

You Are What You Speak?

Language Discrimination and Regard of Asian International Students

by

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ABSTRACT

Despite the increasing number of Asian international students in the United States, American society remains discriminatory against the population. Asian international students are exposed to ethnic-racial discrimination against Asians, as well as language discrimination against non-native English speakers. The purpose of this study was to examine whether the two types of discrimination relate to Asian international students' regard, which refers to their positive or negative evaluations about Asians in American society. It was hypothesized that language discrimination, a particularly relevant form of discrimination for non-native English-speaking immigrants, will be associated with public and private regard, after controlling for ethnic-racial discrimination and English proficiency. The present study tested two hypotheses by conducting hierarchical multiple regression with a sample of 195 self-identified Asian international students. The results supported the first hypothesis, which predicted higher levels of language discrimination would explain a significant amount of additional variance in negative public regard after controlling for ethnic-racial discrimination and English proficiency. The second hypothesis was not supported—language discrimination was not significantly associated with positive private regard after controlling for ethnic-racial discrimination and English proficiency. Limitations, implications, and future directions are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

The population of Asian international students in the United States is increasing rapidly (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2018). During the 2017–2018 academic year, there were more than one million international students in the United States; about 70% of them were from Asian countries (IIE, 2018). The leading countries of origin among Asian international students include China, India, and South Korea (IIE, 2018).

Throughout American history, racism against Asians has been manifested in different forms of discrimination, rendering Asians a target for individual, institutional, cultural, and environmental racism despite the common myth about them being a model minority (Jones, 1981; Kawai, 2005; Thomson & Neville, 1999). As Asians in the United States, Asian international students are subject to ethnic-racial discrimination that White European international students do not face (Lee, 2007). *Ethnic-racial discrimination* is defined as the actions of dominant group members that negatively affect ethnic-racial minorities (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Previous studies support that Asian international students are ignored, socially excluded, and mocked based on their ethnicity and race (e.g., Hanassab, 2006; Lee, 2015; Lee & Rice, 2007; Poyrazli, 2003; Zhang, 2015).

In addition to ethnic-racial discrimination, Asian international students are vulnerable to a related yet separate form of discrimination as non-native English speakers (Wei, Wang, & Ku, 2012; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). *Language discrimination* is a type of discrimination based on an individual's non-native or accented English (Wei et al.,

2012), which is prevalent among Asian international students (Collins & Clément, 2012; Hanassab, 2006; Lee, 2007; Sawir, Marginson, Forbes-Mewett, Nyland, & Ramia, 2012). Language discrimination, like ethnic-racial discrimination, is associated with adverse psychological and physical health outcomes of ethnic-racial minorities in the United States because it perpetuates the racist ideology that serves White supremacy (Wei et al., 2014; Yoo, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2009). Wei et al. (2014) reported that language discrimination was associated with anxiety and depression in a sample of predominantly Asian international students. Language discrimination was also associated with chronic health problems among Asian immigrants in the United States (Yoo et al., 2009).

Asian international students who are exposed to White supremacist ideology in the forms of ethnic-racial or language discrimination may develop evaluations about themselves as Asians. This potential association between discrimination and judgment of one's ethnic-racial group can be explored through the framework of social identity theory (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), discrimination based on a minority group membership may impact one's collective self-esteem, which refers to an individual's appraisal of their social group membership (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992;). For instance, discrimination against Asian international students, such as ethnic-racial or language discrimination, may influence their positive or negative evaluation about being an Asian in the United States (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). One's collective self-esteem that is specific to the evaluation of their ethnic-racial group membership is termed *regard* (Perkins, Wiley, & Deaux, 2014; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al.,

2014). *Public regard* refers to one's perception of how others evaluate one's ethnic-racial group, and *private regard* reflects personal evaluation of one's ethnic-racial group (Sellers et al., 1997). Based on social identity theory, it can be expected that Asian international students, who are discriminated against because they are Asians or speak English with an Asian accent in the racist U.S. society, develop positive or negative regard about Asians.

Understanding Asian international students' regard is meaningful because collective self-esteem contributes to one's overall self-esteem and self-worth (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Furthermore, regard may be an important aspect of Asian international students' sense of self, as is ethnic-racial collective self-esteem for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States (Adames & Chaves-Dueñas, 2016). Positive regard is associated with positive mental health outcomes and functioning among ethnic-racial minorities, including Asian Americans (Crocker et al., 1994; Fugligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Kim & Omizo, 2005; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Tran & Sangalang, 2016).

Existing qualitative research suggests a possible link between the experience of discrimination and regard among Asian international students (Hsieh, 2006; Lewis, 2013; Zhang, 2015). For example, Asian international students reported feeling less appreciated and valued because they are treated differently due to their ethnicity, race, or English proficiency (Hsieh, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007). The present study intends to add to the literature by examining whether the association between discrimination and regard can be found in a more diverse sample of Asian international students consisting of participants from various Asian countries. This quantitative inquiry may provide support to generalize

the previous findings that link experiences of discrimination and Asian international students' affective judgment toward their ethnicity and race in American society (Hsieh, 2006; Zhang, 2015).

Furthermore, the present study recognizes that language discrimination is repeatedly identified as a prevalent and potent type of oppression among Asian international students (Hanassab, 2006; Hsieh, 2006; Kim, 2012; Kim & Lee, 2011; Poyrazli & Lopez, 2007; Wei et al., 2014; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). Notably, when the two types of discrimination were distinguished, language discrimination was associated with depression and anxiety over and above ethnic-racial discrimination in a sample of predominantly Asian international students (Wei et al., 2014). Based on the gravity of language discrimination in the lives of Asian international students, the present study hypothesizes that language discrimination significantly predicts regard even in the presence of ethnic-racial discrimination. Thus, the current study conducted a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to determine whether language discrimination explains a significant amount of the incremental variance in public and private regard over and above racial discrimination. The following chapter is a review of literature related to regard and discrimination experience among Asian international students.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Discrimination Experiences of Asian International Students

Since the civil rights movements, significant progress has been made to decrease the inequality based on race and ethnicity; however, racism continues to be a significant factor in the lives of ethnic-racial minorities in the United States, including Asian international students (Hanassab, 2006; Hartman, 2003; Jones, 1997; Lee, 2015; Thomson & Neville, 1999). Racism refers to any ideological beliefs, actions, or institutional procedures that perpetuate implicit or explicit supremacy of the White and inferiority of ethnic-racial minorities (Chesler, 1976; Thomson & Neville, 1999). The manifestation of racism may take different forms, such as ethnic-racial discrimination and language discrimination.

Ethnic-racial discrimination. Ethnic-racial discrimination is defined as the actions of dominant group members that are harmful to ethnic-racial minorities, which serves the racist ideology of White supremacy (Williams et al., 2003). The majority of Asian international students have not been exposed to ethnic-racial discrimination in their home country (Lewis, 2008; Zhang, 2015). The United States, however, places such students in a sociocultural context in which Asians have been oppressed as ethnic-racial minorities throughout American history (Kawai, 2005). Therefore, it is necessary to consider the contemporary and historical backgrounds of ethnic-racial discrimination against Asians to contextualize the Asian international students' experience.

Kawai (2005) notes that stereotypes against Asians were constructed from a White-supremacist European perspective. For example, the term "yellow peril" refers to a

cultural threat that Asians pose to White people. The term dates to the medieval era, when Genghis Khan invaded Europe (Kawai, 2005). In the 19th century, the immigration of Asians to the United States was perceived as “the greatest threat to the White race and Western civilization” (Lee, 1999, p. 10), and again labeled the “yellow peril” (Kawai, 2005). The term “yellow peril” impacts Asians in the United States to this day, by stereotyping them as perpetual foreigners (Kawai, 2005; Lee, 1999).

The “model minority” stereotype is another form of ethnic-racial discrimination against Asians in the United States (Lee, 1999). Since the 1960s, Asians have been stereotyped as model minorities “who had close family ties, were extremely serious about education, and were law-abiding” (Kawai, 2005, p.113). Although seemingly positive, the model minority stereotype is used to further oppress minorities by advancing the colorblind ideology (Kawai, 2005), which does not acknowledge the deleterious impact of systematic oppression and attributes consequences of ethnic-racial inequality to an individual’s under-performance (Guinier & Torres, 2002; Kawai, 2005). Stereotyping Asians as perpetual foreigners and the model minority propagates the justification of ethnic-racial inequality based on White supremacy in the United States (Kawai, 2005). Asians are considered superior to other ethnic-racial minorities but perpetually ostracized and silenced as foreigners, and thus, inferior to White Americans. Therefore, ethnic-racial discrimination against Asians in the United States not only divides ethnic-racial minorities, but also establishes the superiority of White people (Kawai, 2005).

