Foreigner Objectification, Bicultural Identity, and Psychological Adjustment in
Asian American College Students

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Abstract

Asian Americans have historically been subjected to unfair treatment as "forever foreigners," a phenomenon of racial discrimination defined here as *foreigner objectification* (FO). Recent psychological research corroborates this narrative and suggests that FO is related to negative outcomes (Armenta, Lee, Pituc, Jung, Park, Soto et al., 2013; Q. L. Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; S. Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). The present study builds upon this nascent research by investigating the construct of foreigner objectification (FO) and its relationship with bicultural identity, psychological distress (depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety) and subjective well-being (self-esteem, satisfaction with life). The sample consists of 718 self-identified Asian American undergraduate students from multiple sites across the United States. The primary research question asked whether bicultural identity profiles (as indicated by the affirmation/commitment component of both ethnic-racial identity and national American identity) moderate the relationship between FO and psychological adjustment outcomes. Identity profiles were derived using person-centered cluster analytic methods, resulting in a solution of five profiles (Strong Bicultural, Average Bicultural, Weak Bicultural, Strong Ethnic, and Strong American). The moderation model was tested with multiple group structural equation modeling analysis and conducted separately for the U.S.-born and immigrant participants. For the immigrant sample ($n = 253$), the relations between FO and both psychological distress and subjective well-being were non-significant, and there

was no difference in the FO-adjustment relationship between identity profiles. In line with Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985), the results suggest that the potentially negative impact of FO is more relevant to U.S.-born Asian Americans than to their immigrant counterparts. For the U.S.-born sample ($n = 465$), a significant medium sized effect was found between FO and psychological distress in the expected direction, with no observed moderation by identity. FO was also significantly associated with poorer subjective well-being for the U.S.-born individuals in the Strong Bicultural, Average Bicultural, and Weak Bicultural profiles. This association was not statistically significant for those in the Strong Ethnic and Strong American profiles, indicating a moderating role of bicultural identity.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Racism, as a system of attitudes, behaviors, and values that perpetuates inequity, has been a part of United States history since its inception as a nation (Feagin, 2000). Prior to the Civil Rights-era, old-fashioned racism blatantly and explicitly expressed the inferiority of people of color in comparison to White Americans. In more recent times, modern forms of racism have become more of an issue, with denigrating attitudes manifesting in more subtle, ambiguous ways (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). For Asian Americans, modern, subtle forms of racism and discrimination are complicated by contrasting sets of stereotypes. That is, the seemingly innocuous experience of being cast as "perpetual foreigners" is juxtaposed with the stereotype as the "model minority," thus obscuring the potentially harmful effects of racial discrimination (C. J. Kim, 1999; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010).

Epidemiological and convenience-based samples consistently find that many Asian Americans report experiencing racial discrimination. A study from the National Latino and Asian American Survey (NLAAS) found that 41.7% of the 2,095 Asian American participants reported unfair treatment attributed to race (Gee, Ro, Gavin, & Takeuchi, 2008). Another study of Asian Americans from the NLAAS dataset noted that 64.4% of participants responded affirmatively to at least one of the following experiences: feeling they were disliked or treated unfairly due to race/ethnicity or "seen friends of the same race/ethnicity treated unfairly because of their race/ethnicity" (Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett,

Lindsey, Stoddard et al., 2008). These are sizeable prevalence rates compared to epidemiological studies with other racial groups (Latinos 33%, Whites 12%), with only Black Americans reporting higher rates (71%) of discrimination due to race or ethnicity (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Perez, Fortuna, & Alegría, 2008).

Research also documents the link between discrimination and mental health and well-being for Asian Americans. Racial discrimination has been positively linked with general psychological distress (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Dion, Dion, & Pak, 1992; Yip, Gee & Takeuchi, 2008), anxiety (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004); depression and depressive symptoms (Becker & Grilo, 2007; Cassidy et al., 2004; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008); alcohol and substance use (Becker & Grilo, 2007; Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, & Krieger, 2008; Gee, Delva, & Takeuchi, 2007; Park, Schwartz, Lee, & Rodriguez, 2013; Tran, Lee, & Burgess, 2010), more severe DSM-IV diagnoses (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007); and suicidal ideation (Hwang & Goto, 2008). Experiences of racism are also related to deficits in positive mental health resources such as well-being (R. M. Lee, 2003), self-esteem (R. M. Lee, 2005), and positive affect (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Yoo & Lee, 2005).

For Asian Americans, discrimination appears to have small to medium effects[1] on psychological adjustment. A recent meta-analysis computed an effect size of $r = .23$ in the relationship between racial discrimination and overall mental health for Asians, both in the United States and in international samples (D. L. Lee & Ahn, 2011). The effect size was statistically significantly greater for anxiety ($r = .28$) and depression ($r = .26$) than for general psychological distress ($r = .17$). The magnitude of these effects observed in Asian samples are comparable to those from an analysis of the effects of general discrimination on mental health ($r = -.20$) across all racial groups (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).[2]

Although the experiences measured by these studies represent many forms of racial discrimination, there is a bias in the research toward examining blatant forms of discrimination. For instance, the everyday discrimination items used in the NLAAS and National Comorbidity Study (Kessler et al., 1999) are among the most frequently used measures in the literature on racial discrimination (Paradies, 2006). These items assess the frequency of many types of experiences of being treated unfairly, such as being treated with less respect than others, people acting afraid of you, being called names/insulted, and threatened/harassed, which is then attributed to one's race or ethnicity. These examples illustrate how much of the research on experiences with discrimination examines relatively unambiguous

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[1] This paper follows the effect size conventions for r where small = 0.10, medium = 0.30, and large 0.50 (Cohen, 1992).

[2] This comparison is tentative as Pascoe and Smart Richman's (2009) analysis included other forms of discrimination (e.g., gender, weight) in addition to race or ethnicity.

situations that communicate inferiority based on race and/or ethnicity, which is in line with a more traditional or "old-fashioned" view of racism.

However, in "modern" society, Asian Americans, like other persons of color, are just as likely to experience a range of everyday experiences of discrimination that are subtle, ambiguous, or seemingly innocuous (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Labeled as *microaggressions* (Pierce, 1974; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978), these experiences are brief and manifest in verbal and behavioral exchanges between people as well as in the environment. Regardless of whether they are intentional or unintentional, microaggressions "communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007, p. 273). However, Pierce and colleagues' original writings on microaggressions addressed Black Americans' experiences with racial discrimination.

Sue and colleagues (2007) adapted the framework of microaggressions to the experiences of Asian Americans, reporting major themes that arose from the analysis of focus group discussion of 10 Asian Americans (e.g., alien in own land, second class citizenship). Sue and colleagues have asserted that microaggressions are a pervasive, insidious part of life for Asian Americans (Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). The prevalence of microaggressions was documented in a recent study of 152 Asian Americans in which 78% of participants reported at least one exposure to racial microaggressions over a period of 14 days (Ong et al., 2013).

Subtle, everyday forms of discrimination indeed have the potential for negative consequences. In a study of Korean immigrants in Canada, Noh and colleagues (2007) found that subtle discrimination (e.g., excluded or ignored) was associated with depressive symptoms, emotional reactions, and cognitive appraisals of feeling powerless and excluded. In the same study, overt discrimination (e.g., threatened; insulted or called names) was not found to have the same associations. V. W. Huynh (2012)'s study found positive correlations between an aggregate measure of microaggressions with depressive symptoms (r = .24, p < .001) and somatic symptoms (r = .26, p < .001).

One of the most common microaggressions experienced by Asian Americans is the "microinvalidating" (Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007) experience of *foreigner objectification (FO)*, which encompasses unfair treatment with a message that one is a permanent outsider to mainstream American society. It is considered an application of the perpetual foreigner stereotype. In Ong et al.'s (2013) daily diary study, experiences of FO were the most commonly reported microaggressions by the Asian American participants. The researchers measured situations that fall under the theme of being treated as an "alien in [one's] own land," with items such as "I was asked where I was born" and "I was told I speak good English." Qualitative research provides more evidence of the pervasiveness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype in the everyday lives of Asian Americans (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Kibria, 2002; Sue et al., 2007).

A burgeoning line of research on foreigner objectification demonstrates that, similar to the effects of general racial discrimination, being treated as a foreigner has implications for psychological outcomes. Research on FO has found links to poorer outcomes such as greater depressive symptoms, lower life satisfaction, and lower self-esteem (Armenta, Lee, Pituc, Jung, Park, Soto et al., 2013; Q. L. Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; S. Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). The present research study aims to build upon this nascent research by examining FO's relationship with psychological distress and subjective well-being, operationalized as latent constructs that are indicated by depressive symptoms, general anxiety, and social anxiety (for distress) and self-esteem, and life satisfaction (for well-being).

Given the pernicious effects of racial discrimination, many researchers have studied factors that may modify the strength or direction of the perceived discrimination-health relationship (Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). These moderating factors include demographic variables (e.g., gender, nativity, and immigration status) and individual difference variables (e.g., social identity, coping style, personality traits).

Social identity is one of the most extensively studied potential moderators, and researchers have sought to clarify whether it attenuates and/or exacerbates the discrimination-health relationship. *Social identity* consists of "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [sic]

perceives himself as belonging to" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16). The construct

of social identity encapsulates various developmental processes (e.g.,

commitment, exploration) and psychosocial resources (e.g., positive affect, sense

of belonging, interpersonal relationships) that are concomitant to *social*

identification (i.e., self-labeling with a social category). One's superordinate self-

concept also comprises multiple social identities according to different social

categories (e.g., ethnic-racial identity [ERI], American national identity, gender

identity).

The social identity perspective (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004),

which includes Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Self-

Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985), provides a metatheoretical framework for

understanding the mechanisms for the seemingly competing roles of social

identity as a risk vs. protective factor for the effects of discrimination. Moreover,

the social identity perspective acknowledges that individuals have access to

multiple social identities based on different social group memberships, although

ethnic-racial identity is the most common social identity studied as a moderator of

the discrimination-adjustment relationship.

According to Social Identity Theory, when there is inter-group conflict or

threat related to one's social identification (e.g., discrimination), individuals from

low-status groups "strive to achieve or maintain a positive social identity" (Tajfel

& Turner, 1986, p. 16). A strong, positive social identity is evidenced by positive

affect (i.e., feeling favorably toward the group and about one's own group

membership), attachment to the group ("I feel a strong sense of belonging to my group"), and identity centrality (i.e., extent to which the social identity is important to the overall self-concept).

Applied to the case of discrimination and ERI, SIT would hypothesize that those reporting higher ERI would be protected from discrimination's effects as a result of more positive emotional and social resources. Indeed, recent meta-analysis of the associations between ERI and psychological outcomes corroborates the assertion that having a strong ERI is linked with greater self-esteem and more positive well-being (Smith & Silva, 2011). Instead of internalizing the negative messages that are sent by discrimination, the individual with high ERI can access emotions of positive regard that stem from ethnic-racial group identification as a protective strategy. Alternatively, other buffering mechanisms such as increased social support resources may come into play with higher ERI in the face of discrimination. In support of the buffering hypothesis of SIT, several studies have found evidence of ERI's buffering effects on racial discrimination (Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, & Krieger, 2008; Chae et al., 2008b; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; R. M. Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999).

Whereas Social Identity Theory explains how social identity may be a protective factor against discrimination, Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, 1985) explains how social identity may be a risk factor. Self-Categorization Theory accounts for the cognitive processes by which individuals

attend to cues in the environment that are related to identification with a perceived in-group and perceived out-groups (Oakes, 2002). From the SCT perspective, having a high ERI may increase the salience of cues of one's group membership, such as racial discrimination. This heightened awareness may exacerbate the discrimination-adjustment relationship via more frequent perceptions of discrimination, thus intensifying discrimination's main effects. For example, individuals with stronger, "achieved" ethnic identities tended to more frequently recall narratives related to prejudice when asked to recall an episode in which they were aware of their ethnicity (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). Higher ERI may also indirectly influence psychological outcomes via increased reactivity to discrimination (e.g., Operario & Fiske, 2001). Several studies lend support to the exacerbating hypothesis of ERI on the effects of discrimination (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; R. M. Lee, 2005; Noh et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Although the findings are mixed, it is clear that the moderating role of ethnic-racial identity is complex. Disentangling the conditions under which ERI acts as a buffer vs. an exacerbating factor requires specificity with regards to type of discrimination and ERI components (e.g., centrality, affirmation, exploration, etc). The extant literature has largely neglected these nuances, with many studies failing to specify the type of discrimination or component of ERI. However, there is some evidence that there are different effects for subtle vs. blatant discrimination (e.g., Operario & Fiske, 2011) and for different components of ERI

(e.g., R. M. Lee, 2005). For example, Lee (2005) found that, although ERI pride played a moderating role, ERI engagement and ERI clarity did not moderate the effects of discrimination.

ERI affirmation/commitment is noted as the most consistently studied component of ERI (Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., under review). ERI affirmation/commitment is also one of the two major dimensions of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007), the most commonly used measure in ethnic identity research (Smith & Silva, 2011). A recent meta-analysis of studies specifically looking at ERI affirmation/commitment (i.e., positive affect or valence, including feelings of pride and sense of belonging) found that ERI affirmation/commitment is related to more positive psychological and academic adjustment for children and adolescents (Rivas-Drake, Syed, Umaña-Taylor, Markstrom, French, & Schwartz, under review). Studying ERI affirmation/commitment as operationalized by items on the MEIM allows for comparisons between studies.

The present study focuses on ERI affirmation/commitment (e.g., positive affect, sense of belonging) for theoretical, as well as empirical, reasons. The interplay between foreigner objectification and social identity is situated within the Biopsychosocial Model of Racism (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999), which considers whether the individual has adequate psychological resources to cope effectively with perceived race-related stressors. A strong ERI via endorsement of affirmation/commitment fits well within this conceptual

framework, whereas other components of ERI such as exploration seem to be less appropriate.

In addition to equivocal findings and conceptual limitations in the existing literature, there are other caveats to the existing research on social identity and racial discrimination. First, this paradigm of social identity as a risk and/or protective factor has yet to be empirically tested on the construct of foreigner objectification. Given that previous research demonstrates that FO is psychometrically related to but distinct from general perceptions of discrimination (e.g., "In my life, I have experienced prejudice because of my ethnicity"; Armenta et al., 2013), it is fair to assume that the potential risk/protective effects of social identity found for general forms of racial discrimination may not be entirely generalizable to FO. Much of the research on general racial discrimination measures acts of more blatant inferiority, whereas foreigner objectification is expected to typically manifest via brief, subtle messages of one's outsider status to mainstream American society. The subtle nature of FO may be perceived as ambiguously related to race/ethnicity. The high attributional ambiguity of FO may put those with high ERI at risk, rather than serve as a protective factor. Individuals high in ethnic-racial identity may be more aware that racial discrimination *may* be at play but have greater uncertainty, which could induce distress by itself (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voeclkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). The inability to confidently attribute unfair treatment due to race/ethnicity can be its own stress.

In addition to the subtlety of FO, the message of outsider status of FO may activate multiple social identities, namely one's American national identity in conjunction with one's ethnic-racial identity. The Social Identity Perspective acknowledges that the self-schema is composed of multiple identities from which one can draw upon as a coping resource. In the case of FO in which the message is "You are not American because I perceive your race as Asian," Social Identity Theory would predict that access to a strong American identity may be activated as a protective factor. For example, the individual may recall their positive feelings about being American, or s/he may have a sense of belonging as an American strong enough to counteract the insinuation that they are not truly American suggested by FO. However, similar to how ERI may be a risk factor according to Self-Categorization Theory, someone with a high American identity may be more attuned to cues in the environment that threaten their sense of belonging as an American. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of research solely looking at American identity's moderating role on the effects of racial discrimination. From the few studies that are published, it appears that there are findings for American identity as both a risk factor (Park et al., 2013) and protective factor (Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2012; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1996), as well as null main effects (Q. L. Huynh, Devos, & Goldberg, 2013). The same problems with specificity in conceptualization apply to the literature on American identity.

Theory and research on biculturalism (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry, 2003) suggests that having both strong ethnic-racial and national identities would be optimal for psychological adjustment. A study of approximately 8,000 immigrant and national youth across 13 Western societies found that those who reported strong ties to both high ethnic and national identities were the best adjusted with respect to psychological and sociocultural outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Recent meta-analyses similarly demonstrate that a strong ERI-strong national identity combination is more beneficial than having two weak identities or an identity configuration in which one identity was strong and the other was weak (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). Therefore, in the face of the threat of FO or other forms of racial discrimination, individuals with a strong bicultural identity have a larger repertoire of coping resources. As previously mentioned, FO may potentially cue both ethnic-racial identity and American identity, making a case for the importance of looking at these two identities in tandem.

Only a small number of research studies have concurrently looked at ERI and American identity as a moderator of the effects of discrimination (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013; Park, Schwartz, Lee, Kim, & Rodriguez, 2013; Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008). The study by Huynh and colleagues (2013) is the only one to look specifically at a bicultural identity (both ethnic-racial and national identities) as a single moderator variable. They found a significant three-way interaction (general discrimination X ethnic identity X American identity) supporting the buffering

hypothesis. Simple slope analyses indicated that high levels of both ethnic and American identities resulted in a non-significant relationship between general discrimination and psychological distress whereas the relationship was significant for the other group configurations (weak ethnic/strong national, strong ethnic/weak national, and weak ethnic/weak national). Other studies have looked at other group identities in addition to ERI/national identities (e.g., Kiang et al., 2008) or at ERI and national identity as separate moderators (e.g., Park et al., in press).

Notably, the majority of studies on identity, discrimination, and psychological outcomes use purely variable-centered methodology, in which an individual's score on a measure only derives meaning with respect to other individuals' scores on the same measure. From the variable-centered perspective, the study of multiple identities centers on the variables and their theoretical interactions. That is, an individual's score on ERI is interpreted relative to the ERI scores of the other participants.

Person-centered methodology such as cluster analysis complements variable centered methods and offer unique insights as well. From a person-centered approach, meaning is derived from the configuration of an individual's scores on multiple measures. That is, an individual's score on ERI is interpreted in conjunction with his/her score on another measure such as national identity. The patterns that emerge among individuals are of interest, rather than the linear relationships between variables (Bergman, Magnusson, & El-Khouri, 2003).

Person-centered methodology also allows for the examination of heterogeneous observations of identity configurations rather than theoretical relationships between variables across all participants. For example, von Eye and Bergman (2003) pointed out that in a study of adults with alcoholism, the autocorrelation pattern of beer consumption created at the aggregate, variable level did not represent the pattern for any single individual in the sample.

Advocates for person-centered approaches generally agree that the person-centered methodology can be used in conjunction with variable-centered methodology (Bergman & Trost, 2006). The present study takes this hybrid approach, examining the relationships between variables (i.e., variable-centered) across hetereogenous patterns of social identity (i.e., person-centered). There is currently a small body of literature that utilizes this hybrid approach, examining how identity profiles moderate the effects of discrimination (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Kiang, Yip, and Fuligni, 2008; Seaton, 2009). However, these studies do not look at configurations of bicultural identity using ERI and national identity. The following chapter discusses these studies in detail and how the present study addresses their limitations.

Summary

The relationships between foreigner objectification, bicultural identity, and psychological adjustment are complex. Novel methodologies and careful specification of constructs will help elucidate the situations in which social identity plays a risk vs. protective role within the context of an understudied form

of racial discrimination. The present research extends previous work on racial discrimination and identity in Asian Americans by examining subtle, everyday forms of discrimination in the form of foreigner objectification. First, this research will examine the relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological adjustment outcomes. Second, the research will examine whether people with different social identity profiles experience the effects of foreigner objectification in varying ways.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on Asian Americans' experiences with racial discrimination, identity, and psychological adjustment. Chapter 3 outlines the goals of the current project and presents the study hypotheses, followed by the methodology and study results. In Chapter 4, the findings are summarized and interpreted in the context of what is already known about racial discrimination, identity, and psychological adjustment. Finally, the chapter concludes with acknowledgement of the limitations of the study and future directions for research and clinical practice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

 "I think it's really important for people to realize that we're not foreigners. That's a really big misconception because I get the question all the time: "Where are you from?" And it hurts me, it offends me. People probably think I'm nitpicking and paranoid, but lately I say, "Excuse me, I think what you mean is 'What is your ethnicity.' As far as my nationality, I am a U.S. citizen. As far as my ethnicity, I'm a Korean American." – Hea Ran, one of the informants from a study on Asian American identity (Kibria, 2002, p. 82)

The dominant cultural narrative in the United States about Asian Americans has long had undertones of non-inclusion into mainstream American culture, a phenomenon this study refers to as *foreigner objectification* (FO; Armenta et al., 2013; Pituc et al., 2010). Even a cursory look at the U.S. government's policies reflects the lack of acceptance of Asian Americans into mainstream culture (Ancheta, 2006; Saito, 1997; Takaki, 1998; Wu, 2002b). The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1868 was the first explicitly race-based law to severely restrict immigration to the United States, targeting the first wave of Asian immigrants to the United States who emigrated from China. The editorial cartoon from 1882 in Figure 1 by Fredrich Graetz (found in Moquin, 1971) depicts an image in which the Great Wall of China is coming down as an American wall goes up, representing Chinese immigrant exclusion. This cartoon effectively conveys that the anti-Chinese attitudes were not only institutional, but manifested in the attitudes of immigrant workers of other racial-ethnic backgrounds as they help to build the American wall to keep out the Chinese immigrants with bricks that have words such as "jealousy," "fear," and "un-American."

