2007;54:259–270.
- Roberts R, Phinney J, Masse L, Chen Y, Roberts C, Romero A. The structure of ethnic identity in young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence* 1999;19:301–322.
- Rosenberg, M. *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 1965.
- Ryff CD. Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 1989;57:1069–1081.
- Ryff CD. Psychological well being in adult life. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 1995;4:99–104.
- Ryff, CD. Psychological well-being. In: Birren, JE., editor. *Encyclopedia of gerontology: age, aging, and the aged*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press; 1996. p. 365-369.
- Ryff CD, Keyes CLM. The structure of psychological well-being revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 1995;69:719–727. [PubMed: 7473027]
- Ryff CD, Singer B. Psychological well being: Meaning measurement, and implications for psychotherapy research. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics* 1996;65:14–23. [PubMed: 8838692]
- Sellers RM, Sheldon JN. The role of racial identity in perceived discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 2003;84:1079–1092. [PubMed: 12757150]
- Shelton JN, Sellers RM. Situational stability and variability in African American racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology* 2000;26:27–50.
- Stryker S, Serpe RT. Identity salience and psychological centrality: Equivalent, overlapping, or complementary concepts? *Social Psychology Quarterly* 1994;57:16–36.
- Sue DW, Bucceri J, Lin AI, Nadal KL, Torino GC. Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2007;13:72–81. [PubMed: 17227179]
- Tajfel, H.; Turner, JC. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: Hogg, M.; Abrams, D., editors. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. New York: Psychology Press; 2001. p. 94-109.
- Takaki, R. *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans*. New York: Penguin Press; 1989.
- Tan H, Alvarez A. Racial identity and depression among Burmese Americans. *Asian American Psychological Association Newsletter*. 2004
- Terrell F, Terrell S. An Inventory to Measure Cultural Mistrust among Blacks. *Western Journal of Black Studies* 1981;5:180–185.
- Trepte, S. Social identity theory. In: Bryant, J.; Varderer, P., editors. *Psychology of entertainment*. New York: Routledge; 2006. p. 255-271.
- Triandis, HC. *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; 1995.
- Turner, JC.; Hogg, MA.; Oakes, PJ.; Reicher, SD.; Wetherell, MS. *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell; 1987.

- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.. Civil rights issues facing Asian Americans in the 1990s. Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office; 1992.
- U.S. Public Health Services Office of the Surgeon General.. Mental health: Culture, race and ethnicity: A supplement to mental health: A report of the Surgeon General. Rockville, MD: Department of Health and Human Services, U.S. Public Health Service; 2001.
- Utsey S, Chae M, Brown C, Kelly D. Effect of ethnic group membership on ethnic identity, race-related stress and quality of life. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 2002;8:366–377. [PubMed: 12416322]
- Wong SL. Depression level in inner-city Asian American adolescents: The contributions of cultural orientation and interpersonal relationships. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 2001;3:49–64.
- Wong F, Halgin R. The “Model Minority”: Bane or blessing for Asian Americans? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 2006;34:38–49.
- Yip T. Sources of situational variation in ethnic identity and psychological well-being: A Palm Pilot study of Chinese American students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 2005;31:1603–1616. [PubMed: 16254082]
- Yip T, Gee GC, Takeuchi DT. Racial discrimination and psychological distress: The impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental Psychology* 2008;44:787–800. [PubMed: 18473644]
- Yoo HC, Lee RM. Ethnic identity and approach-type coping as moderators of the racial discrimination/well-being relation in Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2005;52:497–506.
- Yoo HC, Lee RM. Ethnic identity and approach-type coping as moderators of the racial discrimination/well-being relationship in Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2008;52:497–506.
- Zhou M, Xiong YS. The multifaceted American experiences of the children of Asian immigrants: Lessons for segmented assimilation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2005;28:1119–1152.