Although all international students can experience challenges, Asian international students may particularly be vulnerable to unfair treatment based on their ethnicity and race because of the existing oppression against Asians in U.S. society (Lee, 2007; Lee &

Rice, 2007; Poyrazli, 2003; Poyrazil & Lopez, 2010). Lee and Rice (2007) provide an anecdote of a Chinese international student who was verbally harassed at an off-campus supermarket. Reportedly, the student was yelled at by White strangers to “go back to your [his] country,” just because he was Asian (Lee & Rice, 2003, p. 399). This anecdote illustrates that Asian international students are impacted by perpetual foreigner and yellow peril stereotypes (Kawai, 2005; Lee, 1999). Ethnic-racial discrimination that Asian international students face is not limited to rare occasions. Hanassab (2006) reported that 16%, 19%, and 21% of Asian international students ($N = 327$) who participated in her study experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity and race while interacting with professors, university staff, and classmates, respectively. The consequences of ethnic-racial discrimination include feeling threatened, excluded, and unwelcome as foreigners who do not belong or deserve to be in U.S. society (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007).

Ethnic-racial discrimination is undoubtedly a type of oppression that is deleterious for minorities in the United States, including Asian international students. Nonetheless, Asian international students experience an additional form of oppression as non-native English-speaking immigrants to the United States. This discrimination is based on one’s non-native English and is another tool to exacerbate ethnic-racial inequality in American society that is highly relevant for Asian international students (Wei et al., 2012).

Language Discrimination. Many Asian international students are immigrants who speak English as a foreign language, and they are suddenly placed into an American society that oppresses non-native English speakers. In addition to ethnic-racial discrimination, Asian international students are exposed to *language discrimination*,

which involves being unfairly treated because they speak English as a foreign language or with an accent (Wei et al., 2012). According to existing literature, lower English proficiency is associated with higher levels of perceived language discrimination among international students (Perry, 2017; Poyrazli, 2003; Wei et al., 2014). Therefore, language discrimination may be particularly relevant for Asian international students, who reportedly struggle with English-language skills more than European international students (Lee & Rice, 2007; Poyrazli, 2003). Additionally, those who learn English from a young age may still speak with an accent or a different variety of English, which can lead to discrimination (Perry, 2017).

Previous studies illustrate that Asian international students identify their limited English-language skills as a reason for the language discrimination they face (Hanassab, 2006; Hsieh, 2006). Hanassab (2006) quotes a Japanese international student: “A professor ignores me because my English is not as good compared to a native speaker...such times, I feel I’m stupid” (p. 162). Zhang (2015) provides an anecdote by a Chinese international student who was asked to communicate in “standard English” by his supervisor after he made a spelling mistake in his note to a university administrator. According to Zhang (2015), the student felt upset and blamed himself because he is “supposed to know standard English” when he is in the United States (p. 12). These examples illustrate that Asian international students feel compelled to speak English like native speakers to avoid discrimination. However, it should be noted that language discrimination is deeply rooted in the American history of ethnic-racial inequality.

Language, historically, as with ethnicity and race, has been a reason for marginalizing non-European, non-White individuals in the United States, perpetuating

the justification of ethnic-racial inequality based on racist ideology (Ashcroft, 2001; Thompson & Neville, 1999). During the expansion of European colonialism, Native Americans and their linguistic culture were deemed less civilized than, and thereby inferior to, European languages and White speakers (Ashcroft, 2001; Macedo, 2000; Hartman, 2003). In postcolonial American society, the English language continues to be a tool for oppressing people of color (Hartman, 2003). In the United States, “standard” English, spoken by upper-middle-class White Americans, equates to power and prestige in the social hierarchy (Hartman, 2003). Conversely, ethnic-racial varieties of English—such as the African American vernacular—are still labeled as “linguistic deviance” (Hartman, 2003, p. 8). Similarly, speaking English with an Asian accent is often ridiculed, mocked, and considered indicative of the speaker belonging to a lower-class or being unintelligent (Lee, 2006, 2007).

Immigrants who speak English as a foreign language are especially vulnerable to language discrimination. As recently as 2009, various cities and states voted to declare English as the official or governmental language (Hartman, 2003). English-only states require citizens to interact with their local and state governments only in English. The English-only movement exacerbates sociopolitical injustices against individuals who are non-native English speakers. The standardization of language fosters inequality at school also. In 1998, the state of California outlawed non-English languages from classrooms, resulting in educational inequality against immigrant youth with limited English proficiency (Wright & Bougie, 2007). This systematic, societal language discrimination against non-native English speakers, especially immigrants such as Asian international

students, alludes to the notion of the superiority of “standard” English and its White speakers.

The experience of discrimination may be powerful enough to influence how Asian international students view themselves as Asians and, ultimately, their overall perception of self in an increasingly globalized society (Hanassab, 2003; Perry, 2017). Although many Asian international students are sojourners who will return to their home country, pursuing a degree in the US is a major life decision for many of them, through which they expect to mature and develop as an independent individual (Lee & Rice, 2007). Furthermore, many Asian international students take leadership positions that relate to the area of foreign policy and international relations following their education (Altbach, 1998; Lee & Rice, 2007; NAFSA, 2004). Therefore, ethnic-racial or language discrimination may continue to impact how Asian international students view themselves in a globalized workplace even after they return home. Thus, it is a meaningful endeavor to investigate whether ethnic-racial and language discrimination are related to how Asian international students make sense of their Asian membership in the United States.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory posits that an individual’s self-concept comprises two distinct constructs—personal identity, which includes attributes specific to the individual, and social identity, which is derived from the individual’s membership of a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals belong to various groups based on their inherent (e.g., race) and acquired (e.g., education) qualities (Crocker et al., 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, it is theorized that environmental or situational change may make social identity associated with a certain membership more salient than other memberships

(Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, many Asian international students come from a society in which they belong to an ethnic-racial majority group (Zhang, 2015). Therefore, their social identity associated with their ethnic-racial group membership may not be central to their self-concept. However, upon migrating to the United States, their social identity as Asians may become more salient because they belong to an ethnic-racial minority group. Previous research supports that Asian international students become aware of their ethnic-racial membership only after they migrate to the United States (Hsieh, 2006; Lewis, 2013; Zhang, 2015). In qualitative studies, Asian international students described themselves as “normal” in their ethnically and racially homogenous home societies, in which they did not often have to think about their race or ethnicity (Lewis, 2013; Zhang, 2015). However, in the United States, such students reported that they were ignored and unfairly treated because they were not White European Americans (Zhang, 2015). Thus, students find themselves no longer able to ignore or underestimate how ethnic-racial membership impacts their lives in American society (Fries-Britt et al., 2014).

For Asian international students, recognizing that they belong in an ethnic-racial minority group as Asians in the United States may entail increased awareness of oppression and inequality in the United States. One Asian international student reported that she believed American society silences Asians because of an ideology of cultural homogeneity (Hsieh, 2006). Hsieh (2006) includes a remark from a female Asian international student who described how U.S. society demands that she conform to Eurocentric, American stereotypes about Asians, such as being obedient or exotic. Similarly, another Asian international student stated that Asians are at the “bottom” of the

American ethnic-racial hierarchy, as they are excluded from dialogues about ethnic-racial justice (Zhang, 2015). These examples illustrate that Asian international students develop evaluations about their ethnic-racial membership, which did not exist prior to moving to the United States, based on their personal and vicarious experiences.