Figure 1. Editorial Cartoon by Friedrich Graetz (1882),"The Anti-Chinese Wall. The American Wall Goes Up as the Chinese Original Goes Down." Recent immigrants aid in the exclusion of the Chinese, using bricks with words: Jealousy, Competition, Law Against Race, Congressional Blunders, Anti-Low Wages, Non-Reciprocity, Un-American, Fear, Prejudice. Cartoon found in Moquin (1971)

The Chinese Exclusion Act was not formally repealed until 75 years later with the passing of the Magnuson Act of 1943. Despite the repeal and the reinstatement of immigration from China, additional restrictions were placed on other Asian countries in the intermediate years. In another act of institutional discrimination, the Naturalization Act of 1906 required some knowledge of English as a requirement for citizenship and was aimed at keeping immigrants from becoming naturalized Americans, forcing many Asians to maintain "alien" status.

The history of the U.S. government's treatment of Asian Americans has set the stage for societal attitudes of this group's inferiority and an intractable stereotype of this population as "perpetual foreigners" (Ancheta, 2006; Wu, 2002b). These institutional acts of racism highlight how the Asian American narrative inextricably invokes questions of one's country-of-origin (i.e., Where are you from, *really*?) and language issues (e.g., Do you speak English, and do you speak it well?). In other words, the message conveyed is that one cannot possibly be both Asian *and* American. As illustrated by the quotation at the beginning of this chapter from one of the informants of Kibria's (2002) study of U.S.-born Asian Americans, the experience of being treated as a perpetual foreigner (i.e., foreigner objectification) occurs with not-insignificant frequency and has the potential for negative psychological impact. The quotation further illustrates how both ethnic-racial and national identities may help in coping with the stress of foreigner objectification.

This literature review addresses the narrative of foreigner objectification for Asian Americans by bringing together theory and empirical research on this phenomenon. The first section of this chapter discusses the construct of foreigner objectification and empirical findings on the psychological correlates and effects of FO. The second section of this chapter elucidates how FO is hypothesized to impact mental health and well-being by couching FO within the framework of the Biopsychosocial Model of racism (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999), which posits that there are both risk and protective factors that contribute to the

perception of an event as stressful. The present study focuses on social identity as a potential coping resource or exacerbating factor (i.e., social identity approach; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The third section of this chapter discusses the literature on ethnic-racial and national identities (both separately and concurrently) as a potential risk and protective factor for the effects of FO. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how this study aims to build upon the existing theory and research by integrating traditional variable-centered research methods with person-centered methodology. This hybrid approach will be applied to the question of how bicultural identity might moderate the relationship between FO and psychological outcomes.

<div align="center">**Foreigner Objectification**</div>

Defining Foreigner Objectification

Foreigner objectification is defined as the application of the perpetual foreigner stereotype as a means of objectification. Armenta and colleagues (2013) noted the choice of the term *objectification* to reflect FO as an application of cognitive mechanisms (e.g., stereotypes), as well as conceptual relatedness to Objectification Theory (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997; Nussbaum, 1995; Szymanski, Moffitt, & Carr, 2011). Objectification occurs when "one is treating as an object what is really not an object, what is, in fact, a human being" (Nussbaum, 1995, p. 257). Ethnic-racial stereotypes as automatic cognitive

processes (Devine, 1989) have the effect of reducing a human being into a sort of fungible object with qualities that represent one's own cognitive schema.

Foreigner objectification can therefore be operationally defined by the content that is associated with the perpetual foreigner stereotype. As previously discussed in the historical overview at the beginning of this literature review, questions of national identity and language competence stand out in the narrative of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. Evidence from qualitative research, survey methods, and laboratory studies illustrate this conceptualization.

Questions of national identity. Foreigner objectification takes shape via interactions that question one's national identity and are often implicitly understood as messages that one is not American. Several research studies have tapped into this experience by including items such as, "I was asked where I was born" (Ong et al., 2013), "You are asked where you are really from," (Liang et al., 2004), "Been told to 'Go back to where you came from!'" (Pituc et al., 2010) and have you "had your American citizenship or residency questioned?" (Armenta et al., 2013; Pituc et al., 2010). Descriptive statistics from these studies indicate that questions of national identity are salient to Asian Americans. For example, in Ong et al.'s (2013) daily dairy study, being asked where one was born was the most common event out of the theme of "Alien in own land" and represented 12.3% of all microaggressions reported over the 14-day study period.

The simple question of "Where are you from?" may seem to be an innocent gesture indicating interest on the part of the asker, or perhaps a question

about one's regional origin in the United States, such as "Are you from southern California?" (Kibria, 2002). The following quote from legal scholar, Frank Wu (2002b) demonstrates how the question of "Where are you from" is more about foreigner objectification than it is about genuine interest in a person's background:

> Often the inquisitor reacts as if I am being silly if I reply, "I was born in Cleveland, and I grew up in Detroit," or bored by a detailed chronology of my moves around the country: "Years ago, I went to college in Baltimore; I used to practice law in San Francisco; and now I live in Washington, DC." (p. 14)

Within the socio-historical context of Asian Americans in the US, questions regarding nationality or citizenship belie that the asker may have *already* made a judgment based on the target's perceived Asian race and an existing schema in which Americans are White (i.e., Asians are not American). The tendency of people to seek out and favor information that conforms to their pre-existing beliefs (i.e., confirmation bias; see Nickerson, 1998 for a review) explains why one might ask "No, where are you *really* from?" (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005) when the Asian American's response does not conform to their ideas of "Americanness." The power of stereotypes is evident in the incredulity displayed by the asker when Wu's (2002b) responds to the question with an assertion that he is, in fact, American by U.S.-born nativity and, more importantly, by self-identification.

Laboratory studies in psychology support the qualitative evidence that Asians are regarded as less American than other racial groups (Cheryan & Monin,

2005; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos & Heng, 2009; Devos & Ma, 2008). In a series of experiments, Devos and Banaji (2005) demonstrated through implicit attitude measures that "American" is more associated with "White" than both "Black" and "Asian." More interestingly, "Asian" had the weakest association with "American." Another study (Devos & Ma, 2008) used similar implicit methodology and demonstrated that Lucy Liu (an Asian American celebrity) was regarded as less American than Kate Winslet (a White British celebrity). Devos and Heng (2009) conducted another set of experiments of implicit association and found that participants took longer to identify American landmarks after being exposed to pictures of Asian faces, as opposed to reaction times after exposure to White faces. Cheryan and Monin (2005) found more corroborating evidence that Asian Americans are seen as less American than other Americans, even though they do not report being any less American than White Americans. These studies illustrate how racial schemas across diverse races seem to assume that the concepts of "Asian" and "American" are dissonant, privileging "White" as the norm for what is associated with "American." Furthermore, these laboratory studies suggest that the tendency to equate American with White occurs as an automatic cognitive bias.

It is worth noting that there are individual differences in peoples' perceptions of and reactions to questions of national identity. Kibria (2002) concluded from her study of 64 U.S.-born Asian Americans that the differences in perceptions and reactions often depended on participants' assessment of the

asker's motivations. Regardless of the asker's intention, however, the message

that many Asian Americans receive is one of social rejection: "You are a

foreigner" or "You are not American" (Kibria, 2002; Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007;

Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007).

Questions of language competence. In addition to assumptions of Asians

as un-American, foreigner objectification manifests via questions about language

competence. The perpetual foreigner stereotype includes the assumption that one

cannot speak English well (if at all), as well as assumptions that one speaks an

Asian ethnic language. Several studies have included items about language in

measuring exposure to the perpetual foreigner stereotype, such as "I was told I

speak good English" (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011) and "Someone you do not

know speaks slow and loud at you" (Liang et al., 2004). Another quote from a

participant in Kibria's (2002) study illustrates this experience:

> I'm not usually very conscious of being Chinese. When I am conscious,
> it's because I've been reminded of it. But like the other day, I was in a gas
> station, and this lady was looking for directions. She came up to me and
> said, "Do you speak English?" I was really kind of surprised, taken aback
> – it actually took me a minute to figure out what she was talking about.
> And I felt like, "What the hell is she talking about? I can barely say a few
> words of Chinese. (p. 84)

This quote highlights the race-based nature of this interaction, in which a stranger

has acted in a way that indicates that the target was perceived to be a foreigner

and therefore presumed to be a non-English speaker.

In situations where there is a verbal interaction between the actor and the

target and the Asian American target demonstrates their English language

fluency, foreignness is assumed and asserted by comments on language. One quotation from a participant in Chou and Feagin's (2008) research illustrates this complexity:

> I remember being at a restaurant and my waiter, our waiter complimented my mother on her English. On how, "Oh you speak such good English, you don't have an accent at all" …I didn't think of anything of it then, but now that I think about it, it's like, is she supposed to be an immigrant or is she supposed to be a foreigner? She's been here for twenty years. My dad still has a bit of an accent, and at stores, the cashiers would make faces because they're obviously trying to struggle to understand what he was saying. (p. 50)

Disguised as a compliment, the comment directed at the interviewee's mother expresses a sense of surprise or cognitive dissonance, revealing the actor's assumption that the target was not a native English speaker. This is an assumption made solely on the basis of race, and therefore represents a form of racial discrimination. The above quote from Chou and Feagin (2008) also illustrates that there are individuals for whom English is/was a second language but have established an American identity or citizenship.

In discussing questions of language competence as part of the operational definition of foreigner objectification, it is worthwhile to delineate race-related stress from acculturative stress (e.g., unfair treatment due to language and/or accent; Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2002; Yoo, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2009). The construct of acculturative stress, or the stress related to transitioning from one culture to another, is conceptually different from racial discrimination, which is stress related to one's ethnic-racial minority status (Rodriguez, Myers, Mira,

Flores, & Garcia-Hernande, 2002). The conflation of acculturative stress and ethnic-racial minority status occurs often in the literature on individuals with an immigrant background (Rodriguez et al., 2002). For example, Benner and Kim's (2009b) five item measure developed to measure stress over being stereotyped as foreigners features three items related to language that are more related to acculturative stress than the race-based experience of foreigner objectification ("People criticize me for not speaking/writing English well," "People criticize me for speaking Chinese," and "I feel misunderstood or limited in daily situations because of my English skills"). These items do not apply to native English speakers, suggesting that they are acculturative rather than race-based experiences. One's own self-consciousness about their language abilities or accent (e.g., Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; S. Kim et al., 2011) represents another form of acculturative stress that may be confused with foreigner objectification.

One could argue that accent-based discrimination may represent foreigner objectification due to assumptions that a non-native accent excludes one from membership in mainstream American culture. For example, the measure of exposure to perpetual foreigner stereotype in Huynh et al. (2011) includes the item, "Because of how I speak, people sometimes think I am not a U.S. citizen." Verbal harassment and taunting with mock Asian language (e.g., "ching chong") represents the same sentiment of foreigner objectification through language, albeit in a more blatant way:

> If you are Asian, they always pick on you. It doesn't matter how good you
> are. I used to have a boss, and he would come to the shop and make fun of

me, like talking in [mock] Chinese language. I would just walk away. If you say something, he would say, "I was just joking." I know he wasn't. (Chou & Feagin, 2008, p. 83)

Previous quantitative studies on the perpetual foreigner stereotype and foreigner objectification have exclusively focused on questions about one's language, rather than language-based discrimination or blatant/hostile harassment. Therefore, this study will focus on the former; although it is acknowledged that other manifestations of foreigner objectification via issues of language should be explored in future research.

Measurement of Foreigner Objectification

A growing number of studies have begun to recognize the experiences of foreigner objectification as worthy of measurement and analysis. Items related to FO have been included in measures of more broad constructs related to discrimination. For example, the Subtle and Blatant Racism Scale for Asian American College Students (Yoo, Steger, & Lee, 2010) includes a single item "In America, I am told 'you speak English so well' because I'm Asian," which loaded onto the factor for subtle racism. Benner and Kim (2009a, 2009b) included an additional item to the measure of everyday discrimination used in the National Comorbidity Study (Kessler et al., 1999), "People assumed my English is poor."

Other studies have identified subscales that approximate the present study's operationalization of foreigner objectification. Factor analysis of the Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (Liang et al., 2004) resulted in creating a 7-item subscale labeled "Perpetual Foreigner Racism," although this

has not been used as a standalone measure in other studies. The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (Nadal, 2011) includes four items related to questions of national identity and language ("Someone assumed that I spoke with a language other than English," "Someone asked me to teach them words in my 'native language,'' "Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race," and "Someone did not believe me when I told them I was born in the US"). These items loaded onto the 9-item factor labeled "Exoticization/ Assumptions of Similarity." Huynh (2012) created the 12-item Ethnic Microaggressions scale for her study, and factor analyses supported the creation of an "Emphasis on Differences" subscale. Three out of the subscale's four items tap into either questions of national identity or language. Participants were asked to respond to both the frequency of these events as well as stress/reactivity to the event; both frequency and stress/reactivity had acceptable reliability estimates (α = .71 for frequency and α = .66 for stress/reactivity). Although these studies suggest that items tapping into questions of national identity and language hang well together, more psychometric validation is needed to provide evidence that these subscales do tap into a distinct construct of foreigner objectification and can be used as a standalone measure.

Fortunately, scales intended to specifically tap into foreigner objectification have been developed, and studies provide preliminary evidence of the construct validity of their scores. Benner and Kim (2009b) developed a 5-item measure to assess participants' stress over the perpetual foreigner stereotype. This

measure was also used in a study by Kim and colleagues (2011) looking at the

relationship between perceived English language proficiency and depressive

symptoms. Although the measure demonstrated strong internal consistency (α =

.90 for both mothers and fathers in Benner & Kim, 2009b; α = .79 in Kim et al.,

2011), this measure may be problematic due to its focus on measuring stress

rather than exposure frequency, which has been demonstrated to be associated

with negative outcomes (Huynh et al., 2012; Ong et al., 2013). The evidence for

discriminant validity with respect to foreigner objectification is also suspect, as

three out of the five items may be tapping into acculturative stress.

    Huynh, Devos, and Smalarz (2011) created a 13-item measure of

awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype specifically for their research,

based on focus groups with Asian American, Latino American, Black American,

and White American college students. The measure's internal consistency scores

in this study were α = .87 in the paper's Study 1 and .88 in Study 3 for the Asian

American participants. The measure shows promise for utility in future research

on foreigner objectification. However, several properties of the measure warrant

caution in its use and interpretation. In terms of construct validity, analysis of

item content and correlations with other measures (i.e., small positive correlation

with identity conflict and medium negative correlation with sense of belonging)

suggest that the measure taps into an individual's appraisal of others' treatment of

them as a perpetual foreigner. In other words, the individual has already made an

appraisal that they are being subjected to FO when responding to items such as

"When people look at me, they see a foreigner." Thus, we are unable to empirically test whether the actual events that are proposed to represent FO really do have the proposed negative effects. Furthermore, on this measure, participants are asked to rate their agreement (strongly disagree to strongly agree) to the items such as "Most people have difficulty viewing me as an American." Again, the assessment of event frequency is overlooked in this measure

In an effort to clarify the impact of exposure to the events that represent foreigner objectification, the present research utilizes a measure that was specifically developed to capture the content of the perpetual foreigner stereotype as a form of racial discrimination. The Foreigner Objectification Scale's (FObS; Pituc, Jung, & Lee, 2010) items assess the frequency of exposure to questions of citizenship and assumptions of language competence over the past year. Items were developed based on a rational-empirical approach, guided by theory and empirical work based on the perpetual foreigner stereotype. Scale construction included administration to college-aged samples, factor analysis, and construct validity analysis. The scale has demonstrated adequate reliability estimates in unpublished data on a culturally diverse student population (Pituc et al., 2010).

In a study that utilizes the same data set as the current study, Armenta et al. (2013), provided additional evidence of construct validity and psychometric properties for the FObS. They demonstrated that the FObS is structurally (factor structure) and metrically (factor loadings) invariant across U.S.-born and immigrant (i.e., foreign-born) Asian and Latino Americans. Scalar (latent item

intercepts) invariance was found within the U.S.-born groups and for the foreign-born groups (i.e., U.S.-born Latino vs. Asian Americans, foreign-born Latino vs. Asian Americans). However, the scaling of the intercepts was different between the two nativity groups such that the foreign-born individuals had higher intercepts on each of the items than U.S.-born individuals. In other words, in order to reach a 0 score on the latent FO factor, a higher observed value was required from foreign-born individuals than for those born in the US. Consequently, any given mean composite score calculated across items (taking latent factor scaling into account) would indicate a higher reported level of FO for U.S.-born individuals than it would for their immigrant counterparts. Therefore, simple mean comparisons between the two nativity groups may lead to inaccurate inferences. Due to this finding of scalar non-invariance of the latent FO construct, the present study conducted separate analyses for the immigrant and U.S.-born Asian Americans.

Additional research provides evidence that foreigner objectification is a construct that is related to but distinct from general racial discrimination. The FObS was shown to be positively, but modestly correlated ($r = .29$, $p < .01$) with the Scale of Ethnic Experiences (SEE; Malcarne, Chavira, Fernandez, & Liu, 2006), a measure of general perceptions of discrimination (Armenta et al., 2013). Huynh, Devos, and Smalarz (2011) similarly correlated the SEE with their measure of foreigner objectification, the Measure of the Perpetual Foreigner Stereotype. They found medium correlations between awareness of the perpetual

foreigner stereotype and general perceived discrimination ($r = .46, p < .01$ in Study 1 and $r = .30, p < .05$ in Study 3).

Summary

Foreigner objectification constitutes the experience of being reduced to an exemplar of the perpetual foreigner stereotype. In this study, foreigner objectification is operationalized by the experience of exposure to questions of one's national identity and questions of one's language competence. In line with Objectification Theory (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997; Nussbaum, 1995), the experience of foreigner objectification results in a loss of autonomy and denial of one's subjective experience. Empirical research has demonstrated that objectification can result in dehumanization and reduced personhood (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan, Haslam, Murnane, Vaes, Reynolds, & Suitner, 2010). The stressful and chronic nature of being treated as a perpetual foreigner has also been documented, predominantly via qualitative methods (e.g., Chou & Feagin, 2008; Kibria, 2002; Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007). The following section highlights the quantitative relationship between FO and psychological adjustment, as well as proposed mechanisms for understanding this association.

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Foreigner Objectification and Adjustment

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Foreigner Objectification and its Associated Outcomes

Despite some of the measurement issues discussed above, there is accumulating evidence for foreigner objectification's association with poorer outcomes such as psychological distress and lower subjective well-being.

Multiple studies find that foreigner objectification is associated with greater negative emotional states and less positive emotional states (Armenta et al. 2013; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Ong et al., 2013). Ong and colleagues' study asked participants to track exposure to microaggressions, including those representing foreigner objectification (i.e., microinvalidations), as well as negative affect (anger, irritation, disgust, sadness, and hostility) and positive affect (enthusiasm, happiness, energy, joy, and pride). Over the entire 14-day study period, participants who reported more microaggressions on average reported higher negative affect and lower positive affect, and these results were replicated for subtle, everyday invalidations such as being asked where one was born or told that they speak "good English" (Ong et al., 2013). Negative affect was also associated with these experiences at the day-to-day level; participants reported more negative affect on days they were exposed to a greater number of microinvalidations (Ong et al., 2013). In Cheryan and Monin's (2005) experimental research, Asian American participants who were told by a White American experimenter "Actually, you have to be American to be in this study" reported being more offended and angrier than counterparts who were not exposed to the in-vivo experience of foreigner objectification.

In addition to links with more negative emotional states, foreigner objectification has been connected to depressive symptomology, although with mixed results. Using an earlier version of the FObS, Pituc, Jung, and Lee (2010) found a statistically significant relationship between FO and depressive symptoms

($r = .31, p < .05$) for Asian American undergraduate students; this relationship was not significant for non-Asian students of color. V. W. Huynh (2012) found a small significant association ($r = .18, p < .05$) between depression and exposure to microaggressions that emphasize differences (e.g., being asked "Where you were born?" and "What are you?"). However, these effects were not significant over and above the contributions of the other two categories of microaggressions studied (Denial of Racial Reality and Negative Treatment). In a study with Chinese adolescents, the perpetual foreigner stereotype was indirectly associated with depressive symptoms (Kim et al., 2011). Specifically, Kim and colleagues found that being stereotyped as a perpetual foreigner was significantly related to perceived general discrimination, which was then significantly related to depressive symptoms. In Armenta et al.'s study (2013), FO was directly and significantly related to depressive symptoms for U.S.-born Latino ($\beta = .16, p < .01$) and Asian Americans ($\beta = .18, p < .01$), though not for their immigrant counterparts. Interestingly, FO was not indirectly associated with depressive symptoms via identity denial. Q. L. Huynh et al. (2011) demonstrated that awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype was positively associated with depressive symptoms, over and above the influence of general discrimination, among Latinos but not for Asian Americans.