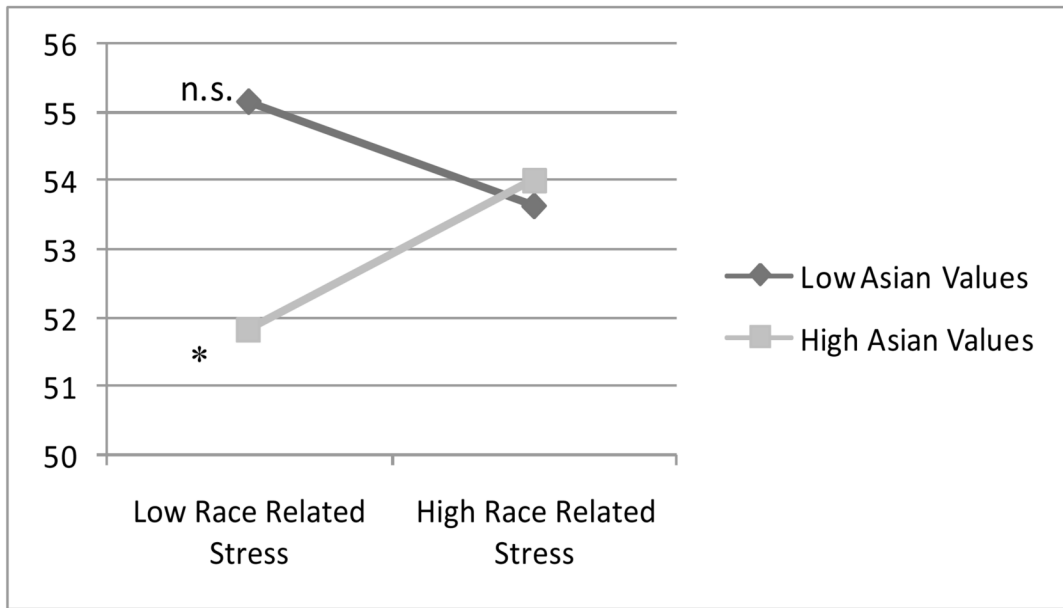


Figure 1. Moderator effects of Asian values with race-related stress on psychological well being. Y axis represents well being.

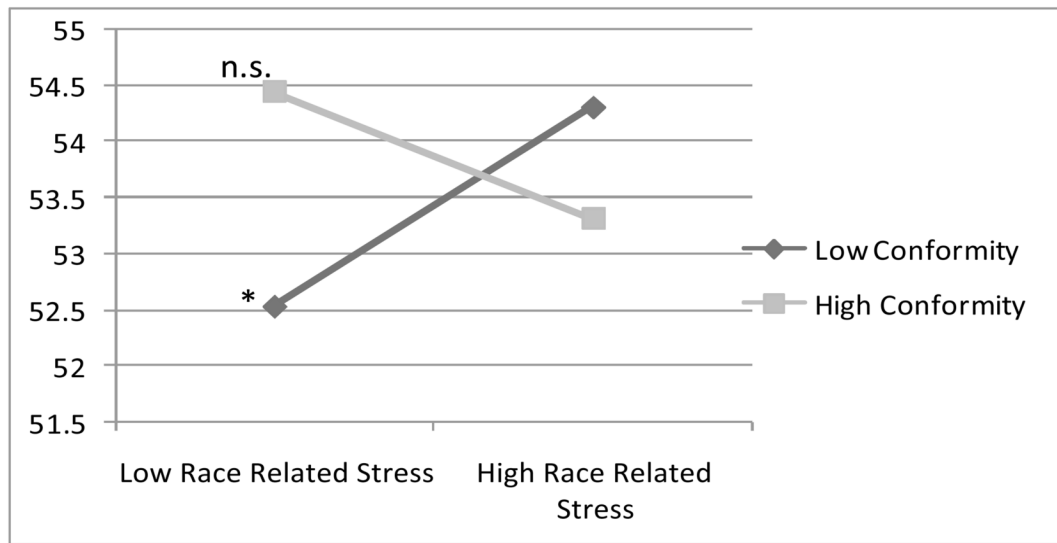


Figure 2. Moderator effects of Conformity status with race-related stress on psychological well being. Y axis represents levels of well being.