Collective Self-Esteem and Regard

Social identity theorists posit that an individual's self-esteem comprises two domains—personal self-esteem that relates to personal identity and collective self-esteem that associates with social identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1987). Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) conceptualize collective self-esteem as the evaluations and judgments of one's social group. The researchers constructed four domains of collective self-esteem—membership, public, private, and identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The domain of membership represents how worthy individuals feel as a member of their social group. Public collective self-esteem is an individual's perception of their group's positive appraisal by members of other groups. Private collective self-esteem refers to the personal judgment about one's group. Finally, the identity domain is the importance of one's group membership to one's self-concept (Liang & Fassinger, 2008; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1987), individuals who experience a threat to a specific domain of their identity, such as discrimination based on one's ethnic-racial group or non-native English, may employ strategies to enhance their collective self-esteem. One primary strategy to enhance one's collective self-esteem is to increase the degree of positive evaluation toward their minority group. Public and private collective self-esteem directly reflect an individual's evaluative judgment toward one's

group as a primary function of one's social identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Consequently, Sellers et al. (1997) adopted these constructs to conceptualize regard, which is the collective self-esteem specific to an individual's ethnic-racial membership. Regard is composed of two constructs to reflect public and private collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Sellers et al., 1997). *Public regard* refers to an individual's beliefs that others positively or negatively perceive their ethnic-racial group (Sellers et al., 1997). For example, an Asian international student with positive public regard will believe that others value and appreciate Asians. A related but distinct concept is private regard. *Private regard* refers to the personal evaluation of an individual's ethnic-racial group (Sellers et al., 1997). An Asian international student with positive private regard will feel pride and affirmation about Asians (Sellers et al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Since the present study focuses on ethnicity- and race-specific collective self-esteem, public and private collective self-esteem are operationalized as public and private regard, respectively. It should be further noted that regard is a construct that was conceptualized as a component of the multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI) (Sellers et al., 1997). Sellers et al. (1997) also developed the regard subscale as a part of the multidimensional inventory of black identity (MIBI) (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Sellers et al., 1997) to operationalize regard in the context of the MMRI and to capture the qualitative meaning that African Americans ascribe to their racial membership.

However, this study adopts the ethnic-racial, rather than the exclusively racial, definition in conceptualizing and measuring the regard of Asian international students.

Scholars (Chavez & Guido-Dibrito, 1999; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) have argued that one's identity cannot be exclusively ethnic or racial, considering the substantial empirical and conceptual overlap between race (often associated with phenotype) and ethnicity (often associated with culture). Conceptualizing regard as an ethnic-racial construct may also provide a more holistic perspective of Asian international students, who often do not distinguish racial experiences from ethnic ones (Zhang, 2015). Therefore, in this research, Asian international students' collective self-esteem specific to their ethnic-racial membership is conceptualized to comprehensively capture Asian international students' ethnic-racial experience.

Association Between Discrimination and Regard

Discrimination and public regard. Although public regard is conceptualized as a domain of collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), it is a construct that reflects the external context within which Asian international students are placed, rather than their internal meaning-making of perceived ethnic-racial discrimination. Whereas private regard involves how individuals make sense of ethnic-racial or language discrimination, public regard may relate to the degree to which they are aware of racism. Therefore, it can be expected that those who perceive higher levels of discrimination may believe others negatively evaluate their ethnic-racial group (Crocker et al., 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Empirical evidence supports the negative association between ethnic-racial discrimination and public regard among ethnic-racial minorities (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Seaton, Yip, Sellers, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Asian Americans who have faced more discrimination based on their ethnicity and race believed that Asians are

more negatively appraised by others than those who have faced less discrimination (Luhtanan & Crocker, 1992). In a longitudinal study, ethnic-racial discrimination predicted subsequent negative public regard over the adolescent period (Seaton et al., 2009). These findings suggest that ethnic-racial discrimination will predict negative public regard among Asian international students.

Considering that language can propagate ethnic-racial inequality and White supremacy, language discrimination can be considered a separate form of discrimination against an ethnic-racial group. Thus, language discrimination may be powerful enough to shift Asian international students' regard. Although the literature on international students is scarce, the association between language discrimination and regard is repeatedly implied in previous research on English learners and immigrants in Anglophone countries (Collins & Clément, 2012; Halic, Greenberg, & Paulus, 2009; Wright & Taylor, 1995). For instance, a study about immigrants in Canada (Guo, 2009) describes how English-learning immigrants were trained to lose their heritage accent while speaking English and were advised not to use their heritage language in the workplace. Immigrants reported that sounding "more White" and "more Canadian" equated to being perceived as more desirable by potential employers (Guo, 2009). Guo (2009) suggests the negative association between discrimination and public regard, such that employers who were exposed to language discrimination believed that the general society did not value their ethnic-racial group.

Discrimination and private regard. According to social identity theory, when Asian membership is negatively appraised by others in the form of discrimination, Asian international students may enhance their affirmation with and belonging to their ethnic-

racial group membership to preserve collective self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, private regard is expected to be positively associated with ethnic-racial and language discrimination. However, the association between discrimination and private regard is mixed in the existing literature. Higher levels of perceived discrimination have been associated with more negative private regard among Asian Americans (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Guo (2009) reported that Asian immigrants in Canada who were exposed to language discrimination accepted the superiority of White Canadians and the devaluation of their heritage and themselves. Similarly, discrimination predicted lower ethnic identity among Koreans in China, which reflected lower affirmation toward Koreans (Lee, Noh, Yoo, & Doh, 2007). In contrast, perceived discrimination was positively correlated with ethnic identity in Asian and Latinx samples (Masuoka, 2006). Some studies also reported no significant associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and private regard among ethnic-racial minority youth (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, Way, 2005, 2008). In a sample of Asian international and Asian American college students, those who experienced higher levels of ethnic-racial discrimination felt greater affirmation toward their ethnic-racial groups (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010). Based on social identity theory and the empirical finding concerning Asian international students (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010), the present study hypothesizes that the two types of discrimination associated with positive private regard among Asian international students.

Asian international students are subject to both ethnic-racial and language discrimination as recent Asian immigrants who speak non-native or accented English. Additionally, previous findings suggest that both ethnic-racial and language

discrimination may contribute to the regard of Asian international students (Hanassab, 2006; Hartman, 2003; Lee & Rice, 2007; Wei et al., 2012). However, it is necessary to examine the unique contribution of language discrimination, a culturally relevant yet understudied form of discrimination for Asian international students, in predicting their public and private regard. Indeed, studies support the important and distinct role of language discrimination among Asian immigrants and international students in the United States (Yoo et al., 2009; Wei et al., 2012). One study on international students reported that language discrimination accounted for an additional 3% of the variance in depression and an additional 8% variance in anxiety over and above ethnic-racial discrimination (Wei et al., 2012). Similarly, in a sample of Asian immigrants in healthcare settings, language discrimination is significantly associated with chronic health conditions, such as high blood pressure, heart conditions, anxiety, depression, and obesity, even in the presence of ethnic-racial discrimination (Yoo et al., 2009). Informed by the previous literature, this present study aims to examine whether language discrimination significantly predicts the public and private regard of Asian international students, even after accounting for ethnic-racial discrimination.

The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to examine whether experiencing discrimination is associated with Asian international students' collective self-esteem specific to their ethnic-racial membership. The dimensions of collective self-esteem that directly reflect one's evaluative judgment about one's ethnic-racial group are operationalized as public and private regard. This study draws upon social identity theory and existing empirical findings to examine ethnic-racial discrimination as a predictor of regard. Simultaneously,

the current research study adopts a culturally relevant perspective by recognizing the significance of language in the population of Asian international students. The present study proposes and examines two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Higher levels of language discrimination account for a significant amount of incremental variance in more negative public regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of language discrimination account for a significant amount of incremental variance in more positive private regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Participants

Self-identified Asian international students ($N = 306$) were recruited from four-year universities and colleges in the United States. The participants were invited to take an online survey, through Qualtrics, from August 2015 to March 2016. The participants were provided with an option to take the survey in either Mandarin Chinese or English, because the majority of Asian international students were expected to come from China (IIE, 2018). No other version of translated survey was provided. Among the self-identified Asian international students ($N = 306$), 74 participants (24.2%) took the survey in Mandarin Chinese, and 232 participants (75.8%) took the survey in English. The surveys conducted in Mandarin Chinese and English were compiled into one dataset to be analyzed in this study.

Participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria were excluded from the analyses. To screen participants with careless responses (Mead & Craig, 2012), four validation questions for the Mandarin Chinese version and three validation questions for the English version were included in the survey (e.g., “Please enter the number ‘3’ below.”). Participants ($n = 108$) who failed to respond correctly to all validation questions were excluded. In addition, one participant who responded as being a U.S. citizen was excluded. The final sample comprised 198 self-identified Asian international students.