Although less studied than depressive symptoms, anxiety may be associated with foreigner objectification. Reviews and meta-analyses on the effects of general racial discrimination show a robust effect for anxiety across

racial groups (D. L. Lee & Ahn, 2012; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009) and specifically for Asian Americans (D. L. Lee & Ahn, 2011). Unfortunately, no published studies to date have examined the main effects of FO on anxiety symptoms. Huynh (2012) found that social anxiety partially explained the relationship between the frequency of and reactivity to racial microaggressions emphasizing foreignness and depressive symptoms. The main effect on anxiety, however, was not reported. Nevertheless, the author suggested that racial microaggressions focused on differences (e.g., FO) may elicit anxiety due to fear of negative evaluation or attributional ambiguity of the situation (Crocker & Major, 1991; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995; Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010). Looking at both general symptoms of anxiety and anxiety related to social interactions may be useful to examine, given hypotheses that FO and racial microaggressions may affect how one believes they are perceived in interactions (Huynh, 2012) or sensitivity to cues of belonging to a stigmatized group (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). It is evident that more research must be done looking at anxiety as an indicator of psychological distress associated with FO.

In addition to psychological distress, some researchers have begun to examine whether foreigner objectification impacts positive adjustment. Initial evidence indicates that FO is related to less self-esteem and lower levels of life satisfaction. Q. L. Huynh and colleagues (2011) found that despite null effects for depressive symptoms, FO significantly predicted lower levels of hope and life

satisfaction above and beyond general perceived discrimination for Asian

Americans. The findings were reversed for Latino Americans, with null effects

for hope and life satisfaction and significant results for depressive symptoms.

Armenta et al. (2013) examined the direct associations of FO on self-esteem and

life satisfaction, the indirect associations of FO via identity denial, and the total

associations between FO and outcomes (i.e., direct + indirect). Unlike the results

of Huynh et al. (2011), Armenta and colleagues did not observe group differences

between Asian and Latino Americans. However, it did appear that nativity played

a moderating role such that U.S.-born participants were at greater risk of lower

levels of subjective well-being than their foreign-born counterparts (Armenta et

al., 2013). Specifically looking at the U.S.-born Asian American participants, FO

was significantly related to lower self-esteem via identity denial (β = -.04, p <

.01) and in the total association (β = -.08, p < .01). The direct (β = -.10, p < .05),

indirect (β = -.02, p < .05), and total (β = -.11, p < .05) associations of FO with

life satisfaction were all significant (Armenta et al., 2013). For the immigrant

Asian Americans, no significant associations were observed for self-esteem, and a

very small negative association was observed for life satisfaction (β = -.02, p <

.05). These findings on the relationship between FO and subjective well-being

highlight the potential mechanism of identity threat. Worthy of note is that the

indirect association of FO via identity denial was only significant for self-esteem

and life satisfaction but not for depressive symptoms (Armenta et al., 2013). More

research is necessary to disentangle how FO is associated with positive indicators

of subjective well-being, offering a more complete picture of the potential impact on psychological adjustment.

Nativity, or place of birth, appears to be an important variable to consider in studying the relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological adjustment. The sense of identity denial may be particularly salient for Asian Americans who were born in the United States and may consider "American" as part of their in-group by virtue of their birthplace. Studies examining the moderating role of nativity on the discrimination-adjustment link suggest that U.S.-born individuals are more at risk for perceiving higher levels of discrimination and stronger discrimination-adjustment outcomes (Armenta et al., 2013; Yip, Gee, and Takeuchi, 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008).

In summary, the burgeoning research points to a negative relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological adjustment. Small sized effects are found for both depressive symptoms and indicators of positive adjustment (self-esteem and life satisfaction). However, the findings appear to be qualified by other factors such as ethnicity, nativity, and type of outcome. Building upon these initial findings, the present study included anxiety as an indicator of psychological distress. The study further expands the literature by examining FO within a stress-and-coping framework, looking at bicultural identity as a moderating factor in the FO-adjustment relationship.

Stress and Coping

A stress-and-coping framework (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and the Biopsychosocial Model of Racism (Clark et al., 1999) explain how events related to racial discrimination impact individuals and what factors may affect the way in which an event is perceived or coped with upon appraisal that the event is related to race. The appraisal of a stimulus as race-related results in heightened stress responses and behaviors that consequently affect mental and physical health (Clark et al., 1999; Pascoe & Richman, 2009).

The accumulation of experiences of racial discrimination taxes the physiological system, resulting in the activation of stress-responses and causing "wear and tear" (i.e., allostatic load) on the individual (McEwen & Lasley, 2003). Laboratory studies provide evidence for the physiological costs of race-related stress, such as increased cardiovascular reactivity (Clark et al., 2006, Lepore et al., 2006, Smart Richman et al., 2007), elevated stress hormone levels (i.e., salivary cortisol, Smart Richman & Jonaissant, 2008), and impaired cognitive functioning (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). It should be noted that the association between racism and blood pressure is complex, with several studies showing the relationship to be conditional on variables such as subsample type, discrimination type, and coping style (Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Although the Biospychosocial Model of Racism provides a helpful framework for understanding the effects of chronic race-related stress, it was originally articulated with respect to the experiences of African Americans. Consequently, many of the instruments assessing racial discrimination have

focused on explicit, "old-fashioned" racism such as physical violence, racial epithets, or verbal harassment (Yoo & Pituc, 2013). Although Asian Americans' experiences of foreigner objectification may manifest in these ways (e.g., being told "Go back to where you came from!"), this study proposes that the more subtle, but chronic manifestations of discrimination can also take a toll on health.

For example, in a study of 168 Latino/as, Huynh and colleagues (2012) found evidence for a cumulative effect of seemingly innocuous events that, in isolation, may be seen as inconsequential. The researchers analyzed the interaction between the reported frequency and stressfulness of experiences of discrimination on psychological adjustment. For events of reported high stress, frequency of discrimination uniformly predicted increased depression and anxiety. Interestingly, a moderation effect was found in which low-stress events reported in high frequency were significantly related to depression and anxiety, whereas low-stress events reported in low frequency did not demonstrate the same association. Another study with a quasi-experimental design (Yoo & Lee, 2008) found that Asian Americans reporting high levels of ethnic identity who imagined themselves in a scenario with multiple discrimination incidents reported lower levels of positive affect than similar participants who imagined experiencing a single incident. The evidence points to negative consequences associated with more frequent exposure to experiences of discrimination.

Furthermore, events that are labeled as "not stressful" can have negative associations as well. Huynh et al. (2012) tested whether there was congruence

between the stressfulness reported about an event (i.e., the more subjective "stated stressfulness") and the correlation between perceived frequency of the event and psychological distress (i.e., the more objective "derived stressfulness"). Small-to-medium negative correlations (-.34 < rs < -.14) between stated and derived stressfulness suggest that there is incongruence between people's reported stressfulness of events and the actual impact of those events. Participants labeled discrimination events most strongly related to poorer adjustment as "less" stressful. This finding suggests the unreliability of reported stressfulness of an event as a predictor of maladjustment.

Taken together, the evidence presented here points to the importance of looking at the frequency of race-related events. The present study, therefore, focuses on the reported frequency of events rather than self-report ratings of stress attributed to the event. This is not inconsistent with the Biopsychosocial Model; rather it highlights the potential impact of events that may not be appraised as stressful but nonetheless produce stress. In line with the Biopsychosocial Model, chronic exposure to FO may result in a sort of allostatic load of stress, thus affecting health and well-being.

Social Identity as a Moderating Factor

The Biopsychosocial Model also explains that numerous factors may moderate the racial discrimination – health relationship. Moderating variables change the direction or strength of a relationship between a predictor and an outcome variable. They can serve as either a risk factor by exacerbating the

relationship or as a protective factor by attenuating the relationship. This moderation may involve influencing the perception of an event as race-related (e.g., individuals with higher ERI may be more aware of race-related events and therefore report more racial discrimination) or affecting the relationship between discrimination and stress (e.g., individuals with higher ERI may have more psychological resources to cope even in the face of reporting more racial discrimination; Sellers et al., 2003). Factors that have been examined in the literature include demographic factors (e.g., gender, nativity, and immigration status) and individual difference variables (e.g., coping style, personality, social support, and social identity) (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).

Ethnic-racial identity. Ethnic-racial identity (ERI) is one of the most frequently studied moderating variables of racial discrimination's effects. Ethnic-racial identity is an umbrella term that captures experiences and attitudes related to an individual ethnic background as well as their experiences as a member of a racial group in the United States (Umaña-Taylor et al., in press). These experiences and attitudes include an individual's sense of belonging to their ethnic/racial group, their positive or negative feelings toward the group, and how important they consider their ethnic-racial background to their sense of self. Components of ERI such as affirmation/private regard, belonging, exploration, or centrality may serve as a risk or protective factors in the face of discrimination.

As one can imagine from the complexity of the construct itself, the results are mixed as to whether ERI exacerbates or buffers the effects of

discrimination. Both perspectives have theoretical and empirical support. From the perspective of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals from low status groups maintain self-esteem by focusing on the positive aspects of social groups to which they self-identify. By extension, strong identification with a social group can serve as a protective resource in the face of racial discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Clark et al., 1999). Social Identity Theory also assumes that individuals strive to achieve or maintain a positive self-concept, which includes a positive social identity. When that positive social identity is threatened, as it is in discrimination, individuals will strive to engage in ameliorative cognitive strategies such as attributing negative outcomes to race as opposed to personal shortcomings (Crocker & Major, 1989). Whether ERI is at work as a resource prior to or in reaction to an event, it has the potential to buffer the effects of discrimination.

Several studies have found evidence of ERI's buffering effects on racial discrimination (Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, & Krieger, 2008; Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, Stoddard et al., 2008; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; R. M. Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999). For instance, Mossakowski (2003)'s large-scale epidemiological study of Filipino Americans demonstrated that ethnic identity significantly buffered the relationship between lifetime racial/ethnic discrimination and depressive symptoms. Greene et al.'s (2006) longitudinal study of African American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents

likewise found that a strong sense of belonging to one's ethnic group protected individual self-esteem from discrimination's negative effects.

Social identity may also serve as a risk factor to racial discrimination. According to Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), individuals are more attuned to experiences and stimuli that are relevant to important social identities. An individual who highly endorses an Asian American identity is likely to be more aware of subtle cues relating to race and/or ethnicity, such as those associated with foreigner objectification. In line with this proposition, several studies have found that those more strongly identified with their racial/ethnic group reported more racial discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001; Seaton, 2009; Sellers et al., 2006; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008).

In addition to increasing the likelihood of perceiving more racial discrimination, those who are more strongly identified with a social group may be more vulnerable to discrimination due to status-based rejection sensitivity (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). Status-based rejection sensitivity is the "tendency to anxiously expect, readily perceive, and intensely react to discrimination and prejudice based on membership in a stigmatized social category or status group" (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 1319). In line with Self-Categorization Theory, it is reasonable to hypothesize that those higher in ERI may be more anxiously attuned to cues of rejection based on ethnicity or race. Previous research focused on Asian Americans' rejection sensitivity

demonstrated that anxious expectations of discrimination significantly accounted for higher levels of lower self-esteem and depressive symptoms (Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

Empirical findings lend support for the exacerbating hypothesis of identity (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; R. M. Lee, 2005; Noh et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers et al., 2006), particularly for subtle forms of discrimination. Lee (2005) found a two-way interaction between discrimination and ethnic identity pride (positive feelings about one's ethnic group membership) on depressive symptoms. The effect of increased discrimination on depressive symptoms was stronger for those who more strongly endorsed ethnic identity pride. For those lower in ethnic identity pride, the difference in depressive symptoms was not statistically different between low and high discrimination. The same study found that ethnic identity clarity (self-understanding and belonging) was not significant as a moderator after taking ethnic identity pride into account (R. M. Lee, 2005). In Operario and Fiske's (2001) laboratory study, Black, Latino, and Asian American college students who were highly identified with their ethnic group reacted more strongly to prejudice than those who were low identified. Furthermore, the high identifiers were more reactive to subtle prejudice than blatant prejudice. Foreigner objectification may be one example of the kinds of subtle, ambiguous prejudice that would be of risk to those who are highly identified with their social identity.

Along with the mixed findings, there are several empirical and methodological issues with the literature on social identity as a moderator of discrimination's effects. First, it must be noted that approximately half of published moderator analyses fail to find statistically significant effects (Brondolo et al., 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2006). Taking the null and mixed findings together, it appears that the way that identity is conceptualized, measured, and analyzed needs to be both clarified and expanded. Researchers must be clear about what components of identity are being tested. For example, the items of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), which is cited as the most commonly employed measure of ethnic identity in the literature (Smith & Silva, 2011), represent an amalgam of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors about group membership. However, the total composite score of the MEIM is often used in research studies, obscuring the distinctions between various dimensions of ethnic-racial identity.

The ERI in the 21st Century Study Group (Rivas-Drake, Seaton, Markstrom, Schwartz, Umaña-Taylor, French et al., in press) noted that there is accumulating evidence to support the distinctiveness of ethnic-racial identity *content* (attitudes and beliefs about one's group) and *process* (behaviors and mechanisms that individuals engage in to develop and maintain ERI). It may be that some kinds of ERI content (e.g., positive affect) provide a buffer, whereas ERI processes such as searching (i.e., exploration behaviors related to searching

for identity) may place the individual at risk (e.g., Syed, Walker, Lee, Umaña-Taylor, Zamboanga, Schwartz et al., 2013).

The present study focuses on the specific ERI content of affirmation/commitment due to the number of studies that suggest that positive affect and belonging are related to more positive psychological and academic outcomes (Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., in press), as well as the distinction of affirmation/commitment from exploration (Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999). ERI affirmation/commitment functions as a positive psychological resource, which may facilitate better psychological adjustment via its main effects or as a potential buffer to stressful events such as discrimination. This conceptualization of ERI is consistent with the social identity perspective (Hogg et al., 2004) and the stress-and-coping focused Biopsychosocial Model of Racism (Clark et al., 1999). The intent of focusing on a single component of ERI is to address conceptual limitations of past research, as well as allow for comparison with other studies given that ERI affirmation/commitment is the most consistently studied dimension of ethnic identity (Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., in press).

Second, no studies to date have examined the moderating role of ERI on foreigner objectification. Because foreigner objectification is related to but conceptually distinct from general racial-ethnic discrimination, our approach to studying the moderating role of social identity needs to be considered carefully. ERI may still be a relevant moderator, given that FO is an experience that is based

on perceived race. As many individuals have a strong need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), the FO experience of being reminded that *you do not belong* is likely to be associated with negative outcomes, though this is may vary depending upon the strength of one's ERI. The subtle message of exclusion conveyed by FO may be either buffered by positive feelings toward one's racial-ethnic group, or following the risk hypothesis it may result in exacerbation.

However, foreigner objectification appears to be unique from general discrimination in the potential for threat to one's identification with American society and culture. This distinction calls for a more complex approach to studying identity's role. Consistent with this idea, studies find that foreigner objectification is significantly related to identity denial (Armenta et al, 2013; Huynh et al., 2012) and that identity denial even partially explains the association between FO and life satisfaction and self-esteem for U.S.-born Asians (Armenta et al., 2013). It stands to reason, then, that American identity may be equally as important to investigate as ethnic-racial identity. Other researchers have conjectured that one of the reasons for the many null and inconsistent findings may be the oversight of American identity (Huynh et al., 2013). The role of American identity has yet to be thoroughly investigated in the current literature on discrimination.

American national identity. National identity represents the identification with a geographically identifiable nation-state (e.g., the United States) and one's affiliation and engagement with the social-cultural group of that

nation (Deaux, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2012). Much of the research on national

identity is grounded in the theoretical perspective of acculturation (e.g. Berry,

2003), which presumes that the national socio-cultural group is not one's native

cultural group. As a corollary to that assumption, native-born individuals are

assumed to have weaker or insignificant ethnic identity. For example, in Berry et

al.'s (2006) study of approximately 8,000 youth across 13 different Western

societies (n = 5,366 for immigrants and n = 2,631 for nationals), the participants

born in the society of study were not given measures related to ethnic identity.

Therefore, looking at ethnic-racial and national identities from the acculturation

perspective may not be appropriate when including individuals who were born in

the nation that is under examination (e.g., U.S.-born Asian Americans).

Individuals' endorsement of and engagement with a national identity can

look very much like that of their ethnic-racial identity, which has been

demonstrated in the measurement of American identity (Schwartz et al., 2012).

By this definition, individuals of Asian heritage can endorse an American

identity, even as they endorse a strong ethnic identity and in spite of the sentiment

that Asians are seen as less American than Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Devos

& Heng, 2009; Devos & Ma, 2008; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Some evidence

points to American identity as related but orthogonal to ethnic-racial identity,

although for some racial groups the relationship may be more prominent (Gong,

2007; Huynh et al., 2013; Schwartz, Park, Huynh, Zamboanga, Umaña-Taylor,

Lee et al., 2012; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). Zero to small correlations have been

demonstrated between American and ethnic identity in Asian American (Gong, 2007; Huynh et al., 2013; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) and racially diverse samples (Schwartz et al., 2012). Medium size correlations (r = .32 to .42) have also been observed in a study of Asian American adolescents from emerging immigrant communities in the Southeastern United States (Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013). In Tsai, Ying, and Lee's (2000) study of Chinese Americans in California, there was no significant relationship between ethnic and American identity for participants born in the US; however, a small to moderate negative correlation (-.33 and -.26) emerged for first-generation (i.e., immigrant) Chinese Americans. Other research comparing U.S.-born vs. immigrant Asian Americans finds that those born in the United States report higher levels of American national identity (Gong, 2007).

Especially in comparison to the literature on ethnic identity, the role of American identity in psychological adjustment is severely understudied and the findings are mixed. In looking at the association between general perceived discrimination and antisocial behaviors (physical aggression, rule-breaking, and social aggression) in an Asian American sample, Park and colleagues (2013) found that, although ethnic identity was not a significant moderator, American identity exacerbated the link. The authors suggested that investment in an American identity places individuals who experience discrimination at risk of acting out in negative ways due to increased sensitivity to rejection and the experience of identity denial (Park et al., 2013). It should be noted that the study

by Park et al. measured American identity with four items from the American Cultural Identity Scale (How American do you feel? How American do others perceive you to be? How reflective of the American mainstream are your values and attitudes? How reflective of the American mainstream are your behaviors and actions?) Although the measure demonstrated adequate evidence of internal consistency (α = .87 and .88), content analysis suggested that the items tapped into multiple components of identity including public regard, sense of belonging, and engagement/participation. Therefore, we are limited in being able to draw conclusions about specific components of American identity that may be at work in this study.

Other research suggests that an American identity may be linked to positive outcomes. In Kiang, Witkow, and Champagne (2012) found that Asian American adolescents' American identity was not significantly related to depression, and that it was positively related to salubrious outcomes such as stronger relationships with others, self-esteem, and academic motivation. This study measured American identity via items related to positive regard and identity centrality. Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz (1997) found that American identity was significantly related to self-esteem, although this was only found for White American participants and not for Latino or Black American adolescents.

There is also support for American identity as a potential resource for behavioral coping with the experiences related to foreigner objectification. In a series of laboratory studies, researchers have found that in the face of having

one's American identity denied, Asian American participants asserted an

American identity by demonstrating knowledge of American pop culture

(Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Another study found that Asian Americans who were

exposed to a form of foreigner objectification (i.e., asked if they spoke English)

asserted an American identity through the choice of more prototypically

American foods (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011). Unfortunately, this

coping strategy may inadvertently contribute to negative health outcomes, as

Asian Americans whose identity was challenged were more likely to order food

higher in calories and fat, when compared to Asian Americans whose identity was

not challenged (Guendelman et al., 2011).

Bicultural identity. The quote at the beginning of this chapter from one

of the participants in Kibria's (2002) study illustrates how some individuals

resonate with a bicultural identity that encompasses both ethnic and American

components – "I'm a Korean American." There are multiple ways to

conceptualize biculturalism, with variations by theory and research methodology

(i.e., single measures of biculturalism or bicultural integration, bilinearly with

measures of the two cultural groups of interest, and typologically).

At the theoretical level, the predominant way of conceptualizing

biculturalism is through the lens of acculturation. Researchers have suggested that

biculturalism and acculturation constructs may be related, although they are

distinct (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). For instance, acculturation theory

(Berry, 2003) articulates a typology in which four profiles (i.e., Integrated,

Separated, Assimilated, and Marginalized) arise out of the bicultural interaction

between one's identifications with native/heritage culture and the host/mainstream

culture. An individual with an Integrated type is defined as having high bicultural

identification, i.e., high ethnic and high national/mainstream identities. An

individual with a Marginalized type reports that both identities are low. The

Separated type features high ethnic-low host/mainstream identities, and the

Assimilated type features low ethnic-high host/mainstream identities. Benet-

Martínez and Haritatos' (2005) research on bicultural integration found that

bicultural competence, which is a feature of a strong identity in both cultures, was

related to having more interrelatedness between cultures (i.e., less bicultural

distance). Bicultural distance, or the separation one keeps between two cultures,

was also significantly associated with attitudes related to a Separated type (Benet-

Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). It may also be expected that individuals with

Separated and Assimilated profiles would report higher levels of bicultural

conflict, although these effects were not tested in Benet-Martínez and Haritatos's

study.