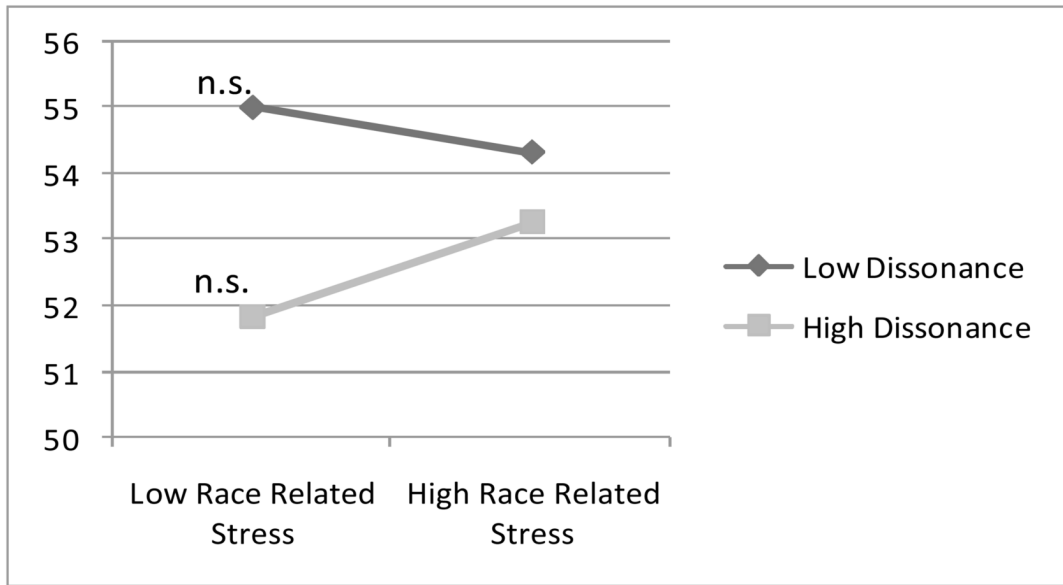


Figure 3. Moderator effects of Dissonance status with race-related stress on psychological well being. Y axis represents levels of well

Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Internal Consistency Estimates for the Scale of Psychological Well Being, Asian Values, Ethnic Identity, Racial Identity Subscales, Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory, and Age Among Asian American and Asian International College Students

Table 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. SPWB	---											
2. Conformity	-.24**	---										
3. Dissonance	-.27**	.37**	---									
4. Immersion	-.19*	-.07	.17**	---								
5. Internalization	.40**	-.24**	-.11*	-.09	---							
6. EI-Search	.20**	-.31**	-.12*	.32	.30**	---						
7. EI-Affirm	.34*	-.41**	-.35**	.22	.23**	.73**	---					
8. AVS-R	-.10*	-.05	-.03	.19**	.31**	.16**	.19**	---				
9. AARRSI	.00	-.11*	.18**	.49**	.25**	.38	.20**	.10*	---			
10. Gen-Racism	-.01	-.04	.12*	.33	.17**	.28	.13**	.17**	.83**	---		
11. Perp-Foreigner	-.04	-.06	-.17**	.37**	.20**	.28**	.10	.12*	.84**	.72**	---	
12. Socio-His	.00	-.14*	.16**	.52**	.26**	.39**	.24**	.04	.93**	.61**	.61**	---
<i>M</i>	54.06	20.92	32.40	31.06	41.99	14.16	21.05	2.37	2.81	2.17	2.45	2.15
<i>SD</i>	6.35	5.71	5.51	6.66	4.48	2.76	3.90	.25	.81	.79	.93	.62
Range	33-69	10-43	18-49	13-51	23-50	5-20	9-28	2-3	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
α	.83	.71	.70	.82	.76	.79	.91	.73	.85	.81	.83	.91

Note. SPWB = Scale of Psychological Well-Being; EI-Search = Ethnic Identity Search; EI-Affirm = Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Belonging; AVS -R = Asian Values Scales- Revised; AARRSI = Asian American Race-Related Scale-Inventory; Socio-His = Socio-Historical Racism; Gen-Racism = General Racism; Perp-Foreigner = Perpetual Foreigner

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

Table 2

Hierarchical Regression Results with Psychological Well Being as Criterion and Sex, Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory, Ethnic Identity, and Racial Identity Subscales, and Interaction terms as Predictors

Variable	Step 1		Step 2	
	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β
Gender	.23 (.57)	.02	.32 (.56)	.02
AARRSI	.39 (.39)	.05	.21 (.39)	.03
Asian Values	-2.12 (1.12)	-.08	-2.95 (1.12)	-.11**
EI-Search	.09 (.15)	.09	.16 (.15)	.07
EI-Affirmation and Belonging	.27 (.11)	.17*	.27 (.11)	.16*
Conformity	.04 (.06)	.04	.04 (.06)	.04
Dissonance	-.20 (.06)	-.17**	-.20 (.06)	-.17**
Immersion/Emersion	-.18 (.05)	-.19**	-.18 (.05)	-.19**
Internalization	.54 (.07)	.38**	.52(.07)	.37**
AARRSI * Asian Values			4.59 (1.31)	.16**
AARRSI * Conformity			-.16 (.07)	-.12*
AARRSI * Dissonance			.12 (.06)	.10*
ΔR^2	.34**		.04*	
R^2	.34**		.38**	

Note. All variables were centered except for gender. Gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female), EI-Search = Ethnic Identity Search. Step 2 includes only the significant interaction terms.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.