The 198 participants included in the current analysis range in age from 18 to 46 years old ($M = 23.20$, $SD = 3.11$). The sample included 109 males (56.1%) and 86 females (43.9%). Regarding citizenship, 43.43% were from East Asia ($n = 86$), including

China ($n = 70$), Taiwan ($n = 9$), South Korea ($n = 5$), North Korea ($n = 1$), and Japan ($n = 1$); 48.72% were from South Asia ($n = 98$), including India ($n = 93$), Bangladesh ($n = 3$), Pakistan ($n = 1$), and Sri Lanka ($n = 1$); 6.06% were from Southeast Asia ($n = 12$), including Malaysia ($n = 4$), Vietnam ($n = 2$), Singapore ($n = 3$), Myanmar ($n = 1$), Thailand ($n = 1$), and Indonesia ($n = 1$); one student reported being from Russia ($n = 1$); and one student reported being from Canada ($n = 1$).

Participants' length of stay in the United States ranged from one month to seven years and nine months ($M = 1.55$ years, $SD = 1.61$ years). Four participants did not respond to the question. At the time of participation, 38% of the participants ($n = 77$) had lived in the United States for less than one year; 30.3% of the participants ($n = 60$) for longer than one year but less than two years; and 28.8% of the participants ($n = 57$) for longer than two years. Twenty-eight participants (14.14%) indicated that they speak English as a first language. The majority of participants (75.8%, $n = 150$) reported that their English proficiency is good or excellent. Forty-four participants (22.2%) indicated that their English proficiency is fair, and four participants (2%) indicated that their English proficiency is poor.

Measures

Public regard and private regard. Public and private regard were measured using the MIBI regard scale (Sellers et al., 1998). For this study, the scale was modified for Asian international students by substituting "Black" with "Asian" in each item. For example, "I feel good about Black people" in the original measurement was changed to "I feel good about Asian people." The regard scale consists of two subscales: public regard and private regard. The public regard subscale (Sellers et al., 1997, 1998) measured the

participants' perception of how positively or negatively others felt toward Asians. The private regard subscale (Sellers et al., 1997, 1998) measured the extent to which the participants positively or negatively felt about Asians.

The public regard and the private regard subscales (Sellers et al., 1997) each consisted of six items with six-point Likert-type response options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores on each subscale indicate that participants had more positive public and private regard about Asians. Sample statements on the public regard subscale include the following: "Overall, Asians are considered good by others," and "Society views Asian people as an asset." Sample statements on the private regard subscale include the following: "I feel good about Asian people," and "I am proud to be Asian."

Although the MIBI was originally developed for African American samples (Sellers et al., 1997, 1998), the regard scale is conceptually based on the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Yip, Wang, Mootoo, & Mirpuri, 2019). Therefore, the regard subscales have been used by researchers as a valid and reliable measure in non-African American samples (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Yip, Douglass, & Shelton, 2013; Yip, Wang, Mootoo, & Mipuri, 2019). For example, in a sample of Chinese American youths (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008), private regard had a moderate positive correlation with self-esteem ($r = .33$) and good internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$). Rivas-drake et al. (2008) further reported good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$) for public regard in their sample of Chinese American youths. In a sample of ethnically heterogenous Asian American adolescents ($N = 132$), the private

regard subscale was demonstrated to have acceptable reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$) (Yip et al., 2013).

In the current sample, the reliability of the public regard scale was acceptable ($\alpha = .74$) in the English-version survey and questionable ($\alpha = .60$) in the Mandarin-version survey. Regarding the private regard scale, reliability was good ($\alpha = .89$) in the English-version survey and excellent ($\alpha = .91$) in the Mandarin-version survey.

Ethnic-racial discrimination. The Experiences of Discrimination Scale (EOD) (Krieger, Smith, Naishadham, Hartman, & Barbeau, 2005) was used to measure the ethnic-racial discrimination that Asian international students experienced. The EOD (Kreiger et al., 2005) was developed to survey the frequency of self-reported ethnic-racial discrimination in various settings. The participants were asked, "Have you ever experienced discrimination, been prevented from doing something, or been hassled or made to feel inferior in any of the following situations because of your race, ethnicity, or color?" followed by nine items, such as "at school," "getting hired or getting a job," "getting housing," and "from the police or in the courts." The response options were 0 (never), 1 (once), 2 (two or three times), and 3 (four or more times). A higher score on the EOD corresponds to a higher level of self-reported ethnic-racial discrimination.

The EOD was validated in a sample of Hispanic and Black American participants (Krieger et al., 2005). The EOD had moderate to large correlations with the Major Discrimination Scale, $r = .65$, and the Everyday Discrimination Scale, $r = .56$ (Krieger et al., 2005; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). The EOD was not statistically significantly correlated with social desirability (Krieger et al., 2005). In a sample of diverse college students, including Hispanic, Black, White, and Asian Americans, the

EOD indicated good reliability with Cronbach's alpha of .86 (Zoubaa, 2018). Similarly, the EOD demonstrated fair reliability in a sample of racially diverse emerging adults consisting of White, Asian, Hispanic, and Black Americans (Polanco-Roman, Danies, & Anglin, 2016). In the current study, Cronbach's alpha indicated excellent internal consistency reliability in the English-version survey ($\alpha = .97$) and the Mandarin-version survey ($\alpha = .91$).

Language discrimination. Language discrimination was measured using the Perceived Language Discrimination Scale (PLD; Wei et al., 2012). The PLD was designed to assess the self-reported discrimination that international students in the United States experience because their native language is not English, or because they speak English with an accent (Wei et al., 2012). The scale consists of seven statements, such as "Others treat me as if I don't know anything because of my English"; "Others look down on me because of my English"; and "Others are annoyed by my English" (Wei et al., 2012). The response options were on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A higher score on the scale indicates that the participant perceived more language discrimination.

Construct validity of the PLD was examined by observing content validity, in addition to exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, by the developers of the scale (Wei et al., 2014). In the sample of predominantly Asian international students, the PLD has moderate positive correlation with depression ($r = .35$) and anxiety ($r = .36$); small negative correlation with self-esteem ($r = -.24$) and life satisfaction ($r = -.26$); and large positive correlation with ethnic-racial discrimination ($r = .62$). In addition, the PLD has a weak association with social desirability ($r = .14$). Wei et al. (2014) further found that the

PLD is distinct from international students' frustration due to their lack of perceived English proficiency by performing hierarchical multivariate regression analysis. Perceived language discrimination predicts an additional 7% and 4% variance in depression and anxiety, respectively, over and above English proficiency. The results support that the PLD is a valid scale to be used among Asian international students.

In a sample of primarily Asian (70.1%) international students ($N = 222$) that consisted of 51.4% male and 48.2 % female, Cronbach's alpha was .95, representing excellent internal consistency (Wei et al., 2012). Internal reliability was statistically consistent across native and non-native English-speaking students (Wei et al., 2012). In the present sample, the PLD in the English-version survey had good reliability ($\alpha = .82$) and excellent reliability in the Mandarin-version survey ($\alpha = .92$). Analyses suggest that the PLD is a valid and reliable measure to be utilized among Asian international students the present study.

Analysis

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 25.0 was used for all analyses. As recommended by Cohen, West, and Aiken (2014), the predictor and criterion variables included in the analysis were mean-centered. Furthermore, six major assumptions for multiple regression analysis were examined prior to conducting hierarchical multiple regression analysis (Cohen et al., 2014). Then, hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to investigate whether language discrimination predicts public and private regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. In Step 1, English proficiency was entered as a demographic covariate. Among Asian international students, English proficiency was demonstrated to be associated with experiences of

discrimination, including language discrimination (Wei et al., 2012). In Step 2, ethnic-racial discrimination was introduced as a predictor. In Step 3, language discrimination was entered as an additional predictor.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Prior to analysis, the sample was assessed for outliers and missing data. First, multivariate outliers of predictor variables were identified by computing the Mahalanobis distance and the Chi-squared (χ^2) critical value (Martin & Bridgmon, 2012). Based on the χ^2 critical value at $df = 3$ (i.e., the number of predictors) and $p = .001$, one case with a Mahalanobis value greater than 16.27 was identified as a multivariate outlier (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007). Then, univariate outliers were assessed by observing standardized criterion values that exceed ± 3.29 standard deviation from the mean (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007). No univariate outlier was identified on either criterion variable. Finally, missing data were assessed for each variable. In the present study, two participants did not record their responses to public and private regard scales. After removing one outlier and two missing cases, the final sample for analysis comprised 195 participants.