However, the present study defines biculturalism more broadly as the

simultaneous consideration of two cultural identities, irrespective of one's country

of birth. This conceptualization aligns with a focus on identity content, rather than

process, as a psychological resource available in the face of intergroup

discrimination or other threats arising out of identification with a lower status

group. Biculturalism fits well within the Biopsychosocial Model of stress and

coping by highlighting the fact that individuals have multiple identities that may serve as additional psychological resources. Social identity theorists also posit that the engagement of both a superordinate national identity and a subgroup/ethnic identity provides the individual with additional psychological and social resources to cope with discrimination (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000 cited from Huynh et al., 2013).

Indeed, research on biculturalism supports the proposition that dual identification relates to more positive psychological and sociocultural adjustment. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez's (2013) recent meta-analysis of 83 studies, 322 effects, and 23,197 participants found a strong positive association between biculturalism and adjustment (r's ranged from -.78 to .87, mean effect was .51). Breaking down the studies by racial group, the effect size for Asians (unweighted mean r = .52) was comparable to the total sample. The authors also found that the biculturalism-adjustment association was significantly stronger than the association between adjustment and identification with one's heritage culture, as well as with the dominant culture (e.g., American in the United States).

The research on dual identities varies in how biculturalism is measured. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez's (2013) meta-analysis classified studies as unilinear (e.g., degree of bicultural integration), bilinear (i.e., measurement of identity on both ethnic and national/mainstream identity), or typological (e.g., tapping into each of the four acculturation categories separately) in their measurement of biculturalism. They also noted that scores on bilinear measures could be used to

create types/profiles; however, the meta-analysis only counted typological studies that were based on the 2 X 2 acculturation model by Berry (i.e., Integrated, Separated, Assimilated, and Marginalized). Among the studies reviewed, 33 measured biculturalism bilinearly, 27 measured it unilinearly, and 23 studies measured it typologically. When Nguyen and Benet-Martínez examined whether the relationship between biculturalism and adjustment was moderated by the type of measurement, they found that the relationship between biculturalism and adjustment was stronger for studies with bilinear measurement

Only one known published research study has looked at the conjoint role of ethnic and American identity as a moderator in the relationship between discrimination and psychological adjustment (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013)[3]. Huynh and colleagues (2013) surveyed 259 Asian American undergraduate students on their experiences of discrimination, ethnic identity, and American identity. The analysis included looking at the main effects of these identities separately, two-way interactions with general perceived discrimination (i.e., ethnic identity X discrimination, American identity X discrimination), and a three-way interaction between ethnic identity X American identity X discrimination. Huynh and colleagues failed to find significant findings for the main effects or the two-way interaction. Their regression analyses, however, did find a significant three-way interaction such that dual identification (strong ethnic and national identifications)

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[3] Other studies have included both ethnic and American identities, but Huynh et al. (2013) is the only study to look solely at the two identities together as a potential moderator of discrimination's effects. Kiang et al. (2008) included family and religious identities in their moderation analyses. Park et al. (2013) did not examine a three-way-interaction between discrimination and the two identities.

evidenced a weaker discrimination-distress relationship than the high ethnic-low national, low ethnic-high national, and low ethnic-low national groupings. Strong bicultural identification, therefore, is considered to be a buffer in comparison to the other groupings. The strongest slope was found for the low ethnic-high national combination, suggesting that this configuration is a risk factor.

The authors connected their findings to the proposition that dual identification provides extra resources for self-esteem enhancement in the face of social group-relevant threats such as discrimination (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013). They suggested that those with low ethnic-high national identity may be less able to attribute race-based differential treatment to general unfair treatment based on group membership and may make more personal attributions. Huynh et al.'s (2013) findings of this three-way interaction make a strong case for studying ethnic identity and American identity in tandem. This is particularly true given the absence of significant findings for either identity alone or as a two-way interaction with discrimination.

These findings break new ground in the literature on social identity's moderating role in the effects of discrimination. Yet, it is also instructive to examine the limitations and areas for additional research in Huynh et al.'s (2013) study. First, the items of perceived discrimination came from the Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Close inspection of the scale's 17 items reveals that nearly all the items measure blatant forms of discrimination, such as "How many times have you been treated unfairly by your coworkers,

fellow students, and colleagues?" "How many times have you been called a racist name…" and "How many times have you been made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm?" because of your ethnicity. The authors noted that the most frequently endorsed item was "wanting to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything" (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013). It is unclear whether the findings from this study would generalize to more subtle experiences of discrimination, such as microaggressions generally or foreigner objectification in particular.

Second, Huynh et al.'s (2013) study did not operationalize ethnic identity and American identity in equivalent ways. Participants completed measures of ethnic identity (the 12-item MEIM) and American identity (the 6-item Mainstream Comfort subscale from the Scale of Ethnic Experience; Malcarne et al., 2006). Given the difference in the number and content of items for ethnic identity and American identity measurement, it is assumed that they may not be tapping into the same components of identity. The null findings for the main effects or two-way interactions may owe to neglecting one or more important components of identity. We cannot make strong conclusions about what aspect of identification were driving the results given the lack of specificity. Furthermore, ERI in the 21st Study Group (Umaña-Taylor et al., in press) discourages the use of the MEIM as an aggregate measure, as it represents multiple components of ethnic identification and the advancement of the identity literature is predicated on the disambiguation of these components and their concomitant effects. There

are likely differential associations between the different components of ERI. For instance, some evidence suggests that exploration processes and behaviors (e.g., questioning what ethnicity/race means to oneself, talking to people about your ethnicity/race) are more strongly related to poorer psychological adjustment (Syed et al., 2013), whereas ERI affirmation is linked with more positive adjustment (Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., in press). In order to facilitate conceptual clarity and comparability between ethnic and American identities, the present study employed analogous measures of the affirmation component of each identity.

Third, the study by Huynh et al. (2013) serves as an example of the preponderance of purely variable-centered research in the area of social identity. From this perspective, the study of multiple identities centers on the variables and their theoretical interactions. The aim is to understand the relative contribution of different variables in the variability of one or more outcome variables. Moderation studies traditionally follow the recommendations to create mean-centered variables, create interaction terms, and analyze the simple slopes of any statistically significant interactions (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). Although these methods serve a purpose in understanding phenomenon from a nomothetic perspective (i.e., seeking to draw conclusions that are to be applied generally), they may overlook the fact that phenomena may operate differently within different subtypes of individuals. For example, in the study by Huynh and colleagues (2013), we have no knowledge of how many participants actually populate the four "groups" that were analyzed. These groups were

created based on cutoff scores, rather than actual representations of the subgroupings of participants by their identity configurations. Person-centered methodology (i.e., cluster analysis) allows for the empirical observation of heterogeneous subgroupings of participants according to their ethnic identity-American identity configurations.

In their paper, Huynh and colleagues (2013) advocated for conceptualizing and studying group identification in complex ways, and the present study seeks to contribute to the literature in that spirit by using person-centered methods to study the variables of bicultural identity, foreigner objectification, and psychological adjustment.

The following section elaborates upon the differences between variable-centered and person-centered methodologies broadly, and presents an in-depth look at existing research using person-centered methods to study bicultural identity and discrimination-adjustment. Finally, the chapter concludes with discussion of how the present study builds upon and extends the existing research.

Variable-centered vs. Person-centered Methodology

The vast majority of research on social identity as a moderator of the effects of racial discrimination takes the traditional approach to studying moderation; that is, to look at a statistical interaction whereby the effect of discrimination depends on the level of the identity variable (Frazier et al., 2004, p. 116). The variable-centered approach asks questions in terms of the interactive effects of variables on each other, with statistically significant findings dependent

upon the presence of relatively pure subtypes (e.g., those high on ethnic identity and low on discrimination vs. low on ethnic identity and high on discrimination). Heterogeneity is de-emphasized, thus ignoring the potentially useful information of subgroups that may be obscured through aggregate, linear regression methods (Bergman et al., 2003; von Eye, Bogat, & Rhodes, 2006). The fact that approximately half of moderator analyses of social identity on the relationship between racial discrimination and adjustment fail to find statistically significant effects while the other half of findings are inconsistent in direction (Brondolo et al., 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2006) suggests that effects may not be uniform across participants. The traditional variable-centered approach asks, "Does social identity buffer the effects of racial discrimination?" The traditional way of framing a variable-centered moderator analysis seeks definitive and generalizable answers. Given the inconsistent findings, this approach may have limitations.

Alternatively, methodologies borrowed from the person-centered approach that identify empirically observed subtypes (e.g., cluster analysis) can help reframe the question of moderation into, "*For whom* is a protective effect demonstrated?" By refocusing the research question to address patterns of identity, we can identify what individual difference variables (both variables used to define the identity patterns, as well as associated demographic variables) are associated with a protective or exacerbating effect. In addition, a person-centered approach is more consistent with a Social Identity Approach by acknowledging

the complex, multiplicative nature of the social self-concept. SIT posits that when one social identity is threatened, another social identity may be invoked as a coping resource.

As is evident from the present review, the relationships between racial discrimination, social identity, and other personal and contextual variables are complex and multifaceted. According to a person-centered approach and holistic-interactionistic framework (Bergman et al., 2003), it is impossible to disentangle the co-existence of multiple identities. The observed levels of ERI and American identity must be examined together, especially given the interest in examining how identity relates to foreigner objectification, which is likely to activate both ERI and American identity due to assumption of the perpetual foreigner stereotype that one cannot be both Asian and American.

The person-centered approach is an idiographic approach that considers the individual as the important unit of analysis. From the variable-oriented approach an individual's score on one variable is interpreted in comparison to other individuals' scores. From the person-centered approach, the individual's score is interpreted in light of other scores reported by the same individual. From this perspective, the individual's psychological experience is made up of constellations of variables that relate to each other in a holistic and dynamic manner. Instead of asking questions about the differential effects of ethnic-racial identity and American national identity (as distinct variables that have unique effects) in a general population, a person-centered approach inquires about the

different *patterns* of variables commonly found within and among a group of individuals. The coexistence of variables is seen as meaningful in itself, rather than a statistical problem of multicollinearity.

Person-Centered Research on Biculturalism

Person-centered research on biculturalism has typically followed the acculturation typology perspective (e.g., Berry, 2003), although it has been noted that other approaches are possible (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). An acculturation-based perspective on biculturalism expects that there is utility in conceptualizing different ways that individuals orient themselves to their ethnic and national cultural groups and societies. Classic typological bicultural theory (Berry, 2003) asserts that four profiles are expected to be present within a population of ethnic-racial minority individuals, as indicated by their relative levels of ethnic identity and national identity: Integrated (adopting the national culture while retaining one's ethnic culture; high ethnic-high national), Separated (rejecting the national culture and retaining one's ethnic culture; high ethnic-low national), Assimilated (discarding one's ethnic culture in favor of the national culture; low ethnic-high national), and Marginalized (rejecting of both ethnic and national cultures; low ethnic-low national). Research suggests that those who have high levels of both ethnic and national identities report more positive adjustment, whereas those with low levels of both identities fare the worst (Berry et al., 2006; Huynh et al., 2013; Nguyen & & Benet-Martínez, 2012)

However, these four categories have been criticized in the literature for the use of a priori cutoff points that tend to create categories with equal numbers of participants in each (Schwartz et al., 2010). Schwartz and colleagues argued for using more empirically rigorous ways to classify individuals. To this point, Schwartz and Zamboanga's (2008) latent class analysis of Latino young adults in Miami found six emergent classes (undifferentiated, assimilated, partial bicultural, American-oriented bicultural, separated, and full bicultural).

Furthermore, it has been noted that person-centered methods for identifying patterns of bicultural identity such as cluster analysis and latent class analysis are able to account for the unique characteristics of the sample rather than imposing one model assumed to generalize across all individuals (see discussion on variable-centered vs. person-centered approaches below). Conducting analyses that are sample specific is particularly relevant to the issue of nativity (also conceptualized as generation status from an acculturation perspective) as it relates to bicultural identity and discrimination. Numerous studies find that there are group differences in cultural identification between U.S.-born and immigrant individuals, with U.S.-born people endorsing higher American identity (Gong, 2007; Kiang et al., 2013; Tsai et al., 2000). Gong's results suggested that U.S.-born Asian Americans were more likely to have an integrated bicultural identity, giving substantial weight to both their Asian ethnic heritage and an American national identity. With an exploratory, person-centered approach to studying bicultural identity, it is also possible to analyze whether

there are significant differences by nativity in bicultural identity profile membership.

In the present study, bicultural identity is studied and interpreted from a broad perspective of multiple identities as a source of social and psychological coping resources, rather than from an acculturation framework. Taking the perspective of sample-specific, person-centered analyses into consideration, at least four bicultural profiles were expected to emerge from the present research study. First, it was expected that there would be at least one bicultural profile in which individuals report average-to-high levels of both ethnic and national identity (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Kiang et al., 2008; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). Second, it was expected that one profile would emerge in which individuals report lower than average levels of both ethnic and national identity (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Kiang et al., 2008, Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008), although it was expected that this profile would represent the fewest number of people (Schwartz et al., 2010). Finally, it was expected that at least two profiles would emerge in which individuals report a strong preference of one identity over the other (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2008).

Research on Social Identity Profiles and Racial Discrimination

Although person-centered identity research is not new, few studies have applied this methodology to the study of discrimination and social identity as a risk and protective factor. To date, only three person-centered studies on discrimination, identity, and outcomes have been published (Banks & Kohn-

Wood, 2007; Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008; Seaton, 2009). These studies represent two different approaches to constructing identity profiles, one in which profiles are constructed based on multiple dimensions of a single social identity and another approach in which profiles are constructed based on a single dimension of multiple identities. Given the small number of studies using this novel approach to studying identity, each of these will be described in detail.

Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) and Seaton (2009) demonstrated the former approach, creating racial identity profiles based on multiple dimensions of Black identity as measured by the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI-S, Martin, Wout, Nguyen, Sellers, & Gonzalez, 2008 as cited in Seaton, 2009). Seaton clustered cases based on individual responses to race centrality (the extent to which one considers race to be an important part of his/her self-concept, "I have a strong attachment to other Black people"), private regard (how favorably one perceives other Black people), and public regard (one's beliefs about how others view Black Americans). Her cluster analyses concluded in a three cluster solution that was theoretically consistent with profiles found in previous research (Chavous et al., 2003): Buffering/Defensive, Alienated, and Idealized. Banks and Kohn-Wood's study clustered the same three variables, plus four additional Ideology subscales assessing beliefs about how Black Americans should behave and interact with society. This study resulted in a four profile solution: Integrationist, Multicultural idealist, Undifferentiated, and Race focused. Both Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) and Seaton (2009) found significant

differences by profile in the relationship between discrimination and depressive symptoms.

In Seaton's (2009) study, individuals in the Alienated profile reporting higher levels of individual racism also reported more depressive symptoms. This association between discrimination and depressive symptoms was not found for the other two profiles in the study (Buffering/Defensive and Idealized), in which individuals believed that race was central to their identity and felt positively about being Black/African American. Alienated individuals, on the other hand, had lower scores on race centrality and private regard than the other profiles. These individuals in the Alienated profile also believed that others held negative beliefs about Black Americans, though not to the extent that those in the Buffering/Defensive profile believed.[4]

A single profile was also found to be most at risk in Banks and Kohn-Wood's (2007) study, with the Integrationist cluster demonstrating the strongest relationship between discrimination and depressive symptoms. Similar to the Alienated profile in Seaton's (2009) study, individuals in the Integrationist cluster assigned lesser meaning to and moderately positive evaluation of their racial identity than individuals in the other profiles of the study (racial centrality $z = -.18$, $SD = 1.09$; private regard $z = .28$, $SD = .66$). The Integrationist scores on the four Ideology subscales also revealed that these individuals endorsed goals of blending with mainstream culture (i.e., higher scores on the MIBI's Assimilation

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[4] The centroid values in Seaton (2009) were only reported in raw values and not z-scores. ANOVAs were reported to provide information on relative centroid values.

ideology subscale, $z = .59$, *SD* = .59) and focused on shared qualities of humans

(i.e., higher scores on MIBI's Humanism ideology subscale, $z = .64$, *SD* = .72),

while downplaying the idea that Blacks are an oppressed minority ($z = -.22$, *SD* =

.60) and disagreeing that Blacks should organize as a separate political force

(Nationalism ideology subscale $z = -.82$, *SD* =.74). Judging from these scores on

the Ideology subscales, Integrationists appeared to be invested in being a part of

and endorsing the values of mainstream American society (e.g., the humanistic

adage that "all men are created equal" embedded within the U.S. Constitution),

while also placing less importance and less positive value on Black identity.

Although American identification may be speculated from these findings, we are

limited in our inferences given that American identity was not directly measured.

Taking the findings of the Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) and Seaton

(2009) studies together, it is evident that individuals who report attitudes

indicating less affirmation of their racial identity are more at risk when it comes to

the association between discrimination and psychological outcomes. Conversely,

the individuals in the profiles that reported more affirmation of racial identity

were protected from this negative relationship. By looking at multiple facets of

racial identity, these studies provide converging evidence that multiple aspects of

social identity affirmation (i.e., centrality and private regard) play a key role as

both risk and protective factors. However, by only looking at racial identity, these

studies overlook the benefits of multiplicity of the social self-concept, as

described in the Social Identity Approach.

Kiang, Yip, and Fuligni (2008) employed person-centered methodology to examine the potential benefits of multiple social identities in the relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and psychological adjustment. The researchers included four different types of identity (i.e., ethnic, American, family, and religious) in the cluster analysis. However, the authors' rationale for why these particular identities were chosen for this study was not strongly theoretically grounded, particularly from a holistic-interactionist perspective. Although there is some grounding in Social Identity Theory regarding the benefits of having multiple social identities, it was unclear why family and religious identities would be relevant moderators for ethnic-racial discrimination. Another limitation of this study was its operationalization of ethnic and American identities using an adapted version of the racial centrality subscale of the MIBI. Items such as "In general, being a member of my ethnic group is an important reflection of who I am" more strongly indicate cognitive components related to identity, rather than positive affect.

Kiang et al.'s (2008) analysis resulted in four profiles: Many Social Identities (MSI; above average to high standard scores on all four identities), Blended/Low Religious (B/LR; above average standard scores on family, ethnic, and American identity and below average scores on religious identity), Blended/Low Ethnic and American (B/LEA; above average standard scores on family and religious identity, below average scores on ethnic and American

identity, and Few Social Identities (FSI; below average scores on all four

identities).

Multiple regression analyses were conducted looking at the effects of

discrimination on several outcomes, including positive affect, negative affect, and

self-esteem. For the entire sample, perceived discrimination was associated with

lower levels of positive affect and higher levels of negative affect. The association

for positive affect was not statistically significant for the MSI, B/LR, and B/LEA

profiles, suggesting a buffering effect of social identity. However, the association

remained significant for the FSI profile. For the association between

discrimination and negative affect, the MSI, B/LR, and FSI profiles did not

evidence a significant relationship whereas it was observed in the B/LEA cluster.

No direct effects of discrimination on self-esteem were found for the total sample

or among any of the four clusters. It is also unclear whether the clusters

significantly differed from one another, as the authors did not report pairwise

comparisons taking varied sample sizes in each profile into account.

It appears that Kiang et al.'s (2008) study replicated the finding that

profiles with average to moderate identification on ethnic-racial identity are

protected, whereas profiles with low racial/ethnic cultural identification reported

significant associations between discrimination and positive and negative affect.

In particular, the FSI profile (ethnic id z = -.52, American id z = -.59) did not

protect individuals from the negative association between discrimination and

positive affect. Individuals in the B/LEA profile (ethnic id z = -.72, American id z

= -.65) did not experience protective effects on discrimination's association with negative affect although the other four profiles found null effects. Kiang and colleagues noted that ethnic and American identity appeared to "operate in tandem" (p. 665) in all of the profiles, with no evidence of high levels of one and low levels of the other. They suggested that this co-occurrence speaks to the idea that ethnic identity does not necessarily have to decrease as American identity increases. However, this is a tenuous interpretation because their finding that ethnic and American identity levels co-occur at the same levels may be an artifact of the cluster analytic procedures, which also include family and religious identity as profile indicators. It may be that there were, in fact, individuals who exhibited discrepant levels of ethnic and American identity but that this was obscured by the inclusion of family and religious identity into the profile configuration.

Limitations of the Social Identity Profile Literature

The previous research on identity profiles as moderators of discrimination provides some understanding into the co-existence of cultural identity variables. However, there are some limitations to the extant research. First, the theory for constructing profiles is underdeveloped. For example, Kiang, Yip, and Fuligni's study (2008) did not provide a strong theoretical rationale for the profile indicator variables employed: ethnic, American, religious, family identity. It is unclear why these particular identities, in concert, are important to consider in moderating the effects of racial discrimination. According to a holistic-interactionist framework (Bergman et al., 2003), the specification of profile indicator variables should be

intentional and theoretically sound. In the case of the present study, the nature of foreigner objectification calls for a specific examination of ethnic and American identities.

Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) and Seaton (2009)'s studies examined facets of racial identity for Black/African Americans, focusing only on racial identity. Given the research that shows that Black Americans and Asian Americans have different levels of ethnic and American identification (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Gong, 2007), we should be cautious about generalizing findings across these racial groups.

Furthermore, examining profiles of the coexistence of ethnic and American identity allows us to understand potential demographics associated with various profiles. For example, the moderating role of nativity (Armenta et al., 2013; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008) may be clarified by identifying which types of identity profiles are most common among U.S.-born Asian Americans, who have been demonstrated to be more affected by racial discrimination than non-U.S. born counterparts. We may also learn of other variables such as gender and age that could be linked to certain types of identity patterns.

Summary

Despite the long-standing narrative of foreigner objectification (FO) within Asian American history, the study of this phenomenon within psychology is only very recently coming to the fore. Accumulating evidence suggests that the

experience of being subjected to the perpetual foreigner stereotype may be just as harmful as more general forms of discrimination, and at the same time represents a distinct and unique threat to psychological adjustment. As we consider the qualities that make up the experience of foreigner objectification, it is important to construct research questions and employ methodologies that fit well within a theory of FO. Thus, the current research aims to examine a) the relationship between FO and psychological outcomes, b) whether this relationship plays out in the same way across different profiles of ethnic-and-American identity that are empirically derived, and c) whether the aforementioned relationships hold for both U.S.-born and immigrant Asian Americans.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH STUDY

Goals and Hypotheses

The proposed research sought to build upon the findings of the nascent literature on Asian Americans' experiences with foreigner objectification (FO) by exploring a) the relationships between FO and two latent constructs of psychological adjustment (psychological distress and subjective well-being), b) whether these relationships varied depending upon one's configuration of ethnic and American identities, and c) whether the findings varied by Asian American participants' nativity (i.e., immigrant vs. U.S.-born). Specifically, the study addressed the research question, "What is the relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological adjustment for people with different bicultural identity profiles?" Consistent with the Social Identity Approach and the Biopsychosocial Model of discrimination, I predicted that the relationship between foreigner objectification would depend upon one's bicultural configuration of ethnic and American identities. Furthermore, I predicted that the effects would be more prominent for U.S.-born individuals based on the social identity perspective, which would posit that FO poses a greater threat to those who were born in the US. Being born in the United States may be a *de facto* basis for being more sensitive and reactive to the threat that s/he is not being perceived as American. Asian Americans who were born outside of the US may simply take it for granted that they will get questions about their "Americanness" because they were, in fact, foreign-born.

Hypothesis 1: Bicultural Identity Profiles

  Hypothesis 1a. Although not central to the study's primary research question, hypotheses were made about the number and type of bicultural identity profiles expected to emerge from the sample. Based on theory and research on biculturalism, it was hypothesized that at least four profiles would emerge: Strong Bicultural (high ethnic identity-high American identity); Weak Bicultural (low ethnic identity-low American identity); Strong American (low ethnic identity-high American identity); and Strong Ethnic (high ethnic identity-low American identity).

  Hypothesis 1b. It was hypothesized that there would be some group differences between profiles for constructs relevant to biculturalism (i.e., ethnic cultural immersion, American society immersion, bicultural distance, and bicultural conflict) based on the literature on biculturalism and acculturation processes (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). It was hypothesized that participants in the Strong Bicultural and Strong Ethnic profiles would report higher scores on ethnic cultural immersion than those in the Strong American and Weak Bicultural profiles. It was hypothesized that participants in the Strong Bicultural and Strong American profiles would report higher scores on American society immersion than those in the Strong Ethnic and Weak Bicultural profiles. It was hypothesized that participants in the Strong Ethnic profiles would report greater separation between

identities, as indicated by higher scores on bicultural distance. No group differences on bicultural conflict were hypothesized.

Hypothesis 2: Variations in the Relationship between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment by Bicultural Identity Profile

Hypothesis 2a: Model fit. It was hypothesized that the structural equation model that allowed for variability of effects by identity profile would have evidence of better fit than the invariant model. This model was specified for both outcomes of subjective well-being and psychological distress.

Hypothesis 2a: Regression estimates. It was hypothesized that differences by bicultural identity profiles would be observed in the relationship between FO and psychological distress (as indicated by depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety) and subjective well-being (as indicated by self-esteem and life satisfaction). The largest sized estimates were hypothesized to be observed in the Weak Bicultural profile based on previous research suggesting that poorer adjustment is related to low levels of multiple identities (Huynh et al., 2013; Kiang et al., 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). It was predicted that individuals assigned to the Strong Bicultural profile would show evidence of buffering in the relationship between FO and outcomes, given biculturalism's link to more positive psychosocial and sociocultural outcomes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Hypothesis 3: Analyses Separated by Nativity

Hypothesis 3a: Model fit. It was hypothesized that there would be differences in model fit when the sample was split by nativity (i.e., U.S.-born vs. immigrant subsamples). It was predicted that for immigrant Asian Americans, the model in which there were no differences by identity profile (i.e., the invariant model) would provide the best, most parsimonious fit to the data. For U.S.-born Asian Americans, it was predicted that the data would be best fit by a model in which variations between bicultural identity profiles were allowed. These hypotheses are consistent with research using a larger version of the same data set (that included both Latino and Asian Americans) and that study's finding of scalar non-invariance between the U.S.-born and immigrant participants (Armenta et al., 2013).

Hypothesis 3a: Parameter estimates. It was hypothesized that the effects detailed in Hypothesis 2a would be found in the U.S.-born subsample. Based on the literature documenting the benefits of having a strong bicultural identity, it was predicted that for the U.S.-born subsample, individuals belonging to the Strong Bicultural profile would show evidence of buffering in the relationship between FO and psychological adjustment. However, it was not expected that these associations would generalize to the immigrant subsample, given the findings from Armenta et al. (2013).

Method

Data Collection

The present study examined data collected in 2009 from the Multisite
University Study of Identity and Culture (MUSIC), a collaborative research
project conducted by 30 colleges and universities in the United States.
Participants completed an online battery of questionnaires for class credit in a
psychology course at their respective institution. No monetary compensation was
provided for participation. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained by
this study's author to conduct secondary data analysis on the MUSIC data set,
whose ownership is shared among the collaborative PIs, including Richard M.
Lee, the graduate advisor of the author of the present study.

Sample

The final sample consisted of 718 Asian Americans from 20 colleges and
universities in the United States[5] (see Data Preparation section below for
elaboration on the procedures for arriving at the final N). Two-thirds of the
sample came from two sites that are both large, public institutions located on the
West Coast. The remainder of the participants came from 18 sites across the
United States. Site data was missing for 15 participants (2.1%).

Asian American participants for the study were identified in the data set
by their response to the multiple choice question, "My ethnicity is _____:"
Participants who chose either "*b) East Asian, Asian American, Amerasian, Asian-*

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[5] The full MUSIC data collection occurred at 30 sites.

Caribbean, Other in this category" (*n* = 570, 79.4%) or "*e) South Asian, South Asian American, of South Asian heritage, Other in this category*" (*n* = 148, 20.6%) were included in the present analyses. The online survey also included an open-ended question, "In my own words, I prefer to think of my ethnicity as

_____." Content analysis of the responses to this question suggested that there was lack of consistency among those who endorsed East Asian vs. South Asian. For example, participants who reported on the open-ended question as "Filipino" were represented in both the East Asian and South Asian categories. This was also true for those who identified as Vietnamese, Indian, and other ethnicities. Due to these inconsistencies, participants were analyzed all together and categorized under the umbrella term "Asian American."

The average age was 19.7 years old (*SD* = 1.93, range = 18 - 32). The sample consisted of mostly females (64.1%), with 35.4% identifying as male, and < 1% missing data on gender. Approximately two-thirds of the sample was born in the United States (64.8%, *n* = 465). Among these U.S.-born participants, the majority belonged to immigrant families. Approximately 90% of U.S.-born participants reported that their mother was not born in the US, and 87% reported that their father was not born in the US. The sample size of the participants who were born outside of the US was *n* = 253.

Measures

Demographics. The online survey's battery of measures included items to obtain biographical data on the participant's age, gender, race/ethnicity, and

nativity (i.e., Were you born in the United States?). The survey also included

open-ended questions about the participant's ethnic identification (e.g., In your

own words, I prefer to think of my ethnicity as _____; If you are

Biracial/Multiracial, which group do you identify with most?).

Bicultural identity profile indicators. The bicultural identity profiles

were created using measures of ethnic identity and American identity, specifically

the items for each construct related to identity affirmation/commitment (Roberts

et al., 1999).

Affirmation/commitment of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was measured

by selected items of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney,

1992) that represented affirmation and commitment of one's ethnic identity, or

feelings and thoughts related to one's sense of belonging to and positive feelings

towards one's ethnic group (e.g., "I feel a strong attachment towards my own

ethnic group."). The seven items were chosen based on previous research by

Roberts and colleagues (1999), who factor analyzed the original MEIM and

distinguished seven items related to affirmation, belonging, and commitment from

the remaining items related to exploration. Participants rated their agreement with

the items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*)

to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the current sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$, $M = 3.85$, $SD =$

.78.

Affirmation/commitment of American identity. American identity was

measured by selected items of the American Identity Measure (AIM; Schwartz et

al., 2012) that represent the construct of affirmation/commitment of one's American identity (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to the United States."). Previous research using a larger version of the present data set ($N =$ 10,573) demonstrated that scores on the AIM had evidence for good reliability (α = .87 to .88 for Asian Americans) and strong convergent validity with another measure of American cultural identification (Schwartz et al., 2012) The AIM also evidenced similar psychometric properties with the MEIM and a small significant correlation with the MEIM, $r = .21$, $p < .001$ (Schwartz et al., 2012). The seven affirmation/commitment items of the AIM were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the current sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$, $M = 3.74$, $SD = .80$.

Constructs for profile validation. Although not central to the primary hypotheses, the following variables were measured and analyzed to assure that the empirically derived bicultural identity profiles were meaningful and consistent with biculturalism theory.

Bicultural identity. Bicultural identity integration was assessed with two items from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS; Benet- Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). One item measured bicultural distance, "I feel that I am both a member of my heritage culture and an American" – reverse coded; $M = 2.08$, SD = 1.05. A high score on this item indicates a disconnect between one's belongingness in the two cultural groups. A second item measured bicultural conflict, "I am conflicted between American ways of doing things and my

heritage culture's way of doing things," $M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.17$. A high score on this item indicates one's experience of dissonance between the norms of the two cultural groups. Participants rated their agreement with the two items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Single items were utilized instead of the total 9-item BIIS or the bicultural distance/conflict subscales due to poor reliability statistics found in this sample.

  Ethnic society and American society immersion. The degree to which individuals immerse themselves in behaviors related to their ethnic culture and American culture was measured. The 32-item Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS; Stephenson, 2000) has two subscales to tap into these constructs: ethnic society immersion (17 items, e.g., "I feel comfortable speaking my or my family's native language") and American society immersion (15 items; e.g., "I feel at home in the United States"). Participants rated their agreement with items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The reliability of the ethnic society immersion subscale was Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$, $M = 3.12$, $SD = .86$. The reliability of the American society immersion subscale was Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$, $M = 3.85$, $SD = .61$.

  Predictor variable - Foreigner objectification. Participants' exposure to experiences of being treated like a foreigner was measured with four items of the Foreigner Objectification Scale (FObS; Pituc et al., 2010). Previous structural measurement analyses provided support for this version of the measure (Armenta,

et al., 2013). Participants responded to the extent to which they had experienced the following during the previous year: (a) Asked by strangers "where are you from?" because of your ethnicity/race, (b) Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or loud way, (c) Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability, and (d) Had your American citizenship or residency questioned. Participants indicated the extent of their exposure in the past year on a four-point frequency scale where 1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *Three or Four times*, and 4 = *Five or more times.* In the current sample, Cronbach's α = .70, M = 1.65, SD = .65 for the total scale.

Criterion variables - Psychological distress. A latent factor of psychological distress was indicated by measures of depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety.

Depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were measured by the 20-item Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Several past research studies have shown that scores of the CES-D demonstrate evidence of reliability in college student samples ranging from α = .81 to .87 (e.g., Huynh, 2012; Huynh et al., 2011; R. M. Lee, 2005). Items of the CES-D assess depressive symptomology over the past week, such as "I have felt down and unhappy this week." Participants rated their agreement with the items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. In the full sample, Cronbach's α = .91, M = 2.63, SD = .68.

Anxiety symptoms. Anxiety symptoms were measured by the 18-item Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI; Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988). Although the measure was originally created to assess clinically significant levels of anxiety, the measure's scores demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$) in a college student sample (Osman, Kopper, Barrios, Osman, & Wade, 1997). Items inquire about anxiety symptoms over the past week, such as "I have been worrying a lot this week." Participants rated their agreement with the items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the full sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$, $M = 2.37$, $SD = .85$.

Social anxiety. Anxiety associated with social interactions was measured by the 19-item Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS; Mattick & Clark, 1989). Past research found internal consistency ratings ranging from .88 for undergraduates and .93 for participants meeting DSM-III criteria for a diagnosis of social phobia and high test-retest reliability (.92; Mattick & Clark, 1989). Items of the SIAS inquire about anxiety symptoms as a result of social interactions, such as "When mixing socially, I feel uncomfortable" and "I find myself worrying that I don't know what to say in social situations." Participants rated their agreement with the items using a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the full sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$, $M = 2.82$, $SD = .66$.

Criterion variables - Subjective well-being. A latent factor of subjective well-being was indicated by measures of self-esteem and life satisfaction.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was assessed with the 10-item Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965). One of the most widely used measures of global self-evaluations (i.e., self-esteem), past research on adolescents and young adults demonstrates that the measure's scores demonstrate good reliability and validity across diverse samples (e.g., Bagley, Bolitho, & Bertrand, 1997; Blaskovich & Tomaka, 1991; Brown & Ling, 2012; Shek & McEwen, 2012). The RSES includes items such as, "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I feel I do not have much to be proud of" (negatively phrased). In this study, participants rated their agreement with the items using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the full sample, Cronbach's α = .86, M = 3.51, SD = .64.

Life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was assessed with the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emoons, Larsen, & Griffen, 1985). Past research with a larger version of this dataset and using this measure found internal consistency estimates of Cronbach's α = .86 for non-U.S. born Asian American and α = .87 for U.S. born Asian American college students (Armenta et al., 2013). The SWLS includes items such as, "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" and "The conditions of my life are excellent." Participants rated their agreement with the statements on a Likert-type scale, where 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Moderately disagree*, 3 = *Slightly disagree*, 4 = *Slightly agree*, 5 = *Moderately agree*, 6 = *Strongly agree*. In the full sample, Cronbach's α = .87, M = 3.79, SD = 1.03.

Analyses

Overview of Analytic Strategy

To answer the primary research question about whether the relationship
between foreigner objectification and psychological outcomes varied by social
identity profile, data analysis was conducted in two parts. First, person-centered
cluster analytic methods were employed to derive bicultural identity profiles.
Subsequently, the optimal profile solution was applied to multiple group (i.e.,
multigroup) structural equation modeling (SEM) analyses, the primary analyses of
interest for this study.

Data Preparation and Screening

Prior to conducting the cluster and multigroup SEM analyses, the data
were prepared and screened to account for issues that are relevant to the
assumptions underlying the statistical methods of this study (i.e., cluster analytic
and structural equation modeling), such as missing data and outliers, normality,
and homoscedasticity. The final sample of $N = 718$ was obtained based on the
analysis of missing values and outliers on the primary variables of interest,
beginning with a sample of 816 cases. The data plots and statistics were screened
for extreme skewness and kurtosis, and there were no problematic findings.
Bivariate correlations and regression analyses were conducted on the six primary
variables of interest to screen for multicollinearity (Kline, 2011), with no
problematic results. The data were also standardized and screened for potential
outliers, excluding cases with z values < -3.3 and $< +3.3$ (14 cases). For the

profile indicator variables (i.e., ethnic identity and American identity), listwise deletion was conducted due to the sensitivity of cluster analytic methods to missing data and the relatively small number of cases to which this applied (19 cases). Cases with missing data for the means of all six variables of interest in the primary analyses (i.e., foreigner objectification, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, social anxiety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction) were excluded (65 cases). Finally, maximum likelihood multiple imputation was conducted to handle the remaining missing data for the remainder of the cases.

Cluster Analysis to Derive Social Identity Profiles

Identification of social identity profiles. The first set of analyses aimed to reveal the identity profiles represented within the data set, informed by the procedures followed by Good, Willoughby, and Busseri (2010) and Seaton (2009). The derivation of bicultural identity profiles occurred in three stages – hierarchical agglomeration cluster analysis (Ward's method) on one half of the sample, k-means cluster analysis on a second half of the sample, and k-means cluster analysis on the full sample.

Given that cluster analytic methods are sample dependent, replicability and cross-validation methods should be employed when possible (e.g., Seaton, 2009). Therefore, in this study, analyses were conducted both on split-halves and the full sample, comparing the results to ascertain the final profile solution's reliability.

Interpretation and validation of social identity profiles. In order to create meaningful labels for the five profiles, the cluster centroids were interpreted by looking at a) the relative positioning between standardized *Z*-scores of ethnic identity and American identity and b) the anchors attached to their respective raw scores (see Table 3). The anchors for both the ethnic and American identity scales were, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly agree*. The relationships between profile membership and other constructs related to cultural identity were also analyzed to provide evidence of construct validity and to further aid in interpretation.

Multigroup Structural Equation Modeling

In order to examine the relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological outcomes, structural equation modeling methods were employed and analyzed using SPSS AMOS version 20. Parameters were estimated using maximum likelihood estimation methods based on covariance matrices. Consistent with the methods of Armenta et al. (2013), foreigner objectification was specified to be a latent predictor indicated by four items. Latent variables were created to represent the constructs of psychological distress and subjective well-being (SWB), which were hypothesized to be conceptually related but distinct (represented in the model specification by an unconstrained covariance parameter). The indicators of psychological distress were the mean scores of the CES-D, BAI, and SIAS. The indicators of SWB were the mean scores of the RSES and SWLS. Groups to be compared in the multigroup structural equation

modeling (MG-SEM) analysis were defined by their bicultural identity profile membership.

MG-SEM of total sample. The general model (see Figure 2) was specified in line with recommended practice (Byrne, 2003; Kline, 2011), prior psychometric results (Armenta et al., 2013), and the present study's hypotheses. The errors of each of the observed exogenous variables were constrained to 1. To allow for the standardization and comparability of regression coefficients between the latent factor for foreigner objectification and the two latent outcome factors, the factor loading of one of the indicators of each latent variable was constrained to 1 while the other indicators' loadings were allowed to be freely estimated (Kline, 2011). Based on Armenta et al.'s (2013) finding that the FObS items demonstrate psychometric scalar noninvariance, the intercepts of the FObS items were unconstrained and allowed to vary between groups[6]. Modification indices were examined and adjustments were made to the model to account for the covariance between the latent factors for psychological distress and subjective well-being, as it is theoretically plausible that these two outcomes are related. After the model was properly specified for the full sample, as indicated by adequate fit indices, multiple group analyses were conducted.

Four models were specified and tested in the full sample. Model fit was assessed via three methods: the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Root Mean

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[6] Armenta et al. (2013) found that the FObS held structural (i.e., factor structure) and metric (i.e., factor loadings) invariance, which are required conditions for conducting multigroup SEM analyses (Kline, 2011).

Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) statistics, and comparison of change in

chi-squared values between nested models. Conventionally, CFI values of $> .90$

and RMSEA $< .06$ are considered to be acceptable (Kline, 2011). Models that

demonstrate a statistically significant improvement in fit to the data are

considered to be better than the model in which it is nested.
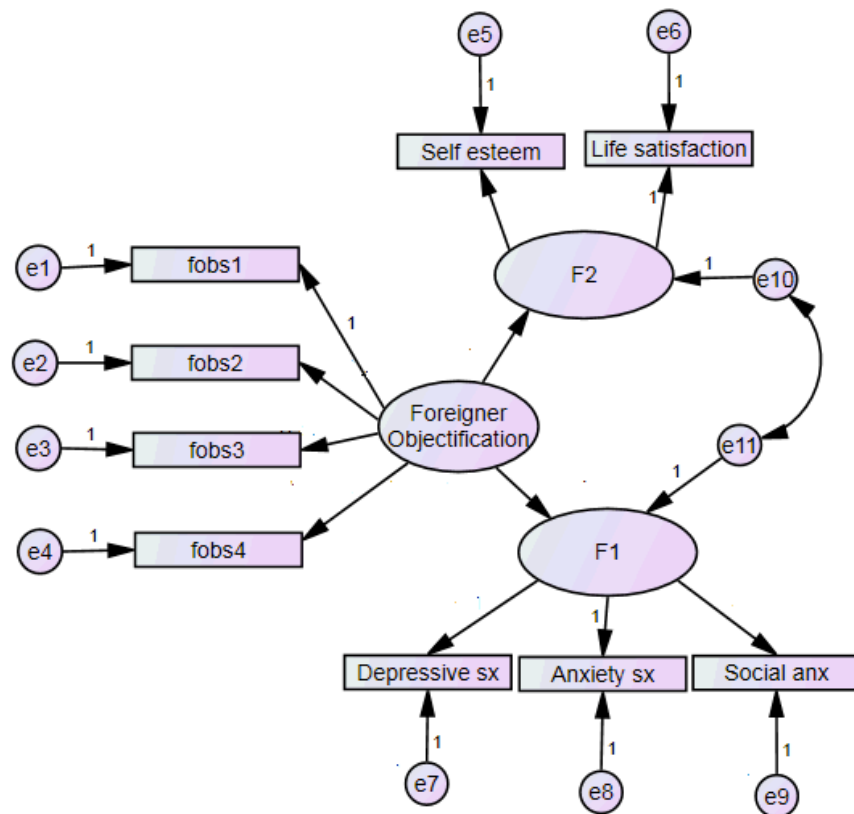
Figure 2. General Model for Multigroup SEM Analysis
Note: F1 = Latent psychological distress factor. F2 = Latent subjective well-being factor.