Assumptions

The six major assumptions for multiple regression analysis are as follows: (a) linear relationship of predictor and criterion variables; (b) correct specification of predictor variables; (c) reliability of variables; (d) independence of errors; (e) homoscedasticity; and (f) normality of residuals (Cohen et al., 2014). Violation of these assumptions may lead to a biased estimate of the regression coefficients or a biased estimate of the standard error of the regression coefficients (Cohen et al., 2014). Therefore, the assumptions were tested prior to conducting the hierarchical multiple regression analysis for the present study.

The scatterplots of predictor variables by criterion variables suggested that the assumption of linearity of variables was reasonably met. Multicollinearity was evaluated with variance inflation factors and tolerance. Variance inflation factor values close to 1 and tolerance values greater than .20 indicate no presence of multicollinearity (Cohen et al., 2014). The assumption of the correct specification of predictor variables addresses the use of a proper theoretical model, and it was not statistically tested in the current study (Cohen et al., 2014). Coefficient alphas were used to assess the reliability of each measure. Cronbach's alphas ranging from .60 to .97 indicate that the internal consistency of each variable was reliable. Durbin-Watson statistics were computed to test the non-independence of residuals (Cohen et al., 2014). A Durbin-Watson value of 1.77 indicated that the assumption of independent errors was met (Cohen et al., 2014). The scatterplots of predictor variables by standardized residuals indicated that the assumption of homoscedasticity was reasonably met. The normality of residuals was examined with a probability-probability (P-P) plot. The P-P plot suggests that the errors were reasonably normally distributed (Cohen et al., 2014). These results indicated that the assumptions for multiple regression analysis were met.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

The demographic information of the sample is displayed in Table 1. Table 2 provides the descriptive statistics and the correlations of variables included in the analysis. Seventy-one participants (36.6%) indicated that they have never experienced ethnic-racial discrimination, and 58 participants (29.9%) responded that they have not experienced language discrimination. On average, Asian international students reported public regard ($M = 4.51, SD = .92$) more negatively than private regard ($M = 5.44, SD =$

1.10). This finding suggests that Asian international students' perception of how others view Asians was more negative than how they view Asians themselves.

English proficiency was negatively and moderately correlated with language discrimination, suggesting that Asian international students with higher self-reported English proficiency perceive lower levels of discrimination based on their non-native or accented English. Ethnic-racial discrimination was negatively correlated with public and private regard. That is, Asian international students who perceived higher levels of discrimination based on their ethnicity and race not only believed that others evaluated Asians more negatively, but also personally evaluated Asians more negatively. Language discrimination was negatively correlated with public and private regard as well, indicating that those who perceived higher levels of language discrimination reported more negative perceived evaluation about Asians from others and themselves. The correlation coefficients of ethnic-racial discrimination, language discrimination, public regard, and private regard represented a small correlation (Cohen, 1988).

Table 1

Demographics of Participants

Variable	<i>N</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age	195		23.16	3.12	18–46
Self-Reported GPA	195		3.31	1.10	1.17–4.10
<u>Gender</u>	195				
Male	109	55.90			
Female	86	44.10			
<u>Places of Origin</u>	195				
East Asia ¹	86	44.10			
South Asia ²	95	48.72			
Southeast Asia ³	12	6.15			
Other ⁴	2	1.03			

Note. 1. China ($n = 70$), Taiwan ($n = 9$), South Korea ($n = 5$), North Korea ($n = 1$), and Japan ($n = 1$). 2. India ($n = 91$), Bangladesh ($n = 2$), Pakistan ($n = 1$), and Sri Lanka ($n = 1$). 3. Malaysia ($n = 4$), Vietnam ($n = 2$), Singapore ($n = 3$), Myanmar ($n = 1$), Thailand ($n = 1$), and Indonesia ($n = 1$). 4. Russia ($n = 1$), Canada ($n = 1$).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	M	SD	Possible range	Sample range
1. English proficiency	-						3.22	.67	1-4	1-4
2. Length of stay in months	.14	-					18.40	19.36	-	1-93
3. Ethnic-racial discrimination	.01	.15*	-				.39	.52	0-3	0-3
4. Language discrimination	-.41**	-.04	.40**	-			2.12	1.04	1-5	1-5
5. Public regard	.16*	-.04	-.24**	-.27**	-		4.51	.95	1-7	1.67-7
6. Private regard	.15*	.03	-.18*	-.19*	.50*	-	5.44	1.10	1-7	2-7

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

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis

Two sets of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine whether language discrimination accounted for a significant incremental amount of variance in public regard and private regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. *A priori* specifications regarding the sequence of entering variables were, a) English proficiency as a demographic covariate, b) ethnic-racial discrimination, and c) language discrimination. Table 2 and Table 3 present the results of hierarchical regression analyses, including R^2 , ΔR^2 , the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), and the standardized coefficients (β) of predictor variables at each step and the final model.

Public regard. The results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis are presented in Table 3. The first model with English proficiency as a demographic covariate was significant in predicting a 2% of variance in public regard, $R = .105$, $R^2 = .03$, $F(1, 139) = 4.43$, $p < .05$, representing a small effect size (Cohen, 1988). Higher English proficiency predicted more positive public regard in the current sample of Asian international students.

The second model, with ethnic-racial discrimination added as a predictor, accounts for a significant 8% of variance in public regard, $R = .24$, $R^2 = .08$, $F(2, 192) = 5.65$, $p < .01$, indicating a small-medium effect size (Cohen, 1988). Ethnic-racial discrimination significantly explained an additional 5% of variance in public regard that is not explained by English proficiency, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F(1, 192) = 11.59$, $p < .01$. Higher English proficiency was significantly associated with more positive public regard, $\beta = .17$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .03$. Conversely, ethnic-racial discrimination was a significant negative predictor of public regard, $\beta = -.24$, $p < .01$, $sr^2 = .06$. The findings indicate that

those Asian international students who experience more ethnic-racial discrimination believed that others evaluate Asians more negatively, even after accounting for their English proficiency.

In the final model, language discrimination was entered as an additional predictor for public regard. The final model with English proficiency, ethnic-racial discrimination, and language discrimination significantly accounted for 10% of variance in public regard in the current sample, $R = .25$, $R^2 = .10$, $F(3, 191) = 7.18$, $p < .01$, representing a moderate effect size (Cohen, 1988). The addition of language discrimination accounted for a significant 2% of variance in public regard, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F(1, 191) = 4.02$, $p < .05$. English proficiency was no longer a significant predictor in the final model, $\beta = .10$, $p > .05$, $sr^2 = .01$. However, ethnic-racial discrimination, $\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .03$, and language discrimination, $\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .02$, were significantly and negatively associated with public regard. Similar to ethnic-racial discrimination, experiencing more language discrimination predicted more negative public regard in the sample of Asian international students.

In summary, Hypothesis 1 was supported. Language discrimination accounted for a significant amount of additional variance in public regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. Furthermore, higher levels of perceived language discrimination predict more negative public regard. The analyses support the notion that Asian international students who experience higher levels of language discrimination perceive that others evaluate Asians more negatively, even after accounting for ethnic-racial discrimination.

Private regard. Table 4 contains the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis. English proficiency was entered as a demographic covariate in the

first model to predict private regard. The first model accounted for a significant 2% of variance in private regard, $R = .15$, $R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 193) = 4.43$, $p < .05$, which represented a small effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Then, ethnic-racial discrimination was entered as a predictor variable. The second model, with English proficiency and ethnic-racial discrimination, accounted for a significant 6% of variance in private regard, $R = .24$, $R^2 = .06$, $F(2, 192) = 6.56$, $p < .01$, indicating a small-medium effect size. The addition of ethnic-racial discrimination significantly explained an additional 3% of variance, $\Delta R^2 = .03$, $\Delta F(1, 192) = 6.73$, $p < .05$, which represented a small effect size (Cohen, 1988). English proficiency remained a significant predictor of private regard, $\beta = .15$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .03$. Higher levels of ethnic-racial discrimination significantly predicted more negative private regard, $\beta = -.18$, $p < .05$, $sr^2 = .06$. In other words, those who perceived higher levels of ethnic-racial discrimination evaluated Asians more negatively.