Model 1 (the invariant model) specified group equivalence of the parameters for the regression coefficients for the paths between FO and psychological distress and between FO and subjective well-being (i.e., one set of parameters estimated for all participants). Model 2 was the same as Model 1 but allowed the paths from FO to distress and SWB to vary across social identity profiles. Model 3 only allowed group variability for a single path from FO to SWB ,and Model 4 only allowed the single path from FO to distress to vary across groups. Fit indices for each of the four models were compared to arrive at the best fitting model, and the parameter estimates for the optimal model solution were compared between groups.

MG-SEM of immigrant and U.S.-born subsamples. The multigroup SEM analyses were conducted separately on these subsamples based on previous research suggesting that demographic variables such as nativity (e.g., U. S.-born vs. immigrant individuals) predict group differences in the experiences and correlates of discrimination (e.g., Armenta et al., Yip et al., 2008, Yoo & Lee, 2008).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

See Table 1 for bivariate Pearson correlations between study variables, as well as means and standard deviations for the full sample and Table 2 for correlations split by nativity. Overall, participants reported infrequent exposure to foreigner objectification in the past year ($M = 1.65$, $SD = .65$), which is between *Never* and *Once or Twice*. The item endorsed with the highest frequency was "Asked by strangers 'Where are you from'" because of your ethnicity or race in the past year ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.09$), which is between *Once or Twice* and *Three or Four Times*. Notably, 69.5% of participants reported being asked "Where are you from" at least once in the past year, and 19.5% of participants reported a chronic frequency of five or more times. Forty percent of participants said that they experienced someone commenting on or being surprised by their English language ability. The least frequent experiences were having their citizenship or residency questioned by others at least once in the past year (22.9%) and being spoken to in an unnecessarily slow or loud way (30.9%).

All primary study variables (ethnic identity, American identity, FO, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, social anxiety, self-esteem, and life satisfaction) were analyzed for group differences by demographic variables (See Table 3 for statistics and effect sizes). Group differences on ethnic identity were found between U.S.-born and immigrant participants, $t(716) = -2.37$, $p = .02$, with immigrant Asian Americans reporting higher ethnic identity ($M = 3.94$, $SD =$

.75) than U.S.-born participants ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .80$). No group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = .09, $p = .89$. Age was not significantly related to ethnic identity, $r = -.05$.

For American identity, group differences were found by nativity, t (716) = 5.03, $p < .001$, such that U.S.-born Asian Americans reported higher American identity ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .76$) than immigrant participants ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .83$). No group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = 1.14, $p = .24$. Age was significantly related to American identity such that older participants reported lower American identity, $r = -.11$, $p < .01$.

Group differences on FO were found between participants who were and were not born in the United States, t (716) = -5.55, $p < .001$, with immigrant Asian Americans reporting more exposure to foreigner objectification ($M = 1.82$, $SD = .67$) than U.S.-born participants ($M = 1.56$, $SD = .58$). No group differences were observed on FO by gender, t (712) = 1.34, $p = .18$. Age was significantly related to FO such that older participants reported more FO, $r = .09$, $p < .05$.

There were no significant differences found for depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, social anxiety, self-esteem, or life satisfaction by gender or nativity. Further, age did not significantly predict any of these outcomes. For depressive symptoms, no group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = -.17, $p = .86$, nativity, t (716) = -.63, $p = .53$), or age, $r = .01$, $p > .05$. For anxiety symptoms, no group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = -.46, $p = .65$; nativity, t (716) = -1.34, $p = .18$; or age, $r = .04$, $p > .05$.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Eth Id	1											
2. Am Id	.20**	1										
3. Eth imm	.39**	-.16**	1									
4. Am imm	.08*	.63	-.36**	1								
5. Bicult dist	.27**	.35**	.09*	.33**	1							
6. Bicul conflict	.02	-.14**	.14**	-.19**	-.03	1						
7. FO	.01	-.05	.15**	-.08*	-.14**	.07	1					
8. Dep	-.06	-.15**	.09*	-.18**	-.15**	.23**	.12**	1				
9. Anx	-.07	-.13**	.14**	-.17**	-.19**	.21**	.20**	.84**	1			
10. Soc Anx	-.12**	-.14**	.00	-.19**	-.11**	.27**	-.01	.40**	.36**	1		
11.Self Est	.20**	.27**	-.05	.31**	.22**	-.22**	-.03	-.57**	-.51**	-.50**	1	
12. Life Sat	.21**	.25**	.01	.25**	.20**	-.11**	-.03	-.37**	-.28**	-.23**	.50**	1
M	3.85	3.74	3.12	3.85	2.07	2.66	1.65	2.63	2.37	2.82	3.51	3.79
(SD)	(.78)	(.80)	(.86)	(.61)	(1.04)	(1.15)	(.62)	(.68)	(.85)	(.66)	(.64)	(1.03)

Note: *p < .05, ** p < .01. EthId = ethnic identity affirmation/commitment; AmId = American identity affirmation/commitment; Eth imm= ethnic society immersion; Am imm = American society immersion; Bicult dist = Bicultural distance; Bicult conflict = Bicultural conflict; FO = foreigner objectification; Dep = depressive symptoms; Anx = anxiety symptoms; Soc Anx = social anxiety; Self Est = self-esteem; Life Sat = life satisfaction.

Table 2
Bivariate Correlations between Study Variables, by Nativity

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Eth Id	-	.15**	.30**	.11	-.16**	.04	.08	-.09	-.14*	-.05	.26**	.24**
2. Am Id	.25**	-	-.26**	.64**	-.43**	-.11	.01	-.13*	-.09	-.14*	.22**	.19**
3. Eth imm	.45**	.02	-	-.39**	.20**	.25**	.10	.09	.10	.12	-.13*	-.03
4. Am imm	.11*	.60**	-.18**	-	-.46**	-.26**	.06	-.24**	-.18**	-.29**	.37**	30**
5. Bicult dist	-.35**	-.28	-.05	-.20**	-	.14**	.09	.11	.16**	.15**	-.27**	-.22**
6. Bicul conflict	.01	-.15**	.07	-.14**	-.03	-	.07	.23**	.19**	.32**	-.28**	-.06
7. FO	-.06	-.03	.07	-.09	.13**	.06	-	-.03	.06	-.10	.05	.13*
8. Dep	-.04	-.16**	.08	-.15**	.17**	.23**	.20**	-	.82**	.48**	-.59**	-.30**
9. Anx	-.04	-.15**	.14**	-.16**	.19**	.22**	.28**	.85 **	-	.40**	-.53**	-.22**
10. Soc Anx	-.15**	-.15**	-.04	-.16**	.09	.23**	.05	.36**	.34**	-	-.51**	-.25**
11.Self Est	.17**	.31**	-.02	.30**	-.20	-.19**	-.08	-.57**	-.50**	-.49**	-	.46**
12. Life Sat	.20**	.30**	.01	.25**	-.21**	-.14**	-.14**	-.41**	-.32**	-.21**	.52**	-

Note: *p < .05, ** p < .01. Upper diagonal values are for immigrant subsample (n = 253). Lower diagonal values are for U.S.-born subsample (n = 465). Eth Id = ethnic identity affirmation/commitment; Am Id = American identity affirmation/commitment; Eth imm= ethnic society immersion; Am imm = American society immersion; Bicult dist = Bicultural distance; Bicult conflict = Bicultural conflict; FO = foreigner objectification; Dep = depressive symptoms; Anx = anxiety symptoms; Soc Anx = social anxiety; Self Est = self-esteem; LifeSat = life satisfaction.

Table 3

Preliminary Analyses of Demographics and Primary Variables of Interest

	Gender, *M (SD)*				Nativity, *M (SD)*				Age,
	t (df)	Male	Female	*d*	*t* (df)	U.S.-born	Immigrant	*d*	*r*
1. Eth Id	*t* (712) = .09	3.86 (.80)	3.85 (.77)	0.01	*t* (716) = -2.37*	3.80 (.80)	3.94 (.75)	-0.08	-.05
2. Am Id	*t* (712) = 1.14	3.79 (.78)	3.72 (.81)	0.01	*t* (716) = 5.03**	3.85 (76)	3.54 (.83)	0.39	-.11**
3. FO	*t* (712) = 1.34	1.69 (.68)	1.62 (.59)	0.11	*t* (716) = -5.55**	1.56 (.58)	1.82 (.67)	-0.44	.09*
8. Dep	*t* (712) = -.18	2.63 (.71)	2.64 (.65)	-0.01	*t* (716) = -.63	2.62 (.69)	2.65 (.65)	-0.04	.01
9. Anx	*t* (712) = -.46	2.35 (.85)	2.39 (.85)	-0.04	*t* (716) = -1.34	2.34 (.87)	2.43 (.80)	-0.11	.04
10. Soc Anx	*t* (712) = -1.13	2.78 (.70)	2.84 (.64)	-0.09	*t* (716) = .90	2.84 (.67)	2.79 (.65)	0.08	-.07
11. Self Est	*t* (712) = .68	3.53 (.71)	3.50 (.61)	0.05	*t* (716) = -.25	3.51 (.66)	3.52 (.62)	-0.02	-.03
12. Life Sat	*t* (712) = -.33	3.77 (1.06)	3.80 (1.02)	-0.03	*t* (716) = -1.02	3.76 (1.03)	3.84 (1.04)	-0.08	-.04

Note: *p < .05, ** p < .01. Eth Id = ethnic identity affirmation/commitment; Am Id = American identity affirmation/commitment; FO = foreigner objectification; Dep = depressive symptoms; Anx = anxiety symptoms; Soc Anx = social anxiety; Self Est = self-esteem; Life Sat = life satisfaction. *d* = Cohen's *d* for independent means, where small effect = .20, medium effect = .50, and large effect = .80 (Cohen, 1992).

For social anxiety, no group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = -1.13, p = .26; nativity, t (716) = .90, p = .37; or age, r = -.07, p = .06. For self-esteem, no group differences were observed by gender, t (712) = .68, p = .50; nativity t (716) = -.25, p = .80; or age, r = -.03, p > .05. For life satisfaction, no group differences were observed by gender, t(712) = -.33, p = .74; nativity, t (716) = -1.02, p = .31; or age, r = -.04, p > .05.

Hypothesis 1: Bicultural Identity Profiles

Hypothesis 1a. Identification of Bicultural Identity Profiles

First, hierarchical agglomeration cluster analysis was done on Split-half Sample A, using the standardized mean scores of ethnic identity affirmation/commitment items and American identity affirmation/commitment items as profile indicator variables. Hierarchical agglomeration procedures are appropriate when there is no a priori number of clusters or initial cluster center (also called centroid) values to specify. The hierarchical agglomeration method starts with each case in a cluster of its own, then finds the closet cluster (or case) and merges the two, then comparing this new cluster to the next closest cluster and repeating the merge to form a new cluster. Ward's method of hierarchical agglomeration seeks to minimize the distance between two cluster centroids.

A range of cluster solutions (2 to 10) were generated from the hierarchical agglomeration procedure and evaluated on several criteria to select an optimal solution (see Table 4). The smallest change in coefficients from the agglomeration table was sought, as well as examining the change in effect sizes (1 – Wilks'

lambda; Table 5). The dendogram was also examined to identify the best cluster solution. This evidence was triangulated to conclude that the five-cluster solution was optimal, and the cluster center values (i.e., the cluster's average values for ethnic identity and American identity) were noted for the next step.

Second, k-means analysis was conducted on Split-half Sample A, specifying the number of k clusters = 5 and using the cluster center (i.e., centroid) values derived from the previous step as initial center values. Whereas Ward's hierarchical clustering method's objective is to reduce the distance between cluster centers, k-means analyses are intended to reduce the variability within clusters.

The final centroid values (.73/1.18, -.80/-1.06, .97/-.62, -1.88/.94, -.11/.10) of each of the five clusters were compared with the initial values for similarity, and there were no notable deviations from the initial values. At this point, each case had been assigned to one of each of the five clusters from the two different cluster analytic procedures (i.e., each case had a cluster membership assignment from the hierarchical agglomeration procedure and another cluster membership assignment from the k-means procedure). Crosstabulation analysis was run to evaluate the agreement of cluster membership assignment between the two procedures, resulting in agreement in 94.5% of the cases and providing evidence of adequate reliability for the five-cluster solution.

Table 4
Coefficients of Hierarchical Agglomerative Cluster Analysis on Subsample A

	Coefficient this step	Agglomeration last step	Change	%-Change
1 cluster	782.76			
2 clusters	502.812	782.76	279.948	36%
3 clusters	372.98	502.812	129.832	26%
4 clusters	271.747	372.98	101.233	27%
5 clusters	**202.33**	**271.747**	**69.417**	**26%**
6 clusters	173.184	202.33	29.146	14%
7 clusters	149.921	173.184	23.263	13%
8 clusters	130.616	149.921	19.305	13%
9 clusters	111.49	130.616	19.126	15%
10 clusters	98.609	111.49	12.881	12%

Note: Evidence for optimal cluster solution is obtained by examining changes in coefficients from the Agglomeration Table and ascertaining where the %-change is small in the step between the optimal solution and the next solution. These results suggest that the five-cluster solution is best.

Table 5
Comparison of Effect Sizes Representing the Variance of Profile Indicator Variables Predicted by Cluster Solutions Generated by Hierarchical Agglomeration Procedure

	Wilks' Lambda	1-Wilks' Lambda	%-Change
2 clusters	0.404	0.596	
3 clusters	0.204	0.796	0.25
4 clusters	0.117	0.883	0.10
5 clusters	**0.07**	**0.93**	**0.05**
6 clusters	0.052	0.948	0.02
7 clusters	0.037	0.963	0.02
8 clusters	0.029	0.971	0.01
9 clusters	0.021	0.979	0.01
10 clusters	0.017	0.983	< 0.01

Note: Evidence for optimal cluster solution is obtained by comparing effect sizes generated from a multivariate regression test where the profile indicator variables are predicted by cases' cluster membership. The effect size of 1 - Wilks' Lambda represents the percent of variance of the outcome variables accounted for by the predictor(s). A small % change in the effect size indicates an optimal solution.

Third, the final cluster center values derived from the *k*-means analysis on Split-half sample A (.73/1.18, -.80/-1.06, .97/-.62, -1.88/.94, -.11/.10) were used as initial cluster center values for a *k*-means analysis on Split-half Sample B. Again, the final centroid values of each of the five clusters were compared with the initial values for similarity and no notable deviations were found. At this point, there were now *k*-means derived cluster assignments to each case in the full sample.

Fourth, a *k*-means cluster analysis was performed on the entire sample, using the same initial center values that were used in step three (.73/1.18, -.80/-1.06, .97/-.62, -1.88/.94, -.11/.10). Crosstabulation analyses were then done to compare cluster assignments based on split-half samples and the full sample analyses, resulting in agreement in 97.2% of the cases.

Two additional values were calculated to provide evidence for an adequate cluster solution: the average squared Euclidean distance (ASED) and mean cluster homogeneity. Both of these values demonstrated adequate integrity of the clusters. The squared Euclidean distance is a value that represents the squared-value of the distance of a single case to the cluster centroid; these values ranged from .04 to 2.15 in the full sample. ASED represents the average of all cases in a cluster, akin to the "tightness" of a cluster. In this sample, the Cluster 1 ASED = .59 (*SD* = .22), Cluster 2 ASED = .69 (*SD* = .41), Cluster 3 ASED = .65 (*SD* = .32), Cluster 4 ASED = .77 (*SD* = .20), and Cluster 5 ASED = .61 (*SD* = .31). Mean cluster homogeneity values are calculated by squaring the Euclidean

distance for each cluster and then taking the mean of all individuals that are within the cluster. Smaller values represent tighter clusters and are considered more desirable. The overall mean cluster homogeneity was .47 ($SD = .54$), with values ranging from .00 to 4.63. The values for each cluster were Cluster 1 $M =$ .39, $SD =.28$; Cluster 2 $M = .64$, $SD=.81$; Cluster 3 mean = .52, $SD=.52$; Cluster 4 $M = .70$, $SD =.61$; Cluster 5 $M = .26$, $SD = .20$.

The optimal cluster analytic solution for this sample was a five-cluster solution, which was consistent with the prediction of at least four clusters. Profile labels were assigned based on the cluster centroid Z-scores and raw scores (see Table 6 and Figure 3). Consistent with hypotheses, the combinations of high ethnic/high American (*Strong Bicultural*, $n = 160$); low ethnic/low American (*Weak Bicultural*, $n = 154$); high ethnic/low American (*Strong Ethnic*, $n = 118$); and low ethnic/high American (*Strong American*, $n = 99$) profiles emerged from the cluster analyses. The additional profile of average ethnic/average American (*Average Bicultural*, $n = 187$) also emerged, representing the largest proportion of cases in the total sample (26%). Figure 3 illustrates the Z-scores of the five profiles. As expected from the cluster analytic procedures, there were statistically significant differences between profiles on the ethnic identity and American identity variables, $F_{ethnicid}$ (4, 713) = 515.48, $p < .001$ and $F_{Americanid}$ (4, 713) = 134.48, $p < .001$.

Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected contrasts clarified that individuals in the Strong Bicultural and Strong Ethnic profiles reported significantly higher levels of

ethnic identity than those in the other three profiles, though they did not differ

significantly from each other (see Table 6). Individuals in the Strong American

profile reported the lowest levels of ethnic identity. Those with Weak Bicultural

and Average Bicultural profiles had scores on ethnic identity in between these

extremes, with the Weak Biculturals reporting lower levels than the Average

Biculturals. With respect to differences in American identity, all profiles were

significantly different from each other, in descending order: Strong Bicultural,

Strong American, Average Bicultural, Strong Ethnic, and Weak Bicultural.

Post-hoc analyses examining the characteristics of each profile found no

significant differences by gender. However, certain profiles were more likely to

be populated by U.S.-born vs. immigrant participants, χ^2 (4) = 16.60, p < .01.

U.S.-born participants were more likely to be in the Strong Bicultural profile

(Adjusted Standardized Residual[7]; ASR = 1.8) or Strong American profile (ASR

= 2.5) whereas immigrant born participants were more likely to be in the Weak

Bicultural (ASR = 1.7) or Strong Ethnic profiles (ASR = 2.8).

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[7] The Adjusted Standardized Residual represents the difference between the observed and expected values
for each cell, adjusted for the row and column total. It indicates which cells contribute most to a significant
chi-square value. A value of 1.96 (2.0 is the convention) indicates that the number of cases in that cell is
significantly larger than would be expected if the two variables were independent (i.e., null hypothesis is
true) at the .05 significance level (Agresti, 2002).

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of the Five-cluster Solution's Cluster Centroids

Cluster/Profile Label	n	Ethnic identity		American identity	
		z-score	Raw score	z-score	Raw score
Strong Bicultural	160	.89 (.50)[a]	4.56 (.41)	1.16 (.39)[v]	4.67 (.31)
Weak Bicultural	154	-.81 (.58)[b]	3.19 (.47)	-1.13 (.56)[w]	2.83 (.45)
Strong Ethnic	118	.95 (.41)[a]	4.61 (.34)	-.80 (.59)[x]	3.09 (.48)
Strong American	99	-1.28 (.60)[c]	2.81 (.49)	.71 (.58)[y]	4.31 (.47)
Average Bicultural	187	.02 (.36)[d]	3.86 (.29)	.10 (.37)[z]	3.81 (.30)

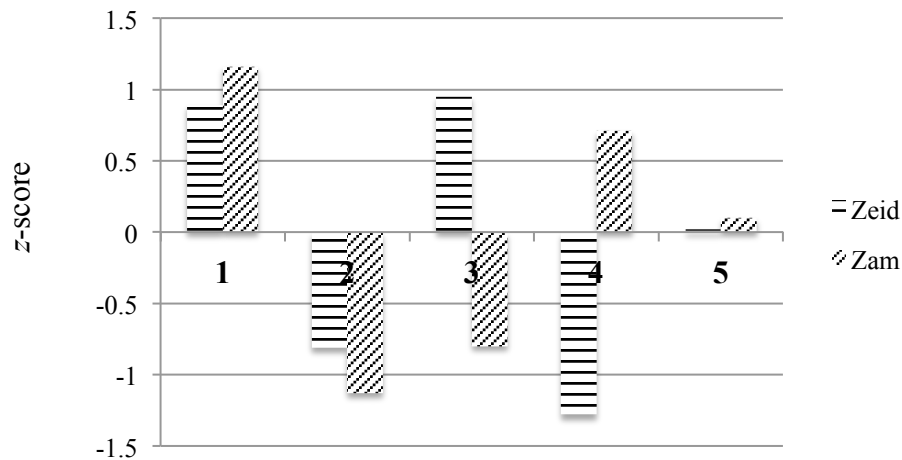*Note*: Superscripts indicate statistically significant contrasts, $p < .05$.