In the final model, language discrimination was entered as an additional predictor of private regard. The final model accounted for a significant 6% of variance in private regard, $R = .25$, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3, 191) = 4.07$, $p < .01$, representing a small-medium effect size (Cohen, 1988). However, language discrimination did not explain a significant amount of additional variance beyond the second model, $\Delta R^2 = .005$, $\Delta F(1, 191) = .93$, $p > .05$. After entering language discrimination, ethnic-racial discrimination was no longer a significant predictor of private regard, $\beta = -.17$, $p > .05$, $sr^2 = .02$. Neither English proficiency, $\beta = -.12$, $p > .05$, $sr^2 = .01$, nor language discrimination, $\beta = -.08$, $p > .05$, $sr^2 = .004$, predicted private regard in the final model.

The findings do not support Hypothesis 2. Language discrimination did not account for a significant additional amount of variance in private regard above and beyond ethnic-racial discrimination in the current sample of Asian international students. Additionally, contrary to the hypothesized positive association between ethnic-racial discrimination and private regard, ethnic-racial discrimination predicted more negative private regard.

Post Hoc Analysis

After examining the two hypotheses, *post hoc* analyses were conducted with an additional demographic variable. Previous literature supports the notion that length of stay in the United States may be an impactful factor in the discrimination experience of international students (Poyrazli, 2003; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). Therefore, length of stay in the United States was explored as a demographic covariate.

For the *post hoc* analysis, the length of stay in the United States reported by participants was separated into three groups to form an ordinal variable. Participants ($n = 4$) who did not record their response regarding the length of their stay were removed from the analysis. In the sample of 191 participants, 77 participants (40.31%) responded that they had lived in the United States for less than one year; 59 participants (30.89%) had lived in the United States for a year or longer, but less than two years; finally, 55 participants (20.80%) indicated that they had lived in the United States for more than two years.

Again, two sets of hierarchical multiple analyses were conducted to examine whether language discrimination predicted public regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination, after controlling for two demographic variables (i.e., English proficiency

and length of stay). In the first model, English proficiency and length of stay were entered. In the second model, ethnic-racial discrimination was introduced as a predictor. In the final model, language discrimination was entered as an additional predictor.

The results of the *post hoc* analysis indicate that the addition of length of stay did not influence the model hypothesized *a priori*. Higher levels of language discrimination significantly predicted more negative public regard after accounting for ethnic-racial discrimination when English proficiency and length of stay are controlled as demographic covariates, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F(1, 186) = 4.02$, $p < .05$. However, language discrimination was not a significant predictor of private regard after accounting for ethnic-racial discrimination and two demographic covariates, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(1, 186) = 1.44$, $p > .05$.

Table 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Public Regard (N = 195)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> ²	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	$\Delta F(df)$
Step 1						.03	.03	5.34*(1, 193)
English proficiency	.08	.03	.16*	2.28	.03			
Step 2						.08	.05	11.59**(1, 192)
English proficiency	.08	.03	.17*	2.44	.03			
Ethnic-racial discrimination	-.43	.13	-.24**	-3.49	.06			
Step 3						.10	.02	4.02*(1, 191)
English proficiency	.05	.04	.10	1.31	.01			
Ethnic-racial discrimination	-.31	.14	-.17*	-2.24	.03			
Language discrimination	-.15	.08	-.17*	-2.01	.02			

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

Table 4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Private Regard (N = 195)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	sr ²	R ²	ΔR^2	$\Delta F(df)$
Step 1						.02	.02	4.43*(1, 193)
English proficiency	.08	.04	.15*	2.11	.03			
Step 2						.06	.03	6.73*(1, 192)
English proficiency	.08	.04	.15*	2.15	.03			
Ethnic-racial discrimination	-.39	.15	-.18*	-2.59	.06			
Step 3						.06	.005	.93(1, 191)
English proficiency	.06	.04	.12	1.48	.01			
Ethnic-racial discrimination	-.32	.17	-.15	-1.93	.02			
Language discrimination	-.09	.09	-.08	-.97	.004			

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

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the association between the two types of discrimination and Asian international students' collective self-esteem specific to their ethnic-racial membership (i.e., regard). Particularly, this study examined whether language discrimination, a type of discrimination that is culturally relevant for Asian international students, is associated with their affective and evaluative judgment of Asians over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. Two hypotheses were tested by performing hierarchical multiple regression analyses after controlling for English proficiency as a theoretical covariate.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that language discrimination will predict negative public regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. The results of correlation analyses indicated that both types of discrimination displayed negative correlations with public regard in the current sample of Asian international students. The present study's findings are consistent with the existing literature in that higher levels of ethnic-racial discrimination were associated with negative public regard (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1992; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Oh, 2001; Seaton et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2006). However, this study adds to previous findings by linking language discrimination and public regard. Being discriminated against because of one's non-native- or accented English was also associated with Asian international students' perception that American society devalues Asians.

The result of hierarchical multiple regression showed that language discrimination was a significant predictor of negative public regard even after ethnic-racial

discrimination was accounted for. This finding adds to the existing literature by supporting that language discrimination is an additional and salient form of oppression, distinct from ethnic-racial discrimination, for Asians in the United States (Wei et al., 2014; Yoo et al., 2009). Notably, ethnic-racial discrimination remained a significant predictor of negative public regard when the two types of discrimination were considered together. This result implies that Asian international students' perception of the extent to which American society values Asians is impacted by both ethnic-racial and language discrimination. Because many Asian international students have grown up in contexts in which Asians represent the ethnic-racial majority, ethnic-racial discrimination may invoke disappointment, sadness, and culture shock (Mori, 2000), resulting in a belief that American society does not value Asians. Similarly, language discrimination may allude to a notion that the Asians immigrants are not welcome in the United States. Considering that public regard, by definition, is contingent on the evaluation by others, it is reasonable that higher discrimination predicts negative public regard.

However, as the present study did not test the causal relationship between discrimination and public regard, an alternative explanation should be considered in interpreting the results as well. According to the MMRI model (Sellers et al., 1997), ethnic-racial minorities who feel that other members of the society positively evaluate their ethnic-racial group may experience less ethnic-racial discrimination. Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that African American college students with negative public regard reported higher levels of subsequent perceived racial discrimination. Similarly, it is possible that Asian international students who believe that they are valued as Asians in American society perceive less ethnic-racial and language discrimination from others. As

further suggested by Sellers and Shelton (2003), the association between discrimination and public regard may be cyclical, such that higher perceived discrimination resulting from negative public regard strengthens one's belief that the society does not value one's ethnic-racial group.

The findings from this study further substantiate the salience of language discrimination in Asian international students' mental health, separate from English proficiency. Previous studies have identified English proficiency as a major factor that impacts the well-being of Asian international students and Asian immigrants (Gee & Ponce, 2010; Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007; Poyrazli, 2003; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). However, it should be noted that language discrimination is not equated with limited English proficiency. Language discrimination was a significant predictor of public regard even after controlling for English proficiency in this study. This result supports the notion that language discrimination is not a reflection of one's limited English proficiency but a form of oppression in U.S. society. Although the deleterious consequences of discrimination based on one's ethnicity and race necessitate continuous research in general, the findings warrant further investigation on language discrimination in particular because it is a salient yet understudied type of oppression for ethnic-racial minorities who are also non-native English-speakers.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that language discrimination would explain a significant amount of additional variance in more positive private regard over and above ethnic-racial discrimination. The results did not support the second hypothesis. Unexpectedly, the bivariate correlations between the two types of discrimination and private regard were significantly negative. The results are inconsistent with social identity theory (Tajfel,

1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1987), according to which, individuals strive to preserve a positive sense of self when their social identity is threatened. Based on social identity theory, the present study hypothesized that Asian international students who perceive higher levels of ethnic-racial or language discrimination appraise Asians more positively as a way to feel good about themselves. However, the correlation results supported the opposite case.

The negative association between the two types of discrimination and private regard may also be due to Asian international students' internalized discrimination. It is possible that Asian international students who are in early stages of ethnic-racial identity development internalize racism and idealize whiteness (David, 2008; Helms, 1995; Speight, 2007; Sue & Sue, 1999), resulting in a more negative personal evaluation of Asians. Seaton et al. (2009) similarly suggests that emerging adults who have not developed an integrated sense of identity may be less able to cope with ethnic-racial discrimination, which may lead to more negative private regard. Many Asian international students do not examine their ethnic-racial identity before coming to the United States (Lee & Rice, 2007; Zhang, 2015). Even after migration, their ethnic-racial identity development may remain in initial stages for different reasons, such as short duration of stay or feeling disconnected from racialized society (Fries-Britt et al., 2014). Internalization of discrimination in early stages of ethnic-racial identity development may explain the negative association between discrimination and private regard.