Figure 3. Cluster Centroids for the Five Bicultural Identity Profiles
Note: The y-axis is scaled in standardized *z*-score units. 1 = Strong Bicultural Profile, 2 = Weak Bicultural Profile, 3 = Strong Ethnic Profile, 4 = Strong American Profile, 5 = Average Bicultural Profile

Hypothesis 1b. As expected, group differences were observed between profiles on constructs related to social identity (Table 7). The omnibus ANOVA test found differences between groups on ethnic society immersion, $F(4) = 25.60$, $p < .001$. Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons observed that the Strong Ethnic profile (high Ethnic/low American) was significantly higher ($M = 3.24$, $SD = .77$) on ethnic society immersion than the other three profiles. The mean score of the Strong American profile ($M = 2.46$, $SD = .89$) was significantly lower on ethnic society immersion than all the other profiles. Profiles for Strong Bicultural, Weak Bicultural, and Average Bicultural were not significantly different from each other on ethnic society immersion ($M = 3.24$, $SD = .79$; $M = 3.10$, $SD = 85$; and $M = 3.12$, $SD = .86$, respectively).

As expected, the profiles differed on American society immersion as well, $F(4) = 79.97$, $p < .001$. Profiles for Strong Bicultural and Strong American had the highest mean scores on American society immersion but were not significantly different from each other ($M = 4.22$, $SD = .35$ and $M = 4.22$, $SD = .47$, respectively). The Average Bicultural profile had the next significantly highest score ($M = 3.92$, $SD = .48$), followed by Strong Ethnic ($M = 3.55$, $SD = .60$). The Weak Bicultural profile had the lowest scores on American society immersion ($M = 3.37$, $SD = .60$) and significantly differed from the other four profiles.

Group differences were found for cultural distance or not feeling that one is a member of both one's heritage culture and American society, $F(4) = 30.65$, p

< .001. The Strong Bicultural profile was significantly lower (*M* = 1.43, *SD* =

.81), on cultural distance than the other four profiles. The next lowest score was

Average Bicultural (*M* = 2.00, *SD* = .96), which also differed from the other

profiles. The Weak Bicultural profile had the highest score on cultural distance

(*M* = 2.56, *SD* = .94), however this was not significantly different from the Strong

Ethnic (*M* = 2.25, *SD* = 1.04) and Strong American (*M* = 2.32, *SD* = 1.21)

profiles.

Group differences were also found for the conflict between the ways one's

heritage culture and American culture do things, *F* (4) = 4.48, *p* = .001. Strong

Bicultural participants reported the least amount of cultural conflict (*M* = 2.42, *SD*

= 1.26), but this was not statistically different from the scores in the Strong

American (*M* = 2.42, *SD* = 1.17) and Average Bicultural (*M* = 2.75, *SD* = 1.14)

profiles. Strong Ethnic (*M* = 2.84, *SD* = 1.08) reported the greatest amount of

cultural conflict; however, this was not statistically different from the scores of

the Weak Bicultural profile (*M* = 2.79, *SD* = 1.02).

Analyses were also conducted to examine potential differences in the

primary study variables by profile (see Table 7 and Figure 4). There were no

group differences on foreigner objectification. Significant group differences were

found on all the outcome variables (see Table 7 for mean scores and pairwise

contrasts). Visual inspection of the five profiles (Figure 4) reveals that the Weak

Bicultural profile stands out with the poorest adjustment, with above average

scores on depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety,

as well as below average scores on self-esteem and life satisfaction. The Strong Bicultural profile appears to have the best adjustment, with below average scores on depressive symptoms, anxiety, and social interaction anxiety and above average scores on self-esteem and life satisfaction. The Strong American profile has an adjustment pattern similar to the Strong Bicultural group but with lower scores on self-esteem and life satisfaction that are just above average. The adjustment patterns for the Average Bicultural and Strong Ethnic groups appear to be close to average on all outcome variables.

Table 7
Mean Differences between Profiles for Main Study Variables and Bicultural Profile Validation, Total Sample

	F (df), p	Partial η^2	Strong Bicultural M (SD)	Weak Bicultural M (SD)	Strong Ethnic M (SD)	Strong American M (SD)	Average Bicultural M (SD)
FO	F (4) = .53	< .01	1.63 (.63)	1.66 (.62)	1.69 (.60)	1.58 (.61)	1.66 (.65)
Dep	F (4) = 4.72**	.03	2.50 (.74)[a]	2.82 (.63)[b]	2.63 (.60)[ab]	2.47 (.66)[a]	2.67 (.68)[ab]
Anx	F (4) = 4.52**	.03	2.21 (.85)[a]	2.57 (.82)[b]	2.34 (.79)[abc]	2.18 (.79)[ac]	2.46 (.89)[bc]
Soc Anx	F (4) = 4.87**	.03	2.63 (.71)[a]	2.97 (.56)[b]	2.85 (.67)[b]	2.83 (.70)[ab]	2.84 (.63)[b]
Self Est	F (4) = 14.15**	.08	3.78 (.64)[a]	3.24 (.53)[b]	3.51 (.65)[c]	3.55 (.69)[c]	3.50 (.62)[c]
Life Sat	F (4) = 13.88**	.08	4.17 (1.00)[a]	3.32 (1.02)[b]	3.85 (1.00)[ac]	3.80 (.99)[c]	3.80 (.98)[c]
Eth immersion	F (4) = 25.60**	.13	3.24 (.79)[a]	3.10 (.85)[a]	3.54 (.77)[b]	2.46 (.89)[c]	3.12 (.77)[a]
Am immersion	F (4) = 79.97**	.31	4.22 (.35)[a]	3.37 (.60)[b]	3.55 (.60)[c]	4.22 (.47)[a]	3.92 (.48)[d]
Bicult distance	F (4) = 30.65**	.15	1.43 (.81)[a]	2.56 (.94)[b]	2.24 (1.04)[b]	2.31 (1.12)[b]	2.00 (.96)[c]
Bicult conflict	F (4) = 4.48**	.03	2.42 (1.26)[a]	2.79 (1.02)[b]	2.84 (1.07)[b]	2.42 (1.17)[ab]	2.75 (1.14)[ab]

Note: *p < .05, ** p < .01. Superscripts indicate statistically significant different contrasts. FO = foreigner objectification, Dep = depressive symptoms, Anx = anxiety symptoms, Soc Anx = social anxiety, Self Est = self-esteem, Life Sat = life satisfaction, Eth immersion = Ethnic society immersion, Am immersion = American society immersion, Bicult distance = Bicultural distance, Bicult conflict = Bicultural conflict.
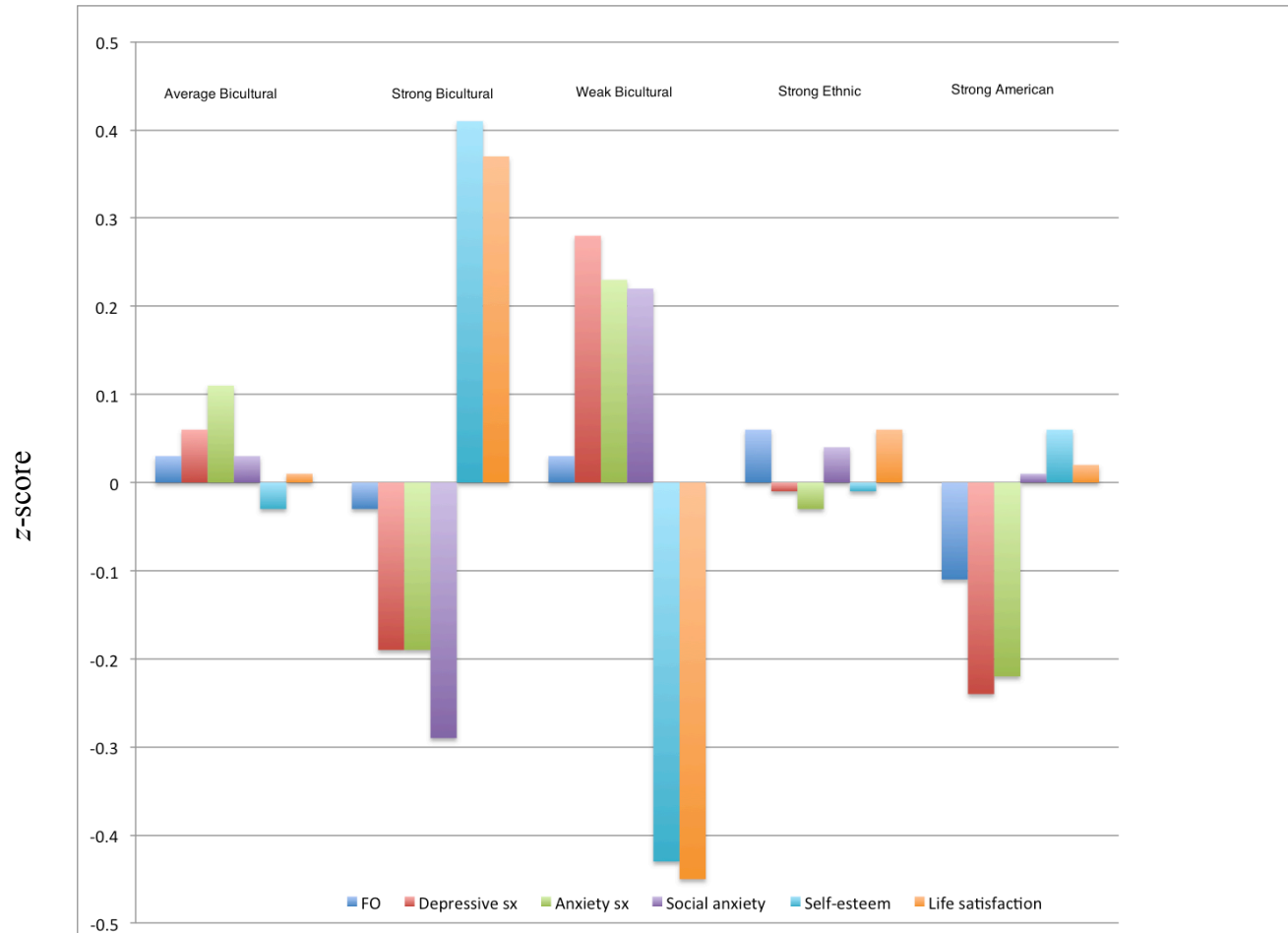
Figure 4. Study Variables Grouped by Bicultural Identity Profile

Hypothesis 2: Variations in the Relationship between Foreigner

Objectification and Psychological Adjustment by Bicultural Identity – Total

Sample

      Hypothesis 2a: Model fit. As a reminder, four models were tested and

compared in the total sample. Table 8 details the models tested and indices of fit,

including a test of change in χ^2 for nested models. Model 1 was the invariant

model where all parameters were estimated to be equal across groups (i.e., social

identity profiles). Models 2, 3, and 4 differed from Model 1 by allowing various

path/regression coefficients to vary across groups. Model 2 allowed for variation

on both paths from FO to SWB and psychological distress. Model 3 allowed for

variation of the path from FO to SWB. Model 4 allowed for variation of the path

from FO to psychological distress. Chi-squared values and model fit indices were

compared to arrive at the best fitting model, and the parameter estimates for this

model were interpreted.

      All four models had evidence of acceptable model fit values for the χ^2 test

and RMSEA < .10 (see Table 8). The four models produced CFI values which

approached the acceptable value of CFI > .90. However, the alternative models

did not significantly improve on the invariant model based on a χ^2 test of the

change in χ^2 divided by the change in *df*. Therefore, the invariant model, Model 1,

$\chi_{Model1}^2 (224) = 489.47$, $p < .01$, was determined to be the most parsimonious

model with which to interpret parameter estimates.

Table 8

Fit Indices of Models Tested in Multigroup SEM of the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment Outcomes – Total Sample, $N = 718$

Model	χ^2	df	p	CFI	RMSEA	Comparison: $\Delta \chi^2$, Δdf	p-value
1: Invariant model	489.47**	224	< 0.01	0.880	0.041	-	–
2: 1 with different SWB and distress paths	481.13**	216	< 0.01	0.880	0.041	1 vs. 2: 8.34, 8	0.40
3. 1 with different SWB path	482.36**	220	< 0.01	0.881	0.041	1 vs. 3: 7.12, 4	0.13
4: 1 with different distress path	486.75**	200	< 0.01	0.879	0.048	1 vs. 4: 2.72, 4	0.61

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Models 2, 3, and 4 do not significantly improve fit; therefore, Model 1 is the best solution.

Table 9

Invariant Model's Regression Estimates of the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment Outcomes for Total Sample, $N = 718$

	b	SE	β	p-value	CR
Subjective well-being	-.08	.06	-.06	.21	-1.26
Psychological distress	.31	.07	.19*	<.001*	4.15

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. CR = Critical ratio

Hypothesis 2b: Regression estimates. Regression estimates for the

invariant model with the total sample represented the relationships between FO

and psychological distress and subjective well-being, with no variation between

profiles. A statistically significant association between FO and psychological

distress was found ($b = .31$, $SE = .07$, $\beta = .19$, $p < .01$, critical ratio $= 4.15$). One

unit increase in foreigner objectification is associated with a .19 standard

deviation increase in psychological distress. However, a significant association

between FO and subjective distress was not observed, $b = -.08$, $SE = .06$, $\beta = -.06$,

$p = .21$, critical ratio $= -1.26$.

Hypothesis 3: Analyses Separated by Nativity

The full sample was split into immigrant and U.S.-born subsamples ($n =$

253 and $n = 465$, respectively), and analyses were run separately for each

subsample. Similar to the modeling procedures with the total sample, competing

models were compared on their χ^2 values and fit statistics. Based on the optimal

model solution, MG-SEM analyses were conducted to examine any variability in

regression estimates by profile.

Immigrant subsample.

Hypothesis 3a: Model fit. In the immigrant subsample, all five models had

evidence of acceptable model fit values for χ^2 test and RMSEA (see Table 10).

However the criteria of CFI $> .90$ was not met. The three alternative models did

not significantly improve on the invariant model, $\chi^2_{Model1} (224) = 343.65$.

Therefore, the invariant model was retained and regression estimates for the entire sample were interpreted.

Hypothesis 3a: Regression estimates. Parameter estimates for the invariant model represented the association between FO and psychological distress and FO and subjective well-being. However, no statistically significant relationships were observed for either psychological distress ($b = .02$, $SE = .08$, $\beta = .01$, $p = .85$, critical ratio $= 0.19$) or subjective well-being ($b = .04$, $SE = .13$, $\beta = .02$, $p = .76$, critical ratio $= 0.31$).

U.S.-born subsample.

Hypothesis 3a: Model fit. In the U.S.-born subsample, all models tested had evidence of adequate model fit values for χ^2 test and RMSEA $< .10$ and approached the acceptable CFI value of .90 (see Table 12). Model 3 which allowed for variation by profile for the regression path from FO to subjective-well being was found to significantly improve upon the fit of the Invariant model, $\chi_{Model3}^2 (220) = 426.99$) vs. $\chi_{Model1}^2 (224) = 437.61$. The CFI value also increased slightly from 0.858 to 0.862 from Model 1 to Model 3. Based on these results, Model 3 was determined to be the most parsimonious, optimal model with which to interpret parameter estimates that varied by bicultural identity profile.

Table 10

Fit Indices of Models Tested in Multigroup SEM of the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment Outcomes – Immigrant Subsample, $n = 253$

Model	χ^2	df	P	CFI	RMSEA	Comparison: $\Delta \chi^2$, Δdf	p-value
1: Invariant model	343.65**	224	< 0.01	0.840	0.046	-	–
2: 1 with different SWB and distress paths	339.73**	216	< 0.01	0.835	0.048	1 vs. 2: 3.92, 8	0.86
3. 1 with different SWB path	342.35**	220	< 0.01	0.837	0.047	1 vs. 3: 7.12, 4	0.86
4: 1 with different distress path	342.31**	200	< 0.01	0.837	0.047	1 vs. 4: 2.72, 4	0.85

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Models 2, 3, and 4 do not significantly improve fit, therefore, Model 1 is the best solution.

Table 11

Invariant Model's Regression Estimates of the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment Outcomes for Immigrant Subsample, $n = 253$

	b	SE	β	p-value	CR
Subjective well-being	.02	.08	.01	.85	.19
Psychological distress	.04	.13	.02	.76	.31

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. CR = Critical ratio

Hypothesis 3a: Regression estimates. Parameter estimates for Model 3

represented the associations between FO and psychological distress and FO and

subjective well-being, as varied by bicultural identity profile (see Table 13). As

predicted, statistically significant effects for psychological distress were found,

Contrary to prediction, however, the best fitting model to the data did not allow

for profile variation in this relationship between FO and psychological distress.

Therefore, the estimates for this path are generalized across all five profiles, $b =$

.46, $SE = .09$, $\beta = .28$, $p < .01$.

The best fitting model for U.S.-born Asian Americans allowed for

variation between profiles on the relationship between FO and subjective well-

being. The regression estimate for the path from FO to SWB was found to be

statistically significant in the Average Bicultural profile ($b = -.29$, $SE = .13$, $\beta = -$

.22, $p < .05$), Weak Bicultural profile ($b = -.40$, $SE = .15$, $\beta = -.30$, $p < .01$), and

Strong Bicultural profile ($b = -.21$, $SE = .08$, $\beta = -.16$, $p > .05$, critical ratio $=- .79$.

However, according to pairwise tests between parameters (see Table 14), these

estimates differed significantly from each other. The Strong Ethnic profile's

parameter estimate was non-significant. Contrary to hypotheses, a positive

association between FO and subjective well-being was observed in the Strong

American profile, $b = .21$, $SE = .16$, $\beta = .17$, $p > .05$. Although surprising, this

finding was not statistically significant at the $p = .05$ level.

An option in the AMOS software allowed for the calculation of critical

values in the pairwise comparisons between parameter estimates (see Table 14).

The regression estimates for the relationship between FO and SWB in the U.S.-born subsample are not statistically different amongst the Strong Bicultural, Average Bicultural, Weak Bicultural, and Strong Ethnic profiles. The estimate of the Strong American profile was significantly different from the other four profiles.

Table 12
Fit Indices of Models Tested in Multigroup SEM of the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Psychological Adjustment
Outcomes – U.S.-born Subsample, $n = 465$

Model	χ^2	df	p	CFI	RMSEA	Comparison; $\Delta\chi^2$, Δ df	p-value
1: Invariant model	437.61**	224	< 0.01	0.858	0.046	-	-
2: 1 with different SWB and distress paths	424.21**	216	< 0.01	0.861	0.046	1 vs. 2: 13.40, 8	0.10
3. 1 with different SWB path	426.99**	220	< 0.01	0.862	0.045	1 vs. 3: 10.61, 4*	0.03
4: 1 with different distress path	436.39**	200	< 0.01	0.856	0.046	1 vs. 4: 1.21, 4	0.88

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, Model 3 significantly improves the fit above the invariant model and is the best solution.

Table 13
Regression Estimates for Path from FO to Subjective Well-being, Model 3, U.S.-born Subsample, $n = 465$

Profile	n	Subjective well-being			Psychological distress		
		b	SE	β	b	SE	β
Average Bicultural[a]	123	-.29	.13	-.22*	.46	.09	.28**
Strong Bicultural[a]	113	-.21	.08	-.16**	.46	.09	.28**
Weak Bicultural[a]	91	-.40	.15	-.30**	.46	.09	.28**
Strong Ethnic[a]	63	-.22	.17	-.17	.46	.09	.28**
Strong American[b]	75	.21	.16	.17	.46	.09	.28**

Note: Superscripts indicate statistically significant pairwise contrasts of SWB regression estimates.

Table 14
Critical Values for Pairwise Contrasts of SWB Regression Estimates

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Average Bicultural	-				
2. Strong Bicultural	-0.61	-			
3. Weak Bicultural	0.61	-1.16	-		
4. Strong Ethnic	-0.37	-0.15	0.86	-	
5. Strong American	-2.50*	1.98*	2.85**	1.86*	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The present research investigated the relationships between foreigner objectification (FO) and psychological adjustment and whether these relationships varied between individuals of different bicultural (ethnic and American) identity profiles. To address this general research question, I first performed a person-centered cluster analysis to empirically derive the bicultural identity profiles to be compared. I then performed multigroup structural equation modeling (MG-SEM) analyses to evaluate potential group differences in the relationships between FO and psychological outcomes (psychological distress and subjective well-being). The MG-SEM analyses were carried out for the total sample and separately for the U.S.-born and immigrant subsamples.

Bicultural Identity Profiles

The hypotheses in this study related to the derivation and validation of bicultural identity profiles were generally supported. Person-centered cluster analyses yielded an optimal five-cluster solution. Four of the profiles that emerged (high ethnic-high American or *Strong Bicultural*; low ethnic-low American or *Weak Bicultural*; high ethnic-high American or *Strong Ethnic*; and low ethnic-high American or *Strong American*) were consistent with expectations based on the literature on biculturalism and developmental processes related to one's ethnic heritage culture and mainstream society (i.e., acculturation; Berry, 2003). The cluster analytic results included an additional profile in which participants reported average levels of both ethnic and American identities

(*Average Bicultural*). Notably, the Average Bicultural profile was populated by the most individuals. The emergence of this profile is consistent with the latent class analysis done by Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008), which included a "Full bicultural" and a "Partial bicultural" profile. The empirical evidence for these five different profiles provides evidence for person-centered methodology's utility (Bergman et al., 2003; von Eye & Bergman, 2003), as traditional variable-centered moderation analyses of ethnic identity and American identity would somewhat arbitrarily (Schwartz et al., 2010) create four groups based on a 2 X 2 design (e.g., Huynh et al., 2013). Furthermore, this study provides evidence for a typology beyond the traditional acculturation framework, which specifies only four profiles related to high and low levels of identification with one's ethnic culture and mainstream society (e.g., Berry et al., 2006).

The profiles were related to various constructs related to cultural identity and biculturalism in expected patterns. Profiles that had average to above average scores on the affirmation/commitment component of ethnic identity (Strong Bicultural, Strong Ethnic, and Average Bicultural) also reported higher immersion into their ethnic society, whereas the profiles that had lower than average scores on the affirmation/commitment component of ethnic identity (Strong American, Weak Bicultural) reported lower levels of ethnic society immersion. Expected group differences were also found for American society immersion. The Strong American and Strong Bicultural profiles endorsed the highest levels of immersion with American society, followed by Average Bicultural, and then Strong Ethnic.

Individuals in the Weak Bicultural profile reported the lowest levels of American immersion, lower than all the other profiles.

Comparing the profiles on bicultural integration, specifically cultural distance and cultural conflict, it appears that individuals in the Strong Bicultural profile are most proficient in bicultural integration. They reported lower levels of cultural distance and cultural conflict, meaning that they feel a sense of belonging as both a member of their ethnic group and American society while also experiencing less conflict between the beliefs and practices of their two cultural groups. On the whole, the Strong Bicultural group tends to fare better with respect to psychological adjustment as well, reporting below average levels of depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety and above average levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction. These findings echo past research studies that find that biculturalism is associated with more positive outcomes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011).

Interestingly, the Average Bicultural profile resembles the Strong Bicultural profile in some ways, such as reporting greater bicultural integration. However, the Average Bicultural group reported average levels of distress and subjective well-being, whereas the Strong Bicultural individuals evidence a more distinct pattern of fewer depressive symptoms and greater self-esteem and life satisfaction. In line with the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) and past research on multiple identities, individuals who have more psychological resources via multiple social identities

are likely to fare better (Huynh et al., 2013; Kiang, 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011).

The opposite appears to be true for those with the fewest social identity resources (i.e., individuals in the Weak Bicultural profile). These individuals stand out in terms of lower levels of engagement with American society and more bicultural distance and conflict, although their lower levels of bicultural integration are similar to some of the other profiles. It also appears that those in the Weak Bicultural profile tend to have adjustment outcome patterns that are unfavorable and directly opposite to the Strong Bicultural profile. Other researchers have found that multiple weak identities tend to be associated with poorer outcomes (e.g., Kiang et al., 2008).

As expected, the patterns of outcomes and correlates of the Strong American and Strong Ethnic profiles fell in between the extremes of the Strong Bicultural and Weak Bicultural profiles. On the items related to bicultural integration, individuals in the Strong American and Strong Ethnic groups tended to feel out of place in both cultures. The Strong Ethnic profile reported the highest amount of conflict between their ethnic heritage and American society. Similar to the Strong Ethnic individuals, the Strong Americans reported that they do not feel like a member of both cultures. However, lower bicultural integration may not bother individuals in the Strong American profile, because they also reported one of the lowest levels of cultural conflict ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 1.21$, which translates to a response between *Disagree* to *Neutral*). Interestingly, the Strong American group

looks similar to the Strong Bicultural group with lower-than average levels of distress (i.e., depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety), but they are lacking in the strong subjective well-being resources (i.e., self-esteem and life satisfaction) that the Strong Bicultural has in higher-than-average levels.

Despite the interesting pattern of results and their convergence with past research on the positive outcomes related to multiple identities, these results should be interpreted with caution. The cross-sectional and correlational nature of these analyses limit the ability to make causal conclusions about identity's impact on adjustment. The observed patterns of results may be attributable to one or more third variables, such as general levels of socialization, socioemotional skills, or individual differences on personality constructs. What can be concluded is that within this sample of Asian American college student, five groups of bicultural identity profiles emerged that are distinct in terms of levels of ethnic and American identity affirmation/commitment and various indicators of psychological adjustment. The mechanisms explaining these group differences should be explored in future research.

Foreigner Objectification-Adjustment Association

The primary aims of this research study involved looking at the associations between foreigner objectification and psychological adjustment and whether there was variation by bicultural identity profile. Some of the findings were consistent with expectations, whereas some findings were unexpected.

In the total sample, the relationship between foreigner objectification and subjective well-being was in the expected direction but non-significant, which was contrary to prediction and past findings for Asian Americans (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2011). However, the prediction of a significant positive relationship between FO and psychological distress was supported. Participants who reported more frequent exposure to events related to the perpetual foreigner stereotype reported more psychological distress, which is consistent with past research (e.g., V. W. Huynh, 2012). For every standard deviation increase in FO, there was an average increase of .19 standardized units of psychological distress. The non-significant effect for subjective well-being and significant effect for depressive symptoms may be explained by past findings that day-to-day slights have a stronger association and cumulative effect on negative affect than on positive affect (Ong et al., 2013).

When analyzing the data for the total sample, a model accounting for variation by profile did not significantly improve the fit to the data. Although this finding was counter to hypothesis, this invariance is not unsurprising, given that approximately half of all published studies on identity, discrimination, and adjustment fail to find statistically significant moderation effects (Brondolo et al., 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). In addition to potential lack of power in studies, inappropriate data by unspecified third variables such demographics may account for these findings.

Past research suggests that nativity may factor into how FO is perceived and how social identity operates (Armenta et al., 2013; Yip et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008). Therefore, the total sample was split into U.S.-born and immigrant subsamples. By separating the analyses by nativity, it is evident that the null and small effects found in the total sample do not adequately tell the whole story. Different patterns of results emerged by nativity, suggesting that the interplay of ethnic identity, American identity, FO, and outcomes is not uniform across these two populations.

For the immigrant sample, the relationship between FO and outcomes does not vary significantly by bicultural identity profile for either subjective well-being or psychological distress. This finding replicates past research on immigrant Asian Americans where ethnic identity did not moderate the relationship between discrimination and psychological distress (Yip et al., 2008).

Surprisingly, the association between FO and outcomes was virtually zero in the immigrant sample. Armenta and colleagues (2013) also found null effects for the association between FO and the constructs of life satisfaction and depression using a larger subset of this data set comprised of Latinos and Asian Americans. Perhaps immigrant Asian Americans are less offended by FO by virtue of the fact that they were not born in the US, or may be non-native English speakers with an accent. They may expect others to ask questions or make comments related to FO and deem those questions appropriate (Chou & Feagin, 2008).

Similarly, Asian Americans born outside of the US may agree that they are less American, in which case the experience of FO would not represent a salient environmental cue for a relevant social identity (as explained by Self-Categorization Theory; Turner, 1985; Hogg et al., 2004). Analysis of the bicultural identity profiles provides support for this explanation, as the immigrant Asian Americans were less likely to be in the Strong Bicultural and Strong American profiles and more likely to be in the Weak Bicultural and Strong Ethnic profiles. Past research also finds that Asian Americans not born in the US report lower levels of American identity (e.g., Gong, 2007).

For the U.S.-born subsample, the findings were partially consistent with hypotheses. Interestingly, variation by bicultural identity profile was found in the relationship between FO and subjective well-being (SWB). As expected, FO was significantly associated with poorer subjective well-being – but only for those in the Average Bicultural, Strong Bicultural, and Weak Bicultural groups. Consistent with predictions, the Weak Bicultural group reported the strongest association between FO and SWB ($\beta = -.31$) compared to the other profiles, suggesting that individuals with lower levels of both ethnic and American identity may be particularly at risk. As was previously discussed, other studies looking at multiple identities similarly find that those with the lowest levels of identity evidence the poorest outcomes (e.g., Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013; Kiang et al., 2008).

The FO-SWB relationship was not statistically significant for the U.S.-born Strong Ethnic and Strong American profiles, indicating a moderation effect.

Interestingly, despite the moderating effect, pairwise comparisons indicated that the Strong Ethnic group's regression estimate was statistically similar to those of the Strong Bicultural, Average Bicultural, and Weak Bicultural profiles, whereas the Strong American regression estimate was statistically different from the four other profiles. Taken altogether, the experience of being treated as a foreigner was not as strongly related to self-esteem and life satisfaction for U.S.-born individuals who reported stronger affirmation and commitment to one identity over another.

In contrast to the generalized positive relationship between FO and distress, the moderation effect observed for the U.S.-born subsample for the subjective well-being outcome may be accounted for by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The SIT perspective suggests that individuals from stigmatized groups engage in self-enhancement strategies in the face of threats such as discrimination. The buffering role of identity in the relationship between racial discrimination has been demonstrated in other studies (e.g., Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, & Krieger, 2008; Chae, Takeuchi, Barbeau, Bennett, Lindsey, Stoddard et al., 2008; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Greene et al., 2006; Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh et al., 1999). For the Strong Ethnic and Strong American groups, significant relationships were not observed between FO and subjective well-being. The exact mechanisms that account for this moderation effect cannot be inferred from these analyses, but it may be that

individuals with one strong identity and one weak identity are more able to maintain positive affect.

Surprisingly, the relationship between FO and SWB trended towards the positive direction for the Strong Americans, suggesting that exposure to foreigner objectification is possibly related to positive subjective well-being. Individuals who are low in ethnic identity affirmation/commitment and high in American identity affirmation/commitment may see an encounter of FO as an opportunity for self-enhancement or even "disidentification" from his/her ethnic-racial group (Kibria, 2002). However, due to the lack of statistical significance, inferences about the interplay of FO, SWB, and identity for the Strong American group must remain speculative.

In general, any interpretations regarding the moderation of FO and SWB by identity profile should remain tentative. This is particularly true given that the pairwise tests revealed a lack of differences between four out of five of the profiles. Small and inconsistent sample sizes may have resulted in a lack of power to detect significant differences between profiles. Future research should recruit adequate numbers of individuals to ensure that observed differences between profiles are substantive, rather than the result of Type II error.

With respect to the relationship between foreigner objectification and psychological distress, the results were more straightforward. A positive relationship between FO and psychological distress was found to be uniform across all social identity profiles of U.S.-born Asian Americans. More frequent

exposure to FO was associated with greater levels of psychological distress, which included depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, and social interaction anxiety. These consistent moderate relations corroborate the growing research on microaggressions and experiences related to foreigner objectification. Other studies have similarly found positive associations between FO-related events and psychological distress variables such as depressive symptoms and negative affect (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, 2012; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Ong et al., 2013; Pituc et al., 2010). However, contrary to hypothesis, no configuration of ethnic and American identities was found to effectively buffer the medium sized effect of FO on psychological distress in the U.S.-born Asian American sample. It may be that the affirmation and commitment of one's bicultural identity is not enough to ameliorate any potential negative relationship with distress variables. The inclusion of additional components of ERI and American identities in future research may help identify factors that will moderate the FO-distress relationship.

When taking together the present study's results for U.S.-born vs. those for immigrant Asian Americans, it is clear that nativity plays a unique role in how FO relates to mental health and well-being. In line with Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, 1985), Asian Americans born in the US are likely, by virtue of their nativity, to see themselves as American and to be attuned to cues in the environment that are related to their American identification. The present study's findings for a uniform association between FO and psychological distress suggests that FO may represent a more salient identity to U.S.-born Asian

Americans, thereby posing greater risk of poorer psychological adjustment in comparison to their immigrant counterparts (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Past research suggests that the relationship between FO and outcomes would be explained by identity threat (e.g., Armenta et al., 2013; Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Unfortunately, attenuating effects did not come to bear on psychological distress, as all bicultural identity profiles evidenced a similar, medium association. Past research shows that there are more robust effects between FO-related events and negative affect than positive affect (Ong et al., 2013). Ostensibly, psychological distress is more related to negative affect whereas subjective well-being is more related to positive affect. It may be that social identity protective processes are more ameliorative toward regulating outcomes related to positive affect, rather than negative affect.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study employed relatively novel methods of blending variable-centered and person-centered methodologies to address the research questions. For instance, only a small number of studies have considered the importance of looking at both ethnic-racial identity and American identities when studying the effects of discrimination (Q. L. Huynh et al., 2013; Kiang et al., 2013; Park et al., 2013). Furthermore, the traditional approach to studying the moderating effects of multiple identities employ variable-centered methods.

Although the current study's methodological approach addresses the aforementioned limitations of purely variable-centered methods, it is also subject

to the challenges that come with person-centered methods. Namely, the holistic-interactionst framework that underlies person-centered methods insists upon the proper specification of profile indicator variables in order to accurately represent the system of the individual and phemomena under study (Bergman et al., 2003).

The present study focused on the developmental component of affirmation/ commitment for both ethnic and American identity to create the identity profiles. However other components of identity may be relevant indicators for bicultural identity such as other developmental constructs. A growing body of research into ethnic identity participation (Syed et al., 2013) suggests that behavioral strategies for engagement and exploration could serve as ameliorative moderators of racial discrimination's effects. For example, laboratory studies by Cheryan and Monin (2005) and Guendelman, Cheryan, and Monin (2011) illustrated how some Asian Americans respond to identity threat through the active demonstration of American identity behaviors. Other research has combined development-related components related to identity with content-related identity components such as centrality and demonstrated moderating effects in the relationship between discrimination and adjustment (e.g., Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Seaton, 2009). Although the present study focused on the role of bicultural identity from a developmental perspective, it may be that stronger moderating effects would be observed for content-related components in isolation or in a combination of both developmental and content components. Future research on the construction of identity profiles should continue to explore the

prevalence and potential impact of bicultural identity via multiple components of both ethnic and American identities.

The results found for immigrant participants should be interpreted with caution due to the relatively smaller sample size (approximately 1/3 of the sample). In particular, the sample sizes for each profile ranged from $n = 63$ to 123, which may be too small to detect effects that have already been demonstrated to be small in size in previous research on immigrants. It would also be interesting to follow up with these individuals to see whether their perception of events related to FO changes as they become more acculturated and have the opportunity to develop a more substantive American identification. In fact, the finding that FO was significantly predicted by age suggests that there may be developmental influences at play as well. However, previous research finds that there are no age differences in the buffering role of ethnic identity on the perceived discrimination-distress link for immigrant Asian Americans (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). It is not clear Yip and colleagues' findings would apply to foreigner objectification nor if the inclusion of other components of identity may turn up different results.

Interpretations of the mechanisms that underlie the results found in this study are also tentative due to the cross-sectional nature of the data. It is unclear from data at a single time point whether the variables influenced each other as depicted in the study's model. It is possible that social identity and FO continually influence each other or that some component of social identity/social identities are

at play as moderators or mediators. Future research should consider longitudinal research designs to clarify the directionality of effects, as well as explanatory mechanisms.

Given the wide range between states in demographic diversity, it is also important to consider social context when considering generalizability. Just over half of the participants were enrolled at large, public institutions on the West Coast of the US. Although this approximates recent 2010 Census estimates counting 46% of Asian Americans living on the West Coast (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012), the results of this study may not be applicable to individuals living in areas with lower Asian ethnic density. The experiences of an Asian American living in Nebraska (where Asian Americans are 2% of the total population) are likely to be different from an Asian American living in California where Asian Americans are 15% of the population, the highest percentage in the continental United States (Hoeffel et al., 2012). For example, Kibria (2002) noted that though participants from California and Massachusetts were asked questions such as, "Where are you from?" with similar frequency, there seemed to be more of a sense of persistence ("Yes, but where are you *really* from?", p. 82) on the East Coast. Kibria hypothesized that the more visible presence of Asian Americans in California may contribute to recognizing that Asian-origin people can also be American.

Recent research also suggests that ethnic density may play a moderating role on the effects of discrimination for Asian Americans. A recent study of

Latino Americans across the US looked at the role of racial-ethnic density, cognitive reappraisal, psychological functioning, and perceived discrimination (Soto, Armenta, Perez, Zamboanga, Umaña-Taylor, Lee et al., 2012). Soto and colleagues found that in counties with a high density of Latinos, cognitive reappraisal strategies were associated with more positive psychological functioning, regardless of the levels of reported perceived discrimination. However, in counties where Latinos were the clear minority, cognitive reappraisal was only associated with better functioning at low levels, and not high, levels of discrimination. With increased levels of discrimination, cognitive reappraisal may not have been sufficient to cope with the stress of both proximal and personal oppression. Other research finds that ethnic density is sometimes a moderator for Asian Americans, though this varies by ethnic group and how ethnic density is operationalized (Syed & Juan, 2011).

The results of this study should also be considered within the developmental context of the participants' status as college students between the ages of 18 to 30. On average, the participants were aged around 20 years old and are, therefore, in a period of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). For many students at this age, the college/university setting is the first time that they have been faced with issues related to race and identity. As these individuals acquire more experiences related to race and ethnicity,, the meaning and impact of subtle microaggressions may change over time (see Syed & Azmitia, 2008).

It should also be noted that foreigner objectification was experienced in some way by a majority of the participants. Most common was the experience of being asked, "Where are you from?" based on their Asian race. It would seem that the omnipresence of this question is a hallmark of the Asian American experience.

Conclusions

As a collective group, Asian Americans have faced foreigner objectification for many centuries. Yet, it is only in recent years that research in the field of psychology have begun to provide evidence of the racialized experience of being treated like a foreigner in the United States. The current study sought to add to this growing literature by providing evidence of the relationship of foreigner objectification with psychological distress and subjective well-being for Asian Americans. Existing frameworks of looking at racial discrimination (i.e., Biopsychosocial Model, Social Identity Approach) were applied to not only investigate the foreigner objectification-adjustment relationship, but also to examine *for whom* these effects are more or less relevant.

As would be expected, the answer to that question is complex, based on the present study's results. It is clear that foreigner objectification is not an insignificant occurrence, which may become more prevalent with age and as individuals move from their primary social environments into contact with society-at-large. Asian Americans who are born in the US are likely to face constant reminders that even though one may be born in the United States,

Americans of Asian descent are not automatically perceived as "American." The costs of these microaggressions are just beginning to be documented, and with more research will hopefully come greater awareness that these small slights do, in fact, represent a form of racial discrimination. With more evidence, educators, clinicians, and citizens can be better equipped to fight harmful stereotypes and the subtle culture of oppression to which Asian Americans have long been subjected.

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APPENDIX A: MEASURES

Ethnic Identity Affirmation/Belonging Measure

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*

1.   I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

2.   I am happy that I am a member of the ethnic group I belong to.

3.   I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

4.   I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

5.   I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

6.   I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

7.   I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

American Identity Affirmation/Belonging Measure

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*

1. I have a clear sense of the United States and what it means for me.

2. I am happy that I am an American.

3. I have a strong sense of belonging to the United States.

4. I understand pretty well what being American means to me.

5. I have a lot of pride in the United States.

6. I feel a strong attachment towards the United States.

7. I feel good about being American.

Bicultural Identity Integration

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*

1. Distance item: I feel that I am both a member of my heritage culture and an American.

2. Conflict item (reverse-scored): I am conflicted between American ways of doing things and my heritage culture's way of doing things.

Foreigner Objectification

How many times have you experienced the following events in **THE PAST YEAR?**

1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or twice*, 3 = *Three or four times*, 4 = *Five or more times*

1. Had your American citizenship or residency questioned by others.

2. Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability.

3. Asked by strangers, "Where are you from?" because of your ethnicity/race

4. Had someone speak to you to in an unnecessarily slow or loud way.

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CESD)

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*

1. This week, I have been bothered by things that usually don't bother me.

2. This week, I did not feel like eating

3. This week, my friends tried to cheer me up, but I didn't feel happy.

4. This week, I felt just as good as other people.

5. I have had trouble paying attention this week.

6. I have felt down and unhappy this week

7. This week, I have felt too tired to do many things.

8. This week, I felt something good was going to happen.

9. This week, things I usually did well before didn't work out right.

10. I felt scared this week.

11. This week, I didn't sleep as well as usual.

12. I was happy this week.

13. I was more quiet than usual this week.

14. This week, I felt lonely, like I didn't have friends.

15. People I know were not friendly to me this week.

16. I had a good time this week.

17. I felt like crying this week.

18. I felt sad this week.

19. People didn't like me this week.

20. I had a hard time getting started doing things this week.

Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI)

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*

1. I have had difficulty falling asleep this week.

2. My appetite has been poor this week.

3. I have had to force myself to eat this week.

4. Other people have had to urge me to eat this week.

5. This past week, I have been waking up a lot in the middle of the night (other than to go to the bathroom).

6. This past week, I have had trouble falling back asleep after I wake up in the middle of the night.

7. My sleep has often been restless or disturbed this past week.

8. I have been worrying a lot this week.

9. This week, I have found myself worrying about the worst possible things that can happen to me.

10. This week, I have been afraid of what was going to happen to me.

11. This week, I have been very irritable and in a bad mood.

12. This week, I have felt very tense and have had trouble relaxing.

13. This week, I have found myself worrying a lot about things I don't normally worry about.

14. This week, I have startled easily.

15. This week, I have cried very easily.

16. This past week, I have felt very afraid.