When the two types of discrimination were taken together in the final model, however, neither ethnic-racial nor language discrimination was a significant predictor of private regard. This result suggests that evaluations of Asian international students about

themselves as Asians may not be impacted by experiences of discrimination. As opposed to public regard, which reflects societal appraisals toward Asians, private regard represents an individual's personal judgment. Asian international students' self-appraisal about Asians may not be as dependent on sociocultural environment, such as discrimination, compared to public regard.

The nonsignificant association between the two types of discrimination and private regard may be due to the recency of Asian international students' immigration to the United States. Previous studies that hypothesized the positive relationship between private regard and perceived discrimination (Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; Sellers et al., 1997, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003) are based on the experience of ethnic-racial minorities who were socialized in the racialized U.S. society over the course of their lives. Ethnic-racial minorities in the United States are exposed to discrimination from various sources, including family, peers, school, and community, which promotes and influences the development of private regard over their childhood and adolescence period (Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009; Yip, Douglass, & Shelton, 2013; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). However, many Asian international students have little exposure to oppression based on their ethnicity or race until they come to the United States. Previous studies on the adjustment process of Asian international students suggest that they employ color-blind ideology and do not identify as ethnic-racial minorities in the earlier period of their immigration (Heish, 2006; Lewis, 2013; Zhang, 2015). Therefore, although they perceive ethnic-racial or language discrimination, they may not engage in a meaning-making process in relation to their Asian identity because they do not identify as ethnic-racial minority.

It may also be possible that Asian international students distance themselves from their Asian membership when faced with ethnic-racial or language discrimination, which may explain why the two types of discrimination and private regard were not significantly associated in the present study. According to social identity theory (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1987), distancing oneself from one's stigmatized social group may be a strategy to cope with discrimination and preserve one's collective self-esteem. For example, in the model of Centering Racial & Ethnic Identity for Latinos/as (C-REIL; Adames & Chaves-Duenas, 2017) model, it is noted that Latinos/as coped with heightened discrimination against immigrants by distancing themselves from their ethnic-racial community in the years following 9/11. It is possible that Asian international students who perceive discrimination against Asians in the American society may distance themselves from the stigmatized Asian group so that they can preserve positive self-concept. As a result, ethnic-racial or language discrimination against Asians may not have predicted private regard of Asian international students in this study.

Implications

The findings of this present study provide additional information for counselors and mental healthcare providers about the rapidly growing Asian international student population. The results indicate that practitioners who serve Asian international students should consider cultural and social factors—not only ethnic-racial discrimination, but also language discrimination—while examining the stressors that may impact their lives in the United States. Such a consideration may prevent or reduce internalized oppression and justification of discrimination among these students. Some Asian international

students may feel that being discriminated against based on their language is inevitable because they do not speak English as well as native speakers (Zhang, 2015). Mental healthcare providers may offer such students a different perspective, one in which discrimination based on one's non-native or accented language is a form of systematic oppression that can negatively impact them, possibly as much as ethnic-racial discrimination does. Raising awareness about systematic and internalized oppression may benefit Asian international students by developing a positive self-concept and self-worth (Speight, 2007; Wei et al., 2012)

Furthermore, this current study can inform domestic students, faculty, school administrators, employers, and other groups who interact with Asian international students that language discrimination is oppression against ethnic-racial minorities and may make Asian international students feel unaccepted and unappreciated. Language discrimination can be more subtle than ethnic-racial discrimination (Wei et al., 2014) and can be easily overlooked or unnoticed. Therefore, American institutions should make efforts to raise awareness about the predominance of language discrimination in addition to ethnic-racial discrimination.

Limitations

This study has several limitations to consider. Most importantly, this study did not consider how important Asian membership is for Asian international students. An important premise of an individual's desire to preserve a positive evaluation of their group membership is that their membership to the group is meaningful to them (Tajfel, 1986). It is possible that Asian international students distance themselves from being

Asian and identify more strongly with other identities, such as the international student identity.

Schmitt et al. (2003) reported that perceived discrimination predicted increased identification with the international student group, but not with their nationality, in a sample of non-European, non-native English-speaking international students. Their findings suggest that perceived discrimination was more relevant to their international student identity than national identity. In a qualitative study on Chinese international students conducted by Zhang (2015), one of the participants stated that it is “very inaccurate” to identify her as “an Asian minority in the United States...because it is an identity marker” that she belongs to the United States (p. 123). Zhang (2015) further states that identifying as an international student was a strategy to cope with discrimination based on their ethnicity and race. Therefore, information on a participant’s perceived importance of Asian identity may have resulted in a more accurate representation of their evaluative judgments toward Asians.

This study is also limited in that the source of ethnic-racial or language discrimination was not identified. According to existing literature, Asian international students reportedly experience discrimination from domestic students, faculty members, school administrators, employers, and community members (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007). Discrimination from different sources may have different influence on Asian international students’ regard (Green, Way, & Phal, 2006; Hanassab, 2006; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Yip et al., 2013). Furthermore, Asian international students may be subject to intragroup language discrimination within the Asian group at school (Chun, 2009). Although ethnic-racial and language discrimination are undoubtedly manifestations of

racism that perpetuate the White supremacist ideology, this study may overgeneralize the sources of discrimination to the dominant group members in American society (i.e., the White European individuals).

Additionally, Asian international students are a heterogeneous population. One important characteristic is the nationality of the participants. The current sample included participants from 17 different countries. Although Asians, in general, share cultural values such as collectivism or family orientation (Kim & Lee, 2011), there may be significant intragroup differences stemming from diverse national cultures. Particularly, regarding public and private regard, an Asian international student's perception of ethnic-racial self may vary based on the history of their country of origin. The ethnic-racial experience of a student from a society that had been colonized by the United States or European countries (e.g., Filipino international students) may differ from those of students whose country has a different historical background, such as Chinese international students.

Furthermore, measurement issues should be acknowledged. First, although scholars have repeatedly used the MIBI as a reliable and valid measure among non-African American samples (Yip et al., 2019), its regard subscale is not specifically validated within the Asian international student population. Consequently, the results of this study must be interpreted with caution. Second, the survey was conducted in Mandarin Chinese and English, but not in the native languages of any other participants. Translated versions of the survey were provided to accommodate the largest Asian international student subgroup (i.e., Chinese international students) in the United States. However, the unavailability of other native language translations may have influenced the

participants' responses, most of whom spoke English as a foreign language. Third, the response style may potentially be biased because a self-report questionnaire was employed for all the variables. Extreme or moderate response styles, social desirability bias, negative affect bias, and recall bias are some of the factors that can lead to inaccurate measurement (McCormick & Zheng, 2007; Razavi, 2001).

Finally, there may be a sampling bias in the current study, limiting the generalizability of the findings. The majority of the participants were enrolled in one public university in Arizona. It is important also to consider regional difference in the United States. Asians in the United States are known to reside in a few metropolitan cities, with about one-third living in the state of California (López, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017). The physical location of participants may have been an impactful factor on both the discrimination and collective self-esteem of Asian international students.

Future Directions

One domain of collective self-esteem that may play a salient role in the association between discrimination and regard is centrality (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Sellers et al., 2007). Centrality refers to the extent to which individuals consider their ethnic-racial membership core to their overall self-concept (Sellers et al., 1997). In other words, centrality measures the importance of one's ethnic-racial identity compared with other identities, such as gender or spiritual identity. According to social identity theory, individuals who believe their ethnicity and race are meaningful in their sense of self will be emotionally invested in preserving positive ethnic-racial identity (Schmitt et al., 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1987). Therefore, centrality can be expected to act as a moderator between discrimination and regard. However, the participants' centrality was not

measured in this study. Accordingly, future research should investigate centrality among Asian international students to observe its possible association with other domains of their collective self-esteem.

Furthermore, future research should consider the heterogeneity of an Asian international student population while investigating their public and private regard. The meaning assigned to one's ethnicity and race may vary depending on an individual's home society and culture. In Asian countries with a history of ethnic-racial hierarchy, such as caste in India (Gadgil & Mahorta, 1983), one's ethnic-racial membership may be contextualized differently, and its significance may be compared with that in other countries without such a historical background. The differences in racialization and racial socialization processes in the home country may further impact how different subgroups of Asian international students make sense of their ethnic-racial minority status in the United States.

Finally, future studies should investigate the buffering and exacerbating role of regard between language discrimination and mental health outcomes. According to the buffering hypothesis, positive regard may protect an individual from the negative effects of discrimination (Phinney, 1990). Conversely, the exacerbating hypothesis contends that those who have higher affirmation and belong to their ethnic-racial group may be more susceptible to discrimination, resulting in more negative mental health outcomes (Sellers et al., 1997). A number of scholars have investigated and found evidence for both the moderating and mediating role of ethnic-racial identity in the association between ethnic-racial discrimination and psychological outcomes among ethnic-racial minorities, including Asians (Mossakowski, 2003; Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004; Noh, Beiser,

Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). However, the majority of these studies focused on ethnic-racial discrimination, rather than language discrimination. Therefore, future studies should focus on language discrimination against Asians in the United States. This focus may provide valuable information about the relations between discrimination, identity, and mental health among Asians in the United States.

Conclusion

Regard is an important domain of one's collective self-esteem and identity in relation to one's ethnicity and race. The current study adds to the existing literature by investigating the association between discrimination and regard among Asian international students. The results support the notion that language discrimination is predictive of more negative public regard, even after accounting for ethnic-racial discrimination. Furthermore, ethnic-racial discrimination is associated with more negative private regard. The findings support that language discrimination may be a distinct form of oppression that relates to the negative mental health of Asian international students.

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APPENDIX A

MULTIDIMENSIONAL INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY
PUBLIC REGARD SUBSCALE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please indicate to the degree to which you agree with each statement.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat agree
6. Agree
7. Strongly agree

1. Overall, Asians are considered good by others.
2. In general, others respect Asian people.
3. Most people consider Asians, on average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.
4. Asians are not respected by the broader society.
5. In general, other groups view Asians in a positive manner.
6. Society views Asian people as an asset.

APPENDIX B

MULTIDIMENSIONAL INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY
PRIVATE REGARD SUBSCALE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please indicate to the degree to which you agree with each statement.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat agree
6. Agree
7. Strongly agree

1. I feel good about Asian people.
2. I am happy that I am Asian.
3. I feel that Asians have made major accomplishments and advancements.
4. I often regret that I am Asian.
5. I am proud to be Asian.
6. I feel that Asian community has made valuable contributions to this society.

APPENDIX C

EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Have you ever experienced discrimination, been prevented from doing something, or been hassled or made to feel inferior in any of the following situations because of your race, ethnicity, or color? If yes, how many times did this happen...

0. Never
1. Once
2. Two or three times
3. Four or more times

1. At school?
2. Getting hired or getting a job?
3. At work?
4. Getting housing?
5. Getting medical care?
6. Getting service in a store or restaurant?
7. Getting credit, bank loans, or a mortgage?
8. On the street or in a public setting?
9. From the police or in the courts?

APPENDIX D

PERCEIVED LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION SCALE

67INSTRUCTIONS:

International students often encounter discrimination based on English as a second language.

Below are some statements that may describe the experiences of international students.

For each

of the following statements, please click the number that BEST describes your experience. There

are no right or wrong answers.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Not sure
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

1. Others ignore me because of my English.
2. Others avoid talking to me because of my English.
3. My opinions or ideas are not taken seriously because of my English.
4. Others treat me as if I don't know anything because of my English.
5. Others look down on me because of my English.
6. I feel rejected by others because of my English.
7. Others are annoyed by my English

APPENDIX E
IRB APPROVAL

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Giac-Thao Tran
 CLS - Counseling and Counseling Psychology
 480/727-4067
 alisia@asu.edu

Dear Giac-Thao Tran:

On 7/30/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	College Student Wellness Study
Investigator:	Giac-Thao Tran
IRB ID:	STUDY00002954
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Request letter for copyright use, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Research Participants Needed Flyer - updated.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • translation certification form - Chi Li, Category: Translations; • Permission to Use SAMSAQ email response.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Appendix - Chinese (Mandarin) version, Category: Translations; • APPENDIX - ASIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SURVEY.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • APPENDIX - STUDENT ATHLETE SURVEY.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • IRB Protocol Application Final.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • APPENDIX - GENERAL COLLEGE STUDENT SURVEY.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Demographic Questionnaire - English, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Screener questions.pdf, Category: Screening forms; • Standard Drink Chart - English, Category: Technical materials/diagrams; • Confidentiality Statement 2.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Standard Drink Chart - Chinese (Mandarin) Version, Category: Translations; • Recruitment email.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Confidentiality Statement 1.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • translation certification form - complete, Category: Translations; • Consent Form - Chinese (Mandarin), Category: Consent Form; • Recruitment email for clubs.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Consent Form - English, Category: Consent Form;
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The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 7/30/2015.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Kristi Eustice
 Kristi Eustice

APPENDIX F
CONSENT FORM

College Student Wellness Study

We are researchers at Arizona State University. We are surveying college students about sociocultural aspects of college life, financial experiences and stressors, mental health, drinking behavior, and academic attitudes and experiences. The survey is expected to take 30 – 45 minutes. Your honest responses are appreciated. The Institutional Review Board has approved this study (IRB ID: STUDY00002954).

To participate, you must be between the ages of 18-28 years and be a current student at a 4-year U.S. university. You must currently be registered for and/or attending at least one on-campus/in-person class OR you must have previously attended at least one oncampus/in-person class during your current college/graduate training program. Students who are exclusively attending their college/graduate training program online are not eligible to take this survey. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Your participation and responses will be held confidential. Upon completion of the survey, you will have the choice to be entered into a drawing to win one of seven Amazon gift cards (one \$100 gift card, one \$50 gift card, and five \$20 gift cards will be raffled). If you chose to participate in the raffle, you will be prompted to click on a link that will take you to a separate survey page where you will be asked to enter your email address. This information will remain separate and no identifiable information will be connected to your survey responses.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the primary researcher (Alisia (Giac-Thao) Tran) at: alisia@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Do you agree to the above terms? By choosing “Yes, I agree,” you are indicating your consent to participate in this study and confirming that you meet the participant criteria mentioned above.

Sincerely,

Alisia (Giac-Thao) Tran, Ph.D. (Assistant Professor) & Kristi Eustice, B.A. (Masters Student)
Counseling and Counseling Psychology
School of Letters and Sciences
Arizona State University
tempelab@gmail.com

APPENDIX G
CONSENT FORM (CHINESE)

大学生健康水平研究

我们是亚利桑那州立大学的研究人员。我们正在进行一项关于大学生社交和文化生活，财务状况和压力，心理健康水平，饮酒行为，学业态度和经历的研究。完成这份调查问卷可能会占用您 30 - 45 分钟。我们真诚感谢你诚实的反馈。机构审查委员会已经批准了这项研究。（审查编号:STUDY00002954）

对于参与者，您的年龄必须在18--28岁之间，并且是美国四年制大学的现就读学生。您必须在目前就读的本科或研究生项目期间至少正在参加 / 已注册/已经完成一门在校课程。只参加大学网上课程的学生不在这个研究调查范围之内。参加这个调查是自愿的。如果您选择不参加，或者在任何时间退出，不存在任何惩罚。

您的参与和反馈都是保密的。完成这个调查问卷后，您有机会赢得七张亚马逊礼品卡之一（\$100一张，\$50一张,\$20五张，随机抽取）。如果您选择抽奖，你将会被指示点击一个链接，进入另一个需要输入您的电子邮箱地址的页面。这些信息是被分开处理的，您的问卷反馈不会被和这些可用来辨认您身份的信息相联系。

如果您对这项调查研究有任何问题，请联系主要研究人员 Alisia (Giac-Thao) Tran。邮箱地址为：alisia@asu.edu. 如果您对于在研究中作为参与者的权利有任何疑问，请通过 ASU 实验伦理和担保办公室联系人类参与者审查委员会主席，电话是：(480)965-6788.

您同意以上条款吗？选择“是，我同意”，代表着您同意参加此项研究并且确认满足参与此项研究如上所述的所有条件。

此致敬礼

Alisia (Giac-Thao) Tran, Ph.D. (Assistant Professor) & Kristi Eustice, B.A. (Masters Student)

咨询与咨询心理学

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